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The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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

Vol. VIII. No. 367. FRIDAY, MAY 25, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

All Friends of Soviet Russia FORM A United Front IN SUPPORT OF THE Workers' Republic.

International Delegate Fund.

The opening of this fund was announced in our issue of the 11th inst. It is a general fund for the purpose of providing ways and means of sending delegates from South Africa from time to time to the headquarters of the world revolutionary proletarian movement. Contributions were invited from all who recognise the great advantage of such missions, ensuring a constant link between the radical elements in this country and those of the rest of the world, with a consequent continuous broadening of our local outlook.

Since then Com. W. H. Andrews has proceeded to Europe, and funds are required IMMEDIATELY to provide for the expenses of his journey. This additional reason should suffice to stimulate contributors. Cheques should be made out and forwarded to R. Rabb, Hon. Treasurer of the fund, 6, Trades Hall, Johannesburg. A list of donations to date will be published next week.

The Anglo-Russian Disputes.

"Russian Information and Review" says:

"With regard to the arrest of British trawlers, we must point out that the trawlers in question were fishing within the zone reserved for Russian fishing vessels by a decree of May 24, 1921, the text of which was duly communicated to all foreign Governments. It must be pointed out that this was no new principle. The population of the northern areas of Russia depends almost entirely for its food supplies upon the fisheries, and even before the war the then Russian Government had established a zone prohibited to foreign fishing vessels. There is no international law regulating the question. . . . It is an established practice that disputes on such questions should be settled by agreement between the parties, and the Russian Government has been perfectly willing to negotiate in this particular case. But in the absence of such an agreement, there can be no complaint if foreign fishing vessels are arrested for violation of the Russian laws.

"With regard to the allegations that the Soviet Government has been conducting propaganda in infringement of the Trade Agreement, there is no foundation whatever for such an assertion. Only the most general charges have been made, and it is impossible to deal with such vague assertions. In any case, we must point out that the Trade Agreement provides that any alleged infringement of its provisions shall be put forward, and that the party alleged to have broken the Agreement shall be given an opportunity of furnishing an explanation. The Russian Government has not received any such communication, and no case to justify the termination of the Agreement can be built up on vague Press charges.

"We must point out that no trade whatever between Great Britain and Russia could be carried on if the Trade Agreement were terminated. The Trade Agreement provides certain guarantees against requisition, etc., without which no Russian produce could be sent to Great Britain, nor could any Russian funds become available for the purchase of goods in the United Kingdom. There must therefore be no mistake about the position; the ending of the Trade Agreement would mean the ending of all trade with Russia.

Unemployed on the Move.

BENONI.

The Benoni Commando has been on the move to some tune. As promised to the deputation which visited the Mayor on the 14th inst., an emergency meeting of the Council was called last Wednesday week, which decided to go ahead with the new sewerage scheme and employ 50 men thereon at 8s. per day. This decision, although it does not greatly relieve the unemployed, was undoubtedly the result of the activities of the Commando, which placed pickets outside the White Labour Office and prevented men signing on for the different constructions. The Commando marched through the town daily and obtained considerable supplies of food—bread, meat and groceries—from various firms, also certain promises of definite weekly supplies. A house-to-house collection was organised last Saturday by permission of the Council, and over £9 was collected. The Benoni Benevolent Society is being boycotted, and rightly so, by the unemployed and their families.

* * *

BOKSBURG.

On Saturday, the 19th inst., the unemployed of Boksburg North, having heard of the success which attended the efforts of the Unemployed Committee in Benoni, held a meeting on the open veld next to the Cason Mine. The meeting was very enthusiastic, and a Committee was elected to get to work and organise the unemployed of the whole district into a District Commando—FOR BUSINESS. Keep it up, Boksburg! DETERMINATION WILL ENSURE SUCCESS.

Bourgeois Bloomers.

A Family Party.

Sir Robert Horne, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer in England, resigned that office last November in favour of Mr. Stanley Baldwin (now Premier) and himself immediately became the chairman of BALDWIN'S, LTD., the iron and steel combine, with a capital of over £9,000,000. The rule is that Ministers must not hold directorships, and this is how they get round it. And now the Press says of the new Prime Minister: "His STERLING HONESTY is admitted by all politicians." No wonder he needs prayers—for his soul.

