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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.

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Bad Form.

Some of the medical faculty in Johannesburg are accused of "bad form," and even unprofessional conduct, because their name-plates are too big and in some cases are embellished with details of their particular speciality. It is all very terrible, of course, but seeing that there are fixed tariffs for knights, baronets, and lords, and the huckstering of the market has invaded every corner of society, we fail to see why the doctors should hope to escape the sordidness of the system that as a class they uphold.

* * *

No Schools.

With 47,353 European children between the ages of six and sixteen in the Union not attending school, mainly because there are no schools for them, there is not much justification for the boss class to point the finger of scorn at Soviet Russia. At the same time, huge sums are being spent for high schools, colleges, and universities for the benefit of the favoured few without a kick from the alleged representatives of labour. Why?

* * *

Too Much Food.

It is proposed by the gang of capitalists' hirelings calling itself the Union Government to give a bonus on exported meat. We have yet to learn that the people of South Africa are all suffering from a surfeit of food, although some undoubtedly are. The frantic hurry to get food out of the country whilst thousands are living in a state of semi-starvation would appear to the most ignorant savage to be the sheerest lunacy. But of course, under capitalism injury to the mass brings wealth to the few.

* * *

Salt River's Treatment of a Renegade.

The S.A.I.F. Industrial Union claims to have made great progress with the wrecking of unions at Salt River, and puts its loot at 200 members. Crawford called a GREAT demonstration of railway workers recently in the Railway Institute, and exactly thirteen men turned up; six of these were there for the express purpose of a heart to heart talk with Crawford, but the intelligence of the workers there had been under-estimated; they did not even consider this self-proclaimed saviour of the working classes worth listening to, so stayed at home.

* * *

Quite Satisfied.

Mr. Robinson asked the Prime Minister, in the House of Assembly, in connection with the trial and acquittal of two white farmers on a charge of flogging a native to death, whether the Prime Minister was satisfied with the administration of the criminal law as affecting natives in South-West Africa, and if not, whether he will take some action to remedy matters.

The reply might have been anticipated: Smuts, who is Minister of Native Affairs, in a lofty and offhanded way, said he had seen something of the matter in the papers, but he had every confidence in the Administrator and the High Court of Justice. Any natural resentment on the part of the native workers at this, the latest example of the gross one-sidedness of the law as between black and white, will of course be put down, as usual, to Bolshevik propaganda.

* * *

Can You Beat It.

In last week's issue reference was made to the statements of Mr. Crabbe, assistant secretary of the Rand Aid Association, on poverty and its causes. Mr. Crabbe said that "drunkenness is probably by far the greatest cause of poverty" (forgetting that there is more drunkenness among the idle rich).

The absurd ignorance which prompted the above remark, however, is excelled this week by further statements, presumably from the same gentleman, given before a meeting of his Association. "MEN ON RELIEF WORKS GET MARRIED TO GET 7s. 6d. A DAY, and the fact that men are actually trying to get on the relief works to earn this income compelled the Government to make a substantial reduction in the amount paid per day." Let us analyse this contention. An amount of 7s. 6d. a day would average approximately £9 per month. Any single man knows how difficult it is to live with any degree of comfort and respectability on this sum. How a married man, with in all probability a family, could manage to exist on it God alone knows! Yet the luminaries of the Raid Aid Association have the brass-faced impudence to say that men on relief works were getting married to earn this "princely" income! Might one suggest that Mr. Crabbe and his associates give the relief works a trial, and try to keep themselves and their families on 7s. 6d. a day (leaving out the booze which they think the relief worker imbibes too freely)? Will they, hell!

St. David and "The Empire."

Speaking at the Cambrian Society's banquet on St. David's Day, the Rev. J. G. Davies, in toasting the "Saint," said: "St. David witnessed the beginning of a great factor in civilisation—the British Empire." We were not aware of the fact before, and may be permitted to wonder what St. David and his brother saints—as the reverend gentleman called them—George, Andrew, and Patrick, think now of "the great factor in civilisation," and its black and bloody record.

* * *

Chivalry.

Negotiation or ruin is the alternative given to Germany by our gallant ally, France. Still our children are being doped with stories of the nobility of the motives of the Allies who fought for the rights of oppressed nations and the war to end war, whilst everyone is now preparing for and dreading the next war to end war.

Husbands and Wives.

It was thought worth while by the capitalist press to cable all over the world, the other day, that Mrs. McCormack, the daughter of John D. Rockefeller, claimed to have been in a former incarnation the first wife of Tutankhamen. Another rich lunatic called Gibson, a nephew of a U.S.A. ex-Chief Justice, goes one better and asserts that he is Tutankhamen himself, and remembers sharing the throne with John D.'s daughter. Now whose wife is Mrs. McCormack? Will Tutankhamen, alias Gibson, institute an action for restitution of conjugal rights, or will Mrs. Tutankhamen, alias McCormack, be charged with bigamy, or—but we will leave it at that.

* * *

Nicely Put.

"'Did I understand you to say that Swinkers is a liar?' 'Oh, no,' replied his cynical friend; 'I merely remarked that he is a fisherman and a politician.'"

Sabotage.

It will be seen by the advertisement in another column that all the arrangements to hold a Social and Dance at Benoni on the anniversary of the declaration of Martial Law last year have had to be cancelled. The reasons for this are as follows: The local comrades, after engaging the hall of the Hotel Cecil for a bridge drive, social and dance to be held on March 10th, proceeded to engage musicians, print tickets, advertise, and arrange for conveyances. After all the arrangements had been completed the hotel management tried to get out of its contract on the ground that it was feared that a disturbance would be made by elements hostile to the strikers and Communists. On the absurdity of this being pointed out, the hotel manager caused the following letter to be sent to the local Communist Party branch by Messrs. Meyer, Foley and Levy.

T. Chapman, Esq.,
Benoni.

Dear Sir,

We are instructed by Mr. T. Clark, manager of the Hotel Cecil, to inform you that, owing to the provocative and objectionable nature of the programme issued by your society in connection with the dance intended to be held at the Hotel Cecil on the 10th proximo, he is not prepared to allow the dance to be held in the said hall.

We are instructed to return herewith the £1 deposited by you in this connection.—Yours faithfully, Meyer, Foley, and Levy.

The ticket complained of is undoubtedly an artistic production, and was intended to be an interesting souvenir of the occasion. Printed in three colours, the front page announces that the function was to commemorate the anniversary of the Red Revolt, and is embellished with the Soviet emblem. The second page contains a picture of a war 'plane hovering over the Workers' Hall and dropping bombs thereon. On the fourth page is printed two verses of the International. The dance programme, which appeared in our issue of February 2nd, is the pill that the loyal Mr. Clark seems to be unable to swallow. It reads as follows: "Essential Service" Waltz, "Corner House" Fox Trot, "Loyalist" Lancers, "Janie Smuts" Two-step, "Aeroplane" Maxina, "Dunswart" Waltz, "Leftus" Lancers, "Burgers" Saunter, "Turn on your pal" Veleta, "Rebels" Waltz.

Attempts to obtain the Jewish or St. Dunstan's Halls have failed. The boycott is apparently complete, and the local Fascisti having, as in Italy, destroyed the Workers' Hall, are now able to exercise a censorship on all proposed meetings and entertainments. The matter will not, however, be allowed to rest here. An action for damages has been instituted against the hotel management, and therefore we will refrain from commenting further on the matter, but it may be noted that the Benoni authorities have been particularly attentive to the local Communists for some time past. The attempt to stop our open-air propaganda by charging Comrade Chapman under a municipal bye-law with obstruction was the first blow. Some curious incidents might be noted in connection with this matter. The lawyer (Mr. Foley) who was defending Comrade Chapman found it necessary to be absent from the court during the latter part of the proceedings, and left Comrade Chapman undefended. Comrade Chapman was in consequence convicted and given a suspended sentence.

