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The Red Army and Pacifism.

By MAURICE LAPORTE (Paris).

Motto: "We can make no revolution without the army."—Karl Liebknecht.

It is a fact that without the army there is no certainty of victory. To win the young soldiers for Communism is to strike a deadly blow at Capitalism.

They are fools who hope for a "short peaceful" revolution, a social transformation without profound and mighty upheavals. In the battles of to-day victory falls to the one who has the best weapons at his disposal, and knows best how to use them. There are no pleasant surprise attacks as in 1848, no taking of town halls or chamber buildings by a boldly executed coup; now there is nothing but the barricade, and behind it the rifle, the machine gun, even the cannon. Two great armies oppose one another, determined to fight: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. And we again emphasise that only the complete defeat of the one can render the victory of the other possible. It is in our hands to choose and to conquer.

We are often told. "If you defend the Red Army, you are not really anti-militarists." Naturally those who oppose militarism are solely the elements who take every opportunity of emphasising their will to peace, who groan and sigh whenever events appear to make war inevitable.

And these pacifists have never been so numerous as now, during the present period of confusion and threats of fresh war. Let us take a closer glance at the reasons adduced by these stay-at-home humanitarians.

BOURGEOISIE AND PACIFISM.

For the bourgeoisie, pacifism is just as effective a means to an end as religion, native country, justice, universal franchise—it is another medium for lulling the proletariat to sleep. In the name of pacifism, and with the full support of the social democrats, the bourgeoisie condemns our thesis of the class struggle, which imposes on the oppressed of all countries the right and the duty to emancipate themselves by means of revolutionary force, that is, by means of war itself. Just as the bourgeoisie has its election agents, so also it has its special assistants whose task it is to sing the praises of the benefits conferred on the world by the League of Nations, to extol the idea of the rights of the peoples, of general and simultaneous disarmament, although all these things are absolutely incompatible with the present state of society which is based upon oppression and domination.

When the pacifists reproach us with having insufficient anti-military ardour, they are mightily mistaken.

Our chief concern is not that an army is a mere assembly of human beings accustomed to discipline and obedience. For us the social role played by the army is of much greater importance. To-day it is a platitude to say that the army is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class. But platitude or not, the constant repetition of this assertion does not in the least detract from its significance. The point of main interest for us is: in whose behalf is this instrument being used?

At the present time the army supports the capitalist state. In the Communist society, and during transition to this state of society, the whole army will be at the service of the revolution, at the disposal of the proletariat, which, after it has seized power, will inevitably have to take up arms against world reaction. For the triumph of Communism in one country will not lead automatically to world revolution.

We must not forget the profound meaning contained in Lenin's words: "Until we have disarmed the bourgeoisie everywhere, we cannot throw away our guns."

NATIONAL DEFENCE?

Those pacifists who condemn war as such, are the same who do not reject the idea of national defence. For these opponents of war there exists a profound solidarity which closely unites the exploiters and exploited of one and the same country during war.

Events, which have little respect for pacifists, sometimes make war unavoidable, and when such a moment arrives, we shall witness a complete collapse in the camp of the humanitarians. Then we shall hear nothing more of peace between the peoples or of disarmament. Then nothing will be spoken of but war. National defence comes before all else.

It is thus easily understood why we so bitterly combat the lies of pacifism.

We must now be quite clear in our minds in what manner we must work in order to convert the army to our views.

In theory and in practice alike, the army is directed much less against neighbouring capitalist nations than against ourselves. Thus we have to win at least the majority of this army over to our side, if we want to take up the struggle with a fair prospect of success.

Jim Larkin

Jim Larkin, on his return to Dublin after several years' imprisonment in the United States, was welcomed by thousands of workers. Bands played and red flags waved. The press reports that "There was a notable absence of the OFFICIAL labour leaders."

We are not surprised. It is the same everywhere.

* * *

Look at This.

"More and more are we convinced that the prosperity of South Africa depends upon a large expansion of the white population, which must come mainly from immigration."—"Rand Daily Mail."

* * *

And This.

"In order to cope with the big increase of work in the municipal sanitary fees office—the number of accounts has risen from 60,240 to 72,360—it was resolved at last night's meeting of the Town Council to buy an adding machine TO OBVIATE THE NECESSITY FOR ANY INCREASE IN STAFF."—"Rand Daily Mail."

Straws.

The miners on strike on the Thetford Mines, Quebec, have assumed control of the mines, and have expelled the manager and 40 special constables who were employed by the Asbestos Company.—Reuter.

This is called a Canadian Strikers' Soviet by the capitalist press, which shows how little they know.

* * *

Different.

The United States authorities have seized and detained a British vessel for sending her boats within the three-mile limit.

There is no proposal to discontinue trading with America on that account at present. But then, the U.S.A. is not a Soviet Republic.

* * *

To Combat Communism.

Our city fathers—or some of them—are afraid of Socialism, which they call Bolshevism. Labourites, Socialists, and even Communists have addressed meetings from the pedestals outside the Town Hall; therefore, put lamps on the pedestals, says Mr. T. F. Allen and his friends, and we can sleep in peace.

The chairman of the General Purposes Committee should not play with lamp-posts. They were dangerous things in Paris for men of his type in 1793. Better leave the pedestals as they are.

WE may think ourselves lucky that the trusted leaders of British Labour have set their minds on nothing more drastic than a theoretical policy, and propose nothing more alarming . . . than to proceed with it by constitutional means. This will give Capital time to look round and bethink itself of means of salvation.

"TRUTH."

The Difference

A Cossack in a Red Army school was asked what distinguishes the Red Army from the old Tsarist army. Without a moment's hesitation he replied, "In the old army the officers taught us with blows, now they treat us as comrades."

* * *

The Rouble.

Much nonsense is talked about the rouble, and people are asked to believe that it has ceased to have any value at all. According to "Russian Information and Review" the pound on February 9th this year stood at 223 roubles, and in March 205.

* * *

Getting Jumpy.

Constantinople, Sunday.—It is reported that the police have discovered a Bolshevik plot wherein a Bolshevik commercial delegation are said to be involved, to organise a demonstration of workers on May Day.

Terrible fellows, these Bolsheviks! They actually want to celebrate May Day.

* * *

Joy Riding.

By the very simple method of getting into an idle car and driving off, a certain section of the South African youth are solving the problem of having a joy ride without the inconvenient necessity of buying or hiring a car. This is very annoying to the fellow who bought the car (on "tick" probably).

Perhaps the car-owning class would not mind if an indication of the whereabouts of the car were sent, with a polite note of thanks, instead of driving the car into a tree or over a precipice.

War on Religion.

Father O'Flanagan was arrested in Sydney on Monday for attempting to address a meeting on behalf of the Irish Republicans.

We do not expect the Cardinals and Archbishops to raise the war on religion cry over it. The priest was not a counter-revolutionary agent, which makes all the difference.

* * *

Stillborn.

M. Barthou, after paying tribute to the League of Nations, declared that the League would exceed its mandate if it yielded to the "dangerous" and "impudent" suggestion that it should intervene on such questions as the occupation of the Ruhr and reparations.

The only function left to this moribund body seems to be to provide a cheap trip and a holiday to a crowd of idle parasites—Labour and otherwise.

* * *

Incitement.

The prominent headlines given to lynchings of negroes in the States and the absence of any disapproval of such orgies amounts to an incitement by the local press to go and do likewise.

* * *

The I.L.P.

The Conference showed the I.L.P. to be partly composed of men who can render excellent service as an ambulance corps, but who flinch at the thought of any direct attack on the citadel of reaction, and from whose Socialism "Capitalism" has nothing to fear.

