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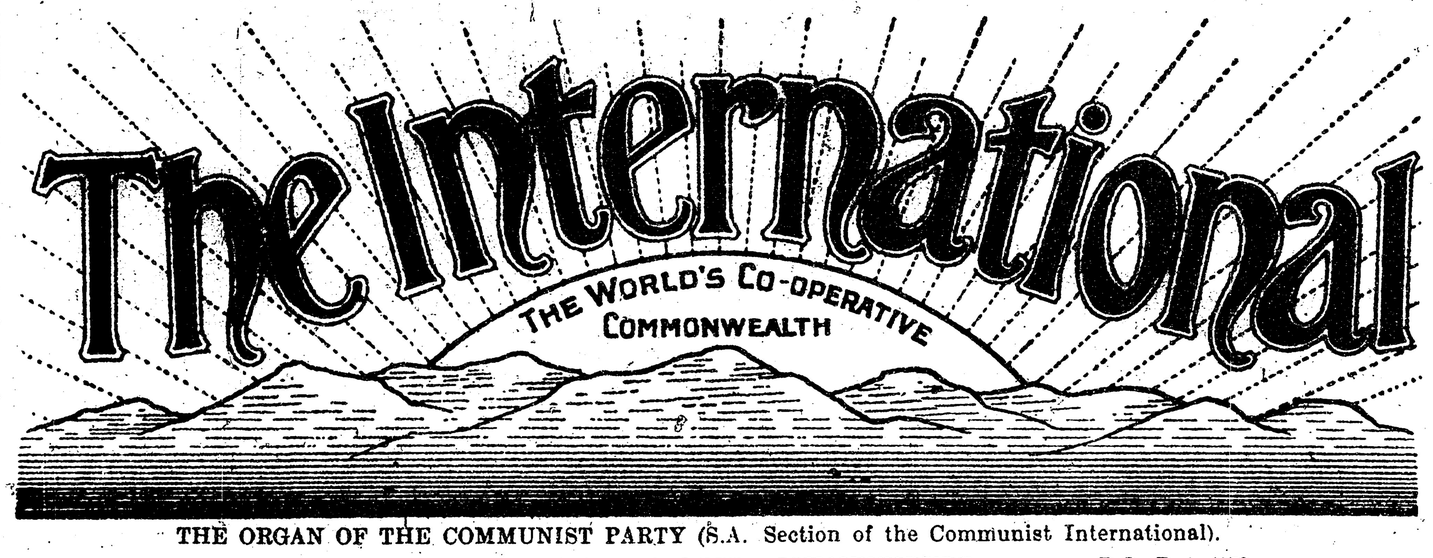
LABOUR DAY
May 1st.

Procession Assembles 10 a.m.
DEMONSTRATION 12 NOON.
All Working Class Organisations fall in under your banner.

Bands, Decorated Trolleys, and Cars.

PROMINENT LABOUR SPEAKERS.



MAY DAY.

SOCIAL
IN
Town Hall,
JOHANNESBURG.
April 30th
(MAY DAY EVE.)

Tickets 2/6

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

Vol. VIII. No. 361. FRIDAY, APRIL 13, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

War Memorials.

A meeting has been held of men who believe in war, prepare for war, and probably if they prayed instead of preyed would pray for war. These men met to promote the expenditure of some thousands of pounds to buy a useless and probably an ugly monument to perpetuate the war lust. It is probable that they will succeed. War memorials are fashionable now the war has "ended" war.

Meanwhile thousands starve throughout South Africa, and men, women and children herd together in dens of disease and infamy, or wander homeless on the veld or the streets. Visitors to St. Paul's Cathedral, London, who ask to be shown the great architect's monument are directed to a plain inscription, which invites those who seek Christopher Wren's monument to look around them. His work is his monument.

The monument of war is also around us: widows, cripples, orphans, millions of early graves. Devastation, famine, unemployment, starvation, misery, and the seeds of hatred breeding further wars.

What more do they want? War memorials indeed! The world is full of them. The workers want food, shelter, clothes, not piles of stones to mock their misery.

* * *

God Save the King.

Appalling stories of starvation and misery among agricultural labourers living almost at the gates of Sandringham, come from the rich and Royal county of Norfolk. Many of the victims are striving to maintain large families on a wage of 11s. 7d. a week, the local Guardians, with incredible meanness, having refused relief.

* * *

Touching the Spot.

On the all-important native question the Labour Party seems to have nothing to say but segregation, which is simply running away from the problem. The basis of Labour economics is the fact that all wealth is produced by labour, manual or mental. The object of Labour politics is to secure to the producer the benefits of his industry. In South Africa the whole of the manual work is done by the native and the Indian, which puts the Labour Party in the difficult position of having either to declare that the coloured worker shall enjoy the fruits of his industry or else that ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES DO NOT APPLY WHERE SKINS DIFFER.

—"Londoner," in the "Guardian."

* * *

Natural Causes.

An enquiry into the death of a printer found dead in a slum near the Waterloo Road, London, resulted in a verdict of death from "natural" causes. In describing the foul den where the man died the local authority said the whole district was so appallingly filthy that policemen only went into it after putting on a GAS MASK. The locality was described as the worst in London.

Natural causes appears to be a synonym for murder by the capitalist system.

* * *

British Sabotage Workers' Conference.

The Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Councils issued an invitation to all Labour Parties, trade unions, shop stewards organisations, and Labour Internationals to attend an international conference in Cologne on March 17th, to discuss measures against the occupation of the Ruhr, against the offensive of capital, and against Fascism. The English military authorities, who hold Cologne, prohibited the meeting at the request of the French, thus proving again the solidarity of capitalism against the working class.

Notwithstanding this action on the part of the British, the Conference will be held in some other part of Germany, and it is hoped that the international proletariat will be able to arrive at a common plan of action at the conference.

* * *

Workers Sports.

A good many of our young comrades are not doing anything very definite for the movement. They say they cannot speak in public. They find the study classes dry. Picnics and socials are a bore, and Rand revolts are like the drinks of the Governors of Carolina.

Why not try and organise WORKERS' SPORTS? The workers' sports movement is going ahead in England and other countries, and there is no reason why the young workers here should not run their own swimming, cycling, cricket, and football clubs, instead of leaving them in the hands of the churches and the capitalist class. Then there might be workers' choirs, bands, etc. Young Communists, see what you can do in this direction.

Forgotten.

There are many fellow-workers still rotting in jail for the part they played in the struggle against the Chamber of Mines last year, and very few seem to remember the fact, still less try to help those they have left outside. Some who were keen fighters in the "revolt" have got back to work, and want to lie low and forget all about it. Others are still wearily and hopelessly hunting the elusive job, and almost envy those who have food and shelter in jail.

The official element, with few exceptions, are too respectable and too busy trying to win back the smiles of Fat, and consolidating their jobs, to make any public protest against the vindictive policy of the authorities. These prisoners, however, are members of our class, and militant members at that, and no opportunity should be missed of making a protest against their treatment. It is to be hoped that one of the features of May Day will be strong appeals for an immediate amnesty for all strike prisoners passed on all the platforms throughout South Africa.

Let the watchword for May 1st be: RELEASE THE PRISONERS!

* * *

Six Shillings Per Ton Saved!

WHO LOSES?

The working costs of the City Deep have been reduced by 6s. 1d. per ton during the last six months of 1922, as compared with 1921. The Durban-Roodepoort working costs dropped in the same period from 33s 7d. to 25s. The E.R.P.M. saved 5s. 8d. per ton in working costs. Which is gleefully recorded in the Chamber of Mines press. Meanwhile stagnation, starvation, or slavery is the lot of the workers, whilst the gold bugs and their parasites wallow in luxury.

Street Begging.

In an appeal for help for the Johannesburg Children's Home, the "Star" states that "every week destitute and homeless children have to be refused admission," and the scriptural injunction is quoted "Suffer little children to come unto me," and the passer-by is to open his heart and, what is more to the point, his purse.

This is only one of the brazen attempts made by the exploiters to shift their responsibilitis on to the backs of the workers. There would be very few destitute and homeless children—and these would be a legitimate charge on the State and public authorities—were the parasites who ask for charity eliminated. These street collections are a thinly veiled system of blackmail levied by the rich, who claim credit as charitable persons for having the low cunning and audacity to ask the workers to pay for the derelicts which they throw on the streets as a result of their brutal and heartless money-grubbing.