* * *

"Divide and Rule" Again.

"There is a very strong case indeed for a general reduction in the scale of remuneration of European workmen in the industrial centres of the Union." Thus Mr. Gemmill, of the Chamber of Mines. Of course it all depends on which of the two irreconcilable sides in the class struggle you adopt; and once more the "influence of the bourgeoisie on the working class" is exposed in the astounding answer of the Boilermakers' representative—"WE WANT TO TRY TO MEET THE EMPLOYERS' DIFFICULTY." Good God, isn't Gemmill enough, that Brown must help him? And again, is it not owing to the white workers' refusal to recognise other workers, both white and native, as fellow-workers (an error the bosses know better than commit) that Messrs. Brown and Crisp were unable (if the press reports are fair) to answer the argument that "an increase in wages to one section of workers would be followed by a similar demand from all classes of employees, especially natives?" Why of course it would; but isn't that demand just what the workers' representatives were there to represent and foster? Has it come to this, that the solidarity of labour, the common demand of ALL workers, is not the hope but the despair of Messrs. Brown and Crisp?

* * *

The Kenya "Problem."

The "Observer" is the first paper, pro-British or pro-Indian, to take a comparatively proper perspective of this affair. "Who are 'the community,' 'the people,' of Kenya?" it asks. "Not 10,000 whites nor 20,000 Indians, but 2½ million Africans, over whose bodies Europeans and Indians alike are fighting an economic struggle for the exploitation of the natives. The European farmers want cheap labour. The Indian shopkeepers want customers." But like the bourgeois negrophiles, such as E. D. Morel or J. C. Wedgwood, the paper professes to see salvation in "officials, controlled by an Executive Government, whose primary duty is to protect native and African interests." Only the exploiters' story in another form: Britain's God-given mission to "rule" the blacks. Once that is granted, it does not take long to find out in whose interests she will rule them. As Mr. Barlow said about "our sacred trust" to the Bondelswarts, to "carry them forward in the path of civilisation and self-government," it takes the form of "great solicitude to get labour from our wards," and, as the Native Affairs Commission evidence shows (one copy only issued, and they call that publication!) to get it d—d cheap too. Less than a month after the surrender of the territory, says Mr. Madeley, the Director of Native Labour in the Transvaal had been sent to Ovamboland with a view to "smell out the land" for labour recruiting. That, nothing more, is Imperialism, that is the Empire for which natives themselves are often heard to cheer!

* * *

Bad Taste.

Mr. Newbold has been suspended apparently for calling a spade a spade, that is for calling Captain Fitzroy a "bourgeois"—as he is. Evidently it is a disgrace to be one, for he declares the epithet to be "unparliamentary." Presumably it would have been a compliment to call him a proletarian. Things are looking up.

So much for parliamentary etiquette. The fine feelings of gentlemen are hurt by an epithet. What those fine feelings are in actual life is illustrated by the reply given the other day by a high mine official on the Rand to an unemployed—and evidently victimised—miner who applied to him for a job. "Job!" said the cur; "ASK FISHER AND SPENDIFF FOR A JOB." For that remark he would not have been pulled up in a bourgeois parliament: but a revolutionary tribunal would—and will one day—find him guilty of "the worst possible taste," for which "suspension" in the most liberal sense would be too mild a punishment.

* * *

Death Throes.

Why in the world are Curzon, the British and French generalissimos (planning invasion from Poland), the British Navy (protecting Arctic fishermen, we don't think), and the rest of them worrying to attack a State which, having been in its "death throes" last week, must by this time have expired entirely?

* * *

The Dare-Devils.