—"The Commonwealth."

The "Pale Horse."

The Rev. Mr. Brockhuizen, a Nationalist predikant of Pretoria, has added to the theological gaiety of nations a momentous discovery that the "pale horse" of "Revelations" is none other than our young friend Bolshevism. Marvellous the sagacity of St. John the Divine to be able to divine things thousands of years ahead like this. A reference to Rev. vi., from which the text came, indicates that the stable contained a white horse with a crowned conqueror in the saddle; a red horse whose rider, bearing a sword, took away peace from the earth and made people kill one another; a black one mounted by a man holding a pair of scales and selling pennorths of this or that; and finally our pale friend, with Death and Hell up, wielding power over one-fourth of the earth to kill with sword, hunger and death. Unfortunately we have no report of whom the other three horses in the rev. gentleman's opinion may have represented, so let us have a shot at it ourselves. Shall we say the Kaiser for the first; France (scarlet woman) for the second, England the nation of shopkeepers for the third and—Tsarist Russia for the fourth—the first and last already done in, the others waiting their turn? For "the next article" shown was "the souls of them that were slain for the testimony which they held" while "the kings of the earth and the great men and the rich men and the chief captains and the mighty men" are found appealing to the mountains and rocks to fall on them and hide them from the wrath to come: these variegated steeds apparently did some good in their tin-pot way after all.

However, our preacher hits on the happy idea of calling in a Deus ex machina, saying that Bolshevism will cover the whole earth "unless God intervenes." We find no record of this intervention in the original; on the contrary, "the book of Revelations" goes on and on with one disaster after another, and it is reserved for a sunny South African of these latter days to improve on it. We can almost see this "Hervormde of Gereformeerde" God of his, something like the Gott mit uns (or Huns) we used to hear such a lot about; he seems to wear a "Jesus extension" beard, and lo, to Mr. Brockhuizen's dismay, no doubt, he takes the features of General Smuts! Truly the old story that God created man is reversed in the modern pulpit, where man creates God—bourgeois man creates a bourgeois god—in his own image, and sets him on to play the Mussolini, the General Dyer, the Kitchener, the Horthy, the Foch and the Weygand, the Denikin and the Wrangel, the Fascist and the Ku Klux Klan, the Truter and the Hofmeyr—these be thy gods, O Israel! Can we wonder if once in a way the Young Communists of Moscow, by way of retort to many thousand years of unhindered religious mummery throughout the world, including Soviet Russia still, break out into a pageant of gods on their own and burn the lot in the Red Square!

Anyway, if divine intervention is the only thing which is to prevent Bolshevism from sweeping the board, we can celebrate this May Day festival of 1923 with more confidence than ever that "l'Internationale sera le genre humain."

Degrading the Workers.

The evidence asked for and given by the workmen who are appearing before the Board of Conciliation which is considering the demand of the mine mechanics for a 30 per cent. rise, is an excellent illustration of the status of the worker under capitalism. The most minute investigations are being made in open court by the Board into the private expenditure of the witnesses in order to arrive at the minimum at which a man with his family can exist, a degrading inquisition which the members of the Board themselves and the witnesses for the other side would resent if applied to them.

Of course, the Board is not to blame. So long as the workers accept the principle that they are labouring cattle, and that all they require is a LIVING wage, such investigations will go on. The fodder basis will be the accepted standard, and in common with mules, horses and donkeys, the master class will only consider how much food, shelter, rest, etc., is necessary to keep the workers in physical fitness when deciding on their remuneration.

The master class and even the so-called professional classes do not allow this factor to regulate their incomes. They claim to be paid for work done, and do not regulate their incomes by the price of food, rent, etc. The workers will also one day refuse to allow the price of food to regulate their wages, and will demand the full product of their collective labour and nothing less. This, of course, will mean taking control of production—in other words, revolution—and the whole efforts of the labour leaders, political and industrial, as well as the master class, are directed to preventing any such action on the part of the workers.

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The Congress.

The general opinion among the delegates and visiting members was that the second Congress of the Communist Party (South African section) was a very successful gathering. The delegates were representative of all parts of South Africa, and under the able and genial chairmanship of Comrade D. L. Dryburgh, of Capetown, in the two days during which the Congress sat, got through a great deal of solid work.

Although the order paper included many highly contentious subjects—and there were various shades of opinion represented and expressed, the comradely spirit manifested throughout was a distinguishing feature of the meetings.

The Congress was opened at 10.25 on April 28th by Comrade W. H. Andrews, who welcomed the delegates, and after receiving the report of the Credentials Committee, asked the Congress to appoint its chairman. Comrade D. L. Dryburgh was elected, and briefly addressed the assembled delegates and members.

Having disposed of the minutes of last Congress, the report of the Central Executive was considered, which dealt with the following subjects: Russian Famine Relief, Congresses of the Communist International, Tom Mann Visit, Prosecutions of Party Speakers, United Front Movement, Trade Union Activity, The Rand Strike of 1922, Young Communist Movement, Organisation Problems. Following this, the audited accounts and balance sheets were considered and adopted, and the past having been disposed of the more interesting question of the future policy came under discussion.

A very lively and useful discussion took place on the tactics of the United Front, and the policy was unanimously endorsed. The most keenly debated item on the agenda was the recommendation: "That this Congress instructs the Central Executive Committee to apply for affiliation to the South African Labour Party." After an exhaustive debate the recommendation was carried by a two to one vote.

The Party delegate to the Communist International Congress (Com. S. P. Bunting) presented his report, which was a closely reasoned statement of the correct tactics to be adopted by the South African section of the Party, based on the collective experience of the delegates from all countries.

Some minor alterations of the rules were made, and a provisional constitution and platform adopted which, in common with those of all national sections, will be presented to the Commintern for its ratification.

The election of Party officers for the year resulted as follows: Chairman, Julius First; vice-chairman, Sam Barlin; treasurer, Sydney Ward; organiser, C. F. Glass; Central Executive, A. Goldman, R. Gelblum, H. Lee, S. Rubin, E. Roux, R. Rabb, W. Ward.

May Day greetings were sent to Capetown Demonstration Committee, and a vote of condolence to Com. F. Robertson, who was absent through sickness. Appreciation was also expressed of the good work he had done in the movement. The date and place of the next Congress were left to the C.E.

The Chairman, in his closing remarks, congratulated the Congress on the good work done, and the businesslike and comradely spirit in which the various problems had been debated. He said the capitalist system was crumbling, and the workers must prepare for the grand assault.

With a hearty vote of thanks to the chair and the singing of the "Internationale" and the "Red Flag," another milestone in the journey towards the workers' emancipation was passed.

May Day in Johannesburg.

In brilliant weather the stalwarts of the working class assembled on Union Ground, Johannesburg, on May Day morning. The Acme brass band from Benoni was in attendance, and livened things up whilst the sections were mustering. At 10.30 the procession moved off, headed by the S.A.M.W. Union banner, the B.W.I.U., Young Communists, and the Communist Party following with their banners. The women comrades had tastefully decorated a trolley with corn sheaves and red Soviet stars, on which was a merry band of children dressed in red and white, who enlivened the march through the town by singing the Internationale and Red Flag. The procession halted at the offices of the "Star" the "Rand Daily Mail," and the Corner House, and sang the Red Flag.

