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The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

All Friends of Soviet Russia FORM A United Front AGAINST WAR WITH THE Workers' Republic.

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

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White & Black Peril in the Ruhr.

A quarter of a million troops, thirty-five thousand of which are African natives, have invaded the Ruhr to do the dirty work of the international financial and industrial bleeders. But they must also have a little fun on their own. Shooting proletarians in the factories, holding up people at the cross-roads, railway stations, and even in trains, is not exciting enough, especially for these pets of the French Citizen Burger Republic, raked up from the swamps, jungles and mountain ranges of Africa. Having this in view, and desiring to relieve the monotony of such a humdrum existence, the French have demanded that young girls, the pick of the female proletarian population, shall be mobilised, inspected (such inspection to be every few days, oftener if considered necessary) and reserved solely for the use of the troops.

This is one of the many indignities that the proletarian population have to suffer, buffeted as they are between their own German exploiters and white guard Fascisti on the one hand, and the French capitalists and imperialist-republican troops on the other hand, such troops being composed of the French conscripts reinforced by the Africans. How now about the "socialisation of women," that capitalist press lie about Russia? Was it to pave the way for this form of bribery to their professional slaughterers? How now about "the sacredness of the home"? How now about "the army as a school of morals"? How now about "the dignity of war," "the chivalry of arms"? The bourgeoisie—the longer they run the more they expose their hideousness. Is it not sufficient that they have the right to invade the homes, to quarter their troops on a starving and unarmed working class? Or is it because, the industrial workers being class-conscious, they have to herd their troops in barracks in such centres?

The workers would not have to put up with such treatment had not the Craft Union International of Amsterdam—the tool of the League of Nations—instigated thereto by the Hendersons, Thomases, Macdonalds and Snowdens, failed to come to their aid. This outrage is on a par with the betrayal of the miners of Great Britain in the Spring of 1921. Comrades, let us finish with these bloody and loathsome international gangs of ogres, these polluters of the young women, these destroyers of the young men, these sappers of the health and strength of all that is vital for a decent existence! Let us away with them and their cant and their villainies! Rally the working class! Shake up and organise the masses into a drilled and disciplined class-conscious organisation: The Red International of Labour Unions, led and headed by the Communist International. And then with one push, in one act, the whole infamy will disappear.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

Hamburg, April 16, 1923.

Warmongers Warned.

"Convinced that the capitalists of Europe are shaping events in the direction of another tempest of blood and terror, this Convention calls upon all kindred Labour organisations to join with it in educating their members so that should the necessity arise they may offer a determined and effective resistance to our country's participation in any war outside the Commonwealth."

This is the culminating passage of a manifesto issued by the Australian Workers' Union—the most important trade union in the Commonwealth.

"Unless the organised workers of the nations take a firm stand," says this appeal, "the human race will once more be subjected to a frightful cataclysm of slaughter, in which the most diabolical engines of destruction will be employed, not only against the armies in the field, but against defenceless populations as well.

"To this pass has Capitalism brought the Christian Powers of the world."

If the bourgeoisie should succeed in dragging Europe into yet another devastating war, this would mean, first, the bleeding and destruction primarily of those generations of the working class which are the bearers of the future, and, secondly, the economic beggary of Europe. The result might be a most severe lowering of European culture over a long period, and accordingly not the approach but, on the contrary, the postponement of revolutionary perspectives. That is why we, from a revolutionary point of view, are deeply interested in the preservation of peace.

—L. Trotsky.

Caste and Class in India.

The labour movement in India is the one force that is going to wipe out caste distinctions, according to D. D. Khanna of Lahore, President of the North-Western Railway Union.

"We are all brothers," he said, "and we all work together. The British Government, which owns the railways in India, divides the workers as the 'menial staff' and the 'superior staff.' There are no menials. Those who call their brothers menials alone are menials."

Khanna, who is stationmaster of Lahore, and head of a union that is said to number about 1,000,000 men of all races and castes, is in the United States in the course of a world tour to study railway conditions everywhere.

He told of the strike in 1919, out of which grew the great union of which he is the head. "The 'menial staff,' prior to 1919, received about 9 rupees a month, between $2.50 and $3. They do the work of walking the tracks, coupling the trains, and such other 'menial' work. The 'superior staff' receive about $12 a month—that is, the natives do. The Europeans and Eurasians who do the same work get five times as much. And there are none who protest against this condition more strenuously than these men.

"After the war the cost of living went up very high. It was impossible to live on the wages, so there was a strike on the North-Western Railway. The strike was not incited by Europeans. It grew out of the demands of the men for a better life.

"We organised our union and it grew. Our section of the country, the north-west, around Delhi and toward Kashmir, is a temperate climate, and most of the industry of the country is carried on there. The railways are very important, and the strike tied up the systems.

"The railway administrator, speaking for the viceroy, said the government would not meet us. We made certain demands. The working day for the 'menials' was 12 hours, and 365 days a year. We wanted a seven-hour day. I was in constant conference with the administrator. I told him of the miserable wages of the 'menials.' The administrator, speaking for the British Government, said that they did not need milk; their children didn't need to go to school; they didn't need luxuries.

"These men live in one room in the way stations in little villages. They cannot sleep in beds. They cannot clothe themselves. I asked the Government to show us how the people could live. They had no answer.

"Our union is growing. There is now a railway board, covering all the railways of India, and we have a Federation of Railway Unions, covering all of India.

"In our unions all the workers are joined—Hindus, Mohammedans, Buddhists, Europeans. And all parts of the industry—drivers, guards, trackmen, couplers."

Khanna said: "I am a high caste Hindu, but to me all the workers are brothers. If a 'menial' comes into my presence I make him sit down, because I want all of our brothers to know that we are all equal."

WORKERS ARISE!

What is freedom? Ye can tell
That which slavery is too well,
For its very name has grown
To an echo of your own.

'Tis to work and have such pay
As just keeps life from day to day
In your limbs as in a cell
For the tyrants' use to dwell.

'Tis to see your children weak
With their mothers pine and peak
When the winter winds are bleak—
They are dying while I speak.

'Tis to hunger for such diet
As the rich man in his riot
Casts to the fat dogs that lie
Surfeiting beneath his eye.

And at length when ye complain
With a murmur weak and vain,
'Tis to see the tyrant's crew
Ride over your wives and you—
Blood is on the grass like dew!

This is slavery!—Savage men,
Or wild beasts within a den,
Would endure not as ye do:
But such ills they never know.

Rise, like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number!
Shake your chains to earth, like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you!
Ye are many, they are few.

—P. B. Shelley.

The Bombing Empire.

Mr. J. H. Harris, in the "New Statesman," representing the dwindling residue of English conscientious liberalism, has given a lead in "picking to pieces" the Bondelswart report. Of course his deus ex machina, the League of Nations, is the Impotent Man of Europe, and to us his excuses for General Smuts as "never consulted" are ridiculous enough. But his lead should encourage others here to keep the subject ever burning, and to immortalise by constant and repeated agitation and "freshening of memory" that typical outrage of modern imperialism, by the side of Mome Gorge, Rand Club, Village Deep, Amritsar, Bulhoek, and Fordsburg. Away with murderous imperialist tyranny and its local instrument, the "Defence" Force!

* * *

"Our Native Land."

Mr. Harris is also doing good service in repeatedly agitating the matter of native landlessness, which has become so intense since the Act of 1913. On this "Abantu Batho" says:

"The cruel operation of this Draconian Act played havoc with our people together with their stock, the only commodity which constitutes the wealth of our race. It brought about the destruction of some of our villages, deprived us of lands which had been in occupation for generations, thus rendering thousands of families homeless and landless. As the result of this hundreds of native families took refuge in the towns—the only places to which the Natives' Land Act did not apply. Meanwhile the merciless eviction of natives from farms went on unchecked, with the result that native population in urban areas went up by leaps and bounds.

