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# The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

**MAY DAY.**

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**April 30th**
(MAY DAY EVE.)

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THE ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (S.A. Section of the Communist International).
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## Intimidation.

The strike of farm labourers in Norfolk is said to be growing more bitter, and the justification for sensational headlines is found in the fact that the strikers have the audacity to blow horns and rattle tins.

Desperate fellows these! No wonder the Farmers' Union has sent a wireless appeal for help.

* * *

## All-Red Reels.

This is not a new Bolshevik dance, Henry, but a British cotton combine stunt.

* * *

## Road Hogs.

Prince Kitashirakawa was killed when driving a motor car on a public road at 75 miles an hour, and the brother and sister of the Mikado were seriously injured.

It is regrettable that the chauffeur was killed. We can spare the others.

* * *

## Safe!

We notice that Mr. S. T. Parker, the labour renegade who has joined Smuts' party, was one of the delegates to Archie Crawford's congress of the bogus organisation which masquerades under the cabalistic letters, S.A.I.F. If the rest of the delegates are of the same mental and moral calibre we wish Archie well of his friends.

* * *

## Not a Religious Institution.

H.R.H., in opening the junior department of the Y.M.C.A., Johannesburg, said that it was not a religious institution, and to illustrate this he gave the following example of the part the Y.M.C.A. played during the war. "I remember," he said, "when I was on the staff of the Canadian Corps that we arrived at some new quarters when moving up to Arras, where I was quite unable to obtain a table or chair for my office. Someone muttered Y.M.C.A., and within a few minutes not only my office, but the whole Corps Headquarters, were completely furnished."

We have always contended that the Y.M.C.A. was part of the capitalist propaganda machinery, and during the war it was heavily subsidised by the ruling class, but we never expected so frank a confession from an authority so high as Prince Arthur of Connaught that the organisation was used to supply the requirements of the headquarters staff of a whole army corps in war time.

Blessed are the peacemakers!

* * *

## The Benefit of the Doubt.

A young farmer was charged at the Circuit Court, Heidelberg, this week, with raping a married native woman. He was acquitted because the woman's description of his clothing did not coincide with that worn by him on the day in question.

One wonders whether, had the colour of the parties been reversed, the native would have been given the benefit of the doubt?

* * *

## Mockery.

Reporting on the condition of the inhabitants of the island of Tristan da Cunha, the Rev. Martyn Rogers says that the islanders have only four good picks, very few shovels, and a few much-worn stone axes. The good missionary has, however, provided them with a harmonium and organised a troop of boy scouts.

No doubt the islanders will appreciate these substitutes for useful tools, and when they require a shovel will salute the flag, and when a pick is required and cannot be found will play a few hymns on the harmonium, and then go on contentedly scratching the ground with their hands.

* * *

## The King's Guests.

The British labour leaders have, it seems, been busy defending the counter-revolutionary priests who have been tried and sentenced by the Russian Soviet Government, as they did the social revolutionary prisoners a year or so ago. These are the same men who, on receiving urgent cable messages from Johannesburg asking them to use their influence to stop the execution of the strike prisoners, here, REFUSED on the ground that they did not know the facts, that South Africa was a self-governing state, that the people had elected the Smuts Government, and must therefore take the consequences.

They become vociferous when archbishops and other members of the ruling class are meeting their deserts for opposing the people's will, but lift no finger to help the proletarian fighters here or elsewhere.

The Soviet Government rightly holds that Labour leaders who "dined with the king" cannot be taken seriously.

## Zionism.

Speakers in the House of Lords alleged that Zionism was undermining British authority in the East, and that the "adventure" was a hopeless failure.

It looks as if the Arabs, by a process of passive resistance and abstention from taking part in the government, are forcing the British authorities to recognise their claims to the land they have occupied as long as the English have their particular part of Great Britain.

* * *

## Who Is Guilty?

In passing sentence of four years and eight months hard labour on a bank clerk for embezzling £13,970 from the Standard Bank, Mr. Justice Searle commented on the small salary and large responsibilities of the accused. The advocate for the defendant drew attention to the fact that transactions involving over two million pounds passed through the hands of accused during a certain given period, and he was receiving a monthly salary of £27 10s.

One would think the bank directorate should have been in the dock alongside or in the place of the prisoner in this case.

* * *

## Salt Tax.

One of the immediate causes of the great French Revolution, we are told, was the resentment of the peasants and poor people at the government salt tax. The Indian Government has doubled the salt tax in that long-suffering country. Serious trouble is anticipated.

Will history repeat itself?

## Business Principles.

"On various farms where good wine of 1922 is still on hand it has not been run off to waste, but a portion of the new harvest has been destroyed. The grapes were, as usual, gathered and weighed and then cast back into the vineyard and buried." "Die Burger."

One day grapes and wine will be produced for use, Henry, but that will be after the revolution.

* * *

## Who Pays?

Lord Haldane, speaking at the opening of a new Chemical Laboratory at the University of Liverpool, said:

"Two-thirds of the cost of keeping up the universities is met by rates, taxes, and grants from public funds, and what really belongs to the public is the monopoly of a small class. The working classes, he said, are becoming alive to the fact that universities are not kept up by the fees of the students. It is a popular delusion on the part of those who send their children to these institutions that they maintain the universities."

* * *

## The "Public."

The dear old "Daily Wail" waxes almost hysterical over what it calls the Nationalist and Labour Parties' neglect of the "public" interests. Our office boy took the trouble to count the number of times the words "public" and "people" occurred in an article under the caption "Democracy—Without the People," and found them repeated twenty times.

## A Dead Horse.

It is reported that thirty delegates, some of whom sat for five days, succeeded in working out a scheme of benefits for the S.A.I.F. membership, which are to take effect on May 1st, 1924. The most important piece of business probably was the election of Mr. Crawford as president and Mr. Geddes as secretary. By the time the new rules come into operation there will probably be very few members to benefit by them.

* * *

## Sour Grapes.

The dozen or so delegates asserted that the S.A.I.F. would still claim the right to represent South African labour at future League of Nations Conferences, but Mr. Crawford informed them that he "might not find it convenient" to attend the next conference. He was doubtful of the value of participation in future conferences at all; we heartily agree with him. He would not have discovered it had there been any possibility of further free trips, however.

* * *

## Caught Napping.

It is stated that at a fire which destroyed an immense warehouse belonging to the Near East Relief Committee, the children of an orphanage kept the fire from spreading to the orphanage buildings, assisted by Bolshevik soldiers.

Surely this must be a mistake! What has happened to the capitalist correspondent at Alexandropol that he did not wire that the Bolshevist troops set fire to the orphanage and destroyed the supplies of the relief committee! He must be careful or he'll lose his job.

* * *

## Profound.

"It is not labour or capital which creates wealth, but mind." This profound remark is credited to Lord Haldane in the course of a speech to university students. It would be interesting to try the experiment of instructing the greatest intellects of the world to concentrate their minds for eight hours per day on, say, the sinking of a deep level shaft, and see how deep they will have got at the end of a year of intense mental effort.

* * *

## Communal Congresses.

The first National Congress of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia was held at Prague on February 2nd, and the number of paying members was given as 132,000, which number is steadily increasing.

The Congress of the German Communist Party opened at Leipsiz on January 28. The resolution in favour of the tactics of the united front was passed by 118 votes to 59. The main plan included approaching the workers in the Social Democratic Party and uniting with them to bring about a workers' government.

* * *

## Crocodile Tears.

President Ebert has expressed his horror at the monstrous blood bath which the French militaries wrought among the peaceful and defenceless workmen of Essen.