The Communists and Young Communists composed the largest sections in the procession, which paraded the chief streets of the town led by Jack Wordingham as chief marshal, and arrived at the front of the Town Hall just before twelve noon, where a large crowd surrounded the two platforms. The north platform was presided over by Comrade Geo. Mason, and the speakers included W. H. Harrison, D. L. Dryburgh (Capetown), H. W. Haynes, J. Green, C. F. Glass, J. Allen; and on the south platform, presided over by Tom Matthews, the speakers were W. H. Andrews, W. Green (Capetown), R. Rodger (Durban), J. Thompson, J. Briggs, and E. Roux.

The resolutions, which were printed in last week's issue, were with the addition of a demand for work or full maintenance for all unemployed workers, put from the platforms simultaneously by bugle call, and carried without dissent, the first at 12.45 and the second at 1.30. The whole demonstration then closed up facing the Town Hall, and led by the band, sang the Internationale and the Red Flag with enthusiasm. Telegrams of greeting were read from comrades in Livingstone, Durban, Capetown, Bulawayo, etc., sending revolutionary May Day greetings. Three cheers for the Social Revolution were called for by Comrade Haynes through the megaphone, and followed by three cheers for the boys in jail, a most successful demonstration came to an end.

The May Day Committee and its secretary, Com. C. F. Glass, is to be congratulated on sticking to its guns in the face of great discouragement and hostility not only on the part of the enemy, but from many of the paid officials of the unions and their executives, and the officials of the S.A. Labour Party. The Communists and Young Communists have once more justified their existence as the vanguard and the driving force of the working class movement.

As a result of the enthusiasm aroused at the demonstration the unemployed workers have started organising as indicated elsewhere, and we trust all who are workless will get in touch with the Unemployed Committee and press their claims on both local, provincial, and Union authorities.

CAPETOWN.

Reports from Capetown indicate that a successful demonstration was held on the parade, and it would appear that the Communists were well to the front there as elsewhere.

May Day Social.

Once again the pessimists have been put to rout, and the May Day Social, which has been a feature of the Johannesburg celebrations since 1915, was a huge success. The big Johannesburg Town Hall was filled with comrades and friends, in spite of the fact that the Social had to be held on the EVE of May Day instead of May 1st, owing to the hall being booked for that day.

Comrade D. L. Dryburgh was in the chair, and was supported by Comrades W. Green, W. H. Harrison, of Capetown, and W. H. Andrews, the General Secretary.

The proceedings opened with the Internatonale and closed with the Red Flag. Comrade S. P. Bunting's speech on his Russian impressions (which is printed on another page) was a feature of the evening.

A first-class musical programme was put through by the May Day Secretary, Com. C. F. Glass, with the able assistance of Com. S. P. Bunting. The artistes were as follows:

Misses Lilian Abbott, E. Epstein and Manthey, Messrs. Argoll and Christian (duet), Dave Carson, and E. L. Sessell (vocalists), Miss Sarah Joffe (violin), Messrs. Charlie Hudson and J. Longmore (concertina duet), Mr. R. F. Davidson (humorist), Mr. Ronald Dawson (impersonation), Mr. Syd Lukis (sleigh bells), and last, or rather first but not least, the Clark and Adeler Syncopated Orchestra, which also led the singing of the Internationale with great effect.

The Entertainment Committee is to be congratulated on the efficient way in which its arrangements worked and on the tasteful decoration of the hall, of which decorations the Communist and Young Communist banners were conspicuous features.

Unemployed on the Move.

A CAMP DEMANDED.

As the result of an announcement made at the May Day Demonstration, a well-attended meeting of the unemployed was held in the Trades Hall on Tuesday night. It was unanimously agreed to adopt the slogan of "Work or Maintenance," and a strong committee, with Comrade C. F. Glass as chairman and Comrade M. Shall as secretary-treasurer, was appointed under the name of "Unemployment Committee of the Witwatersrand." Comrade W. Green, Secretary of the Capetown Unemployed Committee, addressed the meeting, and said that the unemployed movement was meeting with great success in the Cape. It was agreed that the Johannesburg Committee should work in conjuncton with similar committees in other centres, and that everything possible should be done to spread the movement.

A deputation was appointed to wait on the Mayor, and request the gift of a site, with water and sanitary arrangements, for an unemployed camp. A further deputation was appointed to interview the Rent Board and demand the exemption of unemployed tenants from payment of house-rent.

The above demands must be whole-heartedly backed by the mass of unemployed if success is to be attained. Winter is upon us, and unless immediate and determined action is taken hundreds of workers and their families will be homeless and destitute. Unemployed, get moving! Watch these columns for further announcements and be prepared to fight for the right to live. No one else will or can help you unless you are prepared to help yourselves!

Any doctrine that will not bear investigation is not a fit tenant for the mind of an honest man. Any man who is afraid to have his doctrines investigated is not only a coward but a hypocrite.

—Ingersoll.

* * *

The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each toothprint goes;
The butterfly beside the road
Preaches contentment to that toad.

—Kipling.

Workers of South Africa!

READ, MARK AND LEARN YOUR LESSON!

Here is clear proof from OFFICIAL sources of the Government conspiracy to lower wages!

Study the following extracts from the minutes of interview between the Hon. J. W. Jagger, Minister of Railways and Harbours; His Worship the Mayor (Mr. Councillor R. J. Verster), The Chairman of the Native Township Committee (Mr. Councillor W. Coldicott Gardiner); and the Town Clerk, held at the Minister's Office, 81, Parliament Street, Capetown, on Friday, the 23rd March, 1923, at 11.30 a.m.

The Town Clerk explained that in November last representations were made to the Minister with regard to—

The restriction of the influx of natives into the Cape Peninsula.

After discussion, Mr. Jagger reverted to the subject upon which the deputation had come to discuss, viz., the question of restricting the influx of natives into the Peninsula. IN HIS OPINION SUCH INFLUX WAS DUE TO THE HIGH WAGES PAID IN CAPETOWN. THE GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN STEPS TO REDUCE WAGES AT THE DOCKS, and it was desired to secure the co-operation of the Council in the same manner so as to check the present undesirable state of affairs.

Mr. Jagger said that if the present flood of natives into the towns was to be stopped, WAGES WOULD HAVE TO BE REDUCED IN THE SAME MANNER as they had been reduced by the Master Builders AND THE GOVERNMENT. He therefore suggested that the Council should take the same line as the Government.

Mr. Jagger quoted the following reductions in wages at the Docks, viz.: Married men 4s. to 4s. 6d. per day, single men 4s. to 4s. 3d. per day, and stated that instructions had been issued to start new entrance labour at 3s. 6d. rising to 4s. per day, except in the case of the Cape married labourer, who would be paid from 4s. to 4s. 6d.

The new wages in the case of regular employment would probably be 4s. 6d. for coloured married men and 4s. for all others; casual labourers 4s. and 3s. 6d.

IT COULD THEREFORE BE STATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT PROPOSED TO TAKE ON UNSKILLED LABOUR AT A COMMENCING WAGE OF 3s. 6d. PER DAY.

Mr. Gardiner stated that the Council were forced to pay 6s. 6d. per day as a minimum wage.

His Worship the Mayor referred to the difficultes which had to be contended with under the present constitution of the Council in effecting such a decreased, and referred to a recent proposal by the responsible Committee to reduce wages of unskilled labourers by 10 per cent., which was rejected when brought before the Council for confirmation.

Mr. Gardiner mentioned that UNFORTUNATELY the rate of wages paid by the Council for unskilled labour was fixed by resolution of the Council. A motion recently brought forward to reconsider this resolution, which did not even mention any figures, was rejected.