The Foreign Office has sent an ultimatum to the Soviet Government. The text of it is not yet known, but we know already what the newspaper writers think it ought to be. It would appear that when the British Government protested that Russia could not execute her own bishops just as she pleased, Lenin rudely asked what about Ridley, Cranmer and Latimer? or words to that effect. An unanswerable but an unfair argument, for if the British Empire cannot do what it likes, who can? The truculence displayed towards Russia is in marked contrast with the complaisance displayed towards France. Just so are we rude to the sheep that crosses our path, but very polite to the bull-dog in the same circumstances. I am reminded of the story of the British Tommy and the lamb. Tommy, following the example of the great statesmen who rule his destiny, had stolen a lamb, but was surprised in the act by his officer. Tommy's presence of mind was equal to the occasion. Plunging his bayonet into the animal he cried, with well simulated anger: "I'll learn ye to bite a British soldier."

—"The Guardian."

"Good Old British Flag!"

—Mr. Barlow, M.L.A.

Imperialism has been ill-served by General Smuts when confronted with such snags as the treatment of the Bondelswarts and the Rehoboths. Not but what that treatment itself was typically imperialistic, suitable matter for another volume by E. D. Morel; but the compleat Imperialist must know how to make it look noble and humane. This the Prime Minister tried to do and failed. "The League of Nations has imposed on us a 'sacred trust' to enslave the Rehoboths. They, like Abraham Morris, supported the good old Union Jack in the fight for liberty against the Kaiser; we deprive them of their liberty. We may weep to do it, but alas, the war tore up all the Kaiser's treaties, so we can't help ourselves, though Botha and Buxton repeatedly promised otherwise. After all, how much nicer it is to lose one's freedom and enter 'the Great Commonwealth known as the British Empire.' Indeed, they actually want us to deprive them of their land. No 'robber band has seized our land,' no 'we are exiles here' for them; they asked for it." A pitiable attempt; and besides, the adverse report of the Bondelswart Commission shows up the 'sacred trust' stunt as so much blasphemy. So in the end General Smuts has to admit that the views of the idealistic missionary—the sacred trust—are irreconcilable with the "realism" of the colonist—the cheap labour cry of the cosmopolitan investor and of General Lemmer alike. What is more, he has to take sides with the latter, THUS GIVING AWAY THE WHOLE PRETENSIONS OF THE BRITISH OR ANY OTHER COLONIAL EMPIRE. No matter what justifies "rebellion," it must be crushed! In short, what happened in South-West Africa or at Bulhoek or Momé Gorge, for the exploitation of cheap labour of subject races, is the natural processus of imperialism, and if you don't like it you can lump it. Humanity? Driven into a corner we drop that cant altogether and shoot. Breach of faith? The niggers can't sue us, they can't fight us, why talk of breach of faith? We are realists, we are imperialists, God save the King. Hurrah!

As for Smuts' performance when shooting prisoners was brought up, it is the old police court attorney touch; it is like the Major in "Arms and the Man" who folded his arms with "dignity" and said "I never apologise"; it is the trump argument of the prisoner protesting his innocence to the last; it is like your Mayor or Chairman of a Public Board who, when caught pilfering, will always "fling back the very suggestion as a disgrace to the good name and dignity of this Board. What would the world—or the natives—say to such a scandal?"—and the Councillors and Committee men will always rise to the occasion and defend the honour of their august body, and it becomes unnecessary even to deal with the charge itself, it is forgotten in loyal cheers.

Mr. Creswell, too, is carried off his feet and admits that "there are occasions when the steel hand is required." And now we think of it, did not Mr. Creswell himself once adopt the same theatrical heroics in defence of the honour of "the regiment to which I have the honour to belong" at a notorious dinner of the VII, S.A.I.?

Yes, there are occasions when the steel hand is required. At the proper time, it will be requir'd against the present masters of South Africa, and some of those now in Parliament will be the first to feel its weight.

The Cry from the Pit.

The Unemployed Committee of the Witwatersrand has succeeded in organising the unemployed, and as a result the true condition of affairs in and around the "golden city" is emerging from behind the smoke screen of hypocrisy and cant daily dished out by the Rand Aid and kindred "philanthropic" bodies. First of all, that running sore, the Cottesloe Camp, has been thoroughly exposed as a verminous dumping ground for the more insistent victims of the policy of the Chamber of Mines—the owners, body and soul, of the common (and useful) people.