* * *

Frankenstein.

The Tutankhamen boom seems to have been a little overdone, and has recoiled on the capitalist class which engineered it. They are now afraid that the tons of drivel about a mummy king's toilet arrangements may have important and unpleasant political consequences. It is considered possible that the Egyptian nationalist movement may arouse a formidable popular agitation against the reopening of the tomb.

Body-snatching as a pastime seems distinctly dangerous—in Egypt.

> **LET us consider that arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country at once. It must be introduced by slow degrees, and, as it were, step by step, lest the people should see its approach.**
>
> —CHESTERFIELD.

War on Non-Unionism.

The great strike in the Rhondda Valley against non-unionism is reported in an obscure par in the local press to have finished in four days. The capitalist organ does not say whether the men won their point, but their very silence on the point is a pretty clear indication that every man who went down the pits carried a union card. The movement has been going on for some time, and many pits have achieved 100 per cent. organisation by taking strike action.

In the Llanelly district a week's strike at the Pentremawr Colliery has achieved a 100 per cent. organisation. At the New Cross Hands Colliery, 1,000 men are still out and good progress is reported.

Twelve thousand men have been out in the Rhymney Valley. At the Bargoed and Gwesfaen Collieries 1,800 men struck in protest against the management's interference with the Federation's card examiners, during "show cards." The defaulters have all come in.

Victimisation is not preventing still more strikes. Out of the 1,600 men employed at the Gwaun-Cae-Gurwen Colliery, nearly 500 are not members of the Federation, and a fortnight's notice has been given; meanwhile, demonstrations, pit-head meetings, and a house-to-house canvass of non-unionists are making new unionists. The Rand workers would do well to take a leaf out of the Welshmen's book.

* * *

Rum.

"John Bright engaged in rum-running." Not the great Liberal tribune and temperance man, we hasten to explain, but a ship of that name.

Suspicious.

At the joint enquiry into the death of two European and six native miners who were killed by a fall of rock at New Kleinfontein Gold Mine, the mine manager in his evidence said the work that was going on when the accident occurred was the removal of a pillar.

The brother-in-law of one of the victims said that he went underground to see for himself, and he was struck with the fact that on the travel way there was MUCH NEW TIMBER. HE CONCLUDED THAT IT HAD BEEN PUT IN VERY RECENTLY.

"He did not wish it to be thought for one minute that this timbering was put in AFTER the accident to cover it up."

Of course not. Such things are never done by the honourable gentlemen who control the mining industry. Besides, it would be unhealthy for a miner to say so even if he thought so. The witness is a miner of twelve years' experience, and has to keep his job. He knows that, and so the Court found "that the accident was not due to any negligence of the mine management." And men will continue to work under dangerous and insufficiently supported ground, and working costs will fall and dividends will rise, to the great content of the "Star" and the Chamber of Mines.

* * *

The Mighty Fallen.

The League of Nations is reported to be devoting its energies towards preventing opium and other drugs being smuggled through the customs.

From the arbiter of nations to customs officer. What a come down!

A Stage Army.

It is commonly supposed that Johannesburg possesses at least three bands—the I.L.H., Comrades of the Great War, and Industrial Federation—but a correspondent of the "Star" pricks the bubble and asserts that there is only one set of musicians who, according to order, turn out under any one of the three above names. The only difference is a change of uniform and conductor.

You pays your money and takes your choice.

* * *

A Contrast.

For shooting a civilian prisoner in Ireland, Captain Patrick Byrne was found guilty of WILFUL MURDER by an Irish jury. For shooting five civilian prisoners in cold blood last year in Johannesburg the guilty parties were not even brought to trial. In both cases the official plea was shot whilst attempting to escape.

We have been told that Ireland is a lawless country. What, then, is a proper description of South Africa under Smuts?

* * *

God's Glory.

The inscription on the war memorial tablet in the Wesleyan Church, Johannesburg commences with the words, "To the Glory of God."

Mud and blood, rape and rapine, blockades and black terror, wholesale starvation of millions of women and children, the Treaty of Versailles, occupation of the Ruhr, and a new war preparing.

Glory of God! What a God!!

* * *

Fruits of Victory.

The Aberdeen fishermen, among others, as mine sweepers, etc., helped to beat the Germans. Having crushed German wages down to the coolie level, the German fishermen are found landing fish in Aberdeen at unheard-of prices, whilst the victorious Britons stand by and starve.

Some victory that, Henry!

* * *

Cheek.

Mr. ex-Magistrate Macfie is reported to have said at Lichtenburg that he was not ashamed to go with men like Cromwell, Lincoln, and Kruger.

One remembers hearing a tale of a frog which tried to blow itself out to look like a bull, with disastrous results—to the frog.

* * *

Consolation.

"I am delighted to be here, as I always like to further the interests of religion," said Sir Abe Bailey at the opening of a Presbyterian bazaar at Krugersdorp. This was a rather startling statement from such a source. He explained himself later on in his speech, however, by saying religion "gives support to those who have failed and suffered HEAVY REVERSES."

Some of those who have had business dealings with Bailey will see the point.

* * *

Abnormal.

"I did it because I had no money to pay for my room," was the statement of a young girl when charged before a Johannesburg magistrate with loitering for an immoral purpose. The explanation of the court was that the girl's conduct is the result of a distinctly abnormal temperament.

The explanation that she was driven by hunger is too simple for our virtuous (?) wiseacres—and too damning to the system they uphold.

* * *

Damning.

A writer in a Rand daily, discussing the newer members of the House of Assembly, describes the Bloemfontein "Labour" member as rather a misfit in the S.A.L.P., but expresses the opinion that the anti-Socialist Barlow will not have any difficulty with his party on any issue of classes v. masses so long as Colonel Creswell remains leader.

We agree.

* * *

Cool!

This advertisement recently appeared in the Wellington "Evening Post":

Wanted.—Married man to milk cows, build outhouses, fencing, and general work; wife to cook for owner and friends' week-ends, provide part food, NO WAGES.—Apply Mrs. Deckston, Manners Street.

Is there any excuse for unemployment after this?

THE INTERNATIONAL.
Official Organ of
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(S.A. Section of the Communist International).
(Secretary-Editor, W. H. Andrews.)
Annual Subscription, 10/-; Half-yearly, 5s.
Bundle Orders of One Dozen and over: 2s. per dozen.
Crossed P.O.'s will not be accepted. Cheques should include commission.
Party Offices:
Nos. 4 & 6, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG.

Vol. VIII. FRIDAY, APRIL 13, 1923. No. 361.

Stifling the Truth.

The propaganda of Communism and revolutionary industrial unionism has reached a point which seriously alarms the ruling classes, and without ostentation an insidious campaign is being waged against the citizen rights of that section of the community which stands for and propagates these principles. It is certain that in South Africa the mail matter directed to the radical section of the workers' movement is being tampered with. Parcels of literature are missing every mail; other parcels are opened in the Post Office or customs, and when handed to the addressees portions are missing. Frequently wrappers are delivered minus contents, and wrappers taken from parcels addressed to one organisatioi and put on parcels belonging to another section.

Complaints have been made, but no redress is possible. An orderly and legal censorship would be preferable to the sabotage now being practised by certain government departments or officials employed therein. For years the African Theatres Trust has refused its halls for communist meetings, although these shows are supported by communist workers and their friends. Our speakers have been summoned and charged with obstruction and other offences in Capetown, Benoni, and Johannesburg. Hotel proprietors refuse to allow the use of their premises for our socials and branch meetings, and even advertisements in the daily press are refused unless they conform to the politics of the owners of these organs.

Nor is this peculiar to South Africa. The persecutions of the Radicals in the United States has become a byword, and many are still languishing in jail for war-time offences. New Zealand bars all "literature calculated to encourage violence and lawlessness," and prosecutions resulting in fines or imprisonment take place frequently for violation of these regulations. The latest Australian papers to hand report that public places hitherto recognised as public forums are being closed to Communists and Industrial Union propagandists, the latest example being the withdrawal of the permit to hold meetings in Adelaide Botanic Park from the local Communist Party. Not content with these throttling tactics, the boss class bring in "Seditious Teaching Bills" in England and in New South Wales to prevent the continuation and spread of Socialist Sunday schools and other youth organisations which teach the truth about capitalism to the rising generation. And now Mr. Merriman calls for similar tactics to be adopted by the Smuts Government.