This is the same man who slaughtered the German Spartacists in Berlin, Bavaria, and in Westphalia when they were struggling for a workers' republic, and connived at the murder of K. Liebnecht and Rosa Luxembourg. He cares nothing about the Ruhr workers, but it is good business to denounce "French" capitalist methods just now.

* * *

## Whited Sepulchres.

As in the case of the "Social Revolutionaries," the capitalist press is making a great fuss over the trial and sentences of the Russian clericals by the Soviet authorites. The former were found guilty of such crimes against the workers' republic that Vandervelde and his friends hastily withdrew from the defence which they had rashly undertaken under the thinnest of excuses, and the action of some of the leading ecclesiastics in Russia in refusing help to the starving millions of their own countrymen last year and inciting their ignorant followers against the Soviet Government's measures for famine relief richly deserves the most severe punishment.

For callous indifference and brutality, the followers of the carpenter of Nazareth, who said "feed my lambs," are hard to beat.

* * *

## Sedition.

"Amid Ministerial cheers the House of Commons passed the first reading of a Bill, introduced by Sir John Butcher, the Conservative member for York City, to prevent the teaching of sedition to young people."—News item.

The bill is stated to "authorise procedure by summary jurisdiction instead of the more cumbrous process of indictment as at present."

"The Labour Party challenged a division, but did not persist."—Reuter.

Good respectable parliamentarians!

> **"ALL laws are naturally and inevitably evolved by the strongest force in a community, and in the last analysis made for the protection of the dominant class."**
>
> CLARENCE DARROW,
> in "Crime: Its Cause and Treatment."

## Millionaire Morality.

Mrs. Edith Rockefeller McCormick, who was divorced by Harold F. McCormick, was his third wife, and that estimable 100 per cent. American millionaire has now espoused with great pomp and ceremony an opera singer who has had four previous husbands. McCormick's last wife, it will be remembered, sought to console herself by claiming to be the reincarnated wife of an Egyptian mummy.

There's no accounting for taste.

* * *

## "The Colossus."

After giving a report of the proceedings of the S.A.L.P. Conference on Easter Sunday, the "Rand Daily Mail" proceeded to inform its readers that "the conference adjourned, and will resume its deliberations at 10.30 this morning at the Grand Hotel, Plein Street, when Col. Creswell, M.L.A., will deliver the opening address." It would seem that any business done by the common or garden Labourites is of so little account that the conference only "opens" when the great man (with the military title) steps into the limelight.

Not very flattering to the chairman, Mr. Briggs, and other working class members of the party, is it, Henry?

* * *

## Robbery Everywhere.

The exploitation of the working class is the same in Japan as it is in Germany; the same in England as it is in Turkey. The workers are robbed in their respective geographical areas by a class which unitedly upholds the system under which it commits the robbery.

## Candid.

In an article commenting on Mr. Owen Letcher's speech before the Johannesburg Rotary Club, it is stated that "in manufacturing and commercial circles exception has been taken" to the statement of that gentleman that the whole of South Africa is being carried on the back of the gold mining industry, which industry could not last for more than thirty years. Mr. J. S. Hancock, vice-president of the Transvaal Manufacturers' Association, in an interview with the "Star," gave expression to this gem:

> "Viewed as propaganda work for impressing employees of the inadvisability of urging for increases in wages at a time when it is necessary to keep down costs to carry on low-grade propositions, it might serve a useful purpose. . . . It is an alarmist statement, but it rings false."

Mr. Hancock, in his disgust, has let the cat out of the bag, and frankly confesses that it is a recognised tactics of capitalism to make alarmist statements in regard to any given industry solely with the purpose of terrifying the workers into submission to the rapacious demands of the boss class. We are not concerned with the jealousies of different sections of the exploiting class, but occasionally when they get to loggerheads a little truth leaks out.

* * *

## Interesting.

France has recently applied her laws of military conscription to her 43,500,000 African subjects, and the 22,500,000 of natives under her sway in Asia, and counts on having A STANDING ARMY OF 800,000 NEGROES FOR SERVICE IN THE NEXT EUROPEAN WAR.

The capitalist class recognises no distinction of colour when it suits its interests.

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# Two Voices.

The Easter Conference of the Transvaal section of the S.A.L.P. does not appear to have arrived at any very startling conclusions, nor decided on any very inspiring policy. Curiously enough, it was presided over by a member of the Communist Party, Comrade J. Allen, the chairman of our Springs Branch. Considered in the light of Colonel Creswell's emphatic statement that his party was entirely independent of any other political party, we may be permitted to ask what Comrade Allen was doing there.

Referring to the Labour-Nationalist alliance, the gallant Colonel was at great pains to prove that an understanding was not an alliance, which reminds us of the language of diplomacy. The understanding between Britain and France which started with the Entente Cordiale, and which eventually produced the European war, was never acknowledged as a definite alliance by the statesmen and diplomats of Britain. Diplomats have been described as men whose duty is to "lie" for their country. If one substitutes "class" for "country," the aphorism would be nearer the truth.

We should be sorry to call Mr. Creswell a "diplomat," but the constant denial by the leaders of both parties that there is any understanding between the Labour Party and the Nationalists is not convincing, to say the least of it, in view of the known facts. Mr.—I beg his pardon, Colonel—Creswell was very careful in his choice of words. He is reported to have said: "The Labour Party in the past had always kept itself aloof from any other political parties," and later on "Every labour candidate, if elected with the support of any other section, would owe allegiance to the Labour Party alone, and any support given to candidates could be only on that open and frank understanding." The second paragraph seems to rather neutralise the first, and some of the delegates present seemed to be unconvinced by these rather ambiguous phrases, and in reply to a question Col. Creswell said there was no OFFICIAL agreement between the Labour Party and any other party.

Exactly what the word "official" means in this connection it is difficult to say, but the phrase leaves us free to assume that although not "officially" in alliance there is an "unofficial" working arrangement between the reactionary and ultra-conservative Nationalist Party and the petit bourgeois S.A.L.P. Just why this unofficial understanding should be officially denied is rather difficult to understand, unless there is something behind it which might displease the rank and file who are required to vote the leaders into power.

It would be interesting to know, for instance, whether, as the price of this "unofficial" understanding there has been any "unofficial" agreement arrived at between the leaders of the Nationalist and S.A.L. Parties as to the number of ministerial portfolios each party shall have in the event of the Smuts combination being overthrown at the next election. The secret has so far been well kept, and the common herd, who are looked upon as voting cattle, will not, we suppose, be consulted nor informed until the arrangement is au fait accompli.

Having negotiated this snag, the Conference settled down to the usual academic debate on unemployment, and a long resolution was moved demanding work for the workless at "rates which will enable those engaged thereon to live in decency and comfort." This vague formula may mean anything or nothing, and of course to demand trade union rates for all relief work would savour too much of communism and revolution. The resolution then concludes by demanding a protective tariff on industries and limitation of prices to consumers. Needless to say, the resolution was agreed to.

Then the Conference addressed itself to the immigration laws, on a motion sent up from Doornfontein, which protested against the iniquitous restrictions against certain European immigrants. Messrs. C. Clingman and M. Kentridge waxed eloquent on this subject, and objected to Swiss waiters for the Mount Nelson Hotel—why is not quite clear, as we have always understood that Swiss waiters were quite good waiters—and then with a resolution demanding extensive schemes of house-building and a demand for intensive propaganda and junior S.A.L.P. branches, the business came to an end.

We suppose the meeting was useful to the conveners, but can scarcely be called inspiring, and every resolution could quite consistently have been moved and carried in any other assembly of bourgeois politicians here or in any country. The real live issues which the workers must tackle were left out, probably as being too controversial, but the S.A.L.P., although it may still get votes, is losing its hold on the workers, and will inevitably fade away unless it comes to grips with the burning problems which international labour has to solve or lapse into hopeless serfdom or slavery.