It was then decided to appeal against the magistrate's decision, and the matter was placed in the hands of Messrs. Meyer, Foley and Levy, who were instructed to give notice of appeal and to engage counsel. The day before the expiration of the period during which the notice of appeal had to be filed, Comrade Chapman made enquiries, and found that nothing had been done, and was informed by the solicitor that the time had expired, and it was too late to act. He then took the matter to another solicitor and found that there was still time, and the notice of appeal was duly filed. What was his surprise a few days ago, on making enquiries of this second solicitor, to be told that counsel had not been engaged, and when the case was called in the Appellate Court no one appeared on behalf of appellant, and the appeal consequently was thrown out.

This is a remarkable chapter of accidents, and MAY be satisfactorily accounted for, but there are many who consider that the facts as stated are capable of a very ugly interpretation. The appeal in the opinion of those able to judge would almost certainly have been upheld, and it is, to say the least of it, very convenient for the Benoni Municipal Council and the police that it was never heard, but of course solicitors, like Brutus, are all, all honourable men. The meetings have, however, been carried on every Saturday night, and will be so continued by the members of the party until the right has been established of the Communist propagandists to be treated on an equality with other propaganda bodies.

CLASS WAR HEROES.

PERCY FISHER and HARRY SPENDIFF.
Members of the Council of Action, who died in the workers' cause during the fighting at Fordsburg, March 14th, 1922.

Search Their Pockets.

Sir Allan Smith, M.P., one of the nabobs of the Federation of British Industries, said the other day: "It has not been to the advantage of this country and the Allies to receive reparations from Germany. It stimulates German trade, and we suffer from unemployment."

In 1918, Sir Eric Geddes, now PRESIDENT of the Federation of British Industries, talked of squeezing Germany until the pips squeaked, and Socialists who said that it was stupid to demand a colossal indemnity from the vanquished enemy were dubbed pro-German.

* * *

Appropriate.

Feisal, who is now ruler of Irak—Winston Churchill's fancy name for Mesopotamia—was, according to Major Moore, crowned on a throne made of Scotch whisky cases. With the British commander-in-chief a whisky king, it is quite fitting that the puppets of the empire should be supported on whisky.

* * *

A Brain Wave.

Walter Snow, M.L.A., speaking at Salt River the other night, told us that Lord Milner had at last come round to labour principles. Marvellous! One of his suggestions was that the workers should borrow capital from the capitalist. Capital is accumulated plunder, therefore the worker is advised to borrow the plunder which has actually been stolen from himself.

What brilliancy from the prancing pro-consul!

* * *

Church and Bio.

"A Melbourne clergyman is showing moving pictures in his church. Ah well, perhaps as a sort of antidote the picture shows will yet have to screen religious services—and lose money."

Money from Misery.

Insurance companies are making huge profits on the premiums paid them in respect of Workmen's Compensation Risks. The British White Paper on Workmen's Compensation Statistics, just issued, states that in 1921 the income of the companies from this source was £8,265,728. Of this sum £2,971,275 was allocated to payment of compensation and legal and medical expenses in connection with claims; £2,785,648 was spent in commission and expenses of management; £2,384,230 WAS SET ASIDE FOR PROFITS.

The average payment in case of death was £217—a pitifully inadequate amount which could be substantially increased if these profits and the cost of unnecessary medical and legal services were eliminated. These administration charges and profits eat up 68 per cent. of the total income. Workmen's compensation, like all other reforms under capitalism, chiefly functions as a means of graft to the capitalists and their parasites.

* * *

United Front.

At the Cradock S.A. Party District Committee's meeting, yesterday morning, it was decided to adopt the recommendation of the joint committee of leaders of the two political parties, and Mr. D. J. du Plessis, a moderate Nationalist, of Middelburg, will not be opposed.—"Sunday Times" Special.

We have heard no howl about an unholy alliance yet.

* * *

Why?

A million pounds in gold lying in the bank does not work, and produces nothing at all. Why should it be allowed to absorb the earnings of those who do work and produce?

THE INTERNATIONAL.
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(S.A. Section of the Communist International).
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A Year Ago.

This time last year the workers of the Transvaal were living through one of the most exciting and the most momentous periods of their history, a period not only full of incidents but also rich in lessons for the future. Let us recall some of the outstanding events.

On March 7th, after a nine weeks' stoppage of the gold mines and a longer period in the coal area, a general strike was called throughout South Africa. This was never fully responded to, largely owing to the fact that preparations had not been made, and the trade union officials were divided on the point. The railways, with the exception of a few men at Braamfontein and Germiston, never responded, and seeing this partial failure the Government prepared to break the strike by force of arms. Martial Law was proclaimed on March 10th, and fighting became general throughout the Reef early that morning. It was a trial of strength between the almost unarmed and unorganised forces of the workers and the whole military and police machinery of the State. A few rifles of various patterns, some revolvers, and such weapons as were seized from the captured police and military were the weapons the strikers opposed to thousands of troops and police armed with every modern weapon, machine and field guns, tanks, aeroplanes, armoured cars and trains which were used remorselessly.

The unequal struggle which was forced upon the workers was carried on by them for four or five days with the greatest heroism and determination, but the odds were too great, and there could be but one result. On March 14th the last stand was made at Fordsburg, which was taken by assault. Here Comrades Percy Fisher and Harry Spendiff died rather than surrender, the exact circumstances of their death having never been cleared up. Then commenced an orgy of brutality and revenge on the part of the Government troops. Prisoners were shot in cold blood by the Transvaal Scottish, who made such an ignominious show at Dunswart. Thousands of men, women and children were rounded up, beaten and treated by the C.I.D. and police with the greatest brutality and thrown into prison or hastily prepared camps.

The trials, which still continue, resulted in most vindictive sentences. Four men—Stassen, Hull, Long, and Lewis were charged with murder, convicted, and hanged. A considerable number of others were sentenced to death, but in consequence of the huge petitions and demonstrations, their sentences were commuted to periods varying from a few months to life. Scores are still in gaol to satisfy the thirst for vengeance of the ruling class. Having driven the workers back by force of arms, the industrial magnates took full advantage of the workers' defeat. Wholesale retrenchment took place on the mines, which reacted on all other industries, and thousands of men and women were thrown on the streets, and from a position of comparative comfort reduced to abject misery and hopelessness. The unions were deserted by large numbers of their weaker and non-class-conscious members, and in some cases reached the verge of collapse.

There are, however, indications that the period of despondency is passing away, and the persistent efforts of the best of the workers to rebuild and reconstruct are bearing fruit, and it may be hoped that the bitter experiences of last year will convince those who have the responsibility of guiding their fellow-workers that the old forms of organisation and old methods must always fail. Modern capitalist methods of organisation demand new methods on the part of the workers if they are not to suffer further defeats. Less sectionalism, fewer unions and more unionism, a clearer recognition of the fact that there is a perpetual antagonism between the boss class and the workers is needed. Organisation by industry, not for defence merely, but for attack, this must be the policy. If the events of last year are well studied, the mistakes well noted, and the remedy applied, even the great sacrifices made and still being made by thousands of South African workers will not have been made in vain.

Inspector's Indictment.

MINING ACCIDENTS.

The alarming increase in mining accidents since the strike has been a subject of comment among Rand workers for some time, and to the miners themselves there is no difficulty in locating the cause—in fact, such a result was confidently predicted when the Chamber of Mines stated the conditions under which mining work would have to be carried on in future. It is as refreshing as it is surprising, however, to find a Mining Inspector with courage enough to state openly the main cause of the appalling accident rate on the gold mines of the Witwatersrand.