If these tactics fail, as they are bound to fail, in suppressing the advanced movement, then other and more drastic measures may be anticipated. One regrettable feature in connection with these attacks by capitalism on labour's vanguard is the absence of any protest from the orthodox labour leader, whether political or industrial. In their blind hatred of the revolutionary movement they, by their silence and even open repudiation of the advance guard, place the strongest possible weapon in the hands of the enemy, forgetting—or perhaps too stupid to understand—that if, as in Hungary, Italy, Poland, and elsewhere, the left wing is destroyed or driven underground, then the orthodox ranks of labour will not long remain unmolested.

An example of this was seen in March last year. Capitalism in its onslaught made no distinction between Labour, Nationalist, sane trade unionist, and Communist. They all came into the net together. Some sorting took place afterwards, of course, but not until the unions and workers' organisations were reduced to the necessary impotence and docility by the guns and bombs of a brutal oligarchy. There is a two-fold lesson to be drawn from the above considerations; one is that the whole labour world must stand behind the section which is bearing the brunt of the attack, on the principle of an injury to one is an injury to all, and on the other hand the policy of splendid isolation advocted, if not in word then in deed by some doctrinaire revolutionaries, must be abandoned, and the tactics of the united front with all sections of organised labour adopted in all its aspects.

Writing in the current number of the "Australian Communist," Hector Ross says quite truly: "The militant elements should immediately proceed to transfer their activity into the unions, and constitute themselves a revolutionary force, always opposing the pacifist policy of the present officials, with active participation in the class struggle.

"But organisation is necessary to carry out this work. Haphazard operators in the unions would mean general inefficiency, which would not disturb to a great extent the peaceful regime of our present ruling cliques.

"Therefore, co-ordination of effort is essential; groups must be formed in every working-class body always advocating a militant policy, while constantly working towards the consummation of the industrial form of unionism.

"While assisting the workers in the everyday struggle with the master class, we will inspire the workers with our sincerity, and gain their confidence by taking our place in the forefront of the battles that loom ahead.

"Then, when the economic system shows sign of dissolution, the mighty empires commence to tremble, and the dogs of war released upon a world grown desperate with the intensity of the struggle for existence, it will be able—with our organisation—to marshall the mass of the workers against the world's imperialists, and so emulate the deeds of our heroic Russian comrades who made proletarian history in 1917.

"The conditions of the class struggle during the past few years have produced a great finger-post, upon which is emblazoned the slogans of the Third International. Back to the masses! To the achievement of the United Front of the Working Class!"

Bondelzwarts Massacre.

General Smuts laid the report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Bondelzwarts affair on the table of the House of Assembly on Tuesday afternoon, and said it would be sent in due course to the League of Nations.

The Administrator of South-West Africa, Mr. Hofmeyr, does not come out of the enquiry very well, although General Lemmer dissents from even the mildest criticism of the administration by his two fellow-commissioners, Messrs. Alex. M. Roberts and C. T. Loram.

The central fact which emerges from the enquiry is that in the Bondelzwarts "we have a people growing each year poorer and more miserable, men and women who require the supreme grace of patience and forbearance just because their conditions in life make them WAYWARD AND UNREASONABLE."

Wayward and unreasonable is a rather quaint way of expressing the feelings of a tribe which since they trekked from the Cape Colony into the wilds of South-West Africa in the eighteenth century have lived the free if hard life of herdsmen and hunters, under their appointed captains or chiefs, and who are now the slaves of a conquering race. These people, when Africa was parcelled out between the great powers of Europe, fell within the sphere of Germany, and were ruthlessly despoiled of the country in which they had settled.

With the great war for the rights of small nations won by the liberator, Great Britain, and its Allies, these simple people thought that their ancient liberties would be returned to them. They were quickly disillusioned, and found their new masters more harsh than the old ones. The boundaries of their reserve were not enlarged, and in order to force them to hire themselves as farm hands a heavy dog-tax was imposed on them. This had the effect—as it was intended—to prevent them from keeping their hunting dogs, and thus cut off a considerable proportion of their scanty food supply.

There was other trouble over the retention of branding irons for cattle, and the unsympathetic treatment by the ignorant, brutal, and prejudiced police and the unsatisfactory relationship between the natives and the farmers, for whom they had to work in order to earn money to pay the taxes, contributed to the dissatisfaction, poverty, and misery they found themselves in which the Commissioners express as waywardness and unreasonableness.

Very little if any effort was made to conciliate and reason with these unfortunate people, and the report says: "It is much to be regretted that a meeting between the Administrator and the Bondelzwarts did not take place, since his position would have given weight to the interview. He could speak with authority, and he would hear at first hand the complaints of the men who, after all, were not an enemy but citizens of the country." On the contrary, his high and mightiness Administrator Hofmeyr sent Police-Sergeant Van Niekerk to arrest the Bondelzwart leader, Abraham Morris. He failed to do so, and a military force was sent against the natives who had dared to protect their leader. The rest was simply massacre with high explosive bombs dropped from aeroplanes indiscriminately on men, women, children, and cattle.

The Commission mildly suggests that warning should have been given before bombs were dropped, in order to have allowed the women and children to be separated from the men and a formal demand made for surrender, but even this mild reproof is too much for General Lemmer, who takes up the simple position that natives have no rights, and are simply human cattle sent on the earth for the benefit of white farmers and other employers. The Commission recommends as a result of its enquiry that the dog tax should be reduced considerably, that the branding regulations be modified, and that the officials who took part in this "unfortunate affair" be transferred to other districts.

Not a very heroic finding, but cautious as it is it indicates pretty clearly that the unfortunate natives had ample reason for the action they took. As one would expect from a Commission composed entirely of members of the ruling class, it did not get down to fundamental causes, and only referred to effects. "Each succeeding generation," it says, "is becoming more degraded and more hopeless than that which preceded it. . . ." "Even on the lowest plane of regarding the Hottentot as existing principally and solely as a labour supply for adjacent farms, the day is not far distant when mentally and physically they will not be able to do that simple service if the present mode of living is persisted in." The only remedy suggested, however, is "a beneficent scheme of education and industrial and agricultural instruction."

Of course, even this suggestion will not be carried out, and even if it were would lead nowhere. What the Bondelzwarts require, and the only solution of their troubles as well as that of all exploited peoples, is free access to the means of life, in their case the land; and without this schemes of education are futile. But this is the very last thing that the conquerors will give them. The Hottentot will remain the slave of the landowners until either he dies out with the Australian aborigines and the Red Indian, or a communist system of society takes the place of the present system of brutal and ruthless exploitation of the weak by the strong.

French Communists' Defence.

The tactics of all bourgeois governments are the same in dealing with the class-conscious workers, and were exposed by Comrades Monmousseau, the General Secretary of the General Federation of Labour (C.G.T.U.), and Albert Trent, the General Secretary of the French Communist Party, who were brought before a court of enquiry on a charge of "high treason."

Comrade Monmousseau, in reply to the accusations of Judge Jousselin, said:

"I have the privilege to-day of appearing before you for the second time to vindicate my revolutionary activity. The present persecutions of myself and my comrades remind me vividly of the persecutions of May, 1920. Then as now you took precisely the same course and under precisely the same pretexts. Both legal actions were preceded by entirely arbitrary arrests, which later could not be justified in the least degree, despite recourse to the whole armoury of the code of penal law.

"The course of procedure is invariably the same: In May, 1920, workers' functionaries were arrested so as to prevent the right to strike from being exercised. To-day labour functionaries are thrown into prison in order to facilitate the predatory raids made by the Iron Works Committee to the detriment of the Franco-German proletariat. And to-morrow—if we may believe the provocations of the 'Temps,' the semi-official organ of the Government—labour functionaries are to be once more imprisoned for the purpose of strangling the strike of the coal miners, a strike dictated by purely economic interests.

"The policy of suppression is expedited in proportion to the increased rapidity of the decay of capitalism.