# Spite.

Mr. Jagger, the Minister of Railways, having rather beat himself with his insinuations against Mr. Moore, the authorities are now vindictively trying to crush the N.U.R.A.H.S. Secretary by other means. Lady Hoy, the wife of the General Manager of Railways, has brought an action against the N.U.R.A.H.S. Secretary, claiming £5,000 for alleged libel.

Lady Hoy complains of the publication of the following in the Nurahs' organ, "The Railway Review": "While the Railway and Harbour man is compelled to handle magnate coal at a loss upon the ground that there is not sufficient demand otherwise, all the signs of the times point in another direction. Expectations are so great as to embark upon the provision of an additional coal port. The magnate companies' dividend returns still maintain all their signs of prosperity. The speculator is on the warpath at Kosi Bay; it is a sign of the times. A member of Parliament informs us that Lady Hoy has purchased "two farms" in that vicinity. In spite of the rumour that other sites for the new harbour may be chosen, there is evidently confidence in or good information about Kosi Bay. The trouble is that the more shipment coal the railways handle at present rates the more money the country (or is it the railwaymen?) loses."

Advocate Mars declared that there was no suggestion that Lady Hoy improperly wheedled information out of her husband.

"The whole article is nasty; it is a general attack first on the magnates, secondly on the railways and then on Lady Hoy," was the view of Acting Judge Sutton.

Their lordships considered that innuendo suggested by the declaration was well founded, and over-ruled the exception "that the paragraph disclosed no cause of action or any liability by the defendants for the action of an agent," without calling Advocate Upington, K.C., representing Lady Hoy.

We have criticised the action of N.U.R.A.H.S. and its officials for their action—or inaction—during the 1922 strike, but at the same time we sincerely hope that this latest example of union breaking by legal process will fail, and that the railwaymen will see that not only Mr. Moore and the Union is seriously threatened but that the railway employees will suffer if they do not rally and stand behind the only bulwark that lies between them and abject slavery.

# Capitalist Vengeance.

## INDIA'S AGONY.

TO THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

Imperialist justice has condemned 172 men to death in India. One year ago 228 men were put on trial charged with participation in a riot which resulted in the burning down of the police station at Chauri Chaura and the killing of 22 policemen. ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO men are to be executed in revenge for the death of 22 policemen who fell while defending "law and order." The atrocity of this legal murder is unparalleled even in the bloody history of British rule in India. 127 Indian peasants are going to be hanged while the screen is hardly down upon the bloody drama of the Mophla massacre and while brutal repression has not yet succeeded in quelling the rebellion of the Sikh peasants. The revolt of the colonial masses has attained such dangerous proportions that Imperialism has inaugurated a veritable reign of terror to maintain its position.

Since 1919 India has been a scene of mass murder and brutal repression. Beginning at Amritsar, British Imperialism has gone on making free use of tanks, bombing planes, machine guns, bayonets, in order to drown the rebellious people in rivers of blood. The jails of the country contain more than 30,000 men and women arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for taking part in the nationalist movement. 6,689 poor peasants of Malabar (Mophlas) are undergoing penal servitude; five of them have been hanged and 70 suffocated to death. 5,600 Sikh peasants of the Punjab are lying in jail, beaten and maltreated. To add to this inglorious record, another 172 men are to be sent to the gallows. The great majority of these condemned men belong to the poor peasantry, which was driven to revolt under the unbearable burden of war taxation and unprecedentedly high prices.

Upon the suppression of the revolt a considerable number of men were arrested, 228 of whom were sent up for trial under the charge of "murder and arson." The trial has ended by condemning 172 of the accused to death.

The international proletariat, engaged in a bitter struggle with capitalism in every part of the world, must not let this imperialist butchery go unchallenged. The revolt of the toiling masses in the colonial countries is a powerful factor in the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois dictatorship and the inauguration of a new order of society. Imperialism attempts to drown this revolt of the colonial masses in rivers of blood. The proletariat of the imperialist countries cannot remain indifferent. Energetic action must be taken on behalf of our Indian comrades fighting bloody battles against imperialist terror.

It is your duty to take the lead in this case. Call upon the Labour Party to take parliamentary action against this bloody deed of British Imperialism. If the reformist leaders will not be moved to action even by such flagrant violation of every moral and legal code they hold up as a standard for others, you must repudiate their leadership and resort to direct action in order to uphold the right of the subject peoples to revolt, and to demonstrate world-wide solidarity of the toiling masses in their struggle against capitalism. The wild career of Imperialism gone mad can be only checked under a threat of direct action of the home proletariat.

(Signed)
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
and the
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS.

# "Atrocities" Again.

A couple of bishops have been tried, found guilty and sentenced to death in Russia for what the "Cape Times" calls "resisting the Soviet's decrees"; and not only the British capitalist class waxes suddenly indignant, but its servant, the British Labour Party, out-Herods Herod over it, and Jack Jones spits fire at Newbold.

"Resisting the Soviet's decrees." But when Irish Irregulars contravene a decree against carrying a revolver they are shot dead on arrest without trial or verdict; the capitalist press applauds, and Jones spits no fire at Newbold. When tribesmen in Northern India resist a decree about taxes or land belonging to shrines, bombing planes wipe out their tribes wholesale, women and children included, and raze their villages to the ground: yet there are no scenes in the House of Commons, no earnest notes are sent from Downing Street to spare the delinquents, the Church of England is silent about it. When the natives of South-West Africa "resist" a dog tax, they are blown by the hundred into eternity, but the Administrator whitewashes himself and the Union Government "confirms the sentence." When Israelites "resist" a municipal decree about commonage, they are blotted out, but the British Labour Party loses no sleep about it. When unnumbered victims fell in the Village Deep strike, not a word was said in the House of Commons. When Rand strikers were shot down last year, and the Hanekoms, Smith and Dowse were killed in cold blood for "attempting to escape"(!), and four strikers were executed, the same British Labour Party and Trade Union Congress couldn't make up its mind whether to protest, and so far as we are aware they are still enquiring into the merits of the strike.

Why this spasm of virtuous indignation? Is it perhaps because the culprits are priests? But when "Popish priests" in Ireland resist the Free State decrees there is no respect for the cloth. When Enoch, like these two bishops, said he recognised the law of God as higher than the law of the country, the police simply laughed and let fly. When German or any other parsons have resisted "Britain first by Heaven's command," they have been considered to be simply asking for it: and the same under the French Revolution.

As a matter of fact, these Roman prelates in Russia were guilty, not alone of refusing to disgorge their jewels for relief of the famine, but of working up an avowedly anti-Soviet rising among their flocks on the strength of it. Now if there is one crime which is a sin against the Holy Ghost, by the side of which mere offences arising out of private economic necessity grow pale, it is the crime of conspiring to overthrow the workers' government, which has maintained itself for five years, at the cost even of Martial Law, against the attacks of the British Government and of such British Labourites as Col. John Ward, with whom must now be counted Mr. Jack Jones. In the eyes of the class-conscious Russian worker, such conspiracies are attacks on what in a peculiarly real sense is "his country"; they are the very essence of high treason against the only true Free State; they are "the Devil" against "God."

Every now and then the "barbarity" stunt against Russia grows particularly intense at the hands of those who pull the strings. At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International it was stated that Mr. Clynes, the leader of the Labour Party, had written to Moscow urging that Urquhart's concession be granted, as the refusal of it was damaging the Labour Party's chances in the general election! Playing jackal to the Russo-Asiatic, one of the biggest of capitalist combines; the same old Labour Party game! Is it not extremely probable that the present outcry is again put up, and put into the mouth of the Labour Party, by Mr. Urquhart as another attempt by threats to secure the concession?