Before Magistrate Bovill, on Monday last, a miner named D. van Wijk Theron was charged with contravening the mining regulations "by allowing natives to work beneath ground that was inadequately supported by timbering, and as a result a native named Mangelelwa was killed."

The evidence was that the white miner was taking steps to prop up the dangerous hanging, but while he was away attending to a machine the loose rock fell and killed one of the natives.

Mr. J. D. Marquard, the Deputy Inspector of Mines, spoke in the miner's defence, and is reported to have said that "since the strike the miners have ever so much more to do than before, and many of the miners do their best to please the bosses, because of the enormous amount of unemployment about. They realise that if they do not please the bosses they might get the sack. This man has a stope to work in which is 550 feet long. He had three machines to work in the bottom of the stope, and several others elsewhere."

Although couched in moderate and guarded language, no more damning indictment of the underground conditions to-day on the Rand could be framed. It means that, driven by the terror of being unemployed, with all that it means to them and their dependants, the Rand miners are taking risks and attempting tasks which make any serious attempt to carry out the safety regulations impossible. Pleasing the bosses means, in plain English, trying to do the work of two or more men and taking the most frightful risks—which dangers are shared, of course, by the native workers—and working like beasts for half or a third of what they received before the strike. Mainly in consequence of the evidence of the inspector, the accused miner was found not guilty and discharged.

That a miner should get off, and that the conditions of mining should be ever so mildly criticised by a government inspector, has infuriated the "Star," which, acting under orders from its master, the Chamber of Mines, seeks to turn the tables on the inspector by insinuating that the inspector should bring to the notice of the authorities any case in which he considers a miner has too much to do. Who are the authorites referred to, it may be asked? The answer, of course, is the Chamber of Mines, and how long would a mining inspector hold his job if he made representations to them on the amount of work a man is asked to do? Every miner knows the answer. And then the "Star" goes on to say, using the words of a mining boss, that "obviously the men are doing more work if they were not we should not be seeing the better returns the companies are able to make."

The brutal truth, at any rate! Out of the sweat, blood and lives of the workers, black and white, the improved returns are coined.

Then with sickening hypocrisy the article proceeds: "On the whole we are working with fewer complaints than we had before the strike, and again, "mine managers interviewed stated that the men are working better, their relations with the management are far more harmonious, and there are few complaints." Of course there are fewer complaints; the unfortunate men are submitting to anything, and dare not complain, because of the terror that the sack inspires them with. They have foolishly left their unions and have deserted the men who fought for them, and now are under the necessity of eating dirt until they get together again, and are once more able to stand up to the bosses and demand something approaching reasonable treatment. There are plenty of complaints and a seething mass of resentment, and it is only the brutal tyranny of economic necessity which keeps the workers inarticulate. The "Star" article concludes with the following cynical statement in reference to the inspector's remark that "if they don't please the boss they get the sack." "That . . . is a healthy condition of things which obtains in industry generally, and without it there could be no assurance that any business could be profitably carried on."

No talk of conciliation there; no good relations between employee and employer, round table conferences, negotiations and a share in the management of industry are advocated. That was war-time talk, and is out of date and unnecessary now that capitalism is again in the saddle. Naked and unashamed the capitalist ethic is revealed. WORK OR STARVE. Work on our terms, say the bosses, when, where and how we like, or starve, you dogs. It is as well that all the flummery and cant about identity of interests were exploded once and for all. Communists have all along fought against the myth of community of interest between the exploiter and exploited. Now we have it from the horse's mouth; perhaps even some labour leaders may begin to see that there is something in it, and act accordingly, but we doubt it.

V. V. Schmidt.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR LABOUR.

The People's Commissary for Labour, V. V. Schmidt, originally worked in the engineering trade as a turner. He began to take an active part in the Russian working class movement in 1905, when he joined the Bolshevik section of the Social Democratic Party. Like other active workers he was arrested and imprisoned during the revolution of 1905, and on several subsequent occasions. In 1907 he was obliged to leave the country. He stayed in Germany till 1911, when he returned to Russia. In 1912, he was elected Secretary of the Petrograd district organisation of the metal workers' union. In 1917 he became secretary of the Petrograd Trade Union Council, and in June, 1918, secretary of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions. He resigned from this post later in the same year, to take up his present position as head of the Commissariat for Labour.

The law is all very well in its way, but when it gets in the way of Big Business—well, then it is usually put quietly out of the way.

* * *

When Socialists say they would give every child a free education, they mean free in every respect—free food, free clothing, free shelter, and free amusement, free recreation and free play. They would teach the child the truth about the world and all in the world. For nothing would be too great for children under Socialism. Being the world's greatest asset, they should be treated accordingly.

LEGAL MURDER IN INDIA.

By M. N. ROY.

Out of 228 men put on trial for "rioting and arson" at Chauri Chaura, 172 have been sentenced to death, and six men have practically suffered the same penalty, because they died in gaol of maltreatment during the trial, which lasted almost a full year. Even the records of the British Government in India cannot produce an instance of imperialist "justice" which surpasses this one in its majestic vindictiveness and brutality.

The incidents that led up to this legalised murder were as follows: In February, 1921, the agrarian revolt in the United Provinces, where Feudalism reigns supreme, had reached a very acute stage. Ignorant of the social revolutionary character of this discontent of the poor peasantry, the Nationalist Non-Co-operators turned towards this spontaneous outburst to utilise it for their political agitation. The result was that the rebellious peasantry readily responded to the call of the nationalist agitators, and took up the slogans of Non-Co-operation. It was just at the time when the Congress, and particularly Gandhi, was talking very much about Mass Civil Disobedience, the main slogan of which was to be non-payment of rents and taxes. This electrified the imagination of the exploited peasantry, weighed down generation after generation under exorbitant land rents, and innumerable kinds of feudal dues exacted by the landlords. The vision of the day when they would not have to bear all these burdens inspired the peasantry who, all over the province, rose in revolt to overthrow the British Raj, which to them was Landlord-Raj, and to establish "Swaraj," which they called Gandhi Raj. The entire province was like a volcano, and the authorities were extremely alarmed.

Thousands of villagers joined the Congress Volunteer Corps, and in addition to the campaign of attack against the properties of the landlords, took active part in the picketing of the sale of foreign articles and liquor in the market places. Everywhere they came into conflict with the police forces. On February 2nd the volunteer pickets were fired upon by the armed police in a market, owned by a landlord notorious for his loyalty to the government and tyranny over the tenants. Two days later the Volunteer Corps, swelled to almost 3,000 strong by peasants from the adjoining villages, decided to renew their activities in the same bazaar. On their way they had to pass by the Police Station at Chauri Chaura, at which point they were attacked by the police. After some exchange of brickbats, the police opened fire on the crowd, which grew furious and attacked the police station, set fire to it, and 21 policemen were killed in the affray. Naturally the casualties on the other side must have been much greater, in view of the fact that while everyone in the police station used firearms, the volunteers had scarcely any. The government has always been very careful in putting the number of the killed and wounded among the volunteers as low as possible. But it is not hard to imagine the result of firing volleys on a crowd of over three thousand unarmed peasants. A correspondent of the loyalist press wrote: "The police must have fired on the mob in earnest, but whether it was before the rush or after it I cannot say."

From Chauri Chaura, the revolt spread in all directions; but the forces of law and order were mercilessly brought to bear upon the situation, and what would otherwise have been a peaceful demonstration of the exploited masses ended in a blood-bath. Armed police and military forces were used freely to "protect life and property," and scores of lives of the expropriated peasantry were sacrificed. In a few days, a government communique declared the "situation well in hand," all the centres of disturbance being "under military control."