"The parallel between the action taken in 1920 and in 1923 is clear and obvious: Then, as now, there is the entire lack of any serious evidence on which to base the indictment, the same police documents, the same fantastic or mendacious reports by spies, all aiming at penalising men for their convictions.

"I have the right to point out here that on the occasion of the first trial the jurymen of the Seine Department emphatically condemned the action taken by the authorities, which is continued to this day.

"My appearance before you in your official capacity sufficiently proves that neither imprisonment nor trials, obviously arranged in the interests of despotism, will exercise the slightest influence on the decisions of the workers' functionaries.

"For the rest, I shall not deny, weaken, or palliate anything in my writings or speeches, nor as to the aims which I have followed. As a member of the committee of action, in which capacity I was sent as delegate to the Essen Conference, I take complete responsibility for the mandate with which I was entrusted.

In view of the disastrous policy being pursued by the French government in the Ruhr area, in view of the economic and financial machinations which are but imperfectly concealed behind patriotic appeals, and in view of the policy of suppression against the revolutionary labour functionaries, I declare my full and complete solidarity with the German proletariat whose communist organisations are carrying on the conflict against their own government and against French Imperialism.

"The occupation of the Ruhr means increased misery and oppression for the Franco-German proletariat, whose solidarity rests on the defence of its interests against the economic and financial plans which the Stinnes-Loucheur group has had up its sleeve for a long time. . . ."

After five weeks of arrest Comrade Albert Treint was at last brought up before the judge of the court of inquiry. Like Monmousseau, he acknowledged with joy and pride his responsibiilty for the mandate entrusted to him, and like Monmousseau, showed the proceedings taken aganist him to be an attack on the Communists and on the Communist International.

In his declaration before the court of inquiry, he said:

"I am accused of a fairly large number of political crimes. The legal pretexts employed for my prosecution are such as would scarcely deceive anybody to-day. It is no longer possible to cloak and conceal their actual import.

"With respect to the government which has cooked up this trial, it is perfectly obvious that it never believed in the existence of any plot or conspiracy. The Government plainly reveals what little regard it has for law as soon as the interests of capital are in any way threatened. As a true agent of the propertied class, the government placed the state power at the disposal of capital, and exercises in its favour the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

"Our prosecution is thus a class prosecution, and aims at striking a blow at the Communist International, through us. I, with my whole party, expressly claim the honour of belonging to the Communist International, which reveals the machinations of the capitalist governments before the eyes of the world proletariat.

"The Communist Party is a class party. The French section, like all the other national sections, represents the interests of the whole working class. For there is no sphere in which the interests of the French working class are not absolutely identical with the interests of the workers of all other countries. This explains the solidarity binding the French proletariat to the proletariats of all other countries: with the proletariat of Germany, collapsing beneath the burden of an enforced peace. With the proletariat of Italy, persecuted and pursued by murderous Fascisti. With the proletariat of Central Europe and Poland, delivered into the hands of a merciless police regime and of the most frightful White Terror. With the proletariat of America—in short, with the oppressed proletariats of all countries, and not least with the victorious proletariat of Soviet Russia, which, surrounded on all sides by enemies, establishes its workers' rule more and more securely, and rebuilds its economic structure.

"The Communist Party is an international party. It is international just as capitalist exploitation is international. International as the proletariat, international as the misery of the working class. International as the desire for emancipation in the proletariat. International as the Russian revolution, the outpost of the revolutions of the workers of the whole world.

"As a member of the 'Committee of action against war,' as a delegate sent by the Communist Party to the Essen Conference, and as general secretary of this same party, I take full responsibility for the mandate entrusted to me."

Tracked Down.

San Francisco, January 21.—Standing in the hall of the local union of the International Garment Workers, where he had gone to plead for his brother, Jim Larkin, Peter Larkin recognised in their business agent one David Goldstein—the man who was responsible for the railroading to jail on a framed charge of eleven I.W.W. members, including Larkin, in New South Wales in 1916. Larkin immediately publicly denounced Goldstein, and after a strange defence by the latter, he was expelled from his office and the union.

ADMITS HIS VILE DECEIT.

David Goldstein, when faced by Larkin before the union, admitted his guilt, but made the unique defence that in Australia he was a member of the Chamber of Commerce and hence of the capitalist class, and that he had been faithful to the class to which he then belonged; while in America he was a worker and would be faithful to his new allegiance. In spite of this ingenius plea, the union voted to expel him on the spot.

LARKIN NOT YET THROUGH.

"I am not through," said Larkin in a recent interview. "There is another man I am after, who admitted on his own testimony that he had been in the pay of the New South Wales police, inside the labour unions, for eighteen months. I saw this man in Boston, but he eluded me. As I travel through the country, I hope every labour union will allow me to address its members in full assembly; not only that I may present the case of my brother and other political prisoners, but also that I may if possible locate and apprehend this man, who may be serving the American police inside some labour union, as he did the Australian police before.

READ AND LEARN, STOOLS AND CROOKS!

"The story of the Goldsteins," Larkin added, "should be a lesson to those who would sell their class, showing them that after the police have robbed and disgraced them they run them out of the country where they have done their dirty work. But no matter where they go, the world is small, and the watchdogs of labour will be for ever on their track."

The profit system has made improved machinery, with its increased production, a curse. Socialism, and Socialism alone, can make it a blessing.

"The Other Side."

We have been asked to publish the following letter, which has been refused publication by the Durban weekly which claims to always give "the other side":

P.O. Box 6779,
Johannesburg.
2nd April, 1923.

To the Editor of the "Guardian,"

Sir,—In an account of a visit paid by Messrs. Madeley, Stewart and Mullineux to the T.S. "General Botha," which appeared in your issue of 30th March, I was surprised to read an unqualified approval of naval training for South African youths. You say that "most people are agreed that it is necessary to carry on such training in the interests of the youths of the country and to make it the very best that can be given."

Is this not a most peculiar statement coming, as it does, from a journal claiming to represent the interests of Labour? Surely the "Guardian" must be aware that the majority of the youths who are receiving such training are drawn from the ranks of the working-class, and that the training itself has been instituted with an eye to the next great imperialist "war to end war," which, similarly to the last, must inevitably result in an intensified enslavement of the toilers. If the "Guardian" endorses naval training for working-class youths I take it that it also agrees with the military training that is going on—with the Defence Force. But both military and naval forces, apart from their imperialist function, are quite frequently used for strike-breaking purposes. Of this we can have no better example than the use to which the Defence Forces were put in March last year.

It would certainly appear, then, that the "Guardian," if not actively assisting, is acquiescing in the formation of strike-breaking units, and agrees to the sending of large batches of working-class youths to the shambles of new capitalist wars. As a class-conscious worker, and as an old member of the S.A. Mine Workers' Union who suffered last year at the hands of members of my own class organised in Defence Force units, I am disgusted with the views expressed in your last issue. Although a regular reader of your paper I shall seriously have to consider buying the "Natal Mercury" or the "Star" in future, and advising my workmates to do the same, as the viewpoint of all three papers seems to be identical.—I am, etc.,

(Signed) J. OATES.

The Bitter Cry of Outcast Africa

The African People's Organisation, like the negro organisations of Garvey and Dubois, and formerly Booker Washington, in the U.S.A., like Gandhi's party in India, Garibaldi's in Italy, and in fact most liberationist movements of subject races, is peculiarly dependent on its leader. Dr. Abdurahman, say the malicious, can sway his followers en masse to vote for whichever political party best succeeds in getting on the right side of him. Yet after all there must be solid reason why he retains their confidence year after year; he must express their temper pretty correctly; and hence his presidential address at the A.P.O. Conference in Capetown on the 3rd April deserves to be taken at something like its face value, especially as his audience appeared to indicate a very largely proletarian membership. And in any case the "coloured" people of South Africa are a nationality as distinct, and almost as numerous, as the Dutch or the English. Besides, whatever the actual attitude of coloured to native or vice versa, the demands put forward were in no way confined to the "coloured" people only, nor for that matter only to the southern end of the African Continent.

TREATED AS HELOTS.