The Select Committee on the Urban Areas Bill recommended that natives should not own land in the urban areas. This recommendation has since been confirmed by Parliament by a striking majority of 69 against 18. Thus the economic strangulation of our race has been completely effected, and the policy of 'white South Africa,' a policy which owes its origin from the mind of General Smuts, the Minister for Native Affairs, has been firmly established. From henceforth we are the victims of three capital forms of injustice—industrial helotry, insecurity of land tenure, and political ostracism."

* * *

Coolies Organising.

"The Australasian Seamen's Journal," edited by Tom Walsh, says: "The latest news from the East is that the coolies in Indian ports are organising. It is time that they did so. Too long have they been used by the master class in opposition to the European workers, but now that they have started to organise it is to be hoped that they will take an international view of matters and recognise capital knows no country. Our information is to the effect that some of the middle class people in India are supporting the foreign capitalists against whom the workers are organising."

A Letter from Russia.

Com. D. Ivon Jones writes from Moscow under date 14th April, 1923: I have undoubtedly gained from my sojourn in the Sanatorium in the Crimea, but feel my health on shaky foundations—the journey home shook me up. The winter is continuing very late, still sleet and snow here, and there are trepidations about the state of the winter crops and the spring sowings, the areas of which this year are much greater than last. Our train came from Sebastopol in 36 hours, but I came by motor-car to Sebastopol 70 versts from Alonpha late into the night, and it was severely cold. The country on the way looks generally cheerful and hopeful, peasants building new houses everywhere, children look well and happy and free. One feels oneself in a land of untold possibilities; what charms me is the frank unafraidness of the children to everybody—to the militiaman, to the guard of the train, or the passengers; they have an instinct that the Soviet Power is the children's own Power. But it does not foster "cheekiness" nor absence of respect. The bright-eyed boy who sells the papers along the train offers it to a fat NEP-man with a word about good Communist articles—to this youth the Communist is the hero, the defender of the country, the repeller of foreign yoke, and the heroic class must ever be the class of the youth. In Aloupka the Young Communist League provided a firing squad for the funeral of a comrade—young working boys straight from the field in their working clothes—the only ones entitled to bear arms! What if their clothes are ragged, they feel they are the ruling class by virtue of horny hands.

Lenin, as you know, had a serious relapse, something approaching a stroke, but now again he is recovering; he has the best medical aid that Europe can give. The daily bulletins have now been stopped, owing to satisfactory progress; but he will never be the same man. If he can only be kept alive, even if he does not work, his name and his word are such a power in Russia as to become a legend—but all through mentally he is unimpaired. Trotsky at the Ukrainian Party Conference moved a touching resolution of greeting to Lenin. Trotsky is taking more and more active part in the apparatus of the industrial administration. Lenin's last public pronouncement was an article on the linking of the Party Control Committee of 200 members (the highest instance between Congresses) with the Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, and to make this Commissariat the boss over all the other departments, thus preventing or checking the huge mass of the non-party elements in the State machine from running away with it in counter-revolutionary direction.

This is the great problem in Russia, how to compel the big mass of non-party and unsympathetic specialists and administrators and employees to follow party lines. The only remedy of course is to make Communist "specs," and there are hundreds of thousands of young Communists in training. Meanwhile, the direct Party Control is to serve and develop further, I suppose.

The condition of the workers in Russia is steadily improving. What a spectacle it is, the Russian working class steadily mounting upwards—the rest steadily on the decline. No matter how the rouble falls, the workers are paid twice a month. In the middle of the month they get the amount of last month's pay, at the end of the month they receive the amount due owing to the fall of the rouble, making up the gold value. But the gold value of the wages is rising. The condition of the Russian workers is twice as good as the German, nay, three times; the sending of 500,000 poods of grain to the Ruhr as a present was not window dressing, the Russian workers are contributing everywhere in thousands. Trotsky said, of course we are only beginning. A big crowd of non-Party workers presented the Ukrainian Party Congress with a flag, and broke into the hall as Trotsky was to commence his report. He told them how these demonstrations of loyalty alarmed them by the immense responsibility it placed on them. They were only beginning; they had everything yet to do, they had to provide for old age, for every child, to abolish unemployment, etc. One non-Party worker—they were crowding round him during his reply—embraced Trotsky after his speech. Ten thousand workers in the factories joined the Party on the 25th anniversary last month; the enthusiasm to buy flags for the Party branches among the non-Party workers was immense. This is the great fundamental feature of the present phase, the complete domination over the affection of the masses by the Party. At every such flag celebration non-Party workers say: "There were hard times when we hungered and could not understand and grumbled, but the Party's firm hand brought us through the wilderness."

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Com. Andrews Leaves for Europe

Com. W. H. Andrews, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa and Editor of this paper, sailed on Tuesday last from Capetown for Europe, with a view to taking the seat on the Executive Committee of the Communist International to which he was elected by the World Congress last December, and also to represent the South African section at the next World Congress and at any meetings of the Augmented Executive. He is expected to be away from South Africa for some months. His place will be taken in the meantime by Com. S. P. Bunting, to whom (or to the Communist Party or I.S.L. Press as the case may be) all cheques, P.O.'s, etc., should henceforth be made out.

Com. Andrews carries with him the heartiest good wishes not only of every member and supporter of the Communist Party, but of all the best elements of the labour movement of South Africa. His unflinching courage and dogged fidelity to his principles for the past quarter of a century in this country, his sound judgment and profound grasp of the essential tasks of the revolutionary movement of the working class, will ensure that his movements will be followed with the liveliest interest by all who remain to battle on in this country, as well as by all who know his name and reputation in other parts of the world. We wish him a safe journey and a successful mission, and trust that he will return in due course better equipped than ever to resume his position as the foremost figure in the labour movement of South Africa.

Hurrah, Benoni! Keep It Up!

COMMANDOS AGAIN.

On Monday afternoon last Comrade C. F. Glass, Chairman of the Unemployed Committee of the Witwatersrand, addressed a meeting of the unemployed in the Workers' Hall, Benoni. There were some two hundred genuine unemployed present, mostly Afrikanders, with the addition perhaps of a detective or two, and the proceedings were enthusiastic throughout. It was unanimously decided to form an "Unemployed Commando." A Commandant was duly appointed, and at the close of the meeting the commando was formed up, drilled and marched down to worry the Mayor. The Mayor received a deputation from the main body, which remained drawn up outside his office. As was only to be expected, His Worship told the deputation that he did not know how to tackle the unemployed problem, but he agreed to call an emergency meeting of the Council to discuss the question and see what could be done to relieve the distress. The deputation made it quite plain that unless something were done immediately—unless they were provided with "work or bread"—not construction work at 3s. a day, which they refused to accept—there was going to be serious trouble, the unemployed being no longer prepared to starve on the streets.

The decision to call an emergency meeting of the Council was announced to the Commando, which then marched back to the Workers' Hall. It was decided that the Commando should parade every afternoon, march to the bakeries, butcheries and grocers' shops and remain there until food was supplied to them. Pickets were appointed to watch the White Labour Enrolment Office and prevent men accepting work on constructions at the rates presently offered. The meeting closed with the "Rooi Vlag" and cheers for the Commando.

Unless the Benoni authorities wake up and get going they will find the Unemployed Commando a worrisome crew which means business. It is to be hoped that other centres will follow this excellent example and get local Commandos going right along the Reef. The moral effect will certainly be great, while it is obvious that organised bodies of men can accomplish much by means of determined pressure.

Another Nail.

The tailors and tailoresses at Ben Pickles' workshops, at a meeting held last week, unanimously decided to secede from the S.A.I.F. Having been forced last November to join Crawford's crew, they have, after six months of "durance vile," realised that they are only wasting time and money in such a crazy concern. And so another nail has been driven into Crawford's coffin. We hope and trust that the secessionists will rejoin their real organisation — the Witwatersrand Tailors' Association—which has served the tailors so well in the past, and which can do so again if ALL TAILORING EMPLOYEES JOIN AND MAKE IT 100 PER CENT. STRONG.