In an interview with the Provincial Administrator, the Unemployed Committee learned to its surprise that the Rand Aid Association is practically accepted by the Government as an "official" relief body, and the complacent Administrator (who was apparently afraid he would be late for dinner) was in his turn a bit startled to hear of the detestation in which that Association is held by the poor devils who are forced by circumstances to apply there for ass stance. Another "surprising" thing learned by the Administrator was that a man could not live upon relief work a hundred miles away from his family and keep that family in decency and comfort—all out of 4s. 6d. a day.

The Committee has requested an interview with the Government at Capetown, and has received a polite reply that Colonel Reitz is anxious to meet them, but the expense of a delegation of six to Capetown would mean national bankruptcy, and it would be a favour to the country at large if the unemployed wouldn't mind meeting an understrapper at Johannesburg.

Oh, economy! What lies are spoken in thy name!

On Tuesday night the unemployed filled the Johannesburg Council Chamber and requested to be heard before any business was transacted by that august body. The request was acceded to, and on behalf of the unemployed Harry Haynes addressed the full Council, concluding his address with the ultra-reasonable demands of a suitable and sanitary camp for 500 families and that Council tramway construction work about to be undertaken should be performed by the unemployed at a minimum rate of 10s. 6d. per day.

Councillor Hancock moved that a special meeting of the full council, IN COMMITTEE, be called for the purpose of discussing the matter, and this was unanimously agreed to, after Councillor Walters, who described himself as a poor sick man, had donated £250 to the Unemployed Committee.

We haven't got the money yet, but we are living in hopes.

REPATRIATION.

THE COMMITTEE IS PRESSING FORWARD THE DEMAND FOR REPATRIATION OF ALL SKILLED AND UNSKILLED WORKERS WHO DESIRE TO RETURN TO OTHER COUNTRIES. DAILY AT THE COMMITTEE ROOM DOZENS OF MARRIED AND SINGLE MEN ARE REGISTERING THEIR NAMES FOR DEPORTATION, AND THE COMMON REPLY TO THE QUERY, "WHERE DO YOU WISH TO GO?" IS "ANYWHERE OUT OF THIS HELL."

THE THREE SECTIONS.

One thing has been discovered by the Committee. Unemployment creates three sections in the working class. The first section it intimidates—this is evidenced by the number of suicides throughout the country. There is not a hamlet or dorp in the Union where SUICIDE THROUGH STARVATION is not of almost daily occurrence. The second section it brutalises, and from this section spring our liquor sellers, gold-runners, and crazily-desperate men of the Stanley and Gardener type. The third and more intelligent section it makes into rebels, and as the problem increases and the Chamber of Mines full board expressed the considered opinion that "UNEMPLOYMENT HAD NOW BECOME A PERMANENT INSTITUTION"—so will the fighting spirit gradually emerge, and the seething, struggling, starving mass now in the darkest night of blood and terror see light and advance with the rest of the workers toward the Dawn.

D. B.

The Late Harry Spendiff.

The martyrdom of Harry Spendiff was not the *only* price exacted for his "high treason." Last week we reported that his son was out of work. For the moment this difficulty has been surmounted in a sort of way. But now, for the first time since her husband's death, the widow has appealed to the "International" for assistance. Her boarders, being nearly all unemployed (probably because they were HER boarders) have mostly had to leave. Contrary to rumour, Mrs. Spendiff states that she has not received anything from Mrs. Percy Fisher, nor any phthisis compensation. She has had to abandon the purchase of a house owing to inability to keep up the instalments. She is in severe straits.

Well-wishers and friends of the late hero of Fordsburg must be many, and we confidently appeal to them to help his bereaved family generously. Contributions will be received at the Communist Party Office, No. 4, Trades Hall.

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Vol. VIII. FRIDAY, MAY 25, 1923. No. 367.

Capitalism Means Bolshevism.

BANKRUPTCY OF BOURGEOIS POLITICS.