What were those demands? First, of course, for political enfranchisement, including restoration of the right, "filched" by the Act of Union, of non-Europeans in the Cape to enter Parliament. In the ex-Republics especially, said the speaker, "so far there has not been evident the faintest inclination to relax the relentless rigours of political servitude under which our people live." But it is a question not alone of "unjust political subjugation," but of "industrial serfdom"; "we are manual drudges and political slaves," with "insults daily hurled at us," and a general denial of that "liberty and justice" we used to hear so much about. He pointed to the gross inequality of educational facilities: out of £6,617,163 spent in the current year on Union education, only £567,508 was spent on coloured and native education—in the Free State only £5,300 on native education out of £814,700—and yet the ruling caste itself still contains many "wholly uneducated representatives of the mediæval ages." He mentioned "the brutal and cruel handling of coloured prisoners by white constables, who are recruited from a people whose traditional policy of treating non-Europeans renders them utterly unfit for the position of keepers of law and order"; not to mention some magistrates and "even" higher courts. He recalls the imprisonment of Free State women for protesting against the pass system, and speaks of the small remnants of the Hottentots in S.W. Africa, "goaded into rebellion" over a dog tax, "bombed by aeroplanes and driven into the desert to die of hunger and thirst." In that same country the Administrator offers "30,000,000 hectares of good grazing land for European settlement, yet refuses to hand back to the Rehoboths an inch of their land which was taken from them by the Germans." "From Kenya, from every mandated territory comes the same news of oppression: indeed, the natives are everywhere being taxed to work for white settlers." Let a white man become a black for 24 hours and see if he has one single happy moment: he will then appreciate what it is to be a helot all the time.

THE REWARD OF "LOYALTY."

Dr. Abdurahman emphasised how, notwithstanding all this, the non-European races of Africa as of other parts of the Empire (like the negroes of the U.S.A.), responded to the call for cannon-fodder in the Great War, full of "that sense of loyalty to the Empire that fills the heart of every coloured man," and "fired with the earnest hope that the Allies would prevail and that the protection of small nationalities would become the heritage and possession of every people of every class and creed and colour"; while those who did not go to the front "kept the mines, farms and factories in full swing; they did not go on strike or start 'five bob' rebellions." Thus "the blood of many of our best has fertilised the world's soil for the benefit of the whites—and lo! we are told that degradation is our reward and helotage our lot. What a disillusionment of all our hopes!"

"WORKERS v. WORKERS."

"Our greatest enemy in the industrial world," says the A.P.O. President, "is organised white labour. We hear much about the wickedness of capitalists, to combat which there must be solidarity of the workers. But alas! the greatest exploiters of coloured labour on the Rand are the white workers, and their 'solidarity' has resulted in our being kept down at unskilled work." Mr. Le Pere, of the Johannesburg Branch of the A.P.O., at the same Conference spoke of the "great restraint" shown by the coloured people during last year's Rand revolt, and told how he or his friends "helped to save Brixton Ridge and Fordsburg," carrying despatches for and otherwise assisting the police, adding: "the true story of the Rand revolt had never been told, as the coloured man had never come forward and told of his share." But he, too, said that they had never got anything for their "loyalty." Similarly, Dr. Abdurahman said that a demonstration and petition to Parliament for the franchise were to have been made about that time, but the demonstration was abandoned "out of deference to the authorities"—who showed their gratitude by ignoring the petition.

THE COMING CLASH.

"The colour bar," said the Doctor, "has cleft South Africa into two irreconcilable camps: the one lords it over the other, and the one deems itself secure and happy while the other becomes daily more resentful and revengeful." And he concludes:

"Our struggle is, we trust, nearing the period of the last desperate conflict." "Our patience is almost exhausted." "If Parliament refuses to give a favourable reply to our petition, then we are driven to the inevitable conclusion that we have been and are being fooled, tricked and cheated. . . . We are determined that we shall not be kept in political bondage much longer. . . . This state of affairs cannot continue indefinitely; it has to continue but little longer, when a rude awakening will startle the community. . . . One unerring method to secure redress of grievances still remains for us to adopt: it lies in the industrial organisation of all our workers. . . . Should we be forced to put into practice the weapon of industrial warfare—and if we were organised we could bring the country to a panic in 24 hours? . . . If we use that weapon it may bring temporary untold disaster on the country. . . . The farms will remain uncultivated, the mines will close down, the factories will cease work, and the domestic idyllic idleness of the white dames (drones!) of society will end. . . . I must finally warn Europeans not only of the Union but of Africa that if they persist in their insensate folly of repressing the African, then they will awaken the nationality of colour, which is still dormant, but which will eventually emerge from continued persecution. There will arise a holy colour bond of which the watchword will be freedom and independence. South Africa is only a small part of the African Continent. The clash will come from the North. Egypt has struck the first note. In a few short years she will have thrown off the foreign yoke, and will then carry the flag of liberty throughout the whole of Africa. There will then arise the cry 'Africa for Africans,' because the principle of 'beneficent conquest' has proved an utter failure. Then, just as the past witnessed a great scramble by Europeans for land in Africa, so the future will see a great white scuttle out of Africa."

The President concluded with fervent hopes that such a catastrophe may not reach South Africa, but that in good time black and white may learn to solve their differences and to "work together loyally and in mutual friendship for the good of all."

A TRUE BILL.

Serious words, and worthy to be treated seriously not only because they are followed by a very large section of the people but because they are in the main, from that point of view, a correct forecast. For in spite of his pious aspiration at the end, Dr. Abdurahman shows, perhaps knows, no reason for expecting any bridging of the gulf; indeed, as regards labour, does he not himself constantly urge coloured workmen to undercut white by a shilling or so in order to get the job, and coloured people generally to unite only on a basis of exclusion of Europeans, not to say natives, against whom many of them seem as prejudiced as the whites are? A correct forecast, not only for South Africa or the African Continent (among American negroes, too, Egypt is sometimes looked to as the pioneer of future as of past African civilisation), but for all "Eastern and colonial" countries, of the "final conflict" that imperialist capitalism inevitably leads to, including even the necessary "temporary untold disaster" of every revolutionary upheaval. Not, mark you, the result of Bolshevik intrigues or delegates' visits to Moscow—fortunately or unfortunately Dr. Abdurahman has done perhaps much more for agitation and organisation of coloured folk than any Communists have—but as the natural process of palpable forces.

"FOR THE EMPIRE."

It is in misreading these forces that the Doctor and his followers go astray. Hard on the heels of one disillusionment they court another. Why are the coloured and native people disfranchised? To make them en bloc, as a helot race, less able to resist capitalist exploitation. Why are they bullied, oppressed, shot down? For the same reason that white workers are, as in last year's strike—to intimidate them into being cheaper, more docile and servile profit-producers for their masters. Nothing else. Not in South Africa alone but all over the world, capital is for ever seeking more and more cheap and docile labour by subjugating whole races and driving them into the labour market. That is imperialism, to which Dr. Abdurahman and his friends still so obsequiously protest loyalty. By helping to conquer the German imperialists, for instance, they simply helped French and British imperialism to get a freer hand than ever to exploit in Africa as in the Ruhr or in Turkey or China, and they are reaping their reward in an actually intensified exploitation, as they might have expected, whereby it has become possible to get skilled work done at native instead of white rates of pay—that is all Mr. Le Pere's friends have got out of it, isn't it, now?

WHO FOMENTS RACE-HATE?

And "colour prejudice," like any other racial or national prejudice, is a factor only because it is exploited, worked up and inflamed by those interested to serve capitalist purposes. Only with the overthrow of capitalist rule can racial and all other "liberty and justice" begin to be realised. Thus it is that in the great Soviet Federation, which embraces a hundred different nationalities of various colours, all nationalist or racial rivalries and differences have been satisfactorily and painlessly smoothed away. Why? Because the domination, not "of one race over another," but of the capitalist class over all the workers and peasants, has been destroyed within the Federation's boundaries; and national questions at once lose all importance. Everywhere else in the world that class is still in power, and thrives on creating division (to which Dr. Abdurahman no less than some trade unionists is consciously or unconsciously contributing) between race and race.

THE CLASS BAR.