The attention of comrades and friends is drawn to the fact that the son of our late Comrade Harry Spendiff is seeking employment as a clerk and typist. His address is 88, Great Britain Street, Turffontein.

A Pimp Society.

A "BLACK MAN'S" REBUKE TO THE BOSS CLASS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The "Cape Times" invited Dr. Abdurahman, M.P.C., Chairman of the Streets Committee of the City Council, and President of the African People's Organisation, to express his views on the problem of sexual crime. Dr. Abdurahman replied:

"In the treatment of disease, whether physical or social, you have to go beyond symptoms to causes if you are to effect a cure. The summary treatment of symptoms may give a momentary show of success; but if causes are left untouched the disease will remain. Complications will set in, and you will have increased the evils you set out to destroy.

"Assaults on women," Dr. Abdurahman went on, "are horrible crimes. They are abhorrent to us all. But let us make no mistake: they are symptoms only.

"We may treat the symptoms summarily, or we may attempt to deal with the causes. We may, that is, hang individual criminals, or we may attempt to get rid of the conditions which breed crime.

"Hang the criminal, be he black or white, who assaults a woman, but HANG ALSO THE CRIMINAL WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONDITIONS which inevitably breed crime.

"HANG those who leave little children in their most impressionable years to grow up in daily degradation, in the pestilent atmosphere of the slums, without decent homes or schools, without healthy influences or hope.

"It is these criminals upon whom the fathers and brothers and husbands of outraged girls and women should WREAK THEIR VENGEANCE.

ENVIRONMENT.

"There is one fact which we cannot escape," Dr. Abdurahman continued, "that is the intimate way in which social life and morals depend upon environment. Nothing exerts a greater influence on a man's character than THE MANNER IN WHICH HE EARNS HIS LIVELIHOOD; nothing contributes more towards the moulding of a child's character than the amount of his father's income.

"In the back slums families with incomes below the lines of subsistence and decency are compelled to herd together in one room like animals. Children bred in such surroundings, left to grow up in the streets, denied food and education, abandoned at an early age, as some are, by parents too poor to keep them, cannot be expected to become respectful and respectable citizens.

"Indeed, what type of man do we hope will emerge from such an environment? I go so far as to say that the criminal with whom we are dealing now is largely the DIRECT PRODUCT OF OUR PRESENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEM.

"A Magistrate of great experience in the Transkei Territories once told me that he could not recall a single case of assault on a woman during the thirty years he was in the Territories.

"Yesterday I read some remarks of a Judge who said that assaults on women were getting common in the Territories. What has brought this change about? Will someone inquire.

A CRIMINAL SYSTEM OF SOCIETY.

"Having hanged our criminals, let us remember that we have only touched the symptoms of a disease inherent in our society. Indeed, we shall not be allowed to forget. Other criminals will spring up to remind us that we are, ourselves, maintaining a social structure which, by its very nature, BEGETS A CRIMINAL TYPE.

"This type we may regard as the residuum of society. They have had very little opportunity of friendship; they have never known the decencies and the quiet of family life; their higher faculties are dead; religion does not touch them.

"And we, with our comfortable homes, our arts and sciences, our ethical standards, our religions—WE ARE RESPONSIBLE before God.

"You may hang criminals innumerable, but so long as you leave the unholy, crime-breeding conditions untouched, you will not end sexual or other crime.

"I should like to add a word on the colour question," Dr. Abdurahman remarked. "If hanging be decreed, then there must be no question of colour. Hang the black brute who outrages a woman, be she white or black, but do not spare the white scoundrel who ravishes a dark woman."

"Perhaps the immediate, practical choice we have to make is the choice between a GODLESS EXPLOITATION OF CHEAP LABOUR and the safety of our womenfolk; in a word, between OUR POCKET AND OUR HONOUR."

May we endeavour to express Dr. Abdurahman's conclusion a little more explicitly? The class that howls loudest in the "Mail" and elsewhere about black peril and death for black rape, apart from being the class which itself often shows anything but a clean record in this matter, is voicing the ideas approved (for public circulation) by the ruling white caste of South Africa, which LIVES ON THE PROFITS OF BLACK LABOUR EXPLOITATION AND DEGRADATION. Not only does this caste create the immorality of which it then has the effrontery to complain, but it LIVES ON IT. It is a PIMP CLASS IN A LITERAL SENSE. Now then, white workers, that being so, are you still going to defend this profit-making, immorality-breeding South African system with your "damn the nigger" cry? Are you still going to tolerate a system which means, whether you will it or not, that the ruling caste are LIVING ON THE PROCEEDS OF PROSTITUTION, RAPE AND ROBBERY?

Hands Off Russia!

The Junkers of England, now exercising considerable power since the general election, have been busy for some time past trying to prepare "the public" for war on Russia. The £75,000 or £120,000 which the British Note charges Russia with having spent on "anti-British" (i.e., anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist) propaganda (we hasten to add that none of it has ever come our way) is, even if the story were true, which is doubtful, probably a bagatelle compared with the millions spent by the other side, either through the British Government or "unofficially," on anti-Russian, i.e., anti-working class, propaganda in the same period (although there is this to be said, that most capitalist propaganda, so far as carried on through newspapers, pays its way, whereas working class press propaganda, not being supported by advertisers, is nearly all dead spending and very little is got back in cash).

But in modern times a casus belli, even if well-founded, is comparatively unimportant. What the war-mongers are most concerned with is "to create ill-feeling between different sections of" the world's workers, so that they will fight each other whatever the actual cause of dispute, and even if there is, from a working-class point of view, none at all. In the case of Russia this has been both an easy and a difficult task: easy, because owing to distance and blockade, lies could be readily circulated with a good start round the world before they could be overtaken, and the press of the rest of the world could be closed to any refutation; difficult, because in spite of all that, the broad fact of the working class victory in Russia has burst the blockade and has entered as a welcome visitor into nearly every suffering working class home, into the villages and kraals of nearly every oppressed section or race, all round the globe, so much so that British Labour's spontaneous Councils of Action effectually prevented war a few years ago. Still the enemy persevered, and recently seemed to have succeeded in playing upon English religious sentiment with the story of Russian persecution of religion, a story which to this day remains unsupported by any evidence whatever except only this, that among those guilty of treason to the Workers' Government were a couple of predikants or bishops—the plea being apparently that a parson can do no wrong—and secondly, that the Russian Government freely tolerates rationalist no less than religious propaganda and imagery. This sentiment seemed to have worked the English Labour Party up to a pitch of anti-Russian feeling sufficient to embolden the enemy to search for an actual casus belli, which was found in the arrest of a trespassing trawler—any old bone would do to pick.

"At the eleventh hour," however, Ramsay Macdonald has discovered where childish superstition had landed his party, and asks "with grave concern" whether it is still possible to maintain peace between Britain and Russia. In other words, the danger of war is bringing British Labour somewhat back to its senses, though still haltingly. The Labour Party asks Soviet Russia, if you please, to do nothing "provocative," which was unnecessary, for the trawler's crew have been released, and Russia is seizing the opportunity to compel Britain again to negotiate. But it does not ask what British fishing vessels are doing within Russian territorial waters, three-mile or twelve-mile. Is fish so scarce that British vessels have to go all that distance for it? We read quite frequently of big catches in the North Sea being thrown away. And even at that outlandish distance, is fish so scarce outside a twelve-mile limit and so plentiful within? Obviously these trawlers were bent on mischief, obviously they were sent there to provoke trouble. It is to the British Government that the protest against provocative action and "filibustering expeditions" (as well as the Social Democratic Federation's queries regarding propaganda funds) should have been addressed. Besides, even now the Labour Party takes its stand on the ill-fated cry of "No more war," ill-fated because it has failed so miserably in the past, instead of repudiating Parliamentary, i.e., capitalist, etiquette and standards, and showing up the real reason why capitalist States are looking so anxiously for a chance to overthrow the workers' State—instead of, in short, proclaiming that a thousand peccadilloes by a Workers' Government are more to be forgiven than one by a capitalist government, that the insult to and attack on the Workers' Government is in itself the greatest crime of all, that the existence of the capitalist government is in itself the one thing indefensible.