A London magistrate has "expressed the opinion that the whole generation of youth was being debauched by the teachings of an ideal world without poverty or distress. He appreciated the ideal"—then why "debauched"? Would he talk of being "debauched" by Christian teachings?—"but the methods employed lead to grievous disorders." But surely it is just the "poverty and distress" that lead to the teachings and the methods: they are themselves the "grievous disorders." So slovenly is the "logic" on capitalist society that is going the round of the world press to-day.

* * *

The capitalist apologists, led by Mr. Lloyd-George with the support of Lord Curzon, General Smuts, etc., are all proclaiming that the world is in a state of "general upset," that our social and economic system, based on capitalist exploitation as they freely admit, is working exceedingly badly. Yet they proceed to denounce "Bolshevism," and discuss how to combat it. They always refrain from pointing out just what must be obvious to the meanest intelligence, that "Bolshevism" is the natural product of that same social and economic system: that only the decay of capitalism, and nothing else, can account for the "wave of unrest and revolution"; that the two are in short one indissoluble phenomenon, and that the "downfall of Europe" feared by Smuts is not the effect but the cause of the "ideal teachings" he fears equally.

* * *

But why do they bandy about their admissions so freely? Because they would make themselves ridiculous and discredited in these days if they denied the failure of capitalism to satisfy mankind. They therefore have to resort to something subtler than bald denial. They admit so freely and so frequently because they hope thus to make the admission a commonplace, such that people will lie down and say, "the poor we have always with us," attempting no escape, nothing revolutionary. They are like those poor snobs for whom in the present generation it has become fashionable, instead of concealing their poverty as their forefathers did in the days of Major Pendennis, to say "we are poor, don't you know; we can't afford Monte Carlo this year," and so on: but they "do see life" all the same; that is, they do not really rank themselves with the poor and the humble, they remain snobs, they remain "chic," they continue to identify themselves with the "smart set," with the cause of the rich and the "great." Their admission of poverty is turned into society chit-chat, a mere genteel prattle. Similarly the capitalist apologists wish to turn their unavoidable admissions of the failure of capitalism into fashionable phrases intended to induce those suffering under it to continue to support it.

* * *

Thus Lloyd-George in the "Star" of the 13th inst.: "We are on the eve of greater and more fundamental changes affecting the lives of every class and condition of men and women than have yet been seen in this country. . . . Capitalism is to be arraigned before the Supreme Court of the nations, condemned, sentenced and executed by instalments. Chinese fashion"; and he points out incidentally that the propertiless constitute an overwhelming majority of the electors, and further that the industrial population greatly preponderate, in a country like England at least, over the "steadier and more stolid" (sic) "agricultural population."

* * *

Well then, you would say, the only thing for these statesmen to do is to get rid of this condemned system and proceed to satisfy the overwhelming, preponderating majority. Not a bit of it. Their only question is, "Can the danger be arrested?" "How can the trouble be averted?" Constant repetition reduces their admission to the level of a cant phrase, and "fighting Bolshevism" remains, as ever, the whole burden of their home and foreign policies, the main purpose of the Ruhr occupation, of the Genoa, Hague, and Lausanne Conferences, the explanation of the presence of their Generals in Warsaw and their gunboats in the White Sea. They have not the slightest intention of welcoming the change; it is inevitable, "we are on the eve of it," but—we will carry on a bloody rearguard action against it to the last. "Touch property," says Lord Milner, another of their frank admissionists, "and we fight." And to keep up the game, they dub the revolutionaries as "idealists," "years before their time, freak people who have to be suppressed. Their apparently revolutionary phraseology is really so much subtle counter-revolutionary propaganda.

* * *

And so what is their policy? On the propaganda field, it is reduced to futility. One method, says Lloyd-George, is "the systematic inculcation of sound doctrines of economic truth into the minds of the working people": but that will be useless, he adds, because "arguments in favour of the existing order will be refuted by glaring and painful facts. The second is "the rooting out of the social evils which furnish the revolutionary with striking AND

(Continued at foot of next column.)

Affiliation with the Labour Party.

In accordance with the decision of the recent Conference of the Communist Party, the following has been addressed to the Labour Party:

THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(S.A. Section of the Communist International),
4, Trades Hall, Johannesburg,
19th May, 1923.