Recently the "Daily Herald" has been publishing biographies of English Labour M.P.'s, and it appears that most of them are big bugs in the local chapels. There we have it! Just as they played on British "virtue" with the "nationalisation of women" lie, so the capitalists have been cunning enough to touch the British worker on the religion raw with the cry of "persecution of religion," and Jack Jones and Co. fall into the trap. And lo and behold, we suddenly find the world's press simultaneously flooded with astonishing stories of blasphemous atheistic rites by the Communists in Moscow not to say Johannesburg.

As a matter of fact the Soviet Government, though as well aware as Bottomley that the religious superstition of the more ignorant masses is one of the greatest bulwarks of reaction, is equally aware that persecution is the worst way to get over the difficulty: Moscow has more churches to the square mile than any other town, with church bells enough to drive you crazy; but they are absolutely uninterfered with, and are daily thronged with worshippers. The Moscow Soviet displays Marx' text, "religion is the opiate of the people," on one side of the street, but on the other is a crowd jostling for a benison at some extra holy shrine, and nothing said. Indeed, the important "New Church" school among the orthodox is all in favour of the Soviet Government. The Marxian combats superstition not with bourgeois bullets and executions, but only by scientific propaganda.

It is capitalism, not proletarianism, that has "drowned religious ecstasy in the ice-cold water of egoistical calculation," and "replaced an exploitation veiled by religious and political illusions by exploitation open, unashamed, direct and brutal." Small wonder if for the thinking worker "law, morality, religion are merely so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which as many bourgeois interests are concealed."

S. P. B.

# Speeding Up.

The complacency with which Mr. Buckle told his hearers at the annual meeting of the Chamber of Mines that the accident rate on the mines had been reduced in 1922 is not shared by the workers in general, and the Rand miners in particular.

The frequency of serious accidents during the past few months, and the latest catastrophe at the Kleinfontein, are strongly held by the mine workers to be due to the relentless pressure which the mine bosses are putting on the workers. The men, in their efforts to hold their jobs and get a living wage out of the prices now given, take risks and attempt to accomplish tasks which they in former times would not have dreamed of doing.

Meanwhile, so long as working costs are driven down, and dividends and consequently shares go up, the hard-faced men who dominate the lives of the workers are satisfied. Dead and maimed men do not figure on balance sheets, and are not reckoned by capitalism as part of working costs. The chattel slave had a commercial value, the "free" worker has none. There are thousands to take his place when he falls by the way.

Whoop it up for a democratic country.

# Cant.

"May this memorial to our kith and kin . . . . cause us and those who follow us to stand and reflect and keep ever before us the knowledge that our earthly sojourn . . . carries with it serious obligations and daily responsibilities towards the attainment of the betterment of conditions for mankind who may be struggling and not so fortunately placed as ourselves."

Thus Colonel Sir William Dalrymple at the unveiling of the memorial to the Transvaal Scottish who fell in the war. The way the gallant Colonel—who, by the by, carefully refrained from going with his regiment to the front—carried out these noble sentiments was to set his regiment to shoot strikers who were "struggling for betterment of their conditions," and to murder prisoners in cold blood. Then, when by means of bomb, rifle, and aeroplane the workers have been driven back to work he and his crowd ruthlessly hunt the leaders to the gallows or to prison, and victimise and starve thousands of men, women and children for daring to carry out their obligations to their class.

The contemptible hypocrite! And yet working men can be found to don the uniform of shame and fawn on such contemptible pecksniffs as the "gallant" Colonel.

We expect old men to be conservative, but when a nation's young men are so its funeral-bell is already rung.

# Flunkeys.

How deeply the honest rank and file workers of Britain resent the action of labour members of parliament in dining with lords, dukes and royalty is shown by letters that we are receiving from British workers. Here are some extracts from a letter from an old mechanic, an A.E.U. man of nearly sixty years' standing, who has never posed as a socialist or a firebrand in any way, but has steadily supported his union in its darkest days and voted for the most radical candidate available. Hear what an old-fashioned trade unionist thinks of the Macdonalds, Snowdons, Hendersons, etc.

"Did you notice the action of the Labour members of Parliament in accepting the invitation of the King and Queen to dine with them? First a few of the leaders, then the rank and file, went to Buckingham Palace, and later met the King at Lord Astor's dinner party. Some of them appeared in knee breeches, white stockings, and buckled shoes: Phillip Snowdon was, I believe, excused the knee breeches because he is a cripple, and this after railing against the royal family and aristocracy in the House of Commons, and the 'Daily Herald' backed them up. How the Tories and aristocrats must laugh to see how easily they can buy these great progressive men. A dinner or a tea party is all that is needed. As in the days of old, men will sell their brothers for a mess of potage. These fellows are like a lot of school children; promise them a tea party and everything else is forgotten. I wonder whether they had a bun and an orange given them as they came out of the palace? I was so disgusted with the whole business that I cancelled my order for the 'Daily Herald,' which has adopted a different tone lately, and I have a notion that it has been bought by the capitalists. I think we want another Cromwell with the courage to stride into the House, give them a good lecture, order his men to take away that bauble (the mace) and turn the lot into the street."

What our correspondent writes is an indication of what thousands of British workmen are thinking. They are getting tired of parliamentary tomfoolery, and will take the game into their own hands one day, and the sooner the better.

You knock a man into the ditch, and then you tell him to remain content in the "position in which Providence has placed him."

—Ruskin.

* * *

The Dichards and the Liehards say they believe in the Empire. They are always waving the Union Jack in front of the Union Jackasses.

—John Jones, M.P.

* * *

There is no more cruel tyranny than that which is exercised under cover of the law and with the colour of justice.

# The History of Unemployment.

It is not of unemployment but of famine that we hear during the greater part of history. The modern form of unemployment—men finding no opportunity of labour in a society rich with all the means of production—could not occur either under tribal communism or under a slave or serf economy. In the first case every member of society had access to the commonly owned means of production, and so long as there was any product each had his appointed share of it. In the latter cases it was always worth the master's while to let the unfree labourer work for his own keep even if there were no surplus product. Only when the development of capitalist production gives the worker his political and legal freedom, when the master is under no obligation to support him, and when it is only on condition of producing a surplus product that it is worth while for the captain of industry to set him to work at all, does the phenomenon of unemployment in times of increasing productivity and national wealth arise.

From the fourteenth century onwards the ordered hierarchy of function and the traditional stability of technique characteristic of mediæval production were breaking down. The dominance of land was bowing down before that of merchant capital and money, having acquired greater fluidity, became a powerful solvent of established institutions. Just as the class of town craftsmen was splitting up into two classes of employers and employed, so the peasant of the countryside was becoming either a farmer, cultivating much land with hired labour, or a landless labourer. The landlords, whether of the old feudal order or of the new order of wealthy merchants setting up as county magnates, combined with the bigger freeholding farmers to enclose the old open fields and introduce more intensive cultivation. This, while no doubt increasing the total supply of foodstuffs, conferred no benefit on the smaller peasants, especially the tenants at will, who found themselves deprived of the common rights that had provided them with much of their income, if not evicted from their holdings. Thus they came to rely more and more for their living upon working for wages for the bigger men. A still more radical change in agriculture occuring at the same period in many parts of England, was the substitution of pasturage for husbandry. The breeding of cattle for meat and of sheep for the great textile centres of Flanders, and later of England itself, was more profitable to the landowner and the large-scale farmer than growing wheat and oats and barley; but since it needed from one-third to one-tenth of the labour per acre of land formerly needed, the agricultural labourer did not share in the prosperity it brought to England. Unemployment in the country could not remain without a reaction on the towns. Labourers out of work flocked into towns, which thus became crowded with more men than there was work for; the guild system was too decadent to regulate employment, and thus employment became as rife in the town as in the country. The Field of the Cloth of Gold, the brilliant court of the Virgin Queen, the Merchant Adventurers of London, the plays of Shakespeare and the poems of Sir Philip Sidney—this on the one side; on the other—in 1550 a whole year's labour of a common man could not produce the standard of life for which fifteen weeks' labour supplied two generations earlier. Contributory causes to the impoverishment of the masses were the influx of silver from America, which raised the level of prices, while wages, fixed by custom and by statute, lagged behind, and the confiscation of guild property under Henry VIII. and Edward VI.—a measure that would be paralleled to-day by the confiscation of friendly society and trade union benefit funds. At the same time the dissolution of the monasteries destroyed the principal channels through which distress was relieved.