Thus was drowned in blood the voice of the exploited peasantry, driven to premature action by government provocation, and the ignorance of the nationalist agitators. Hundreds of arrests were made; 228 of the prisoners were finally sent up for trial. They were charged with "murder, arson and being members of an unlawful assembly." After a trial which lasted eight months, bourgeois justice has pronounced its verdict: 172 will be "hanged by the neck until dead."

The facts speak for themselves. No comments are necessary. This justice surpasses in brutality the doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." 172 lives must be taken to pay for 22. But bourgeois justice conveniently forgets about scores of poor peasantry that fell before the rifles of the police and military. Who is going to avenge these soldiers of freedom? Not bourgeois justice, but their own class when victorious. The reason for such brutal ferocity is that in Chauri Chaura, and the incidents that preceded and followed it, the growth of a force threatening the rights of the landlords, was to be noticed. British imperialism has proved how ably it will defend the property of those loyal to it. 172 lives will be sacrificed on the altar of Landlordism in league with Imperialism. A lesson for the Nationalists. International Press Correspondence.

Pardoned After Serving Two Years.

James J. Larkin, who has served two years of a five-year term after conviction on a criminal anarchy charge, was pardoned by Governor Smith, of New York.

The Governor's action was the sequel to a hearing he gave on January 9th, when a delegation of Larkin's friends, including Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney, widow of the Lord Mayor of Cork, pleaded for clemency.

In announcing his decision, Governor Smith explained that the statute upon which Larkin was convicted defined criminal anarchy as the doctrine "that organised governments should be overthrown by force or violence . . . or by unlawful means." Larkin, he said, joined in issuing the manifesto of the left wing of the Socialist Party which counselled a dictatorship of the proletariat, this change to be accomplished by strikes called to affect political action by the electorate.

GOVERNOR'S VIEW.

"The Court of Appeals," said the Governor, "has decided that the issuance of this manifesto constituted a violation of the statute. . . . I find that two of the Judges dissented from the judgment in an opinion strongly maintaining that Larkin was unjustly convicted, in that he was not advocating anarchy (which is the absence of all organised government), but merely a new and radically different form of organised government.

"Stripped of its legalistic aspects, it to my mind is a political case where a man has been punished for a statement of his beliefs. . . . One of the prevailing opinions in the Court of Appeals stated that the Judge of that court recognised that the sentence may have been too heavy for the offence. He already has served over two years in prison. This, in my judgment, fully expiates his offence.

DISAGREES WITH VIEWS.

"My present action in no way involves the slightest agreement with this manifesto," the Governor said. "I condemn the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the farmers, of the capitalists, of the merchants, or of any other section of the community. In a free democracy we know no dictatorships and we endure none. No group has any legal, social, or moral right to impose by dictatorship its views or interests of any other group. Likewise, I condemn the project to coerce political action by any such method as the calling of general strikes.

"I pardon Larkin, therefore, not because of agreement with his views, but despite my disagreement with them."

The extraordinary jumble of contradictions contained in this statement is on a par with what the workers are accustomed to expect from bourgeois law. The Governor, after stating that Larkin has been punished for a statement of his beliefs, then proceeds to say that two years fully expiates his "offence." But the gem of the whole is the repudiation of the theory of a dictatorship, proletarian or otherwise, by the Governor, who must have had his tongue in his cheek when he declared, "In a free democracy we know no dictatorships and we endure none." What colossal hypocrisy, when he knows better than most that the United States is ruled by the most corrupt and ruthless oligarchy in existence, an organised gang of assassins and plunderers compared with whom the most ruthless tyrants of history were but petty sneak thieves and bar-room brawlers.

"Free democracy" is dee-lightful.

A Squalid Scandal.

VREDEDORP VIA DOLOROSA.

Under the above title a special correspondent to one of the local dailies severely castigates the Municipal Council of Johannesburg for not improving the western approach to the Brixton Cemetery. The writer quite truly describes this "via Dolorosa" as a disgrace to Johannesburg, and refers to the last stages of the journey to the cemetery as "one long-drawn-out horror. The ill-kept rutted roads, the filth and garbage lying in the gutters, the fœtid hovels, and then all around a Dantesque medley of leering faces, half agape, as if to say, 'Well, anyhow, death levels us all.'"

The description of the locality known as the Malay camp is by no means overdrawn, and it is quite within the mark to describe the whole enighbourhood as "a disgusting outrage on every accepted canon of decency and sanctity." But what is the remedy proposed by the special correspondent of the "Mail"? It appears to be contained in a proposal to pull down an entire row of shanties, thus converting two roads into one and then planting a double row of quick-growing trees on each side. "These would serve to shut out the houses that were left and . . . lend GRACE AND DIGNITY to the approach." In other words, the writer only wants to spare the delicate susceptibilities of the well-to-do when they are forced to pass by the hovels of their victims.

He confesses that "access to the cemetery must always be reached through the slummy quarters." And throughout the article shows the usual hatred and contempt of the slave owner to the slaves. Not one word of pity or sympathy is vouchsafed for the swarming wretches who are born and have to EXIST—it cannot be called living—in the vile surroundings which offend the aesthetic taste of the gilded harpies and parasites of what is called "society." Let the poor fester in the slums, let vice, crime, and disease—the children of poverty—breed and claim their toll of victims so long as Dives is not annoyed by seeing them.

This is the attitude of the Pharisee in all ages, and if the Town Council were composed of men who were really city fathers, as they are sometimes ironically called, they would leave this "devil's highway" as a standing reproach to those who live luxurious lives at the expense of the atrocious suffering and degradation of the workers, until every insanitary and unlovely dwelling and street has been rebuilt and made beautiful, and with the abolition of poverty slumdom will become but a hideous memory.

Grace and dignity, indeed, we all crave for, but not as a mere facade behind which leers and gibbers unnamable horrors. That is the reformer's method. Cover up the anguish; don't let us SEE the misery we create, it takes away our appetite, it haunts us when we are taking our ease in luxury. Drive the dogs back to their kennels, and prohibit them from even gazing on us as we pass by the way. Faugh! there is nothing so vile and contemptible in slumdom as the Pecksniffian hypocrite, the whited sepulchre, who tolerates the wholesale degradation of the workers and supports the system which produces it, and would hang everyone who proposes to apply the only remedy so long as his delicate senses and those of his pampered womenfolk are spared the sights and smells which make possible their lives of luxurious ease, idleness, and debauchery.

In the Home of the Revolution.

RUSSIA DAY BY DAY.

By D. IVON JONES

Dear Comrades,

It is a long while since I wrote a general letter to "The International." For a change I have had the pleasure of reading Comrade Bunting's feelings during the first few days of his sojourn in Moscow. What strikes the Communist at first unfavourably is the large number of shops and cafes, forgetting our own agitational slogans of the past, that shops and cafes are not the places where the workers are exploited. Moreover, a rudimentary knowledge of the Russian alphabet reveals to us by the signs above the windows that all the swell stores are government or municipally owned.

THE CONGRESSES.

I have not seen Comrade Bunting's report of the Fourth Congress, nor was I present, but only read the "Pravda" reports and partook of the intense interest in its proceedings in common with the Russian comrades with whom I daily discuss the problems of the revolution down here in the Crimea. We all agree that an International Communist Party has emerged from the Fourth Congress, with a firm international discipline. Every Russian Communist closely watches the progress of the brother parties abroad just as we do, only more so. Here one realises to the full that after the conquest of power there is no cessation of propaganda, agitation and organisation. As a matter of fact, these three stars of the Communist burn brighter...he propandises, agitates and organises on a higher plane and with a mightier weapon, the weapon of the state power. Lenin has said that the chief use at first of the State power in the hands of the revolutionary proletariat is to enable it to bring home its ideals to the more backward masses who under capitalism are bound in the gigantic fetters of the daily press and the capitalist state institutions.

THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS.

And so the Tenth Congress of the Soviets has also come and gone, and the First Congress of the Union of the Soviet Republics has been held. The familiar letters, "R.S.F.S.R.," will no longer stand for the whole of the Soviet Republics. Owing to the formal separate existence of some of the Federated Republics, such as Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Ukraine, etc., giving a handle to our enemies on the diplomatic field, and dividing the power of the proletarian state, a movement started two or three months ago to convert the Federation into a Union. For the purposes of this Union, R.S.F.S.R. (the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics) was deemed to stand for the Central Russian Republic proper, with its newly affiliated provinces in Siberia right up to Vladivostock. In addition there stood the White Russian Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, and the Trans-caucasian Federation of Soviet Republics (including Georgia, Azerbeijan, and Soviet Armenia), although in actual fact the R.S.F.S.R. hitherto stood for the whole lot.

There was another reason for the change, and this reason is the most heartening of all to the comrades abroad. At first the idea took the form of a proposed East European Asiatic Soviet Republic, and there were other proposals of a similar grandiose nature, showing that the Russian comrades had in view not merely the consolidation of the present Russian Federation, but the inauguration of a State form which would automatically absorb in the one State apparatus any and every other country where the proletariat captures power, say, Germany or Poland. The proposal, first emanating from the Trans-caucasian and Ukrainian Soviet Congress, was full of this spirit. Hence the proposal took the simple form of a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics —NO NAME. An old Ukrainian Communist, in moving the merging of the Ukraine in one Soviet Union, capital at present in Moscow, said that if not he, then his children would see the day when the capital would be in London.

So now we have the S.S.R., or the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. I don't know how the new name will appear abroad, but reading from the "Pravda", the word Russian does not appear on principle. Each Republic, for the separate Republics still retain subsidiary functions, is free to withdraw from the Union when it pleases, in theory, but the Communist Party is everywhere, and no Communist Party is free to withdraw from the International and still remain Communist. The declaration of the first Congress of the Union of Soviet Republics is phrased in massive language suitable to the inspiring motive of the occasion. I enclose a poor attempt at translation in case the official translation may not reach you.

It seems to me as if the formation of the S.S.R. were a challenge to the whole capitalist world. It declares the whole world divided into capitalist and Soviet States, and the Soviet Republic refuses to limit itself by a name or a boundary, but claims the whole world as its inevitable heritage. Such is "Bolshevik Imperialism"—the emancipation of the proletariat of the whole world.

The Republics of Bokhara and Khiva do not come into the Union. These far-flung outposts of the Soviet Republic are not Socialist Republics; they figure in the Congress as "Narodni" (People's) Soviet Republics, and send fraternal delegates only. Here is a purely Mussulman population, with hardly any proletariat. When they produce enough young Communists to convert themselves into Socialist Soviets they will automatically join the Union. At present their existence is a tribute to the elasticity of the Soviet form of State apparatus.

THE UNION CONGRESS OF SOVIETS.

The Soviet Congress only meets once a year. There were 1,667 delegates, the proportion of Communists being more overwhelming than ever. There was not a single Menshevik or Socialist Revolutionary. The great trial definitely killed these parties in the eyes of the people. There was one Paoli Zion and one Universal Anarchist!! The Congress elected its Executive Committee of 371 members. It heard the annual reports from the various Commissions, all concerned with the patient work of reconstruction. Lenin did not appear, although he is the Premier. Kamenev, Vice-President of the Council of Commissions, gave the report instead. Kamenev is taking all the administrative work from Lenin's hands; he is a brilliant administrator. Lenin recedes more and more into the study and the committee. The marvellous stability of the Soviet regime and the unity of the proletariat as a ruling class obviates the need for his constant appearance in the gruelling work of debating and speechifying. The Premiers in the capitalist governments might well envy his position. Indeed, the Congress meets as much for an exchange of views in the informal gatherings as to hear the reports of the People's Commissaries. There is not much debate, and what there is is on minor points; because, although the Soviet Congress meets only once a year, the innumerable smaller Soviets, provincial, county, town, and village soviets, meet constantly, and constantly express the temper of the masses, constantly create and recreate the economic and political life of the country, so that nothing remains for the Congress to do except to put a peg, as it were, to mark the advance made, and put another peg forward as the task for the coming year. Meanwhile, what corresponds to the parliament of capitalist countries, the Central Executive Committee, meets for a week or two three or four times a year.

DISARMAMENT.

The Conference on Disarmament between Russia and the Border States ended in smoke. Russia greatly incommoded the other parties by starting off with a blunt proposal for 75 per cent. disarmament. But they had only come to talk. They pleaded that the first thing to do was to pass a motion of moral disarmament. The rest of the Conference consisted in manœuvring to put the blame of their refusal on to Soviet Russia. "Pravda" came out with a cartoon showing the poor Angel of Peace (very much emaciated) crushed under a volume containing resolutions to "morally disarm"!

I was talking with a Red Commander a day or two ago. He said that a Red Army Congress had resolved to get every Red soldier to write home to his parents about the rejection of the Soviet's disarmament proposal, and urging the necessity of helping the government by promptly paying the tax in kind. Said my informant, "it is interesting to read these letters, with their naive optimism: "Dear father, or "dear mother," as the case may be, "you will not know me now. I can read and write, and I know such a lot more, and I want to explain to you how we must adopt up-to-date farming as they teach us here, and a lot of other things," etc., etc. The soldier under the Czar's autocracy left his family amid general weeping and wailing. To-day, the young peasants join the colours singing revolutionary songs and carrying red flags. This Red Army is one great people's academy.

RETRENCHMENT.

Apropos of this, it is worth referring to Lunacharsky's report to the Soviet Congress, showing an enormous decrease in the number of public schools since the advent of the New Economic Policy. This was the only report showing retrogression. The cutting down of the Education Budget has been forced upon the Soviet Republic by the imperative need to balance the general budget out of income instead of new emissions of paper money. Our enemies may jump at the fact that education was one of the economies, hence it is necessary to fully explain.

The results of War Communism showed that Socialist institutions cannot be built on a ruined industry. Free trams, free theatres, free housing, free trains, free schools, etc., are very nice, but somebody must pay for them. Owing to the deliberate destruction of the money system there were no sure means of knowing who paid for them, and who deserved to get them. To be sure, there was the general compulsion to work. But this only meant that the millions of non-proletarians must attend a factory in order to get bread. But devoid of the proletarian spirit, there was no means of compelling them to do their bit, while hundreds of thousands of proletarians gave their lives at the front. Hence it was seen that the first job was (1) to rebuild the ruined national economy, (2) train up a large class-conscious proletariat in a rejuvenated industry. For this purpose the money system was reintroduced under proletarian state control. Thus we have no longer free housing, free trains and free trams, but we have again a class-conscious proletariat, and the loafers and speculating petty bourgeoisie have found their own level. Thus, under the incentive of the controlled money system and the protection of the Proletarian State, industry will grow and more and more absorb all domains of economic life. With it the class-conscious proletariat will also grow, and more and more absorb the other sections of the people. This is the purpose of the New Economic Policy. At certain stages, without the dislocation of revolution, more and more spheres will pass into Socialist economy, and the incentive of the money system will be gradually and imperceptibly replaced by the incentive of a fully developed class solidarity.

BALANCING THE BUDGET.

The first necessity is to pay the overhead charges on industry (and the State apparatus is nothing more or less than overhead charges) out of the legitimate surplus from production, and not from surplus that should go to renew and extend industry. The money system is a sure index of how far the proletarian state is living within its means. Hence the job is to get down to the bedrock of a balanced budget, even at the expense of the children's education. From this bedrock (the stabilised rouble) the new socialist economy will begin to rise. Meanwhile, for all the youth at 21 who cannot read or write the army, under Trotsky's guiding genius, is an extra education department.