Of a piece with the British Government's attitude is the assassination of Vorowsky. That may or may not have been inspired by a Fascist organisation in particular. It was certainly not the work of the traditional "anarchist." Almost as certainly it was approved by the interests so zealously defended by Lord Curzon, the Swiss Government, and all other similar agencies. More characteristic, perhaps, than the Social Revolutionary attempt on Lenin was, of the baldly murderous methods of modern anti-working class activities, it seems nevertheless to bear an official character from the fact that the assassin, assured in advance, no doubt, like the assassins of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, of a nominal sentence or early reprieve or escape, insistently surrendered to the police—those stalwart defenders of working class protagonists, whose neglect of precautions to protect the Russian envoys must have been very patent for M. Ahrens to remark on it. We can hear the cackle of rejoicing at the event in local police and detective circles, like the diabolic laughter we in the cells at Marshall Square on March 14th last year heard coming from the building whenever the machine gun post there appeared to score a hit during the bombardment of Fordsburg.

But out of evil good may come. This dastardly murder will, after all, strengthen both the diplomatic position of Soviet Russia and the cry elsewhere of "Hands off Russia." It will accelerate the English Labour recovery. It will show once more which is the party of violence, of murder, of atrocity. It will expose yet further the bankruptcy of the capitalist class in argument or reason, its cynical abandonment of all political decency or "constitutional methods," its ultimate, or rather immediate, reliance on force. Like the late war, which we rightly opposed, it will nevertheless open the eyes of more and more of the working class, hitherto blinded with fables into support of the Iron Heel, to the naked brutality of what Col. Truter calls "counter-revolutionary propaganda." Let the British Labour Party address another question to the British Government: what is the King of England doing in that Fascist galere?

It is time to revive in some appropriate form the body which used to function as the "Friends of Russian Freedom." Russia has won her freedom; but "Friends of Soviet Russia" is an organisation as much needed to-day as ever, in every country, among "men of goodwill," for a number of purposes—to insist on proper international consideration for that country, instead of treatment "as a jackal," to prevent war with Russia, to assist financially in her reconstruction, to promote her foreign trade, and so on. We hope someone will make a move in this direction forthwith in South Africa. Let the first colonial response to the feeling aroused in Britain be, not a message of loyalty to the Throne and readiness to shed blood on whatever rotten cause Downing Street may choose to cable for support, but a definite pronouncement by the bomb-ridden working class of South Africa that they will not tolerate hostile action against what is more truly than any other their Homeland, the Federation of Socialist Republics. Coupled with this proletarian veto the voice of every liberal element should be heard contrasting this bullying attitude towards Russia with Britain's subservient acquiescence in French tyranny in the Ruhr, Japanese aggressiveness in Korea and Saghalien, American in the Caribbean Sea, and so on. Let this occasion be used to deal another shrewd blow both at British imperialism and at its local creature, the S.A.P. Government.

The Quitting is Good.

The "Socialist-Revolutionary" Party of Russia has at last performed a truly great act. It has disbanded itself—both its legal and illegal organisations—at a last party convention in Moscow. The semi-final act of the "S.-R." party was its announcement that its members will submit to the Communist rule of Russia and will help in the reconstruction of the country.

The editor of a J. P. Morgan newspaper in New York was so distressed by this event that he "inspired" a statement to the entire press to the effect that the "S.-R." emigres would continue their organisation outside of Russia.

Those who know the flavour of European politics will recognise this incident as a landmark, of a small kind. It is good. Let them have peace if they want it. If the "S.-R.'s" carry out their last resolve, the Soviet Government will doubtless be glad to release the members of that organisation who are now in prison for their attempts to overthrow the revolutionary government and to assassinate its leaders. But where would the Revolution be now if the Bolsheviks had not made it fool-proof against those who for five and a half years plotted with foreign armies and waged a terroristic war of Paris-made bombs against it?

—"The Liberator."

* * *

I asked the I.L.P. Conference whether they were prepared to shoot down Communists, and a shout of "No" went up. Then the I.L.P. must pray that no Labour Government ever takes office.

—R. L. Outhwaite.

The "Law-abiding" Party.

A glaring case of capitalist defiance of law is the recent Act passed in Britain reversing the Court decision that you can't increase rent without notice to quit if the tenant refuses to agree to the increase. Similar legislation was threatened last week to indemnify the Home Secretary because the courts found him liable for deporting Art O'Brien. We are still taught to believe in the majesty of the law and sovereign courts of appeal; but bless you, your capitalist Parliaments make mincemeat of courts whose decisions go the wrong way, just as they scrap free speech when it is "Bolsheviks" that claim it; just as they threaten "Fascist Revolt" (and that is what "special constables" also mean) in England, the land of liberty, because the working class is growing in power and class-consciousness; just as they scream against lawlessness but assassinate foreign envoys because they are envoys of a proletarian state; just as Lloyd-George, admitting that capitalism will be condemned, and rightly, by the "Supreme Court of the Nations," does not for a moment contemplate submission to the sentence, oh dear no, but only discusses how to prevent its execution! What becomes of the cry for "constitutional methods"?

* * *

Congratulations to our brother party in France on the release of Com. Marcel Cachin and his fellow-prisoners. May they renew their efforts at the supreme task of creating a united Franco-German proletarian movement against both French invaders and German profiteers.

"S.A.L.P. Losing Its Grip."

So Mr. Boydell has broken the United Front—with the Communists, not with the Nationalists, of course—at Benoni.

The "United Front Movement" on the Reef originated among the strike prisoners at the Johannesburg Fort last year, and was in essence a common crusade for two definite objects which the Nationalist, Labour, and Communist Parties all desired, or were supposed to desire, equally, viz., amnesty for strike prisoners and defeat of the Smuts Government. This involved no fusion, no bargain, no pact, no blind alliance for either known or unknown ends. It was simply what it professed to be.

Had Mr. Boydell's party been single-mindedly concerned with these two objects, there would have been no occasion to denounce the United Front, indeed such a step would have been rank treason both to the prisoners and to the opposition forces generally. Neither party would have run the slightest risk of being "contaminated" with the general programmes or ideals of the others. The Nationalist voter need have had no qualms over the imperialism of the Labour Party; the Labour voter could have slept o' nights so far as "Bolshevism" was concerned, except of course that association would have facilitated "Bolshevik" propaganda among Labourites. But it is not about that that Mr. Boydell is worrying, even if he could define what he specifically objects to in that propaganda.

No: it is not to "incompatibility of temper" that we must look for an explanation. There is still more in common between the Labour and the Communist outlooks than between those of Labour and Nationalists, so that the breach, if based on principle, should have been with the Nationalists, not the Communists. The point is rather that the United Front was not good enough for the S.A.L.P. because it was not sufficiently adapted to the winning of office. Office as a means to strengthen the working class struggle may be useful enough, but the S.A.L.P. have always made it a be-all and end-all in itself, to the weakening and detriment of the struggle.

Thus, in the first place, the United Front at Benoni degenerated into a mere electoral fusion, with a single organisation, ostensibly intended to be permanent, for the purpose of getting candidates into any office. Such a scheme somewhat missed the point of the United Front, which is primarily an appeal to the mass, the rank and file, to agitate for some particular slogan with a view to broadening their class understanding and increasing their class activity: temporary mutual support of parties being limited to that slogan. Once place-hunting for its own sake takes the place of such agitation, which is always the danger with the S.A.L.P., it is ten to one that the place-hunter, having used the ladder, will kick it away if he thinks he needs it no longer, and that is what has happened at Benoni, even though most of the electoral donkey work was done by the Communists—who have no axe to grind.