For some time the only methods that the governing classes thought of for dealing with the hordes of sturdy beggars that infested the countryside were those of repression. Flogging, branding, and death were meted out to those who had no land and could find no master. (Nowadays they kill the unfortunates by inches.) Not until the reign of Elizabeth was the principle of communal responsibility recognised, in the form of the Poor Law of 1601. By this time the country was recovering somewhat from the effects of the agrarian revolution. Increasing wealth (in which only the upper classes participated) increased the demand for labour, and by accepting a lower standard of living, the labouring masses were able to find more employment. With declining national prosperity under the Stuarts, the administration of the Poor Law became harsher; the Act of Settlement of 1662, by sending back to his own parish any person likely to become a burden on the rates, checked all mobility of labour and virtually made the workers into land-bound serfs. THE MORE POVERTY INCREASED THE MORE IT WAS PENALISED.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the agrarian revolution makes a fresh spurt, marked by an increasing number of enclosures by Act of Parliament. In the century 1750-1850 nearly all the common land of England passed into the possession of the big landowners. Still more fraught with woe to the workers is the Industrial Revolution, which becomes marked about this time. From now onwards factory work begins to replace handwork, the scale of enterprise grows ever larger, the use of machinery and of mechanical power ever more extended. Manufacturing capital is soon to challenge the heights already occupied by agricultural and merchant capital. During the rapid changes in the processes of production there arose an ever increasing margin of workers who, not having the "economic man's" perfect mobility and the knowledge of opportunities, could not adapt themselves rapidly enough, and so remained unemployed in the midst of increasing industrial activity. Moreover, there was often plenty of work, but it was done by women and children. Banking and stock jobbing had already developed; the end of the century saw the invention of the Watt steam engine, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. Modern capitalism then came into being. In Europe there is a great clearance of obstructions in the way of the law of supply and demand, and the whole world, European, Asiatic and Colonial, becomes one vast market. Then appears one of the most characteristic features of capitalism: the trade cycle.

The Napoleonic Wars were followed by a time of terrible distress in 1816, caused largely by the cessation of the war demand and the failure to restore the markets of peace time. To speculation and overproduction, especially in the short peace of 1803, was added an inflated currency. From this time onwards similar hard times occur once a decade, in 1826, 1836, 1847, 1857, 1867, 1875, 1885, 1892-95, 1903-06. Causes contributory to that of 1847 were the mania in railway construction of the previous three years and the Irish potato famine, to that of 1857 the Crimean War, to that of 1867 the Overend Gurney bank smash, to that of 1875 the Franco-Prussian War, to that of 1903-06 the Boer and the Russo-Japanese wars.

A period of great local unemployment in the cotton districts of Lancashire was caused by the cutting off of supplies of raw cotton by the American Civil War, the so-called Cotton Famine of 1863-5. During the whole of the nineteenth century the only "remedies" of the ruling middle class were Poor Law relief, put in 1834 on a sound individualistic footing, and made almost more deterrent than going to prison, and relief funds raised by private charity—a penny in the pound doled out to victims of the system by those who benefited under it.

Near the turn of the century the character of trade depressions began to change, corresponding to a change in the workings of capitalism itself. They became less acute, but more prolonged, prices fell less, distress lasted over a longer time and recovery was slower. This was due to the growth of combination among employers, which, while doing little to remedy the anarchy of production, enabled manufacturers to hold out longer with less lowering of prices than was possible under free competition. The development of imperialism and the export of capital overseas also helped, since the relatively favourable interest obtained in foreign or colonial enterprise reacted on home industry and checked investment unless large profits were anticipated.

The effect of machinery and new inventions is also important. In spite of the prevalent view to the contrary, they do not necessarily cause unemployment. Under competitive capitalism, where the capitalist has every inducement to maximise output, every saving in labour costs causes an increased demand for labour that absorbs the displaced workers, while the greater cheapness of the product benefits the whole working class. Thus during the century in which mechanical advance was most rapid the average rate of unemployment was less than it had ever been since the beginning of capitalism, and the working class standard of living rose. But under monopoly and the consequent restriction of output the capitalist can keep a part of the savings to himself, and the demand for labour is neither proportionately increased nor is the product proportionally cheapened; as during the agrarian revolution the benefit of improved methods accrued to the owning class alone, while the workers have to accept a lower standard of life if they are to live at all. Hence a part of the fall in real wages since 1896, a time in which real wealth per head was increasing, and the increased suffering of the workers during times of cyclical depression.

Most men now in middle age can remember the black winters of 1892-95 and of 1903-06, the unemployed processions and the half-hearted attempts at relief works, the niggardliness of the so-called Guardians of the Poor, and the insufficiency of private charity, however well organised.

New methods of dealing with the out-of-work problem came in with the period of social reform at the beginning of the twentieth century, due to an increase in the political power of organised Labour and to the enlightened self-interest of the capitalist class, who would rather sacrifice a part of their profits than lose the whole, and who also had an inkling that a healthier, more educated, better paid and more contented working class would produce more profit even after paying the cost of its betterment. Thus we had the Labour Exchanges (later Employment Exchanges) set up under the Act of 1909; little good in dealing with the general distress of a depression, they nevertheless mitigated many of the causes of unemployment under capitalism, diminishing the reserve of labour always at the margin of employment when many workers are competing for jobs and when the demand for labour in each trade is dissipated among many different employers. To deal with seasonal or cyclical unemployment the Unemployment Insurance Acts were passed, that of 1911, restricted to the constructional and engineering trades, always in the vanguard of either boom or slump, and that of 1920, which made the scheme general. The insurance scheme was actuarially good (even at the present time only a quarter of the benefit that has been paid under it is an overdraft), but instituted on the very eve of an abnormally severe depression, before it had accumulated a normal reserve fund, it could only be expected soon to become exhausted.

All these deal with symptoms of the disease, not with the cause of it, which is capitalism itself. With capitalism unemployment came into the world, and only with capitalism can it leave the world. In a state of society where the means of production were socially owned and controlled, unemployment in the midst of plenty could not exist. The workers must organise to abolish unemployment by abolishing capitalism. That is the problem of to-day.

# Russian Information.

The Obukhov factory in Petrograd has drawn up an estimate for the cost of production of tractors, which shows that tractors can be produced in this factory about thirty per cent. cheaper than by purchase abroad.

* * *

In Archangel the whole of the baking industry is to be concentrated in the hands of the co-operative societies.

* * *

A workers' bank has been opened in Gomel, of which sixty per cent. of the shares are held by workers and trade union organisations.

* * *

A report by the Yenissei provincial finance department shows an increase in the productivity of a large number of enterprises of the province. The output of the leather industry has doubled since May.

* * *

Although only one dredge was at work, about three tons of gold were produced during 1922 in the Bodaibinsk fields. The programme for the present year is over four tons. Four thousand eight hundred workers and 730 clerks are at work in these fields. Three dredges are to be ordered from abroad for the Lena goldfields.