Mr. Jagger said he appreciated the difficulty, BUT SUGGESTED THAT THE EXAMPLE SET BY THE GOVERNMENT WOULD FORM A NEW ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF A REVISION OF THE PRESENT RATE OF WAGES.

This concluded the question.

WORKERS! DOES THIS CONCLUDE THE QUESTION FOR YOU?

—Issued by the Unemployment Committee,
166, Longmarket Street, Capetown.

* * *

Employment or Full Maintenance.

If the above demand had not been bravely displayed at the City Hall (Capetown) meeting recently, I should have fancied I had made a mistake and strayed into the Tivoli, for the star turns on the platform were just as varied and the humour and pathos even greater, being real. The first artist to perform (by special request of the Unemployment Committee, a non-party, non-political crowd) was Col. Creswell, the smug and self-satisfied leader of the Labour Party, who, in giving his star turn, told of his twenty years' unsuccessful efforts in the cause of labour; no doubt, had he more time at his disposal, he could have further entertained his audience with facts of the same lack of success shown in every country in the world where the workers use their vote instead of their brains, and give maintenance instead of employment to a party of men in the vain hope that they will do their thinking for them. But as the artist's time was limited, and there were no encores, he made his bow to his admiring followers and departed to the House to earn (?) the full maintenance which he candidly was quite opposed to giving to his unemployed neighbour.

The next item on the programme was J. H. Munnik, Esq., M.L.A., who, by the delighted "Hoor, hoors" of his followers, one could tell was a Nationalist; he evidently had a soul above the sordid necessaries of life, so carried his audience away with tales of gold and diamonds which would belong to the worker if the Nationalst Party took the lead. He also gave many quips and jests about the bottom dog and the way the Smuts Government wagged its head, while the Nationalists hoped to wag its tail for it, but my opinion is that while the capitalist government openly starves the dog to death, all the other parties would only give it plenty of gas, while they slyly cut off pieces of its tail to feed it with.

Mrs. Green came next, the only bravely avowed Communist there; she gave a picturesque and poetical turn, which I admired greatly, as did the audience, who showered pound notes and tickeys at her feet. And so ended (without anthem or song!) one of the most enlightening variety entertainments it has ever been my lot to attend.

ALICE E. HARRISON.

Crimes of the Clergy.

It is typical of the treatment of Russian news in the British press that the trial and condemnation of Archbishop Czepliak and Father Butkevicz should be described as religious persecution. The "Times," for example, in a leading article on April 4th, speaks of "this wanton persecution of the Christian Faith," and follows this up with the absolutely unfounded assertion that "Thousands have been executed in Russia simply because they believed in God." In the whole article, as in many similar articles in other British newspapers, the crimes of which the accused priests were convicted—crimes against the social order and legislation established in Russia—are totally ignored.

The specific charges against the accused included a series of acts of opposition to the decrees separating the Church from the State, and ordering the appropriation of superfluous church treasures for the purpose of famine relief. In the case of Father Butkevicz, there was the further charge of communicating with the Polish Government in 1920, at the time of active hostilities between Poland and Russia. Correspondence was read during the trial showing that large sums of money were received from Polish sources at the time when the Catholic clergy in Russia began their campaign of active opposition to Soviet legislation.

The activities which gave rise to the prosecution of the Catholic priests are therefore those for which they would have been equally liable to prosecution in any country in the world—namely, defiance of the law of the land. In Soviet Russia, as in all other civilised countries, priests have no legal privileges or extra-territorial rights, and if they utilise the conventional privileges which they enjoy in order to organise forcible resistance to the law of the land, their crime is all the more unpardonable.

—"Russian Information and Review."

Russian Trade Expansion.

The rapidity with which Russia's foreign trade has been increasing since 1920 is shown by the following figures:

In 1921 the total Russian trade was rather more than eleven times that of 1920, and in 1922 it amounted to three and a quarter times the 1921 figures. Russia's imports during 1920 were 87,000 tons, and exports 11,000; in 1921 the figures were 916,000 and 216,000 tons; in 1922 there were 2,753,000 and 939,000 tons respectively.

These figures demonstrate the amazing advance that has already been achieved. Thirty per cent. in value of the exports were sent to Great Britain.

The madmen who clamour for breaking off trade with Soviet Russia forget the powerful interests which insist that the trade shall continue and increase.

Progress in Russia.

In the section of the Gosplan (State Economic Planning Commission), which deals with water transport, proposals are being considered for connecting the Caspian and Black Seas by forming a lake in the valley of the River Manych. This lake, which with canals would give direct connection between the two seas, is to be deep enough to allow the passage of large steamers.

It is proposed to irrigate 16,200 acres of land in the Sardaraban region of Armenia. The local peasants are rendering every assistance in this work. It is further proposed to work the land thus improved with tractors, twenty-five of which have already been imported.

During 1922 the Petrograd Workers' and Peasants' Inspection carried out 531 inspections of businesses and workshops, and 915 sectional investigations. They discovered 207 business irregularities, sixty cases of powers being exceeded, and 204 other offences. As a result 343 persons were prosecuted. The inspection also investigated 1,472 complaints of which 1,250 had been dealt with by January 1, 1923.

Who Said Slavery?

At a meeting of the Transkeian Territories General Council, a committee was appointed to consider how the supply of labour to the mines could be augmented. It was suggested that all traders recommended by magistrates should be licensed as recruiters, and all labourers who have accepted advances and agreed to attest by certain dates, but who fail to do so, SHOULD BE COMPELLED TO DO SO BY CRIMINAL ACTION against them if necessary. All attested boys should contract for nine months and voluntary boys for not less than six months.

The committee recommended the collection of labourers by headmen and the Recruiting Corporation, and the advance of railway fare and food to them under guarantee that they would attest for work on the mines acceptable by them within six days after arrival in Johannesburg, otherwise they must accept such labour as the Corporation offers them.

It is hoped this will increase the supply of voluntary labour and so keep up the Union quota.

—Reuter.

The proviso that they must attest for mines "acceptable to them" is delicious. With no money, and in many cases strange to the Rand, the suggestion that the poor devils have the slightest vestige of choice is grotesque.

What about renewing your subscription to the "International"?

Bunting's Great Speech.

TOWN HALL JOHANNESBURG.—MAY DAY EVE.

Comrades—"tovarishchi"—I have so few minutes available to give you some impressions of "how things are in Russia" that I have compressed them into writing. In one sense I saw, and can tell you, nothing that you and I did not know before. The outstanding fact is that in Russia (by which we now mean the Greater Soviet Federation, comprising more than one-sixth of the earth's surface) there is no more capitalist class in power, no more private property in those lands and industries the control of which makes capitalist power possible elsewhere; the rule of Chambers of Mines, Comites des Forges, Federations of British Industries, and so on, is abolished; an essentially working class party is in power; the workers have assumed political and are assuming industrial control; collective production for use instead of bourgeois property and exploitation for profit is the basis on which the new society is actually being built up; the contrast and conflict of master and servant, exploiter and exploitee, is to all intents and purposes at an end; "there ain't no bosses running" from the Vistula to Vladivostok, or rather, they have run away, and all their bloody tools, their White Guards and Black Hundreds, their Fascisti and so-called Defence Forces, their Iron Heel as we know it in every other country in the world, are things of the past.