But this, a minor matter, is not the chief charge, nor the chief reason of Mr. Boydell's present decree. The Labour Party, not being satisfied with merely defeating Smuts, has shown its reformist, social-democratic character by treating as more important the question of the spoils of victory. Proletarian principles must be postponed to bourgeois portfolios, and to this end an alliance, quite unnecessary for the purpose of the mere defeat, has been concluded with the Nationalists, which in turn involves jettisoning the Communists. We are compelled to surmise that the original objectives have been "improved upon" in favour of plums and patronage, and allies useful to gain the former were disowned as a hindrance in the quest for the latter, the joint Nat.-Lab. scramble for place. The new love has jealously insisted on the dismissal of the old, and has involved the S.A.L.P. in more intimate and compromising relations alien to the spirit of the "United Front." The Nationalists would be prepared to share a Cabinet with Labour, but not with Communists, because the S.A.L.P. is flabby and bourgeois enough to fall in with Nationalist ideas and terms.

But, it will be asked, if you are going to turn out Smuts, surely you must arrange for the new Government? The answer is no, unless it is to be a "Workers' Government" proper. Otherwise, the proper working class attitude is not to worry overmuch about the sequel to the defeat or the arrangements for carrying on another bourgeois or a coalition government for a cushy quiet five years of office. The movement against capitalism can never be a stable affair. On the contrary, after defeating Smuts, splits must be hastened; the Nationalist Party must be split, the Labour Party must be split, the whites must be split and the blacks must be split, the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and venal elements must be drained off and the true proletarian party built up. That, not sweets of cabinet rank, is what Mr. Boydell should be scheming for.

Even now the class-conscious rank and file of the Labour Party are not, we are convinced, at one with the Boydell ukase, least of all at Benoni itself, where the U.F. Committee will still take some time to liquidate its affairs. No party orders can destroy the demand from time to time, as occasion arises, for a United Front: and the Labour Party cannot refuse to comply with such a demand—or prevent the Communists from again, as at Benoni, "assuming control" of the situation.

For instance, a United Labour Front is needed to-day to prevent war with Russia. Is the Labour Party going to refuse to participate in that campaign because Communists are in it—or because there are no place-hunting, vote-catching possibilities in it? If so, then what support does it deserve from the workers?

A United Front was eminently called for on May Day. The Labour Party, perhaps in receipt or in anticipation of instructions from Mr. Boydell, sabotaged it: in Capetown it held a separate meeting of its own, in Johannesburg it participated only "unofficially." What sort of a champion has the Labour movement in a party guilty of such weakness?

A United Front is most desirable in agitation among and on behalf of the unemployed, and particularly agitation to secure the active interest of the employed workers, especially the trade unionists, in the unemployed. Why is the Labour Party doing nothing in this regard? Is its fear of Communist contamination, losing votes, more potent than its interest in a large and essential stratum of the working class? Then what sort of a working class party is it?

Above all, a United Front of some sort is called for as between white and non-white workers, to combat their common enemy. But the Labour Party thrives, "up north" at least, on a "damn the nigger" psychology. Is such a one-sided, or two-voiced, party worthy of the name of Labour?

On all these points, and many others concerning the immediate demands of the working class, all sections of it, the Labour Party is in duty bound to fight with any other party or group that wishes to fight by its side for those demands. To say in advance, "We will not form a United Front—with Communists—for any purpose"; to say, in short, "Whatever battles we may have, or profess to have, from time to time, against the capitalist class, we will under no circumstances fight them in co-operation with the Communists . . . sooner than that, we will not fight them at all"—that is the crime of crimes which will earn for the Labour Party the hatred and contempt of the whole working class of South Africa.

Fellow-workers of the Labour Party, attention! Pull yourselves together, and drag your "leaders" forward into real battle—or leave them behind!

Unemployed Notes.

On Saturday last, under the auspices of the Unemployed Committee of the Witwatersrand, a mass meeting of unemployed was held at the front of the Town Hall, with Comrade J. Oates as chairman. Several hundred unemployed turned out, and the following resolution was moved by Comrade V. C. Woudberg:

(a) This mass meeting of unemployed of Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand demands that the Government provide work at standard rates of pay or maintenance for all unemployed men and women. It declares that existing provisions for the relief of distress among the unemployed and their families are bad and totally inadequate, and calls for their immediate improvement and extension. (Copy to be sent to Prime Minister.)

(b) This meeting strongly protests against the action of the Town Council in refusing the free use of the Selborne Hall for a meeting of the unemployed. It declares that the Town and Selborne Halls are the property of the citizens of Johannesburg, of whom the unemployed are a part, and demands the free use of same when disengaged for the purpose of unemployed gatherings. (Copy to be sent to His Worship the Mayor.)

In a rousing speech, Comrade Woudberg called on the unemployed to organise to enforce the demand for work or maintenance. He referred to the rotten conditions of Cottesloe Camp, and told his hearers that they would get nothing better unless they organised and prepared, if necessary, to take what they wanted.

Comrade C. F. Glass seconded the resolution, which was spoken to by Comrades M. Shall, T. J. Maherry, and H. W. Haynes, whose militant remarks met with loud applause. The resolution, when put to the vote, was carried unanimously with acclamation.

The movement is rapidly growing, and unemployed men and women are requested to keep in touch with the Committee at No. 8, Trades Hall, Rissik Street.

In Benoni, the unemployed are on the move, and have formed a Committee of their own, which will work in contact with the one in Johannesburg. The men there are refusing to accept work on railway construction at the niggardly pay offered. If all unemployed will emulate Benoni's example the Government will soon be compelled to raise the rates of pay.

Unemployed in all Reef centres are urged to get moving, form local committees, and keep in touch with the Johannesburg Secretary at P.O. Box 6779, who will supply all information required. The movement in all centres and all provinces must be co-ordinated to be successful. Committees outside Johannesburg are invited to send in notes of their local doings for publication, so that regular and up-to-date information may be available for readers.

Spontaneous movements of actual or potential unemployed workers are arising in the districts. At Potchefstroom, for instance, last week "some 60 men representing the working class portion of the community" interviewed the Mayor, and drew from him a statement that in the event of the local water scheme going through local labour would, where possible, be used. The deputation, says the "Potchefstroom News," "expressed satisfaction at the explanation and the scheme, and intimated that it was their intention to interview other councillors on the matter." Other centres, please copy. Get busy EN MASSE!

Leon Trotsky—the Organiser of Victory.

By KARL RADEK.

Old General Moltke, the creator of the German army, often spoke of the danger that the pen of the diplomatists might spoil the work of the soldier's sabre. Warriors the world over, though there were classical authors among them, have always opposed the pen to the sword. The history of proletarian revolution shows how the pen may be re-forged into a sword. Trotsky is one of the best writers of world socialism, but these literary advantages did not prevent him from becoming the leader, the leading organiser of the first proletarian army. The pen of the best publicist of the revolution was re-forged into a sword.

The Marxist Trotsky saw not only the external discipline of the army, the cannon, the technics, but he saw the living human beings who serve the instruments of war, he saw the sprawling charge on the field of battle. Trotsky is the author of the first pamphlet giving a detailed analysis of the causes of the decay of the International. Even in face of this great decay, Trotsky did not lose his faith in the future of socialism; on the contrary, he was profoundly convinced that all these qualities which the bourgeoisie endeavours to cultivate in the uniformed proletariat, for the purpose of securing its own victory, will soon turn against the bourgeoisie, and will serve not only as the foundation of the revolution, but also of revolutionary armies. One of the most remarkable documents of his comprehension of the class structure of the army, and of the spirit of the army, is the speech which he held—I believe at the first Soviet Congress and in the Petrograd Workers' and Soldiers' Council—on Keronsky's July attack. In this speech Trotsky predicted the collapse of the attack, not only on technical military grounds, but on the basis of the political analysis of the condition of the army. "You"—and here he addressed himself to the Mensheviki and the S.R.'s—"demand from the government a revision of the aims of the war. In doing so you tell the army that the old aims, in whose names Tsarism and the bourgeoisie demanded unheard-of sacrifices, did not correspond to the interests of the Russian peasantry and Russian proletariat. You have not attained a revision of the aims of the war. You have created nothing to replace the Tsar and the fatherland, and yet you demand of the army that it shed its blood for this Nothing. We cannot fight for Nothing, and your adventure will end in collapse." The secret of Trotsky's greatness as organiser of the Red Army lies in this attitude of his towards the question.