* * *

The Czecho-Slovak Government has offered the Ukraine a credit of 15,000,000 Czech crowns for the improvement of agriculture in districts peopled by Czech colonists. The Council of People's Commissaries has accepted the proposals in principle.

* * *

Five hundred and seven industrial enterprises were working in Petrograd in January, 1923, with 80,228 workers, as against 219 enterprises with 55,916 workers in operation in January, 1922.

* * *

The Executive Committee of Podolia has decided to allocate 200 vacant places in its children's homes to the starving children of the Ruhr workers. The workers of an electrical factory in Kharkov are giving one per cent. of their wages to the relief of Ruhr workers. Other factories in the Ukraine have made similar donations.

* * *

The Neva Shipbuilding Yards had received orders to build four steam engines during the current year. By the end of February all four had been finished.

* * *

During the last six months the number of members of the press and newspaper workers' trade unions increased from 16,339 to 19,882. The number of enterprises covered by the union increased during the same period from 120 to 173.

* * *

The Council of People's Commissaries has decided to increase from February 1, 1923, the number of State scholarships in higher educational institutions by 15,000, and in the Workers' Faculties at the universities by 2,700. Part of the scholarships are in food and part in money. The Council has also assigned 1,000,000 roubles (1923) for the repair of communal dwelling houses for the students.

* * *

The Russian Trade Delegation in London has done business since it started operations amounting to 25 million pounds, 15 millions of which has been done with British firms, and yet the British Government refuses to "recognise" Soviet Russia.

# Russian Trade.

The following table, which is interesting as showing the increase of business done by Russia with other countries, is taken from the current issue of "Russian Information and Review." The volume is not great compared with pre-war figures, but the upward tendency is an indication of the steady convalescence of Russia and a hopeful indication for the future.

EXPORTS ANALYSED BY COUNTRIES.

| | 10 mths. 1921 (tons) | 10 mths. 1922 (tons) | 10 mths. 1921 (1,000 gd. rbls.) | 10 mths. 1922 (1,000 gd. rbls.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Britain | 77,900 | 322,600 | 7,190 | 19,976 |
| Germany | 4,300 | 97,550 | 565 | 10,231 |
| Turkey | 7,000 | 40,500 | 574 | 9,570 |
| Latvia | 44,650 | 83,400 | 2,759 | 8,248 |
| Esthonia | 1,500 | 47,000 | — | — |
| Finland | — | 87,600 | — | 3,335 |
| Poland | — | 13,650 | — | 2,212 |
| Persia | 900 | 3,950 | 64 | 1,156 |
| Holland | 5,900 | 80,600 | 157 | 1,037 |
| Italy | 100 | 10,400 | 5 | 962 |
| Norway | 27,950 | 11,100 | 1,495 | 465 |
| France | — | 13,700 | — | 364 |
| Other countries | 700 | 16,200 | 132 | 1,021 |
| | 170,900 | 828,250 | 13,379 | 65,795 |

# Fighting the Ice.

As a corrective to the carefully cultivated conception of Soviet Russia as a country in which the people devote their time to killing priests, creating famine, and generally behaving like lunatics and fiends, it may be of interest to quote some passages from an article entitled "Winter Trade with Petrograd," by Lieut.-Commander Littlehales, R.N. Reserve, which appears in the Russian Trade Delegation's official organ published in London. Commander Littlehales, who lately commanded the ice-breaker Sviatogor, says in part:

"Petrograd is naturally the great distributing centre for imports into Russia, and a large part of Russia's exports also pass through that port, so that to keep Petrograd open through the five months when the port is usually closed by ice means the overcoming of a great material obstacle to regular trade.

"In order to keep the channel open the three largest ice-breakers in the world—Sviatogor, Lenin, and Ermak—are used, with seven or eight smaller ones to help them. All three were built by Messrs Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., Ltd. The largest ice-breaker, Sviatogor, is named after a mythological Russian giant, supposed to be so big that he could not rise from the ground for fear of breaking the world. This fine vessel is 323 feet long and more than seventy-one feet broad, the beam thus exceeding that of the Mauretania. The accommodation on all these ships is luxurious, every possible provision being made for the comfort of the officers and crew. The ice-breakers are heated throughout by steam, and below decks it is pleasantly warm even when working in a temperature of 30 degs. below zero. Boat accommodation is of the best, and the ships carry motor and steam launches, iceboats, and also the Makaroff anchor boat, invented by the Russian admiral of that name.

"The ice-breakers are also fitted with the clear view screens, consisting of a polished glass disc rotated in its own plane on a central bearing at such a speed that rain, snow, and spray are instantly dispersed. Complete transparency can therefore be maintained in all weather conditions. A feature of the icebreakers is the curious construction of their bows, which are cut away forward, enabling the ship when charging to mount on to the ice and crush it with her weight, and also to approach a ship in shallow water sufficiently near to put a hawser on board while still keeping afloat, the body and stern of the ice-breaker remaining in deep water. In the winter of 1921 the Sviatogor rescued two vessels in imminent danger of drifting ashore in moving ice by forcing a passage close up to the ships, putting a six and a half inch wire hawser on board them from the bow, and then by going astern dragging them to a position of safety. A ship of ordinary build would necessarily have been on shore forward herself before getting close enough to render assistance.

"The next largest ice-breaker, Lenin, built by Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth at the same time as the Sviatogor, is of practically the same construction, although slightly smaller, her dimensions being: length 281 feet, and beam 63ft. 10in. She is, however, fitted with more powerful pumps than her larger sister, and also carries six portable electric pumps, which can be placed on board any vessel requiring to be pumped out, and worked by a current supplied from the ice-breaker, while she remains in safety at any distance not exceeding the length of the electric cable carried. These six pumps working simultaneously are of a capacity to pump 3,000 tons per hour.

"The Lenin is also furnished with a forward propeller. This bow screw is not introduced for speed purposes, but simply to enable the ship to clear her way and keep lumps of ice from accumulating under her bottom. This is also exceedingly valuable in 'mushy' ice, a mixture of frozen snow and ice sometimes met with, which it 'chews up,' if the expression may be used.

"We now come to the original large ice-breaker, Ermak, built in 1898 for the Russian Government. This ship when launched was considered a wonderful example of what could be done in ice-breaking ship construction, there being no ice-breaker in the world then of anything like her size and power. It it is curious to note that although the Sviatogor and Lenin were built nearly twenty years after the Ermak was launched, the design and general construction were found so good that very little difference beyond increased size and power was made.

"The details given here are necessarily few, but should suffice to show that the Russian authorities are now doing all that human ingenuity and science could devise towards the successful solution of the problem of keeping Russian ports open throughout the winter. The track to Petrograd is actually open at the time of writing, and it may be confidently predicted that it will remain so all the year round.

F. LITTLEHALES.

# POISON PROPAGANDA.

The latest "authority" on Soviet Russia unearthed by the local press is a Baltic trader who is described as being on a flying commercial visit to Lourenco Marques. This gentleman paints a depressing picture of the trade and industry of Soviet Russia, and declares that "trade undertakings by Russia simply cannot be carried out." A reference to the figures of Russian trade in another part of this issue will indicate the value of the statements of this latest "authority."

Mr. Williams admits that the farmers have reaped a good harvest, but refers to the transport facilities as "deplorable," and make the assertion that there is a steady shift of opinion towards the old regime. Everyone knows, of course, that the results of seven years' war, revolution, counter-revolution, and blockade must be serious, and the capitalists of Europe and America are mainly responsible for the destruction which has taken place over large areas of Soviet Russia, but the heroic and organised efforts of the Soviet is gradually rebuilding the economic life of that great country.