Is not that enough to go on with? Is it not something we can all gloat over? Yet perhaps it is only those who have had the privilege of spending a few months in the midst of this triumph, as compared with those who know it only by hearsay, that can drink in to the full, I will not say the intoxication but the exhilaration of it all, the fresh stimulating atmosphere, the thrill of the mountain top, as it were, after living in the muggy valleys, or the seaside ozone after years on the dry and dusty Rand. On the spot you seem to breathe the air of freedom and victory in your nostrils, the first real Labour victory, the victory not of Russian Labour only but of world Labour over world capitalism; you see the breach in the bourgeois citadel which can and will never be repaired but only widened; you hear the great Declaration of Independence for the working class, an event beside which battles of Waterloo or Treaties of Versailles seem both paltry and hateful; you join in with what is by far the most colossal forward march in the modern history of humanity.

Of course it is all a matter of point of view, like people's attitude on the strike here last year. Some may ask, if what you say is true, then how can the capitalists possibly go on reviling Soviet Russia as they do? The answer is obvious. To the capitalists, what has happened and is happening in Russia, that is, the undisputed truth I have just summarised, is, thank heaven, unmitigatedly offensive; of course it is; the greater the truth the greater the offence to them. If they had the courage of their convictions they would not need to tell silly lies about it at all. The only reason why they do so, when their leaders, like Lloyd-George in his 1919 letter to the Versailles "Big Four," know the truth quite as well as we do, is this, that what to them is naturally bad news is just what to the great working mass of mankind, if allowed to see and understand, is naturally good news; and so, as the capitalists after all depend on mass support, they have to adopt the same tactics as they did to induce men to fight in the "war to end war"—they have to keep the people walking in darkness, they have to scare the mass, by a daily torrent of flesh-creeping bogeys and grotesque misrepresentations, into believing that Russia, instead of being the only free country in the world, is hell. Whereas, as I have said, there is really no dispute about the plain facts that horrify them and delight us. There is no need for me to tell lies, or, as the "Cape Times" suggested, to "see only what I wanted to see" or "what the Bolsheviks wanted me to see." "Showing visitors round" like that is only a capitalist trick. I am by training critical and incredulous; I can also form an impression from a thousand little touches, things that cannot be stage-managed; and I say that my reports, for instance, published in the "International," of which the "Sunday Times" has recently been making such hysterical use, were not "propaganda lies," they were true, indeed the Editor thought parts of them too true. And like General Smuts' estimate of the Martial Law Commission report, it is because they are true that they are not impartial, for unquestionably what I saw confirmed and strengthened a pre-existing bias in favour of the working class movement.

Now having said so much, let me once more correct those who, as in Capetown, after hearing me speak to the same effect as to-night, went off and adopted in preference the false newspaper sneer that Comrade Bunting described everything in the Russian Garden as lovely. I have said nothing about a bed of roses. Russia is hell for capitalism, but it is not yet a paradise for the working man—far from it. That capitalism could be replaced by Communism in five years in a country technically backward however politically advanced, five years of continuous fighting against internal and external attack on 23 fronts, and in the teeth of unprecedented famine and blockade, is a suggestion so unreasonable as to be palpably dishonest. Economically, materially, "things" there are, I do not say worse than pre-war, or worse than elsewhere, for in Russia, except where lack of transport and draught animals prevails, there is, thanks to the "New Economic Policy," bread for all, and what is more, the administration sees to it that the price does not fluctuate with the valuta as it does in other countries. "Butter and meat" as matters of universal consumption were, when I was there, expected to follow soon—I daresay by now they have arrived. Anyhow, the great bulk of the people you see in Moscow look pretty fat and jolly, in marked contrast to Berlin, where they looked pinched and starving, helpless victims of capitalism—indeed, we have plenty like that in South Africa. Still, I would no more say at present "Follow Russia's example because things are better there than here" than I would say "Avoid it because they are worse"; although for my own part I certainly would say "Give me a bite and a sup with my head up under the Red Flag sooner than the toss-up between living and starving on our knees vouchsafed to very many of us under the Union Jack or any other capitalist flag." For, after all, "prosperity," except for the few on top, is not to be found anywhere to-day. But whereas elsewhere no convincing reason can be given for ever expecting it to come, in Russia the conditions are for the most part well understood and the remedies, however slow, are all matters of practical politics, at any rate given peace. It stands to reason that, with wholesale desertion or sabotage by the bourgeoisie and their right-hand men, the working class, suddenly placed in control of production, finds itself pretty short of capable organisers, managers, administrators, experts, engineers, teachers and "business men," so much so that some ventures have even had to close down owing to mismanagement—another phenomenon not unknown in this country either! Even more important is the dearth of capital, of plant and equipment, systematically and savagely destroyed on a scale quite unrealised by ordinary respectable people in the countries responsible, as Britain is, for the Koltchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and similar wholesale outrages. And there is, of course, a great want of ready money, especially to restart heavy industry, which is partly due to the refusal of loans or credits which other countries have raised since the war. Well, the money is being patiently accumulated out of taxation and profits from the lighter industries which are running fairly well; while as for the men, they are being equally steadily trained from the ranks of the younger generation of the working class, the rising hope of Soviet Russia. Meantime cases of square men in round holes, of inequalities of wage, of shopkeepers growing richer than workers, are frequent enough, as might be expected. Some unemployment exists owing to the delay in restarting heavy industry as mentioned, although it must be said that unemployment is not very greatly in evidence, perhaps because men out of work can, like our native workers, usually find temporary refuge in the villages. In passing, it is necessary to calm the misgivings of some who bewail the revival of private enterprise in Russia within a general system of "proletarian State capitalism." A great part, perhaps the greater part, of the trading now allowed is carried on not by private individuals but by Government shops or by co-operative societies or other semi-official associations; and as for the private profiteers (who are disfranchised), they may amass money, but they cannot really invest it in Russia except on terms dictated by the State from which, as owner, they will have to acquire any tenure of property which they might desire to use for exploiting purposes. In short, their position is precarious and unpopular. In the eyes of the authorities there is far less danger of the growth or rise to power of a private property owning class than of the infection of bourgeois and petty bourgeois psychology which the so-called new bourgeoisie may spread, as it does in capitalist countries, among the working class.

But it is precisely in this ideological sphere that the main prophylactic strength and the main achievement of the Revolution is so far most striking and also most pregnant with further progress. We seem to see the "materialist interpretation of history" being enacted and confirmed before our eyes. Hard upon the revolutionary change in the method of production the new social and ethical superstructure is visibly forming, and in its turn affords the strongest guarantee for the economic future. The Word is becoming Flesh, idealism and realism march together. I cannot hope adequately to describe the new spirit, the new freedom, the new ideas whose inspiration is nevertheless overwhelmingly borne in upon anyone living within its orbit. In their daily life and work, in their politics, in their right to assemble and combine, the masses have freed themselves from all hostile control except that of foreign powers. Instead of the state power being employed, as in capitalist countries, solely in order to maintain and intensify the enslavement of the masses, we find Government, army, police, administration, all actively aiming at their defence and support, and teeming with ever new schemes for their advancement and development. The heads of the Government preach anti-capitalism and workers' control like any soap-box orator, and the people of Russia are heart and soul for the Government because the Government is heart and soul for them. "Only a sentimental liberation," you may say. Well, if the Nationalists of this country defeated the imperialists, or the Rand miners beat the Chamber of Mines, or the natives emancipated themselves from social degradation, they would rightly throw their caps in the air even if their gain were only sentimental. But the economic revolution in Russia has been far more than a sentimental one. It has touched fundamentals, the vital cord of society, the basis of production. It is not merely negative anarchy or freedom from tyranny, it is a positive will to construct. The working class are not merely free, they are free to rebuild the country as for the first time their own; and inevitably, because of the ever-present need for production, they are using that freedom. They are constructing the first instalment of a new world on working class lines. At their hands the foundations have already been well and truly laid.