It was impossible to replace the flying Tsarist army with fresh forces. These two waves would have crosssed and divided each other. The old army had to be completely dissolved; the new army could only be built up on the alarm sent out by Soviet Russia to the workers and peasants, to defend the conquests of the revolution.

How the war experts laughed at the first voluntary troops organised by Comrade Trotsky in his capacity of Commissary of War! Old Borisov, one of the best Russian military writers, assured those Communists with whom he was obliged to come in contact, time and again, that nothing would come of this undertaking, that the army could only be built up on the basis of general conscription, and maintained by iron discipline. He did not grasp that the volunteer troops were the secure foundation pillars upon which the structure was to be erected, and that the masses of peasants and workers could not possibly be rallied around the flag of war again unless the broad masses were confronted by deadly danger. Without believing for a single moment that the volunteer army could save Russia, Trotsky organised it as an apparatus which he required for the creation of a new army.

But Trotsky's organisatory genius and his boldness of thought are even more clearly expressed in his courageous determination to utilise the war specialists for creating the army. Every good Marxian is aware that in building up a good economic apparatus we still require the aid of the old capitalist organisations. Lenin defended this proposition with the utmost decision in his April speech on the tasks of the Soviet power. In the mature circles of the party the idea is not contested. But the idea that we could create an instrument for the defence of the republic, an army, with the aid of the Tsarist officers—encountered obstinate resistance. Who could think of re-arming the White officers who had just been disarmed?

The mistrust of our military functionaries could only be allayed, their agreement to the utilisation of the knowledge possessed by the old officers could only be won, by the burning faith of Trotsky in our social force, the belief that we could obtain from the war experts the benefit of their science, without permitting them to force their politics upon us; the belief that the revolutionary watchfulness of the progressive workers would enable them to overcome any counter-revolutionary attempts made by the staff officers.

But Comrade Trotsky has not only succeeded in subordinating to his energy even the highest staff officers, he has attained more: he has succeeded in winning the confidence of the best elements among the war experts, and in converting them from enemies of Soviet Russia to its most profoundly convinced followers. I witnessed one such victory of Trotsky's at the time of the Brest negotiations. The officers who had accompanied us to Brest-Litovsk maintained a more than reserved attitude towards us. They fulfilled their role as experts with the utmost condescension, in the opinion that they were attending a comedy which merely served to cover a business transaction long since arranged between the Bolsheviki and the German Government. But the manner in which Trotsky conducted the struggle against German imperialism, in the name of the principles of the Russian Revolution, forced every human being present in

(Continued on Fourth Column.)

SIDELIGHTS.

Can Capital Rule?

"If the money put into the Rand Mining Industry had been put into 2½ per cent. Consols it would probably have come out better," says Mr. Sam Evans in support of the Chamber of Mines whine that it can't pay good wages. If so, then why was it not put into Consols? Either because it paid better in Rand mines, in which case Mr. Evans is—well, exaggerating; or if not, then the investors stand self-condemned as hopelessly incompetent, and their advice and opinion on economic questions should be struck off the record as valueless. This is confirmed by the reappearance in Mr. Evans' evidence of that long-exploded legend of a limited "national dividend" or "wages fund," for a "fair" share of which everybody (except the capitalists, they are secured of course) is supposed to scramble; although everyone knows that even under capitalism there is, somewhere, far more than enough to go round.

* * *

Divide and Rule.

Yes, Capital can rule—by dividing. With a movement for amalgamating all non-European labour organisations in South Africa before it, it has cunningly granted a death-bed concession under the Urban Areas Bill exempting certain strata of the coloured people from the operation of pass laws. The objections raised by Mr. J. B. Wessels, M.L.A., that this "would cause dissatisfaction among the native races who were trying to better themselves"—no thanks to Mr. Wessels, we'll be bound—must have involved quite a twist to his tongue and a strain to his cheek: for it is just by such jealousy that the United Front in question can be sidetracked. The native and coloured unions must keep their eyes skinned, and smother this contemptible trickery and hypocrisy by pushing their One Big Union with redoubled energy.

* * *

"War on Religion."

Tikhon is to be reprieved, that is what the yellow press was clamouring for, and now they have got their way, and lost another card against Russia, it is "one of the most gigantic swindles ever perpetrated." The only "gigantic swindle" about the affair is their own, when they draped their sordid motives in a cloak of concern for religion, and the religious workers of Britain were momentarily taken in by it. But even if there were a "deal" as suggested, what about the reprieve of Garnsworthy, or the rewards to ex-"rebels" which we mentioned last week? Besides, the only people mentioned as "bought over" by that sapient "Riga correspondent" of whose antics we have had personal experience lately are apparently the very Church Congress who needed no buying, for it was they who had "condemned Tikhon to death." By the way, it is amusing to see the Chief Rabbi also protesting against the "Soviet war on religion." Every Jew knows that the Soviet Government has given the Jews of Russia complete religious freedom, while the countries unhealthy for Jewry are just those which the Powers are maintaining to attack Soviet Russia. In the same column, on the other hand, we read of "great injustice to Catholics" in—the Transvaal!

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the assembly room to feel the moral and spiritual victory of this eminent representative of the Russian proletariat. The mistrust of the war experts towards us vanished in proportion to the development of the great Brest-Litovsk drama.

This victory has also required the self-denial of tens of thousands of our comrades in the army, an iron discipline in our own ranks, a consistent striving towards our aims; it has also required the miracle that those masses of human beings who only yesterday fled from the battlefield, take up arms again to-day, under much more difficult conditions, for the defence of the country.

That these politico-psychological mass factors played an important role is an undeniable fact, but the strongest, most concentrated, and striking expression of this influence is to be found in the personality of Trotsky. Here the Russian revolution has acted through the brain, the nervous system, and the heart of its greatest representative. When our first armed trial began, with Czecho-Slovakia, the party, and with it its leader Trotsky, showed how the principle of the political campaign—as already taught by Lassalle—could be applied to war, to the fight with "steel arguments." We concentrated all material and moral forces on the war.

It was only a man who works like Trotsky, a man who spares himself as little as Trotsky, who can speak to the soldiers as only Trotsky can—it was only such a man who could be the standard bearer of the armed working people. He has been everything in one person. He has thought out the strategic advice given by the experts, and has combined it with a correct estimate of the proportions of social forces; he knew how to unite in one movement the impulses of fourteen fronts, of the ten thousand Communists who informed headquarters as to what the real army is and how it is possible to operate with it; he understood how to combine all this in one strategic plan and one scheme of organisation. And in all this splendid work he understood better than anyone else how to apply the science of the significance of the moral factor in war.

Our army was an army of peasants, and the dictatorship of the proletariat with regard to the army, that is, the leading of this peasants' army by workers and by representatives of the working class, was realised in the personality of Trotsky and in the comrades co-operating with him. Trotsky was able, with the aid of the whole apparatus of our party, to impart to the peasants' army, exhausted by the war, the profoundest conviction that it was fighting in its own interests.

Political Situation in Great Britain.

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD (Communist M.P. for Motherwell).

Since the commencement of the present session of Parliament, the Tory Government has suffered three very dramatic defeats at by-elections. In one case, they lost a seat to a Liberal and that in suburban west London, and in the other two cases two seats to the Labour Party, the one in the petit bourgeois suburbs of London at Mitcham, and the other in an industrial quarter of a city, famous for religion and racial strife, and consistent and continuous Toryism, the Edgehill division of Liverpool. The causes of the defeats were twofold. First, there was the customary habit of the British electorate to follow up a general election with a series of rebuffs expressive of their disappointment with a new government and, second, there was the question of the threatened increase of rents by reason of the de-control of houses by the State—a temporary war measure. The houses more immediately threatened were those of the petit bourgeoisie who, therefore, voted Labour to frighten the Government into making and keeping a promise to delay decontrol until, from some quarter unnamed, new houses can be provided.