Every month, as the reports arrive, an improvement is shown, and whilst Russia gains in stability and productive capacity the rest of Europe sinks helplessly into the morass of insolvency and chaos. Red Russia can afford to smile at her traducers. She has beaten back all the military attacks, has survived the horrors of the blockade and famine, and still stands as a beacon light to the oppressed workers of all lands, and an example for them to follow. Hence this campaign of lies and misrepresentation by the enemies of labour.

# We Never Forget.

## CAPITALIST BRUTALITY IN U.S.A.

**The Workers' Prison Relief Committee of Paterson, New York, sends an appeal for help to save the lives of Ed. Quigley and Cesar Tabib, who have been in prison FIVE YEARS, and are now dying of tuberculosis, as certified by Dr. Allan L. Porter, a Kansas City specialist. The harsh conditions of the two years' imprisonment preceding trial is responsible for the condition of these two young men.**

They were both members of the famous Sacramento I.W.W. "silent defence" group. When brought to trial, after lying in filthy jails for over two years, during which time five of their number died of disease and one went insane from the brutal treatment they received, the 37 who survived refused to present any defence, maintaining that it is "useless for working men to try to get justice in the capitalist courts." They called no witnesses and cross-questioned none, turning their backs on judge and jury and spending their time while in the court room reading, dozing, looking out of the window, and in other ways showing their "contempt of court."

Tabib and Quigley were both interviewed recently by a representative of the Department of Justice, who suggested that they might, perhaps, be pardoned if they would "meet the government half way," and promise to be law-abiding in the future.

"It is not a question of meeting the government half way or all the way," was Quigley's reply. "I was innocent of any crime under either the Espionage law or any other law. I look upon my sentence, not as a penalty, but as vengeance upon me for membership in an industrial union. I cannot consent to recognise justice in such a proceeding. Besides, I feel I should be true to the principle that 'an injury to one is an injury to all.' If I surrender now, I will simply make it harder for my fellow-workers convicted with me, and whom I know to be as innocent as I. Much as I should like to get out of here to regain my health—or make a try at it—I just can't go out that way."

Tabib and two other prisoners were ordered, in spite of their condition, to handle 100 lb. bags of cement. When they declared themselves unequal to the task they were taken before the prison doctor, who did not even give them an examination, and thrown into "The Hole," where they were kept in solitary confinement and obliged to stand for EIGHT HOURS A DAY WITH THEIR HANDS CHAINED UP TO THE BARS OF THEIR CELLS.

After six weeks of this treatment, Tabib collapsed from exhaustion, and was taken to the hospital for a few hours' rest and then put back in "The Hole" and chained as before. A few more weeks of this and they had to carry him to the hospital, where he has been ever since. There he will stay, if the government has its way, until he is carried out in a pine box—unless, as in Weyh's case, the officials turn him out just before the end, in order to keep the prison death-rate down, and save the government the cost of a burial.

Americans in South Africa are advised to write to President Harding, urging him to pardon these two men at once.—Ed., "International."

# Jagger and Moore.

National Union of R. and H. Servants,
2, Corporation Chambers,
Capetown,

The Editor, "International." 27th March, 1923.

Dear Sir,—I have read your article appearing on page 2 of your issue of March 23rd. In so far as I am personally concerned, I think that you are quite wrong in suggesting that I have "frantically" endeavoured to wash my hands of all responsibility for those who took all the risks in the strike of 1922. You will surely see that it was necessary for me to deny the assertion made by the Minister of Railways and Harbours in Parliament. He characterised the late Mr. Fisher as a desperate character, and endeavoured to injure our organisation generally and myself particularly by associating us with that "desperate" character. As you say yourself, my disclaimer went no further than to place Mr. Jagger in the position of either substantiating or withdrawing his statement. There are principles involved in not allowing Mr. Jagger, or any other Minister, to use their privileged position in Parliament to score against industrial organisations under such circumstances. At our public meeting the other night I particularly pointed out that all I knew of Fisher was what I knew from the newspapers. If I could judge Mr. Fisher's character by the abuse showered upon him by the Press and such Ministers as Mr. Jagger, I should come to the conclusion, although I never saw him, that he was a very decent fellow.

I think you must agree to make this simple denial, not only in regard to Fisher, but in regard to telegrams alleged by Mr. Jagger to have been sent with the design of wrecking trains and achieving murder, was really necessary in the interests of our organisation. It is possible it adds to the political difficulties of Mr. Jagger and his Ministerial associates to be challenged on such an untrue statement, and no good purpose would be served by remaining silent under circumstances where these people were entirely wrong.

In regard to your remarks about Mr. Mulder's rather hysterical disclaimers, I can only say that I am not responsible for anyone's communications to the Press, and otherwise, than my own. What Mr. Mulder has said has been entirely upon his own responsibility, and those communications must be judged accordingly.

Yours faithfully,
J. W. MOORE,
General Secretary.

Four things in particular damn Capitalism—poverty, war, prostitution, and unemployment.

# Not by Words but Deeds.

These lines were written by a workman from the Ural. They were read at the Fourth All-Russian Press Congress.

"A few days ago I happened to be crossing the railway track at the Yekaterinburg Station.

Some workmen were clearing the snow from the track. Among these, on the sixth track, I suddenly observed a man whose face seemed familiar to me. When I looked more closely I recognised this man as Comrade Trotsky.

At first I could not believe my eyes, but then I thought:

Why should Comrade Trotsky not help to clean the track? He is the head of the workers' army, and must set the example to the whole army. It is just he who is continually saying that the work of restoring traffic must be aided forward before all, by those who are in office and do the political work—and it is just he who should be the first to change words into deeds. . . .

When I saw how skilfully Comrade Trotsky was handling his wooden shovel, I thought to myself:

There is the real leader of the working people and of the workers' army. He is not only helping the Russia of the workers and peasants by his pen to protect themselves against hunger and cold, but by actual deeds. Our leaders know not only how to command, or to direct, they know how to work shoulder to shoulder with the plain workmen. With such leaders Soviet Russia is unconquerable. . . .

I forgot where I wished to go, and took up a shovel, like Comrade Trotsky, to contribute my small share to the great work of fighting on the new front, the front of work."

IVAN GAYEV (Workman).

(From the Uralsky Rabotchy, Feb. 28, 1923.)

# The Public.

The dear old "Daily Wail," in a leading article on "Democracy Without the People," waxes almost hysterical over the neglect of public interests by the Nationalist-cum-Labour alliance. In one column it repeats the words public and people twenty times, but of course the densest working man can see through this stunt, and knows that every political party stands for the interest of the class which supports it.

The Labour Party, in spite of its efforts to prove that it stands for all sections in the community, stands for the workers if it is really labour, and if it is not then it stands for nothing. The Nationalists stand for backveld reaction and race prejudice, and the S.A.P. for big finance and big business, and the sooner the camouflage of "the people," "the public," and "the community" is torn away the better.

# Bias.

The capitalist apologists are fond of trotting out the argument that the teaching in the schools and colleges is unbiased, and that the workers are wrong in supposing that the professors and teachers are in any way constrained and hampered in the free expression of their views. Here are some interesting facts taken from W. T. Colyer's book, "Americanism":

"Professor Scott Nearing was suddenly discharged from the University of Pennsylvania in 1915, where he had been eight years economics instructor, for his radical convictions."

"James H. Brewster, professor of law in the University of Colorado, was sacked in the same year after he had appeared on behalf of the Colorado miners before the Industrial Relations Commission."

"Arthur W. Calhoun, professor of economics in Maryville College, Tennessee, was also got rid of in 1915."

"Professor Harry Dana, lecturer on literature, was dismissed from Columbia University, New York, and Professor C. A. Beard withdrew from the teaching staff of the same university in 1917."

For publishing a study of the taxation which reflected unfavourably on the mining interests of the State of Montana, Professor Levine was removed from the university of that state in 1919.