What does this entail? I will illustrate, as I have already done more than once, from the wonderful conductorless orchestra I heard in Moscow. In order, it is said, to avoid the cost of a conductor, the musicians of the Conservatoire set themselves to do without one. That meant that instead of each player, without regard to the rest, mechanically following an external direction, they have now all got to acquire the conductor's knowledge of the whole score and also to learn to play intelligently together as one, to play into each other's hands, as it were, each acting no longer either as an automaton or as an isolated individual, but as a living part of a collective unit or organism. Such an effort naturally calls forth all the alertness, all the best faculties and artistic feelings, all the instincts of co-operation of the players; and the result was already, although the experiment had only been tried for six months, the most rich and mellow orchestral playing I have ever heard. Well, as I see it, the same thing is taking shape, although of course more slowly, in the whole process and spirit of production. Work is no longer just a job which any individual "hand" has to do, from mere self-regarding motives, in order to get away with his week's pay, and the devil take the hindmost. It is a task wherein, especially under the system of collective wages and contracts, every man is interested, as a free responsible fellow-worker-manager, in complete association with his workmates, and benefiting also by whatever profit the Government makes out of it because the Government exists to benefit him; he is interested in producing the total output, in the job as a whole, in the whole economic process. Together the workers are creators, at once masters and men, not even merely equal units but organs which function only through the whole. And hence it is quite natural that their Labour organisations have crystallised, not into craft unions with all their risk of misleaders, but into factory councils at the places where they work, and what is more, after the day's work the factory becomes their industrial, political and social "Lodge." Habits and ideas generally are becoming collective, that is, truly proletarian. Russian workers having, unlike others, the freedom to adopt the true workers' outlook, do not speak of "how I am doing," they speak of "what WE are doing and accomplishing." The petty bourgeois ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity are giving place to the proletarian ideal of solidarity. In actual fact ordinary talk is not, as it is here, about getting rich; that no longer interests people, or rather the ruling class whose idea it was is no longer the ruling class, and so its ideas have become obsolete. The modern talk is all of "raising the general standard of life." Tickey-snatching individualism has already given place to creative collectivism. After all, workers as workers never have much hope of individually getting above their fellows, except perhaps by sometimes securing a bigger slice at their expense in a scramble; but this individual hopelessness under capitalism is being transformed into a great solidarity of hope and effort under the new order. We are told that Communism offers no "incentive." Capitalism offers less than none to the working class, its only "incentive" is to the few prospective or would-be "successful men." Proletarian Russia may never produce a Rockefeller or a Lipton although in the small sphere of retail trade the best run shops in Moscow are those run by co-operatives or directly by the Government. But I am confident that, as in the case of the orchestra, the spur of associated effort will in good time produce not only more outstanding genius but a higher general standard both of production and of organisation and distribution, yes, even of discipline, than has ever been attained by the heroes of capitalism.

Let me give you another illustration. One day in the Red Square I watched a sergeant, as he appeared to be, putting a squad of soldiers through their drill. Soon he took his place in the ranks, and another stepped forward and acted sergeant in his turn, and so right through the squad. You see, with the abolition of a master class in production, the officer caste disappears too: every soldier, like every musician, carries a baton in his knapsack, and that is what makes the Red Army soldiers unlike any others. All their bearing testifies to their being no longer instruments of an oppressing class, but friends and protectors of the humblest masses; and more than that, they are champions of a great cause, "the only army in Europe," to quote Lloyd-George's letter again, "which has confidence in the ideals for which it will fight and sacrifice its life."

In short, the process, however painful in its present stages, however productive temporarily of what unkind critics may call "chaos," the process of learning to do without exploiters, is proving the great all-round educator of the workers, and there is no limit to its development, to the possible changes in "human nature." Dignity having been thrust on the Russian proletariat, it is rising to the occasion. It is stretching its limbs. It is drilling itself. Having now solved the food question, it is beginning to-day to liquidate the Tsarist legacies of corruption and bureaucracy, and generally to clear up the mess bequeathed by the old regime. Huge wheels are turning. An epoch-making crusade is afoot. Imagination and education—real education, not bourgeois dope—are winning through. What with the close interlocking of control and responsibility as between factory councils on the one hand and organs of the industry and the working class as a whole, or representing the technical side of industry, on the other, new schemes are for ever being evolved and defective ones discarded. Labour is showing it can "rule," i.e., rule itself and move ever forward, with results undreamt of in our bourgeois philosophy. You cannot to-day describe "how things are in Russia" as if she had "settled down" for all time. Her newly-won political and industrial liberty acts as an inspiration not only to idealism but to concrete development. She is a crucible, a melting pot from which there emerge daily new experiments and combinations, new changes for the better. It is not a question of how things stand, they do not stand, they move. It is not of "our condition" that people speak, it is of "our tasks," "our struggles for higher life"; not statics but dynamics, not a debating society but an engine, a campaign, a fighting camp.

And while eternal vigilance against poisonous foes necessitates a sort of political martial law against all opposition tending to weaken or overthrow that most precious possession, the proletarian power, yet nothing is more welcomed than the frank and searching daily criticism in the Communist Press and in the various trade unions and associations, the backbone of the country, showing up abuses instead of hushing them up as under capitalism, and suggesting remedies and improvements to be worked out. But loyal? Of course they are loyal! Whereas the English or the German people bore their war sacrifices for a cause ostensibly worth fighting for but since proved to be a disillusionment except for the profiteers, the Russian masses have borne their past martyrdom and are bearing their present hardships the more cheerfully and proudly, like young householders stinting themselves to build up their own home, because they have nothing to repent of, they know that no exploiters have profited or will profit by their sufferings, that the ultimate gain will be a real gain to the whole population, and not of Russia only but of all the world.

For the class-conscious Russian workers never forget their responsibility to the whole outside world still oppressed under ruthless capitalist tyranny. "Backward" as they are, they cheerfully accept their role in history as the shock troops, the standard bearers, of the world labour movement. Never once have they deserted their post of danger. Western and Eastern capitalism has plotted, and still plots, to turn Russia from a Free State into a colony and exploit her and her people as it exploits Africa or the Ruhr or, in fact, any other country; but Russia is not having any. Even if hostile armies should ever over-run her country again, yet all the kings' horses and all the kings' men will never dethrone the Soviet system from the heart of her people. The soul of the working class, and the education that gives a grip of human affairs, have developed too far now to be suppressed by force of arms. Already the Soviet Federation is the oldest and stablest government in Europe, and every year it is increasing its domain and its prestige. It is already looked up to by the oppressed races of the East—half the earth—as their future liberator; for Free Russia, alone of all the Powers, has solved within her boundaries all problems of race, colour or nationality. The secret of Soviet power is not the Red Army, not any dictatorship as such, but the support of the masses expressed in the network of popular assemblies and workers' and peasants' associations. And it is because Russia has proved herself a real champion of the widest masses, down to the lowest strata, because all her efforts, in agriculture, in heavy and light industry, in the New Economic Policy, are generally recognised to be made on behalf of the humble and the many instead of the great and the few, to exalt them instead of to keep them down, as here, to treat them as men, not "assets," to give more to them rather than get more out of them, whatever their race, colour or creed—it is because of all this that her name and fame are now world-wide and Moscow has become the general headquarters of the workers' campaign against the capitalist system of the rest of the world and the hope of all races now bent under the yoke of imperialism and colonial enslovement—East, West, North and South, including this country. They that sit in the seats of the mighty may boast of their power to suppress "Bolshevism." At the top of the great staircase in the Kremlin up which we delegates climbed to reach the Congress Chamber there hangs a great picture of the late Tsar addressing a group of trusty peasant leaders who had come to report to him the symptoms of unrest and "disloyalty" showing themselves all over the country. "Never fear," he says to them, "my mighty power will preserve 'law and order,' my throne can never be shaken." But within a very few years it toppled over for ever. To-day the great capitalist powers laugh a hollow and uneasy laugh. They are not so strong, nor we so weak, as we sometimes think. They have brought the world to a state of disease incurable except by the strong medicine of the international working class movement. To quote from our song sheets:

"'Tis ours to free a world benighted
And bid the slave behold The Day."