It is not just a question of "the colour bar." In Africa, no doubt, especially Central and West Africa (less in South Africa because here we have a quite considerable white working class) the division between white and black does roughly seem to coincide with the real division, the economic division, the class division between employer and employee, master and servant, exploiter and exploited; but though difference of race facilitates exploitation—of both white and black—and in the case of the black makes it seem more glaring, yet race is not itself the base of exploitation. White exploits and oppresses white in the Ruhr, and for that matter in Britain or South Africa itself; black exploits black in America, brown exploits brown in India, and so on. The real basis of division is ownership of property by means of which you can make others—skilled or unskilled, white or black—work for your profit, for they have no property of their own. On this basis we find all the capitalist class of the whole world, even nationalist capitalists, arrayed against all the labour, white, black, brown or yellow, of the whole world—nothing less. Anyone who tries to shut off this world view and think only on parochial pump lines will fall into error and find himself, like the white scabs, like Mr. Le Pere's friends, like Dr. Abdurahman with his undercutting advice, really fighting for the common enemy.

"SLAVE-DRIVERS'" DEFEAT NO GAIN.

Apply these principles to the question as between white trade unionists and coloured workers. The trade unionists are charged with keeping the coloured men out of good jobs. But the trade unionists have now, by the action of, among others, Mr. Le Pere and his friends, been beaten to their knees on this very question. Yet the coloured men have still not got the good jobs, or at least the good pay attaching to them. It does not look as though it was the strikers that kept them out! Agreed that the white miners' colour prejudice is utterly wrong, though their fear of being brought down to the economic "kaffir level" is proper enough. This fear and this prejudice are used by the masters to turn the whites into slave-drivers, often willing ones it is true, of the non-whites. But for whom are they slave drivers? Clearly not for themselves, but for the "wicked capitalists." It is the capitalists, not the trade unionists, that draw the profits and the dividends: it is they that are the exploiters, the real slave drivers. Now, owing to the defeat of their strike, the "slave-drivers'" wage has been enormously cut down; yet the slaves have gained not a penny. It is in no way a case of the one being high because the other is low. The capitalists who brought the white strikers and their wages down have not for that reason changed their natural policy of keeping the coloured and natives and their wages down too in any case. Of course they haven't; why on earth should they? Their world-wide aim is to lower wages, not to increase them—not even as a reward for those who slavishly "helped them to save Brixton Ridge," as post-war disillusionment should long ago have taught Mr. Le Pere. On the contrary, if the slaves get restive for higher wages or better conditions, there are the gaols, the guns, and the aeroplanes always handy, and plenty more "niggers" to take the place of those put out of the way. Besides no halfpence they get kicks. Yet they help the police, the very people who, being "brutal and cruel to coloured men," would, if the strike had really been a strike against the coloured, naturally have supported the strikers. Whereas in fact they were every bit as "brutal and cruel" to them as they are to coloured men, just as native police are savagely brutal to native prisoners. How is this? The key is that the police are guardian angels neither of the coloured nor of the whites as such but of the Chamber of Mines, the master and therefore the enemy of both white workers and black workers, ruling both by fostering division between them—as it undoubtedly did on March 8, 1922, in particular. Loyalty to that monster, indeed!

GET ON WITH IT!

That monster, the capitalist class, or rather system, for it is almost an impersonal or at least an absentee body to-day, is what has to be destroyed, and it will take the utmost organisation and unity of the working class of all nationalities of the world to do the job. Let Dr Abdurahman, if he is in earnest, get on as rapidly as possible with his industrial organisation of the non-white workers, aye, and peasants, of Africa (keeping it very clear of crooks and cranks); for though, being based on mere colour, it will be imperfect, yet without it he can make no progress whatever against either capitalism or its product, racial oppression. It is work that he can do far better, if he likes, than any "Bolshevik" can, although the Communists will gladly give any assistance they are capable of, particularly when it comes to the problem of securing common action between white and non-white organisations.

AWAY WITH IMPERIALISM.

To that end the white workers too have to be educated and the lessons of their disillusionment, too, both those of the Great War and those of last year's strike, hammered home. Incidentally, in the immediate interest of solidarity, it may be advisable to negotiate between white and coloured and black a standard wage or scale of wages, or something approximating to it, for given work, irrespective of colour. It may even become expedient to form, say, a Greater Miners' Union to include all the mine workers, skilled and unskilled, black and white, in one militant organisation. At any rate, the interest of the white workers is clear—recent events have shown that there is no other salvation for them in South Africa—namely, not to oppose or even stand aloof from the movement of the coloured and native, not to dash their heads against a wall, not to support the masters' last fight for retention of power; but to give the most whole-hearted support to any movement of the toilers of Africa, whatever their colour, that will help to free the African continent from imperialist exploitation.

THE WHITE WORKERS' BURDEN

Indeed, they have here a part to play far greater than their numerical strength would seem to warrant. To them it must largely fall, if they can rise to the occasion and view the position from a human historic, scientific, commonsense way, not merely to support the movement of the helots, but in taking it up to clarify and purify it, converting it from a mere blind race feud, liable to end in a barbaric blood bath, into a solid, intelligent and class-conscious proletarian and liberationist organisation with industrial union as its main strength. That is what the ruling class fear; it is because such an organisation will threaten their insolent domination over both white and black that they scream so wildly against the "sinister menace to society," and so on. It is a task the white workers alone can perform; but also it is only in conjunction with such an organisation that they can play a great part in the history of South Africa, of the African continent, of the world.

—AND THEIR DANGER.

But for that purpose they must definitely break with the bourgeoisie, break with racial prejudice, break with that poisonous psychology which, masquerading as pro-white, is really only pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist: break with conciliation boards and all other hobnobbings with the enemy; and declare whole-heartedly for the unity of the working class, for the ending of all imperialism, British, French, American, Japanese, Dutch, Belgian, for the attack on the world-wide capitalist system, for the reorganisation of society on the basis of Communism. If they fail in this high mission (as however we do not believe they will fail), if they choose, for the sake of their very slightly privileged position in the working class, to fight against, instead of for, the aspirations of the non-white, then the great African clash with the imperialists, which the latter by their oppression are, as Dr. Abdurahman says, making inevitable, will find the South African proletariat and oppressed classes still divided, and it will be a clash of black and white as such, in which, whatever the fortune of the white exploiters, the white workers of the continent will be forced, if not actually to the side of their masters and oppressors, at best between the upper and nether millstones, where, indeed, they already are even in South Africa; for in such a fight there is no room for neutrals. And if it should end in the fall of the master class they will go down with it.

The supreme task before the South African labour movement is to unite all the forces of labour in one great militant whole irrespective of colour.

S. P. BUNTING.

The Chemical War.

By MARCEL FOURRIER (Paris).

The irresistible charm of the Rhine for French militarism lies in the gigantic factories, which can be transformed overnight into poison gas factories.

THE GAS WAR OF 1915 TO 1918.

The whole world knows of the gigantic development of poison gas as a military weapon in the last imperialist blood bath. Those soldiers who escaped the hell of Ypers will never forget the first attack, with its preliminary of chloride gas, in the year 1915. And all through their lives will they remember the gas grenades and their effect.

The sudden and rapid advance of the Germans in 1918 was to be attributed almost solely to the extensive employment of blue gas grenades. And Ludendorff's memoirs have since revealed to us that at this time the German artillery was actually shooting 70 per cent. gas grenades.

In the face of this danger, the Allies have been exerting their utmost endeavours, since 1917, to create for themselves a chemical industry of equal efficiency. Huge sums have been expended for the rapid erection of great chemical works, and to provide these with the necessary raw materials. But it was not until July, 1918, that the poison gas production of the Allies had made any noticeable progress.

But although the English and French poison gas factories, built and developed exclusively for the war against Germany, became practically useless for purposes of post-war production, this did not by any means apply to the German chemical works. These, on the contrary, were at once re-transformed into what they had been before 1914: excellent dye works.

A few figures may serve to represent the situation more graphically: The present production of dyestuffs in Germany exceeds 160,000 tons, as against 50,000 tons in the rest of the world. In 1918, France produced 18,000 tons for her war purposes, but this has now receded to a round production of 9,000 tons.

POISON GAS AND THE STRENGTH OF THE ARMIES.

Germany's crushing superiority in this line thus becomes obvious. For the poison gases known today are obtained from dyestuffs through a simple chemical process.

It was for this reason that even after 1918, Germany, though vanquished and disarmed, still remained a great military power, for she had at her disposal the mightiest chemical producing capacity in the world.