Again, there is profound but unintelligent discontent amongst the British bourgeoisie at the way things are going with the prestige of the nation, the dignity of the Empire, and the problems of taxation and trade. They want "Peace with honour." It is not peace itself that they mind about but "Economy." The Mesopotamia and Gallipoli campaigns have made any threat of war in those quarters very unpopular. It is unpleasant and unhealthy, even if honourable, to die for one's country on the hillslope of the Dardanelles or in the river marshes of Irak. Besides, it is better to sell cotton goods in the Levant than to help a few cosmopolitan speculators like Zaharoff to get oil with bombs and bayonets. Yet again, India seems to be willing to settle down and resume its normal relations with Lancashire if only the Government will not antagonise the Khalifat movement. However, no British bourgeois will evacuate the East under threat of expulsion. To do so would be to lose "prestige" and risk trouble with "the beastly natives" everywhere, don't you know. Again, everyone smarts at the indignity of the French handling of British interests in occupied Germany just as much as he is incensed at the thought of letting off "the Huns" who made the war and now refuse to pay for it. But the country has only one-third the aeroplanes that France has and fewer submarines as well. To cap all, the new Government has made a most undignified capitulation to the American bondholders and has burdened the taxpayer with yearly payments approximating £36,000,000 for eighty years.

Trade is not improving at all well and taxation will not fall. The British bourgeois is a rat in a trap and begins to be conscious of that disagreeable situation.

The Liberals have failed him. The Tories are failing him. Therefore, he turns to the Labour Party for—"Peace, Respectability, Stability, and Economy." Even so, he is disturbed. There are those "wild men" from Scotland and some thirty-five others who object to their leaders fraternising with Royalty. The leaders look and sound quite safe; but Snowden, though he may turn round and snarl at his supporters for cheering him too boisterously when attacking capitalism in his best parlour manner, and Macdonald, though he may tell the millionaire newspaper owners that his party has not one thousand millionth part of sympathy with Bolshevism, cannot restrain the avalanche that threatens from the back benches impelled forward by the hopes their own oratory has awakened in the congested towns of the Clyde. The bourgeoisie wants a change—back to the old world before 1914. It must be remembered that in Britain the bourgeoisie, economic and ideological alike, is very big indeed—this being the home of the classical or competitive type of capitalism. Respectability is rampant. Religion has been more democratic than authoritarian—this is the home of nonconformist sectarianism. Even Catholicism here has been associated with the Liberals, as against the State Church and, amongst the Irish, has stood for the national revolt of the expropriated race against the alien and Protestant ascendancy. The State Church has for more than half a century, but more with each succeeding decade, had bishops and clergy who were in idealist revolt against the Manchester School of political thought that has dominated industrialism. There is an enormous mass of floating religious emotionalism and idealism with no doctrinal bias and no sceptic cynicism. There are ideological bridges and causeways innumerable connecting the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. All this had its historic origin in the slow but very early development of bourgeois trade, bourgeois farming of land and bourgeois industry in Great Britain.

The absence of a conscript army, the meeting of bourgeois and proletarian in the chapels and the coming together of all classes on the racecourse have given to these gradations of class sub-divisions a number of ideas and prejudices in common. Again, the rebel elements, the adventurous personalities, have made their way to a colony or to the English-speaking United States.

British capitalism has, for three generations, been able to make its proletarians feel that their standard of life and comfort was continuously improving, and that they had a share in the government and profits of the common imperial heritage.

All this is now rapidly altering economically, but, psychologically, the change is very slow. The old traditions die very slowly away.

The Communist in Britain needs to have infinite patience, a foresight and a willingness to seem a dreamer and be ridiculed. He must remember that traditionally and psychologically he lives on an island of prosperity and of peace. He must equally realise and seek to make others realise that economically, and in the conditions of modern politics and war, that insularity and privileged state have slipped away. Economically Great Britain is riding at breakneck speed to revolution. Psychologically, her people think that everything in this country will be "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

It has been unfortunate for comrades throughout the International that, on the one hand, they have allowed enthusiasm and hopeful expectation to negate their Marxian interpretation of history when judging the prospects of a revolutionary crisis in Great Britain (and in certain other countries) and, on the other hand, that they have been unintentionally misled by engineers from the Clyde, with their views unduly coloured by local and occupational conflicts of a temporary though very dramatic character, who, generalising from particulars, foretold a revolutionary rising of the masses; also by other comrades from London where, almost alone in all Britain, the trades councils and labour parties have been as much or more influenced by the Marxists than by the religious sentimentalists of the I.L.P.

The Clyde industrialists have foretold a Soviet Revolution. The London politicals have overlooked the fact that as the Labour Party ceased to be a federation of autonomous units and became a centralised party, the opportunities of Communists within its ranks would become less and less. Formerly, the Labour Party had no all-powerful junta. Now it has a junta and a machinery of officialdom reaching down from the centre to the localities.

The bourgeois elements, discomfited and dislodged by the economic revolution, are coming into the Labour Party to strengthen it as an orthodox political machine and to saturate it still more with opportunism and the spirit of compromise. There may be a break inside the Labour Party. I think it will take the form of autonomy of organisation for the Scottish section of the party, but, as no Labour Party candidate can possibly secure election in the whole of the west coast area unless he is approved by and is a member of the I.L.P., that will not mean a union or even an early alliance with the Communists.

Out of this reorganisation—made in the interests of opportunism—to get moderate men's votes in Conservative England, and extremist men's votes in Radical Scotland, there will, probably, ensue a Labour Government.

Then the debacle will begin, and the wholesale disillusion and disruption of the Labour Party rank and file membership. At present and until that time, the numerically insignificant Communist Party can best stand firm in asserting the inevitable failure of opportunism, the inevitable collapse of imperialism, demonstrating the domestic failure of capitalism, pointing to the fissures in its political superstructure, fighting with the masses of the unemployed to improve their lot, helping the unions to resist the ever-increasing onslaughts on working conditions and wage-cuts, learning in the rough and tumble of everyday conflict to use the information and instruction which its slowly but steadily recruited membership will receive from the Party and from the International.

The "Workers' Herald."

"Volume I., No. 1" of this paper has been sent to us as an exchange. It is not Crawford's paper, but "the official organ of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, the Mouthpiece of the African Worker," with headquarters at Capetown: a union which is negotiating amalgamation with a body of similar title in the Transvaal and O.F.S., and discussing it also with the "African People's Organisation" and "Coloured Labour Union." The I.C.U. held a conference at Capetown last January at which Tom Mann presided.

The contents of the paper do not seem altogether to justify the claim to be "the mouthpiece of the African worker." For one thing, they are somewhat inconsistent. "The Union is non-political," says the leading article; but another article says, "Not until the African leaders become thoroughly alive and informed in modern thought and the march of events—sociological, industrial, educational and political, in both their local and international aspects and their true meaning and significance for the race and the oppressed classes in general, are they capable of any leadership that is worth the name"—which is a more commonsense view. Again, the leading article "repudiates the Third International and the horrors associated with it. It accepts the basis of Western civilisation"—(Father, forgive them)—and another par. seems to regret that the S.A.L.P. did not scrap its Socialist objective. On the other hand, the other article already quoted says: "This is the day of the workers, the organised workers. In Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and America, those who produce the wealth of the world, are demanding and getting more than ever," which seems to place Russia first, indeed "and getting" could hardly apply to any of the countries named except Russia; and surely the Editor knows that Soviet Russia alone of all nations has liberated its subject peoples, including those of non-European race.