April 30, 1923.

All exchange is really the exchange of labour.

* * *

Justice is blind—to the crimes of the rich; but as for the poor it is cross-eyed.

* * *

The capitalists are strong on co-operation when it comes to fleecing the workers.

* * *

Instead of whipping their slaves, modern masters merely reduce wages.

* * *

Modern war is only a phase of ordinary commercial competition.

* * *

I have ever been of opinion that revolutions are not to be evaded.

* * *

One of the worst enemies of the working class is the capitalist Press, because it is the medium through which the channels of public opinion are poisoned.

Another Step Forward.

By A. LOZOVSKY.

The International Conference at Frankfort carried us another step forward on the road to uniting all proletarian forces for the struggle against war and Fascism. This conference aroused the greatest interest among the workers, and rightly so. It was the first international conference which had been held since the occupation of the Ruhr Valley, at which all questions were thoroughly debated. The soul-saving speeches which the leaders of the Amsterdam International delivered on the subject of the Ruhr invasion need not be counted. Of course, nobody has thought of taking these reformist tea-parties seriously; even those who took part in them knew perfectly well that nothing would come of them.

That which both the Amsterdam and the Second International failed to do has been accomplished by the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions. The communist parties and the revolutionary trade unions, and these alone, rose up determinedly against the predatory invasion by French imperialism; they alone roused the masses to a real struggle. These revolutionary actions have been welcomed with the greatest sympathy by many workers still belonging to reformist organisations. The Frankfort Conference was not only attended by Communists and revolutionary syndicalists, but also by workers belonging to the German social democratic and independent social democratic parties. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKERS TOOK PART IN THE CONFERENCE AGAINST THE WILL OF THEIR LEADERS. When they were faced by the alternative of either submitting to the anti-proletarian decisions of their leaders, and of thus weakening the struggle against war, or of acting against their leaders' decisions and lending their aid to strengthen the anti-imperialist and anti-Fascist front, they chose the latter course: they acted as real proletarians. In this way a united front has been actually created, a front upon whose strength the life of the working masses hangs in the most literal sense of the word.

The Frankfort Social Democratic journal, the "Volksstimme," ironically named our conference a "conference of war." This newspaper wanted to stigmatise us by such a designation, as the Social Democrats were not pleased with my declaration that we were no peace conference, but a class war conference. In this sense the Frankfort Conference really was a war conference. Its task was to collect the experiences gained in the class struggle in every country, to sum up these experiences, and to work out practical forms and measures for the class war. We are quite prepared to admit the designation of our conference as a war conference, for it indicated the lines on which the class war is to be carried on. Our army is the whole working class; our front forms a zig-zag line, traversing every country in a thousand directions. We have the largest army in the world. But a part of our army is still in a state of complete passivity, is still under the influence of bourgeois ideology; one part of it is poisoned by reformism, and only one part of it is gathered round the flag of class war. It was the work of our conference to weld the revolutionary workers more closely together, to build a bridge between the revolutionary workers and the workers who are members of reformist organisations, or who belong to no labour organisation and stand apathetically aside from the social struggle developing around them—to draw all these over to the side of irreconcilable class war.

Was the Franfort Conference successful in fulfilling these tasks? Undoubtedly. Above all, the conference adopted a number of practical measures calculated to create new fulcrums for our struggles: the control commissions, committees of action, international fraternities, etc. All these are now centres of organisation, whose task lies in drawing the masses more closely together for their struggle against imperialism. The culmination of all the organisations formed is the International Committee of Acton, a body standing outside of party, and commissioned to lead the work of the revolutionary workers of every political trend, to enter into close relations with all labour organisations, and to do its utmost to convene an international labour congress.

The Frankfort Conference differed from the Hague Conference in that it did not occupy itself with pacifist speech-making. The men who met in Frankfort were no pacifists, but revolutionists; no phrase-makers, but men of action; and they were thus able to enter into every question of our complicated class strategy.

The pacifist gossipers of all countries made lame speeches on the League of Nations, and inveighed against Poincare for his ungentlemanly behaviour, but all the same they continued to prefer the cultivation of nationa' narrow-mindedness, and the preference of "national interests" to class interests. The Frankfort Conference has provided an actual object lesson of what the international solidarity of the proletariat really means. While the French and Belgian reformists were making drawing-room speeches, the French Communists and revolutionary syndicalists appeared at the Frankfort Conference and there declared, before the workers of all countries, that they would exert every endeavour to break the necks of rampant imperialism. And they were not deterred from attending the conference by the fact that dozens of Communists and syndicalists are still in prison for participating in the Essen Conference. In such manner do the revolutionary workers of all countries regard the duties imposed upon them by the international complicatons and international conflicts of to-day.

Fascism, recognised as a preventive counter-revolution, was accorded great attention by the Frankfort Conference. Fascism is raising its head everywhere. It hopes to finally suppress the discontented masses, and to establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for long decades. But what is the difference between Fascism and ordinary, non-Fascist reaction? The fact that Fascism misuses the working masses by demagogic methods, that it endeavours to utilise the most radical watchwords, that it attempts to form labour organisations of its own. Fascism disintegrates the labour organisations, tries to split them up from within, to demoralise them, in order to be better able to strangle them. Not only is Fascism the highest form of reaction, it is at the same time the embodiment of the extremist bellicose nationalism, leading inevitably to fresh wars. Therefore, the Frankfort Conference not only worked out a programme for combating war, but at the same time it laid down the lines of struggle against Fascism.

The Frankfort Conference has shown us that it is not only the Communists and revolutionary syndicalists in the working class who are desirous of fighting against war, but many other working class elements as well; it has shown that the united front tactics proclaimed by the Commintern and the R.I.L.U. have their source in a profound need of the broad masses.

The Frankfort Conference was the highest consummation of international solidarity in another sense also, in that the separate groups faced the possible results of their impending joint struggles against the whole bourgeoisie. The International Conference, in declaring that the first task of the revolutionary workers of Germany is the overthrow of the Cuno Government and the establishment of a workers' government, faced the fact that this may lead to a war on the part of the Great and Little Ententes against the social revolution in Germany. No one doubts for a moment that the workers' government in Germany signifies an alliance for life or death between revolutionary Germany and Soviet Russia. To a conference of internationalists such an alliance is a matter of course. It would be a strange thing if Soviet Russia would permit the strangulation of the social revolution in Germany. This was so perfectly obvious to everyone that the question did not even give rise to a debate. All were fully convinced that when the German proletariat has overthrown its bourgeoisie, and finds itself confronted by European imperialism, then the Russian proletariat and the Red Army will fight hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder with the German workers until the end, until complete victory over the bourgeoisie.