The peace treaty of Versailles devoted some attention to the chemical war. It formally forbade Germany to manufacture poison gases. Moreover, it provided for a strict supervision of all German dye works. But of what use is supervision? The dyestuff industry is once and for all a peace industry, and its products are simply indispensable in the dye works throughout the world, so that it cannot be reduced or otherwise limited without turning world economics upside down. Hence, Germany remains in a position enabling her to transform the same raw materials and products, overnight, into poison gases, and to convert her peace industry into a war industry at a moment's notice.

After all this, we may well comprehend why French militarism gazes as if hypnotised at the German dye works, ALL OF WHICH HAPPEN TO LIE, BY A MIRACULOUS ACCIDENT, IN THE RHINE COUNTRY.

We have millions of brothers and sisters whose daily bread never reaches them, being intercepted on the way.

* * *

Capitalism has woven its own winding sheet. The last of the systems of class exploitation and class domination—more ruthless and more callous than the ancient or the feudal systems—it has engendered a class struggle that can end in one way only.

An Open Letter.

We publish the following letter at the request of Comrade W. H. Harrison with some reluctance, as it cuts clean across the general policy and tactics of the Communist International as laid down at the World Congresses of 1921 and 1922, and is not based on the experience of the last few years nor the facts of the labour movement to-day. No further controversy on this subject will be printed in the "International." Action, not debate, is the need of the moment:

To the Members of the Capetown Branch.

Dear Comrades,—The question of a united front in the interest of our propaganda, and for which a letter in support of certain tactics for us to adopt was submitted by Comrade Bunting at our last branch meeting, and which also was favourably received by many members of the Party—we, representing the dissentients of such a policy, wish to present our case in similar form.

In the first place, we want to say that we as members of the Third International wish the movement to be whole-hearted in the interests of a solidified front. We have no desire to create anything in the form of a split nor to treat such discussion with sarcasm or ridicule. But believing as we do that our point of view is supported by historical facts of "Left Wing Communism," dating back to almost the inception of the revolutionary movement, we feel justified in standing our ground against any compromise or associating ourselves in any way with anything in the way of palliating the present system.

Yet when our comrades at the Conference said: "We must reserve all our energies for propaganda in favour of the Revolution," Comrade Zinoviev hopes that the workers will "reject such childishness," and adds "We are opposed to reformism, but we are not opposed to anything that may improve the lot of the working class." How our comrade differentiates those two statements those who agree with him will perhaps explain.

Comrade Bunting, too, in trying to prove how we have supported reforms in the past, says we have "opposed war, supported strikes, carried on free speech campaigns, and opposed the Government for the Bulhoek attack." Truly, as Comrade Bunting says, we "opposed" them all, we asked for nothing nor compromised with anybody, the absolute negation of such brutal tactics and a demand for the right of free speech to say so.

Comrade Bunting then goes on to say: "When the Russian soldiers and peasants in 1917 demanded 'Peace and Bread,' did Lenin and Trotsky say 'Pish, tush, a mere reformist demand? No, they said: 'Peace and bread you shall have,' and to-day," Comrade Bunting says, "they have both." Yes, after the revolution, which WAS, of course, in 1917. Prior to that they were repeatedly told there was neither peace nor bread for them from the Kerensky Government, any more than there will be in South Africa from a Smuts Government. Hence we are using Lenin's own arguments. Comrade Bunting also quotes the ten-hour day in England as being approved by the original Communist Manifesto. But both Marx and Engels, in their preface to the new edition of 1872, says that "This programme has in some detail become antiquated." In a further translation published in 1909 the translators say: "These few passages have been frequently used by reactionists and reformists to mislead the unwary worker."

A native of this country is quoted as being "a prominent and faithful member of the Industrial Workers of Africa," who Comrade Bunting says "has caught the spirit of the Commintern" because he was heard to say "Take an interest in our sufferings, and then and not before we shall listen to what you have to say." In our opinion a Salvation Army officer might equally satisfy such sentiments. In fact, we are told that this same native gentleman sought the same form of relief from Mr. Jagger's political platform, hardly though, we think, in the "spirit of the Commintern."

Our members must be to the last man "unspotted from the world." Yet Lenin, advising on such "purity" tactics in his "Left Wing Communism," says that we should "support the Labour Party at the elections in the same way that the rope supports the man who hangs himself"; and in that same booklet he goes on to say: "It is enough to say, as do the German and British Left Communists, that we acknowledge only one straight road, and that we do not admit manœuvres, co-operation, and compromises."

Comrade Bunting says too: "It was noticeable at the Congress one party after another would say 'Yes, the United Front, etc., is all very well for other parties but not for us.' . . . Each thought his own country exceptional, but all the rest normal, and the result was that the Congress turned them all down and exempted nobody." Proof is very clear here that the Congress was represented from many countries by the non-reformist parties, who it seems were "turned down" by the greater Russian influence. (This is untrue; the great majority of the delegates were non-Russian.—Ed.)

Even back to the Blanquist Communards of France in 1874, they wrote: "We are Communists because we wish to obtain our aims directly without stopping at intermediary stations, without any compromises, which only postpone the day of victory and prolong the period of slavery." Yet with all these abounding schools in the past and present ages holding the same view of revolutionary propaganda, and which the Bolsheviks prior to the revolution in 1917 adopted themselves, they have to-day, because compromise has become a necessity to meet their difficulties which have arisen through abnormal circumstances, asked us to cast aside our old revolutionary faith and tactics and compromise with capitalism.

But what inconsistency! For, to quote Lenin's "Left Communism" again, which is published to show the necessity for compromise and the supposed "infantile disorder" of the Left revolutionaries, he says: "As far as I can judge of the Left Communists (anti-parliamentarians) and the Communists generally of Germany, the first have the advantage over the second, in that they are better agitators amongst the masses. . . . I have repeatedly observed something analogous in the history of the Bolshevik Party. For instance, in 1907-8 the Left Bolsheviks had upon certain occasions and in many places better success among the masses than we had. . . . When revolutionary recollections are fresh it is most easy to approach the masses with the tactics of mere negation."

(Continued at foot of column 2.)

Congress Problems.

One of the most hopeful features of the post-war revolutionary socialist movement is the precision, lucidity and clear-mindedness which characterises its utterances and actions. Gone are the vague "idealism," the tendencies to restrict themselves to academic discussions and philosophical detachment of the "advanced" thinkers of 1914. The decay of capitalism throughout the world and the imminence of its collapse have brought about a complete transformation of the socialist—in the real sense of the term—movement. In the leaders of the Third International—Lenin, Trotsky, Radek, Bucharin—the Communist movement has the most brilliant collection of leaders that has ever fallen to the lot of a movement since the beginning of human evolution. Clear-cut thought, scientific definition, and a thorough realisation of the problems of revolution in all its stages are the absolute essentials of every revolutionary party, and every section of the Communist International is slowly but surely forging for itself those weapons which will make it invincible in the social revolution.

And it is sincerely to be hoped that the South African section, which meets in conference at the end of this month, will step into this world-wide trend. Let the movement shed every remnant of ambiguity, every trace of unclear or confused thought. The academic revolutionaries of the pre-war era could dream of nothing higher than the "road to power." To-day the road is wide open, and it requires but the massing of the forces and their preparation for the victorious march under the banner of the Communist Party. Let every problem, then, every decision, be examined in the light of the new situation. It is true that we have ACCEPTED the "theses and statutes" of the International, but what is more necessary is that as many as possible—if not all—of the Party membership should thoroughly REALISE and understand them. The carrying out of the revolutionary programme will unquestionably demand this, and agitation and education are therefore necessary in the ranks of the Party itself. Anti-capitalist propaganda for the workers and the science of revolution for the Communist advance guard are both of equal importance.

To return to the political aspect, it is absolutely essential to have a clear and definite statement from the Communist Party of South Africa on its attitude on the many complex "problems" that obscure the political horizon of this country. The native "question," especially, must be re-examined under the realistic light, the cultural and historical aspects being taken fully into account. At the next congress of the Communist International the different national sections will present national programmes, which, while in full accord with Communist principles, will take into consideration the varying stages of the class struggle of the respective countries and their different historical settings. If the Conference achieves the two supreme objects of (1) formulating realistic definitions of our task in South Africa and (2) of impressing upon the membership of the Party the need for a revolutionary training, it will have set up the first real milestone on the road of the social revolution in South Africa.