But a growing feature of the recent developments in Russia is the increase of initiative on the part of local Soviets. And what Lunacharsky's department cannot provide, some local Soviets are beginning to impose as a task upon themselves in the form of extra local taxation. This local initiative was evidenced lately by several town Soviets, such as Nijni Novgorod, voluntarily turning over a fine surplus on their local budgets into the State budget. Where else can you find such solidarity? Thus these lean days in the children's education will quickly pass, and they will teach the local Soviets to be more self-reliant.

PROLETARIAN ADMINISTRATORS.

In this random manner one can go on discussing Soviet Russia indefinitely. To all revolutionary proletarians it is of perennial interest. But we must halt here. I will only mention one feature of the present life of the Republic, how the new generation of proletarian administrators and managers is rising everywhere and coming to grips with the great task of reconstruction. For several weeks a competition has been running in the "Pravda" for the best and worst factory managers. The workers send in reports about their managers, and a committee sits to adjudge the award. Day by day we have accounts of the heroic efforts of the proletarian managers as told by their fellow-workers, and occasionally a report comes in about a "bad egg." I have just been reading the report from one textile factory. Here letters were received from 350 workers, men and women, who veritably regard their manager as a teacher and a leader. One writes: "I only wish I shall work with him till I die." He is their delegate to the Soviet, he presides at the factory meetings, he gives the example when any rough work has to be done, he has saved the factory from ruin by his intiative and leadership. Here is his photo; a strong, homely proletarian face with a touch of the Russian sadness in it. Here, reading these accounts of the life of the factory and workshop, one sees, behind the garish display of new traders and speculators, the winsome features of the great society of the future taking shape; and ere long it will be strong enough to turn everything into its own likeness.

* * *

CAVIARE.

I see that the "Judicial" Commission on Martial Law have made a lame attempt to link up the Rand Revolt with Moscow by publishing extracts from my letters. It is a rabid piece of capitalist propaganda, but it has missed fire, for in publishing the extracts they are giving wide publicity to some of our propaganda too.

However, by tearing sentences from their context they have endeavoured to give the impression that we Communists are living on the fat of the land here in Russia while the workers are starving. This notion of the starving Russian workers is very hard in dying. It is up to the Communists to kill it, as it is the one argument left against the Russian Revolution. The "Judicial" Commission Report quotes "caviare" as an article of our diet. That was a year ago, when butter, sugar, and cheese were scarce, hence my remark that "caviare," which we generally associate with luxury, was plentiful, because Russia is the home of the sturgeon. The point I wish to make is this, that the Russian comrades try to give their comrades from abroad of the best. But the workers in Moscow and Petrograd are to-day better fed than the delegates were a year ago. And taking into account the generous hospitality of the Russian comrades, this is saying a tremendous lot.

Professor Varga, coming to Moscow from Central Europe and witnessing the great anniversary demonstrations, when the workers, with innumerable flags, marched TWENTY ABREAST for hours and hours past Trotsky's flagstaff, declared that the Moscow workers were better fed and better clothed than the workers in Central Europe. While the condition of the workers in capitalist countries is declining their condition in Russia is steadily rising. To-day the enthusiasm of the workers for the Communist Party is unprecedented since the great October days, and they are joining the Communist Party in increasing numbers (and only the workers can join now). To-day the Red Army soldier receives meat; a year ago it was a bare bread ration. Meat and butter and sugar has again become part of the irreducible minimum of a worker's diet. The time is not distant when the workers, even in Britain, will envy the table of a Russian worker, and there are large categories of British workers already far below his standard. We need to down this idea that the dictatorship of the proletariat means starvation. No! It means a fight against starvation.

D. IVON JONES.

Crimea.

MAY DAY.—Shall We Celebrate It?

The answer to the above question was given in the affirmative by the large number of comrades and friends who assembled in the Trades Hall last Sunday afternoon. The Chamber of Mines, like the French Government in its dealings with the Germans, has ordered that the great international workers' holiday shall not be celebrated in the Transvaal. The class-conscious section of the Rand workers are not prepared to obey the order, and it has been decided to hold a grand social in the Town Hall, Johannesburg, on April 30th (May Day Eve). This date has been forced upon us owing to the action of the Town Council in letting the hall on May 1st, but we have no doubt that, as in 1921, the function will be a huge success.

It is intended to hold a demonstration on May 1st, for which arrangements are being made by a committee representative of the various working class organisations in Johannesburg. The fact that May 1st is not an official holiday should not prevent a large gathering of workers, particularly when it is an unfortunate fact that hundreds have nothing else to do owing to unemployment. There are many others who will refuse to work on May Day, and we look to them to fall in and demand the return of the one real workers' holiday.

For many years the workers of South Africa, and particularly the Rand, demanded May Day as a holiday, and throughout the period of the war, when the fight was abandoned by official labour, the Communists consistently held demonstrations and social functions to keep the agitation and the idea alive. In 1920 the fight appeared to be won by the simple expedient of taking the day off. Making a virtue of necessity, the bosses announced shortly after that May Day would in future be a public holiday.

In 1921 the whole Reef was stopped, and demonstrations took place in the various towns and centres throughout South Africa. Last year the operation of Martial Law prevented any celebrations, and flushed with victory the Chamber of Mines, alias the Government, has decided that the workers shall keep their noses to the grindstone this year. We hope and believe that a large number will disobey the order of the tyrants. All who wish to help please call at No. 4, Trades Hall, or write to the Secretary, stating what you are prepared to do.

May Day is not a sectional affair, it is the workers' festival. All who will work and help are required. Fellow-workers, let us show the powers that be that although May Day may be removed from the list of holidays, we are determined on that day to demonstrate our solidarity with the workers of the world.

A WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY.

Tom Mann has been telling some home truths since his return to England apparently, and has set that great statesman and orator, Sir Edgar Walton, off talking. The question at issue is whether South Africa is a white man's country or not, and Walton boasts that there are a million and a half of white people in the Union to prove that it is. That is, of course, true, but how do many of them exist?

The 100,000 poor whites living below subsistence level, an equal number just on the border line, and the vast number of starving whites in the larger towns, do not present a very inviting picture. But even if all the whites were able to live tolerable lives they are hopelessly outnumbered by the native and coloured people, who number six millions, i.e., to every white inhabitant there are 4½ black and coloured. This black ratio is constantly increasing, and the whole policy of the capitalist and ruling class is to assist that tendency and crush out the whites with the competition of cheap coloured and native labour.

The strike—or rather lock-out—of the mine workers last year made this abundantly clear, but when the African position is considered on a continental scale the utter absurdity of the contention that this is, or ever will be, a white man's country becomes apparent. There are probably less than one hundred thousand whites in the whole vast continent outside the Union, and the total black population is estimated at about 120 millions.

The conclusion, then, is irresistible, that Africa as a whole is not, and can never be, a white man's country. What it might have become had capitalism not ruled otherwise it is difficult to say; it might possibly have supported some millions of whites in the more temperate zones, but not only capitalism, but Nature herself, has marked off Africa as the home of the black man, and the white population to-day will in the long run in all probability either merge in the great native mass, or alternatively, owing to economic pressure, be more or less rapidly squeezed out and return to those regions of the earth where the white man flourishes and the black man dies. They cannot escape the fate that has overtaken all previous conquering incursions into this mysterious continent, expulsion or absorption. Tom Mann is right, this is no country in which a white man may hope to found an enduring family of pure whites.

Gutter Press Methods.