The most obstinate and conservative reformist is now forced to recognise that it is only the revolutionary workers who are carrying on any effective struggle against the Ruhr occupation. It is true that the German bourgeoisie and its allies, the German social democrats, continue to repeat, day after day, that the German Communists are agents of Poincare; at the same time the whole yellow press of France maintains that the French Communists and revolutionary syndicalists are the paid hirelings of Cuno. This insolence is nothing new. It is a well-known line of tactics, invariably followed by ruling classes and disciples: to represent the revolutionists of their country to be agents of a foreign power. Let them say what they will; let the dogs bay the moon! The revolutionary workers of all countries took the first step in Essen. The Frankfort Conference has taken the second step in the same direction: An international committee of action has been formed, national and district committees, commissions, fraternities, etc., have been called into existence. The path is traced out before us. It only remains to work, to work, and once more to work—and the victory is ours!

LOVE YOUR ENEMIES.

Mr. Ammon, one of the British Labour Party whips, is so anxious about the clerical enemies of the Russian workers that he asked the Prime Minister whether he had any word about the Roman Catholic priests sentenced to death by the Soviet Government.

Mr. Macneill Weir, commenting on this incident in the labour paper "Forward," said "a feeling of revulsion at the horror of the situation prevailed, and a feeling of contempt for the impotence of the government."

If this means anything, it means that the Labourites in the British House of Commons were sorry that the Bonar Law Government did not declare war on Russia, or at least put some kind of pressure on the Soviet Government to save the men who were the proved agents of international capitalism and reaction. One member actually suggested that Walton Newbold, the Communist member, should be held as a hostage.

These are the same Labourites who refused to intervene to save Long, Lewis, Stassen, Hull, and the other Rand strikers, on the ground that they had not been instructed by Creswell's party, and further that South Africa was a self-governing country. The same men who make no protest against the judicial murder of Indian workers who have been goaded into revolt, and the world-wide slaughter and imprisonment of workers at the hands of capitalist governments.

These blind leaders of the blind only yelp when Soviet Russia, fighting single-handed against world-wide reaction, takes steps against capitalist agents either in Russia, Georgia, or elsewhere. In their frantic efforts to appear respectable and constitutional, they follow slavishly the lead of the capitalists and their press, and incite their dupes now against Germany, now against France, now against America, ag the exigencies of capitalist world politics demand.

Communists in Conference

Our Party Congress, somewhat belated if it had been especially intended to conform with practice elsewhere by holding it just after the International Congress, seemed nevertheless to fall in with the scheme of things. The first one held since the formation of the Party in 1921—for at Easter, 1922, when the second should have been held, many indispensable delegates were in gaol or hemmed in by Martial Law—it did not for all that waste too much time on reminiscences, but attended above all to present and future tactics, in short, to "carrying on." That ever new agendum was especially freshened on this occasion by the appearance of a number of new hands in addition to veterans, including a real live Mayor, the first public office-holder in our ranks for some years, but a genuine comrade all the same, and also including for the first time representatives of the Young Communist League, which is henceforth (also in conformity with a new general practice) to be represented on the Party Executive. The idea had been mooted of inviting on the second day representatives of other working class bodies to discuss matters of general interest to the whole Labour movement, but the Executive, partly in view of the very vacillating local response to the May Day Committee's appeals, had decided after all to stick to Party business, and in the result this proved necessary, for Party business occupied the whole of the two available days. On some future occasion it may be opportune to call a special proletarian conference to consider either general topics or special situations: for in South Africa, as in many other countries during the last year or so, the Communist Party has undoubtedly found itself, despite small and even reduced numerical strength, in a position of more real leadership of the whole movement, supplying at once the driving force and the donkey work—for the two usually have to go together. And the reason is obvious. The Communists in every country are those who most clearly realise the class struggle, its continuousness, its inevitableness, its insolubility under the captalist system, so that while others, though rising to occasional heights of militancy under the spur of some extra virulence on the part of the enemy, flounder between times amid the shoals of conciliation, patriotism, or compromise, the Communists are always, in season and out of season, on the alert, ever ready, aye ready, in defence of the working class, if possible, to anticipate a hostile attack and to dash off on the counter-offensive.

Not but what we too are able when expediency demands to compromise. Some delegates even scented compromise in the stress laid by the Commintern on the "United Front"; but that is a tactic which, like M. Jourdain's prose, they had been practising all their lives, and eventually its correctness was acknowledged on practically all hands. The same applied to the consideration, as yet very incomplete and immature, of a "national programme" and a stepping-stone platform of "immediate demands" on which to engage the interest of the working class in general in "higher things." Considerations of "expediency" were apparently the motive of a certain hesitation in the minds of some delegates as to how to draw the non-European masses into the struggle, a duty made all the more pressing by the intense dread on the part of the ruling class lest the Party should accomplish something in this direction—vide many delirious articles in recent issues of the "Star," the "Argus," and especially the "Sunday Times." Our difficulty is of course not that we in the least share that dread—our accepted attitude on the subject since 1915 is proof enough to the contrary: but that it is most important to retain the approval or at least the toleration of the white workers, the "aristocrats of labour," if you like, for any such action; and a prejudice born of the exceedingly powerful bourgeois influence in the working class, and especially the slave-owning traditions of rural white South Africa make such toleration no easy matter to secure. But meanwhile not only are the non-European proletariat themselves groping actively for contact, enlightenment and action, but the other side are exceedingly busy among them, doping them in their turn, enlisting them as scabs, on occasion even arming them, against the white workers. Hence circumstances must soon compel the latter to revise their blind race hatred and to adopt, or at least to bless, the only sensible course with scabs, especially involuntary ones, viz., to agitate, educate, and organise them. Even the Labour Party Conference last January included coloured delegates, and good class-conscious ones too. It is no part of our duty to try to tone down what a world survey of the anti-capitalist forces only confirms to have been our correct attitude towards the subject races and native workers, if only because, as was pointed out at our Conference, that attitude is perfectly notorious throughout South Africa, and indeed is considered, outside South Africa, to be our distihguishing feature. The time is surely soon approaching when the white workers will laugh out of court any suggestion of segregation as between different sections of the organised or militant working class, as brusquely as a recent meeting in Johannesburg of the "Coloured Labour Union" laughed down a speaker who deprecated amalgamation with native unions as inferior; on the contrary, that meeting voted with both hands for the amalgamation of all non-white proletarian organisations. White labour will be sabotaging both its own cause and that of the world movement if instead of leading it stands idly aloof, still more if it continues to regard these organisations, or even the national or racial movements, in the same light as the masters do. To compromise on such principles for the sake of even a Dutchman's vote or the beaux yeux of "Labour" is not an exemplification of the United Front, it is a denial of it. On the contrary, our business is, as ever, to preach the truth, the best way in the long run to make our Party strong. "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims." The whole process and task of the movement consists in combining things which to dead "logic" seem contradictory. If our Conference has impressed this spirit more deeply on our Party it will have done good work indeed.

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(Continued next week.)

WEDDING.

Our readers will be interested to know that the marriage took place on Thursday, 3rd inst., at Durban, of Arabella Douglas, of Durban, and Comrade David Livingstone Dryburgh, of Capetown.

We offer our heartiest congratulations and good wishes to our comrades, and trust that the movement has gained another recruit.

* * *

BREAKING THE SABBATH—AT CAPETOWN.

Comrade I. Vermont has been charged and convicted of selling the "International" on Sunday FOR PROFIT, and fined five shillings. The police have taken the name of another comrade on the same grounds. It is evidently the intention of the capitalist rulers of South Africa to drive us underground if possible.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Dates of meetings: May 10th and 24th; June 7th and 21st.

All subscriptions are now due, and can be paid to the Secretary at 4, Trades Hall, or R. Gelblum, the Branch treasurer.

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CAPETOWN.

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

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