V. D.

Double Punishment.

Will Henry Sheffield, the Auckland Communist, who was fined £25 for selling a copy of "The A.B.C. of Communism," worked in the railway service. The Department, immediately after his conviction, sacked him. He is about to leave for Soviet Russia, where Tsardom is no more.

—"Maoriland Worker."

Lloyd-George, too, is known as a clever scrutiniser, and even he told the House of Commons that the street corner revolutionaries were the people who were making it possible for a revolution in England to-day. Comrade Bunting, on the other hand, says in sarcastic vein, "It should be our privilege, NOT to stand on a Capetown dunghill and crow that we know better"—these compromising tactics including, according to Lenin, the signing of the Versailles Treaty—"but to march," he says, "in solidarity with it to win the world victory we all desiderate."

Comrade Bunting also twits some of us because of our "business exigencies," to be actually biassed against it, so much so that they are even heard to say, "Don't go with the masses or they will drag you in the gutter." That passage, we think, conveys an unfair interpretation. We are not, on the contrary, afraid because of our "business exigencies" to get down to the masses, but because we have no desire to tamper with their sordid conditions, but rather lift them out of such conditions by the only possible emancipator, the Revolution. To establish a programme on a wages basis is to recognise it as payment rather than repudiating it as a pittance of the larger profit of unpaid labour retained. Neither is it suggestive of such good results as those we have hitherto employed. All concessions hitherto offered the workers are not because the capitalists fear those who demand them, but because, like Bismarck of Germany when he gave abounding concessions to the workers in his efforts to frustrate the advance movement of Lassalle, who was out for a Socialist Republic—it was because he feared, as all capitalists fear, not petty demands, but the Revolution.

W. H. HARRISON.

Capetown, 2/4/23.

Russia and the Ruhr.

The French occupation of the Ruhr marks the beginning of a new phase in Russia's international relations. The New Economic Policy started in 1921 with trade agreements, or diplomatic attempts at trade agreements. The official attitude of the Soviet had to be strictly "correct" in relation to the capitalist powers. The economic restoration of Russia, even at the cost of certain political concessions, was considered of paramount importance, and still is, of course. But the means to that end have changed. The collapse of the Hague Conference convinced the Soviets that the reconstruction of the ruined industries must fall wholly on the shoulders of the exhausted Russian proletariat. And how heroically has that proletariat responded!

Marx, writing on the Turkish question in 1753, referred to the five great powers who were fighting out the issue in the Chancellories of Europe. Marx declared then that the Turkish question, the question as to who should have Constantinople and the Dardanelles, would never be solved except by the advent of the Sixth Great Power—the Revolution. The sixth great power, representing the revolutionary proletariat, is at Lausanne, demanding admittance and declaring that the Five Powers may wrangle as long as they like, the question will not be settled without the signature of the representative of the Revolution: Soviet Russia.

While the Lausanne Conference sat, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was formed, with an express provision in its constitution for the admission of other Soviet Republics. For the first time a government names itself not by territory but by a principle, the principle of the inclusion of the whole world proletariat in one socialist family of nations. R.S.F.S.R. (the Russian Socialist Federative Republic) becomes one of the constituent provinces of the C.C.R. (the Socialist Soviet Republic), and as the latter the Revolution is now represented in the foreign chancelleries. This is a direct challenge to the capitalist Powers, but they dare not take it up; at least not at present.

The occupation of the Ruhr by the French brought forth from the Soviet Government a declaration of protest, signed by the President of the Central Executive Committee, and couched in uncompromising Communist phraseology.

The Central Council of the Russian Trade Unions has telegraphed to the German Communist Party that it is donating 100,000 gold roubles to help the German proletariat in its struggle against the occupation of the Ruhr, and asking the Party to hand over the money to the Executive Committee of the Factory Councils.

The German Communist Party received the message while the annual congress was sitting. The Party decided to present a flag to the Red Army, and cabled asking Trotsky to name the regiment that is to carry the flag to victory. With that dramatic sense of the splendid occasion which makes Trotsky what he is, he issues Army Order No. 277, which is now before me, reading as follows:

"The German Communist Party has resolved at its Congress to present the Red Army with a flag as a symbol of the fraternal unity of the armed forces of the Russian workers and peasants and the toilers of all lands.

"In order to select from all the sections of the Red Army that section which in the name of the whole army shall bear the standard of the German comrades, and in case of need, to defend it, I order that:

"The flag be entrusted to the 10th Regiment of the 4th Infantry Division, which took part in the most important military operations of the Red Army on the Polish front in the war of 1920, and distinguished itself by its bravery in a multitude of stubborn encounters, and in August, 1920, during the retreat from Warsaw, was forced by the exceptionally heavy odds to cross the border into Eastern Prussia and submit to internment on German territory.

"In future this regiment shall be known as: The 4th Infantry Division, 10th or German Proletariat Regiment.

"Long live the Red Army!

"Long live the brotherhood of the toilers of all lands.

"President of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, L. Trotsky."

* * *

Bucharin, in a recent letter to the French Party, openly said that if the Poles tried to extinguish the German revolution the Red Army would have to attack Poland. Trotsky has almost as openly, and in an official manner, indicated the same thing by specially choosing a regiment which has already been on German soil. The Revolution marches forward. The Russian workers, as shown by their spontaneous demonstrations in Moscow against the Poincare Push, feel that they and the Red Army are destined to play a great part in the world revolution.

D. IVON JONES.

Capetown Unemployed.

Unemployment is on the increase in Capetown, both among the white and the coloured and native workers, and with the threatened closing down of relief works it will grow still worse. The Capetown Communists took the initiative of convening a meeting of unemployed at the Trades Hall on Good Friday, as the result of which a committee was appointed, consisting of four white and three native unemployed, together with some of the Party members and Councillor H. B. Ask as treasurer. On Sunday, April 8th, a first demonstration was held on the Grand Parade, under the chairmanship of Comrade Pereira. A good muster assembled, and speeches were delivered by Messrs. Ash, Dryburgh, Bunting, and others. A noteworthy incident was the speech of one of the "unemployed" crabbing the whole movement as Communist camouflage. This speaker, who had previously got on to the committee, left the platform amid the disapproval of the crowd, and was later on seen with a group of detectives. . . . The Committee is pushing forward the further organisation of the unemployed, who will also take part in the May Day procession.

May Day.

The Committee, which met on Wednesday last, decided to push May Day celebrations this year in spite of the edict of the Chamber of Mines and the Government that May Day should be erased from the calendar. A procession and demonstration will be held, and trade unions and labour bodies are urged to turn out with their banners and make the celebration a success. Decorated trolleys and cars are required for the children, and those intending to take vehicles into the procession are invited to inform the hon. secretary as soon as possible.

If the workers intend to regain the right to their holiday, now is the time to make a start. May Day is no sectional occasion, and all should rally to the Red Flag on this proletarian holiday.

The next meeting of the Committee will be held on Wednesday, 18th inst., at eight o'clock, in No. 4, Trades Hall.

Germiston, by calling a citizens' meeting to discuss May Day arrangements, has made a new departure, but there is an element of danger in such a procedure that the essentially working class character of the day may be slurred over. This, of course, entirely depends on the workers' organisations. They must attend all such functions in full strength.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Dates of meetings: April 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.

* * *

Young Communists.

The Young Communist League have ventured into the realm of newspaper publishing. The first number of the South African "Young Communist" has been received by us. It is typewritten, and includes articles on Propaganda, Our Anti-Militarist Week, Prepare for May Day, and Study Class programme. The price is 3d. per copy; subscribers 3s. per annum. We wish our young friends every success in their venture.

Meetings every Tuesday at No. 4, Trades Hall, at 8 p.m.

* * *

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 22nd, at 3 p.m.

* * *

CAPETOWN.

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

April 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." I. Schack.

Adult Choir meets Mondays at 8 p.m.

Strangers invited.

"I no like the Turkish Government; I no like the British Government; I no like Arabian Government; I like no government; I am a farmer."—A Mosul farmer.

So like a farmer.

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(Late of Norman Anstey and Longfield & Co.)
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