This attack on the Third International, and also the attack on the industrial colour bar and, as corollary, on the white trade unions, suggests some influence like that behind "Umteteli Wabantu," for, as we in this paper have repeatedly shown, the modification or removal of the colour bar benefits only the mine owners, not the coloured workers, in fact it probably damages them: Mr. S. K. le Pere, of the Coloured Labour Union, admits that the coloured workers have got no benefit out of the defeat of the 1922 strike. The "Herald" voices the demand for "lower pay, to natives as compared with white, for equal work," on the ground that with equal pay the employer will always prefer a white employee; whereas he will not, he likes the docile, unprivileged, easily punishable worker best, and in actual fact it is surely the white man that is passed over (as "redundant," for example) more often than the black. Still, the question is certainly one warranting discussion between white and native labour organisations; indeed, it is worth noting that the "Herald" recognises distinctions among non-Europeans too when it claims "equal rights for all civilised men and just and fair treatment for all others" (sic), which seems to unmask its propaganda as a championship of "civilised" natives only, leaving the rest to that "just and firm" policy which is already their fate at the hands of whites. Another old story repeated is that "the European workers live on the fat of the land" which is absurdly untrue of the great majority of them. Again, the "White South Africa" cry is taken to mean "driving the natives out," the usual distortion where the influence of bourgeois ideas prevails; but though that phrase is misleading, all it meant last year was that the Chamber of Mines should not drive white men out of their job by giving it to natives (or anyone else) at much lower pay—surely a claim which would equally be made if "civilised" natives, for instance, found themselves being ousted in favour of "others"—cheaper ones from Central Africa, for instance.

It is regrettable that this maiden paper calls for so much criticism, for we are wholly with its general "One Big Union" objective. "Sink all your tribal differences" is just what we said in a famous Zulu and Sesuto leaflet in February, 1918, indeed we venture to think that a good deal of the organising activity among natives dating from that period is partly due to our advice.

A native promoter of another association is asked by the "Herald" what became of certain funds. It is to be hoped that no such question can be properly put to anyone connected with the "Herald." If not, if the paper is genuine, then we wish it all success, both in its campaign for partial demands such as education, its protests against tyranny and violence as in S.W. Africa last year, and its general agitation for emancipation; and feel sure that its quarrels with white workers (in which there is right and wrong on both sides) can, if honestly discussed between the parties, be smoothed out, to the immense strengthening of the workers' movement in general, and to the ultimate understanding by the "Herald" that the real fight is not between white and black workers but between workers (black and white) and exploiters. The former fight is what the capitalists love to see, witness Mr. Merriman's curious advocacy records of "the propagation of inter-racial (negro) feeling" throughout the African continent. The Communist International also advocates negro racial unity, but not with a view to dividing black from white; on the contrary, with a view to the common effort by all proletarians to burst their chains. Altogether, the "Workers' Herald" has a lot to learn and unlearn.

Economic liberty is priceless—and is worth any price.

* * *

The price to be paid for making the world happy is revolution.

—William Morris.

White Slaves.

The writer recently came out from England on the P. and O. s.s. Bendigo, with a boatload of English lads bound for Australia. A representative of a "Labour" newspaper, together of course with parsons galore, accompanied the party, told them to be good boys and painted their future prosperity in glowing colours, although 10s. per week was all the pay expected by many of them. When we attempted to put a question based on letters from disillusioned emigrants and published in the "International" and the "Workers' Weekly," the "lecture" was brought hurriedly to a close, and the boys, who have little or no understanding of the class struggle or of their own position in it, sang the National Anthem or the Red Flag—both were equally meaningless to them (what a contrast with the young men of Moscow)!

Further confirmation of the stories they were not allowed to hear is found in this extract from a Melbourne daily, which by the way contrasts notably with the insistence on proof of means by our S.A. immigration authorities:

"CHEAP LABOUR FOR COCKIES—HOW "POMMIES" ARE PLACED.

Although it is persistently denied that immigrants are brought to Australia for the purpose of cutting down wages, such denials are not borne out by facts. The State Labour Bureau supplies farm hands at 25s. a week, yet the agricultural labourers in Britain recently went on strike sooner than submit to having their wages reduced to 25s. a week. Complaints, moreover, come from all parts of the country from diddled pommies, who have been trapped into working 14 and 16 hours a day for as low as 12s. 6d. a week. In all the States the same cruel victimisation is being carried on.

Here is a copy of a recent agreement, which shows how immigrants from Britain are trapped by unscrupulous employers:

Memorandum of Agreement made this day between ..... of ..... of the first part, ... passenger per ship s.s. Sophocles, of the second part.

The Conditions are that the said party of the second part engage to serve the said party of the first part as dairy and general farmer's assistant and otherwise to make himself generally useful for the term of twelve calendar months, and also to obey all his or his overseer's or authorised agent's lawful and reasonable commands during that period; in consideration of which service the said party of the first part doth agree to pay the said party of the second part wages at the rate of fifteen shillings per week for the first four months and seventeen shillings and sixpence per week for the last eight months, to provide him with proper board and lodging and to pay wages in the coin of the realm at the end of each month of this agreement. The first wages to be paid ONE MONTH AFTER SIX WEEKS from date hereof. In the event of the said party of the first part desiring to discharge forthwith the said party of the second part he must pay to the said party of the second part one month's wages. The party of the second part, should he desire to leave his employer, must give one month's notice or forfeit one month's pay.

(Signed) Employer .....
Employee .....
(Countersigned by Immigration Officer.)
Twenty-eighth day of January, 1923.

"In the face of such evidence as that, of what avail is it to deny that there is some sort of "honourable understanding" between cheap labour employers and the immigration authorities; and that immigrants are placed at less than the current rate of wages! The "pommy," a Suffolk man, who signed the above agreement, is now forced to work from 4 a.m. until 8 or 8.30 p.m., with brief intervals wherein to snatch his meals. Such facts as these speak for themselves."

S. P. B.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Dates of meetings: May 24th; June 7th and 21st; July 5th and 19th.

Com. Jack Oates has been appointed Branch Collector, and all subscriptions must be paid to him at 4, Trades Hall, or remitted by post to Box 4179. Members are reminded that they must subscribe to the "International," and subscriptions can be left at 4, Trades Hall, or posted to Box 4179.

A. Goldman & Company

(Late of Norman Anstey and Longfield & Co.)

Has started LADIES' TAILORING, at

No. 1 Goch Buildings.

(OVER CAREY'S BOOT SHOP),

Eloff St., Johannesburg.

This paper will be posted FOR FOUR WEEKS ONLY (a) to subscribers whose subscriptions have expired from date of expiry; (b) to persons recommended as likely subscribers.

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

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Australian Anti-Patriotism.

The second annual One Big Union Convention, sitting in Sydney, issued a protest against the inculcation of jingo patriotism, the worship of militarism, and the teaching of religion in the State schools of Australia (where the education is supposed to be of a secular nature). The following motion has been carried:

"That this convention demands that it is incumbent upon the governments, state and federal, to abolish the poisonous patriotic and religious dope of the robber class, which is at present being instilled into the minds of the working class children attending state government schools."

* * *

"It is assumed that labour is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labours unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labour. Capital is only the fruit of labour, and could not have existed if labour had not first existed."

—Abraham Lincoln.

* * *

We have to oust these European patriotisms by some greater idea or perish.

—H. G. Wells.

"How," says Canon Wyche, of Port Elizabeth, "anyone can be a Christian in these bug-haunted slums at the North End I really do not know." The slumming parson, whose life is spent in attempting this impossibility, thus stands self-condemned. It is a wonder he has not earned the title of anti-Christ, so freely bandied about in connection with the Communists. Anyhow, his views are somewhat on the lines of the "infidel's" (Dr. Abdurahman's) set forth in another column.

* * *

The revolution could probably be more humane if the proletariat had the possibility of "buying off all this band," (as Marx once put it. But capitalism during the war has imposed upon the toilers too great a load of debt, and has too deeply undermined the foundations of production, for us to be able seriously to contemplate a ransom in return for which the bourgeoisie would silently make its peace with the revolution. The masses have lost too much blood, have suffered too much, have become too savage, to accept a decision which economically would be beyond their capacity.

—L. Trotsky.