LIES BY INNUENDO.

"SUNDAY TIMES" CONTRIBUTOR TURNS SWINDLER.

The capitalist press sticks at nothing in its efforts to vilify and misrepresent the Communist Party and its propaganda. The latest example of the filthy tactics of the kept press appeared in the "Rand Daily Mail" a few days ago. A detailed account of an alleged ingenious swindle perpetrated by two high school boys, one of whom had, it appears, been on the staff of the "Sunday Times," was given under the flaring headlines, "Idle Hands and Crime: Bolshevik Youth in Trouble."

The only connection between Bolshevism and the two young hopefuls that the organ of Abe Bailey was able to point to is contained in the following paragraph: "The chief scribe in this undertaking IS SAID to have shown keen interest in Russian Communism, and to have shown up wonderfully therein in school debates," and this insinuation is intended to convey to the average reader that two boys in a Johannesburg high school, one the son of a prominent mining man and the other with his relatives in the legal profession, who are said to have turned their education to illicit uses, have been seduced by Bolshevik literature and teaching to a career of crime. In order to heighten the effect a whole list of petty thefts by other boys in Delmas and other parts of the Reef are dragged in.

We are tempted to venture on a little example of suggestion by headline ourselves. How would this read as a caption for the same:

"GUTTER JOURNALISM.
"CLASSICAL AUTHORS PIRATED.
"SUNDAY TIMES' WRITER CHARGED WITH FRAUD."

Crawford on the Carpet.

The Pretoria Branch of the National Vehicle Builders' Union held a special meeting, last Tuesday night, for the purpose of considering charges laid against the S.A.I.F. Industrial Union by the Building Workers' Industrial Union and the Witwatersrand Tailors' Association. Mr. Archie Crawford was present, representing the S.A.I.F. Industrial Union, Comrades W. Blake and C. B. Tyler, representing the B.W.I.U., and Comrade C. F. Glass, representing the W.T.A.

The scab action of the S.A.I.F. Industrial Union and its officials in connection with the Groenkloof Clayworkers and the recent strike of tailors at Ben Pickles' workshops have previously been dealt with in these columns—and do not require repetition. This action constituted the substance of the charges laid at the meeting in question. Unfortunately for Mr. Crawford, Comrades Blake, Glass and Tyler were in a position to produce conclusive written proof of their charges, and these, coupled with the malodorous record of the S.A.I.F. officials concerned, made a case which Crawford, with all his rhetorical persuasiveness, could not deny or controvert. Archibald got a good verbal thrashing, and the Pretoria Vehicle Builders, as a consequence, have been given some insight into the true character of their one-time trusted leader and champion and his shady associates in the late (but not lamented) S.A.I.F.

Choice.

"What shall it profit a man . . ."

Workers' Leader—you, who by your study, your ability to clearly express your ideas, your emotional and conversational powers, are able to exercise influence over your workmates and able to act as leader and spokesman for them—a great choice awaits you.

You must choose.

You can either stick to your workmates, serve them faithfully and loyally, share in their struggles, suffer with them, and more than them because of the position you occupy;

Or you can use your influence with them as a stepping stone to interest with their natural enemies—the employers—and thus be able to secure for yourself ease and comfort.

If you choose to stick to your workmates and your class then you must be prepared for hard times. As soon as you express your needs and the needs of your class, employers will become your open enemies. They will endeavour to hurt you in every possible way to hound you from place to place, to prevent you from getting a living, to attack you in their kept press, to hold you up to ridicule and contumely, to crush you. Your workmates will regard you and your efforts on their behalf with apathy and suspicion. Some will attack you and malign you. But some there will be who will get to know you and trust you, and treat you as a devoted comrade.

If, on the other hand, you decide to use your influence with your workmates to curry favour with their enemies—then your path will be made easy. The employers will use you as an oil-can for making the machinery of capitalism work more smoothly and for pacifying the hungry and exploited. You will be praised. You will be lauded in the capitalist press as a great Labour Leader. You will be invited to lecture at pink teas and social gatherings of the rich. Plutocratic ladies will regard you with favour through their lorgnettes. You will meet with little opposition if you stand for Parliament—being a "safe" man. Official jobs and unofficial jobs, easy and lucrative, will be thrust upon you. Honours will be showered upon you. You might even—it depends on your ability to lie to your class, to coax and cajole them into passive acceptance of their slavery—become a Member of the Privy Council or a Cabinet Minister. Ah, rosy will be your path. No need will you have to worry about the day's food. Your limbs will not ache from hard, grinding work. The ghost of unemployment will have no terrors for you. Maybe, some of your old pals—those trusting workmates whom you betrayed so often—will regard you with hatred and suspicion. Some may denounce you. But what of that? You are economically safe. You can live, and live well—even though it be on the pay of JUDAS.

THE NEGRO QUESTION.

CLAUDE McKAY.

The well-known American negro writer and poet, Claude McKay, speaking before the World Congress of the Communist International at Moscow, said:

Comrades,—I feel that I would rather face a lynching stake in "civilised" America than try to make a speech before the most intellectual and critical audience in the world. I belong to a race of creators, but my public speaking has been so bad that I have been told by my own people that I should never try to make speeches, but stick to writing and laughing. However, when I heard the negro question was going to be brought up on the floor of the Congress, I felt that it would be an eternal shame if I did not say something on behalf of the members of my race. Especially would I be a disgrace to the American negroes, because, since I published a notorious poem in 1919, I have been pushed forward as one of the spokesmen of negro radicalism in America to the detriment of my poetical temperament. I feel that my race is honoured by this invitation to one of its members to speak at this Fourth Congress of the Third International. My race on this occasion is honoured, not because it is different from the white race and the yellow race, but is especially a race of toilers, hewers of wood and drawers of water, that belongs to the most oppressed, exploited, and suppressed section of the working class of the world. The Third International stands for the emancipation of all the workers of the world regardless of race or colour, and this stand of the Third International is not made merely on paper like the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America. It is a real thing.

The negro race in the economic life of the world to-day occupies a very peculiar position. In every country where the whites and blacks must work together the capitalists have set the one against the other. It would seem at the present day that the international bourgeoisie would use the negro race as their trump card in their fight against the world revolution. Great Britain has her negro regiments in the colonies, and she has demonstrated what she can do with her negro soldiers by the use that she made of them during the late war. The revolution in England is very far away because of the highly organised exploitation of the subject peoples of the British Empire. In Europe we find that France has a negro army of over 300,000, and that to carry out their policy of imperial domination in Europe the French are going to use their negro minions.

In America we have the same situation. The Northern bourgeoisie knows how well the negro soldiers fought for their own emancipation, although illiterate and untrained, during the Civil War. They also remember how well the negro soldiers fought in the Spanish-American war under Theodore Roosevelt. They know that in the last war over 400,000 negroes who were mobilised gave a very good account of themselves, and that, besides fighting for the capitalists, they also put up a very good fight for themselves on returning to America when they fought the white mobs in Chicago, St. Louis, and Washington.