Professor Arthur Fisher was in 1922 turned out of the same university because the American Legion did not like his opinions about the world war.

For protesting in an open letter against peonage and the torture of natives by law officers in Arkansas, Robert T. Kerlin, a professor of engineering, was dismissed by the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington.

In many of the States, including New York, teachers are compelled to take the oath of loyalty, and the history books are censored.

Hooray for 100 per cent. American liberty.

# Some Don'ts for Members.

Don't miss a meeting!
Don't be late at a meeting!
Don't go away before the meeting closes without permission!
Don't conduct a conversation in the meeting with other members!
Don't promise to undertake some work and not do it!
Don't be afraid to work!
Don't hate another member: hate the boss!
Don't be a pessimist! Be cheerful!
Don't sell a paper or pamphlet without first reading it!
Don't make excuses!
Don't be afraid to ask a question! No one knows everything!
Don't criticise the Party to a non-Party worker!
Don't divulge any information!
Don't forget you are a Communist all the time!

—"The Communist."

# Profits on Dope.

The value of the estate of Lord Northcliffe has been sworn at £3,250,000. The State will secure £1,250,000 in the form of death duties, and those who imagine that the change from capitalism to some form of Socialism can be brought about by taxation will have a glow of satisfaction at over a million being taken as death duties. Taxation, of course, deals with the RESULTS of capitalist exploitation after the process has been gone through, and in no way can of itself put a stop to that exploitation. The amount left by Lord Northcliffe is an illustration of what one man can accumulate by journalism and literature of an ephemeral and parasitic nature, and make the community pay tribute to him.

# Linking the Baltic and Caspian

The small German steamer, "Pionier," left Hamburg early in July of last year and proceeded to Petrograd with a cargo of sugar, sewing machines, bicycles, underwear and shoes. At Petrograd the ship passed through the Lakes Ladoga and Onega and then travelled through the Marjinsky Canal via Rybinsk. From this point she journeyed down the Volga, reaching the Caspian Sea. She arrived at Enzeli in Persia in the earlier part of November, being the first oversea steamer to enter the Caspian Sea. She is now loading native merchandise in the Persian port, and will leave for Hamburg as soon as climatic conditions permit.

The Russian authorities are also engaged in repairing the canal which connects the Dwina and the Volga. This, when completed, will leave an open waterway between Archangel and the Caspian Sea. Many other canals are being put into order, and Russian waterways are gradually returning to their pre-war capacity, and thereby assuming some of the transport load which has fallen so heavily upon the railroads since the war and the revolution.

Kusbas Bulletin.

# Larkin Will Return to Ireland

(By the Federated Press.)

James Larkin, Irish labour leader, recently pardoned from Sing Sing Prison by Governor Smith as "a political case where a man had been punished for a statement of his beliefs," is going back to Ireland at the close of his present lecture tour. The former head of the Irish Transport Workers' Union will supports De Valera and the Irish Republicans.

Larkin is anxious to raise as much money as possible to devote to the relief of those who have been made homeless by the strife in Ireland.

# A New Book.

Upton Sinclair has published a new book "The Goose Step," a study of American education, which although written of America applies to a great extent to all other capitalist countries. We publish the following notice by request:

All over this country are parents asking: "What in the world has got into the young people? What do they want? What are we going to do with them?" For a generation we have put our trust in the magic formula, education; we are spending a billion dollars a year on the fanciest kind known—and having so little success that it has been possible for Bertrand Russell to declare that "education has come to be the greatest barrier to the development of intelligence."

Most of all we counted upon our so-called "higher" education, where we train the teachers, and set the tone of the whole. This "higher" education is way above the heads of most of us, so we do not presume to judge it. It has come to be, it is impressive, and we are impressed. But now comes a man who knows it from the point of view of a victim; he had nine years of it, and then escaped, and has just spent a year studying it from the outside—travelling over the country, interviewing educators high and low, several hundred of them, and corresponding with many hundreds more. He comes to you and says: Parents of America, if you want to save your children, you have got to take over this educational machine. You think it is serving you and the public welfare, but it has been stolen by men who are using it for base ends—teaching your sons and daughters not wisdom but folly, not justice but greed, not freedom but slavery, not love but hate.

Just a few questions considered in "The Goose-Step": Do you know the extent to which the interlocking directors of railroads and steel and oil and coal and credit in the United States are also the interlocking trustees of American "higher" education? Do you think that our colleges and universities should be modelled on the lines of our government, or on the lines of our department-stores? Do you know that eighty-five per cent. of college and university professors are dissatisfied with being managed by floor-walkers. Do you know for how many different actions and opinions a professor may lose his job? Do you know how many professors have to do their own laundry? Do you know why American college presidents with few exceptions are men who do not tell the truth? Do you know to what extent "social position" takes precedence over scholarship in American academic life? Do you know to what extent our education has become a by-product of gladiatorial combats?

The book can be obtained for $2 from Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, California, U.S.A.

The rule of the capitalist class leaves no room for life for the workers. The workers must, therefore, to gain life, put an end to the capitalist class.

* * *

To be very good and very rich is impossible; the very rich are not good.

Plato.

# The Party Congress.

Comrades are reminded that the Second Congress of the Communist Party (South African Section) will open in No. 8, Trades Hall, on Saturday, April 28th, at 10 a.m. Only delegates will be entitled to vote, but all members of the party are entitled to be present on the first day. The various branches are asked to send in the names of their delegates as soon as possible, with any amendments to the constitution or suggestions for the more successful working of the organisation.

On the second day the meeting will be held in the Trades Hall Council Chamber, and will take the form of a discussion on matters of general interest to the class-conscious workers. Admission will not be confined to the membership, but invitations are being sent out to genuine working class bodies inviting them to attend and express their views on the problems confronting the labour movement in South Africa and their relationship to the world movement.

# COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

## JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Dates of meetings: April 12th and 26th, May 10th and 24th, June 7th and 21st.

All subscriptions are now due, and can be paid to Assist. Treasurer at 4, Trades Hall, before the annual meeting.

The annual meeting was held on March 29th, and the reports from the Secretary and Treasurer were received, and showed a satisfactory record of work done.

Officers elected for the ensuing year: H. Lee, Chairman; S. Goldman, Vice-Chairman; J. Oates, Secretary; and S. Barlin, Literature Secretary.

Members please note that at the next meeting, on 12th inst., the delegates to the Annual Congress will be elected. A good attendance is requested.

## JEPPES BRANCH.

The inaugural meeting of this branch was held on Wednesday, March 4th, and Comrade W. Ward was elected chairman and J. Bacharach secretary.

The organiser, Comrade C. F. Glass, and other prominent members of the party assisted in the preliminaries, and there is every prospect of Jeppes becoming a stronghold of Communism. The next meeting will be held on Thursday, 12th inst.

In connection with this branch it is interesting to note that the proprietor of the Township Hotel, Mr. W. Kelly, refused to allow the Jeppes members to meet in his hotel.

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## MAY DAY SOCIAL.

Tickets for the Grand Social to be held in the Town Hall on Monday, 30th April, are on sale at 4, Trades Hall, 2s. 6d. each. The next meeting of the General May Day Committee will be held in the General Office on Sunday, April 8th, at 3 p.m.

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## CAPETOWN.

Branch meeting every Tuesday at 8 p.m., at 166, Longmarket Street. Syllabus of lectures:

April 12 "Capitalism in Fiction." H. Pereira.
" 19 "Trade Unionism, Syndicalism, and Communism." J. Pick.
" 26 "Socialism and the Press." D. L. Dryburgh.
May 3 Musical Evening.
" 10 "The Federation of Trades and Their Wages Bill." W. Green.
" 17 "Women and Socialism." L. Schack.

Adult Choir meets Mondays at 8 p.m.

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