But more than the fact that the American capitalists are using negro soldiers in their fight against the interests of labour is the fact that the American capitalists are setting out to mobilise the entire black race of America for the purpose of fighting organised labour. The situation in America to-day is terrible and fraught with grave dangers. It is much uglier and more terrible than was the condition of the peasants and Jews of Russia under the Czar. It is so ugly and terrible that very few people in America are willing to face it. The reformist bourgeoisie has been carrying on the battle against discrimination and racial prejudice in America. The Socialists and Communists have fought very shy of it because there is a great element of prejudice among the socialists and communists of America. They are not willing to face the negro question. In associating with the comrades of America I have found demonstrations of prejudice on the various occasions when the white and black comrades had to get together: and this is the greatest difficulty that the Communists of America have got to overcome—the fact that they first have got to emancipate themselves from the ideas they entertain towards the negroes before they can be able to reach the negroes with any kind of racial propaganda. However, regarding the negroes themselves, I feel that as the subject races of other nations have come to Moscow to learn how to fight against their exploiters, the negroes will also come to Moscow. In 1918, when the Third International published its Manifesto and included that part referring to the exploited colonies, there were several groups of negro radicals in America that sent this propaganda out among their people. When in 1920 the American government started to investigate and to suppress radical propaganda among the negroes, the small radical negro groups in America retaliated by publishing the fact that the Socialists stood for the emancipation of the negroes, and that reformist America could do nothing for them. Then, I think, for the first time in American history, the American negroes found that Karl Marx had been interested in their emancipation and had fought valitntly for it. I shall just read this extract that was taken from Karl Marx's writing at the time of the Civil War:

"When an oligarchy of 300,000 slave holders, for the first time in the annals of the world, dared to inscribe 'Slavery' on the banner of armed revolt, on the very spot where hardly a century ago the idea of one great democratic republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the Rights of Man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century, when on that spot the counter-revolution cynically proclaimed property in man to be 'the corner-stone of the new edifice'—then the working class of Europe understood at once that the slave-holders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy war of property against labour, and that hopes of the future, even its past conquests, were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic."

Karl Marx who drafted the above resolution is generally known as the father of Scientific Socialism and also of the epoch-making volume, popularly known as the Socialist bible, "Capital." During the civil war he was correspondent of the "New York Tribune." In company with Richard Cobden, Charles Bradlaugh the Atheist, and John Bright, he toured England making speeches, and so roused up the sentiment of the workers of that country against the Confederacy that Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister, who was about to recognise the South, had to desist.

As Marx fought against chattel slavery in 1861, so are present-day Socialists, his intellectual descendants, fighting against wage slavery.

If the Workers Party in America were really a Workers Party that included the negroes it would, for instance, in the South, have to be illegal, and I would inform the American comrades that there is a branch of the Workers Party in the South, in Richmond, Virginia, that is illegal—illegal because it includes coloured members. There we have a very small group of white and coloured comrades working together, and the fact that they have laws in Virginia and most of the Southern States discriminating against whites and blacks assembling together means that the Workers Party in the South must be illegal. To get round these laws of Virginia, the comrades have to meet separately, according to colour, and about once a month they assemble behind closed doors.

This is just an indication of the work that will have to be done in the South. The work among the negroes of the South will have to be carried on by some legal propaganda organised in the North, because we find at the present time in America that the situation in the Southern States (where nine million out of ten million of the negro population live), is that even the liberal bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie among the negroes cannot get their own papers of a reformist propaganda type into the South on account of the laws that there discriminate against them.

The fact is that it is really only in the Southern States that there is any real suppression of opinion. No suppression of opinion exists in the Northern States in the way it exists in the South. In the Northern States special laws are made for special occasions—as those against Communists and Socialists during the war—but in the South we find laws that have existed for 55 years, under which the negroes cannot meet to talk about their grievances. The white people who are interested in their cause cannot go and speak to them. If we send white comrades into the South they are generally ordered out by the Southern oligarchy, and if they do not leave they are generally whipped, tarred and feathered; and, if we send black comrades into the South they won't be able to get out again—they will be lynched and burnt at the stake.

I hope that, as a symbol that the negroes of the world will not be used by the international bourgeoisie in the final conflicts against the World Revolution, that as a challenge to the international bourgeoisie, who have really got an understanding on the negro question, we shall soon see a few negro soldiers in the finest, bravest, and cleanest fighting forces in the world—the Red Army and Navy of Russia—fighting not only for their own emancipation, but also for the emancipation of the working class of the whole world.

RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION.

Representatives of Dutch trading and industrial firms arrived in Petrograd on January 3 to negotiate with State and private enterprises for the export of Russian raw materials to Holland in return for manufactured goods.

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A representative of a Czecho-Slovak machinery syndicate has arrived in Batum with ten motor ploughs.

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The average wage in Minsk is now 15.6 gold roubles as compared with 7.9 roubles last year. In pre-war days the average wage was 17 gold roubles.

* * *

The industrial enterprises of Petrograd are in a more favourable position as regards fuel than they have ever been before. The reserve of fuel in Petrograd amounts now to nearly 160,000 tons, which is double the reserve of last winter. About eighty per cent. of the fuel is coal, only twenty per cent. being wood.

A Finnish consulate general is to be established in Petrograd, and the consul has already arrived. Offices will be opened very shortly.

* * *

To aid the work of the epidemic commission of the League of Nations in Russia, the Council of Labour and Defence has decided to grant the Commission the right to free transport of all materials needed by it on the railways of the R.S.F.S.R.

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During 1922 the Russian Academy of Science published over 100 volumes on various scientific subjects. The annual general meeting on December 29 was attended by 600 representatives of science, literature, and art.

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The Petrograd museum authorities have formally given to the Moscow picture galleries about 200 masterpieces by European painters, including Van Dyck, Rubens, Watteau, Titian, and Rembrandt. These pictures were sent from Petrograd to Moscow for safe keeping in 1919.

Information and Review.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Members are hereby notified that the practice of sending out notices to individual members will be discontinued from date of this notice. In future the notice in "The International" will be the only official intimation of the ordinary fortnightly meetings, which will be held until further notice in No. 4, Trades Hall, at 8 p.m., on the following dates:

March 15th and 29th.
April 12th and 26th.
May 10th and 24th.
June 7th and 21st.

BENONI BRANCH.

The Anniversary Social has had to be abandoned owing to the circumstances explained on page one. Ticket holders will be refunded in full on return of their tickets to 20c, Bedford Street, Benoni, or No. 4, Trades Hall, Johannesburg.

May Day Social.

The Committee responsible for the Concert invites the co-operation of artistes, and would ask anyone willing to contribute to the programme to communicate with Secretary, May Day Social, No. 4, Trades Hall.

The next committee meeting will be held on Sunday, 18th inst., at 3 p.m., in General Office.

Demonstration.

A meeting of representatives of all labour bodies will be held in No. 4, Trades Hall, on Wednesday, March 21st, at 8 p.m., to arrange for procession and demonstration on May Day.

More Free Trips.

The daily press reports that "four representatives nominated by the South African Industrial Federation have been summoned to attend at Capetown to give evidence before the Select Committee on the Conciliation Boards Bill." The Government does not dish out free passes and expenses for the benefit of the workers, Henry. Watch out, or you'll be sold again.

Food Parcel Service for Soviet Russia.

Food parcels may now be sent to relatives, friends or colleagues in Soviet Russia. The food parcels are made up on a uniform standard, and each contains:

11½ lbs. Wheat or Rice Flour.
2½ lbs. Sugar.
2½ lbs. Tinned Meat.
4½ ozs. Tea.
4½ lbs. Smoked or Fat Bacon.
1½ lbs. Condensed Milk.

22½ lbs. Price of parcel, 12s.

All orders to be sent, cash with order, to the British Joint Labour Aid Committee, 26, Bedford Row, London, W.C.

A New Departure.

All comrades and supporters are hereby informed that Comrade C. F. Glass has been appointed Business Agent and Organiser for the Party. He is not able at present to devote all his time to this work, but will visit the various branches and districts as opportunity occurs. Money may be paid to him, and communications sent c/o the General Office, or Box 4179, Johannesburg, marked "Organiser."

The Hanekom Murders.

It is intended to hold a memorial service on Sunday, 18th inst., at the spot where the Hanekom brothers, Dowse and Smith were killed on March 16 last year.

A. Goldman & Company
(Late of Norman Anstey 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.

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