The Secretary, S.A.L.P.

Dear Sir and Comrade,—At a conference of the Communist Party (S.A. Section of the Communist International), held at Johannesburg on April 28th and 29th, 1923, it was resolved: "That this Congress instructs the Central Executive to apply for affiliation to the S.A. Labour Party."

Your Party's present constitution does not, it is believed, permit of such affiliation. The constitution of 1913-14, however, allowed "bona-fide labour organisations" under certain conditions to "affiliate as such to the Party." It is felt that what was possible then should not be impossible now, and that in any case such technical difficulties are comparatively unimportant as against the desirability of a more united Labour Front in opposition to the capitalist offensive and in pursuance of both transitional and fundamental demands of the working class.

Of course it is not proposed that the Communist Party should surrender or compromise any of its principles or freedom of propaganda and criticism. Rather it is suggested that the Labour Party might well enlarge its scope so as to become, as it were, a federation somewhat on the lines of the British Labour Party, capable of including such bodies as the I.L.P. or the C.P. It is true that the C.P. of Great Britain has not yet been so included, but that need not be a precedent for South Africa. After all there is to-day, we feel convinced, among the rank and file of the workers of all sections and races in South Africa as elsewhere, a widespread common determination to overthrow the rule of the capitalist class and the whole system of capitalist production; and the consolidation of this sentiment affords a common ground broader and greater than our separate standpoints. It is felt, therefore, that the time is ripe for the formation in South Africa of such a unifying Federation as suggested under the aegis of your Party. I trust that this application for affiliation, which I hereby make, will receive your Party's most earnest consideration, and will be replied to as early as possible.

Yours fraternally,
SIDNEY P. BUNTING,
Secretary.

A War on Russia?

"When Labour threatens have a war."—The Tsar, the Kaiser, Lord Curzon, or any other capitalist politician.

A war on Russia means war on Bolshevism which exists in every country. It means therefore a world war. The capitalist class of Europe, headed by England and France, seem to think this war must be fought now or never. Is "Bolshevism" already too strong for them to beat? Has the working class everywhere yet discovered in sufficient numbers and with sufficient conviction that Russia's cause is its own? If it has not, the world must expect to be plunged for many years into a misery beside which present conditions are a paradise. If it has, the workers of every land will have to face civil war—and do their duty. Their duty is not merely to maintain neutrality: it is, far more, to take sides, to oppose with all the force, of every kind, at their command, all military operations against not Soviet Russia but themselves. That is the choice put before them by capitalism. It is for that reason that the highest duty of the working class for the immediate future is to concentrate on preventing the war, though not to ignore what may have to be done if they fail. Trotsky, quoted in our issue last week, urged strongly the supreme advantages of peace, not merely to Russia, but to the whole labour movement, and we accept his judgment. The peace at which we must aim is a peace not in agreement with the master class but in spite of it, a peace secured by a tenfold straining of every working class nerve, a tenfold wielding of class power, a tenfold intensification of the class struggle.

INDISPUTABLE object lessons of the failure of the capitalist system as an agent of human happiness." Exactly. Agreed. We are entirely at one with him. To "root out the social evils" is precisely the object of the social revolution; and surely it is obvious by this time that everything short of the social revolution has not only proved a failure but has actually exaggerated the evils, like an unsuccessful operation for cancer. "Bolshevism" is, once more, the necessary corollary of the capitalist system, and if the capitalist system is bad, Bolshevism is good. You cannot have your cake and eat it.

* * *

Driven into this corner, what do these philosophers of capitalism do? They do the only thing they can do. They can only discard their logic altogether, kick over the traces, discard all decency, all "constitutional methods," and resort to Fascism, to hiring murder-governments in every country, to occupying the Ruhr, to assassinating peace envoys, to working up war with Russia. Incidentally, we thus reach the surprising result that the mantle of "constitutional methods" falls on the shoulders of Labour, for there is none else to look after it—a most significant moral victory in itself, although insufficient against the brute force which is now the only argument left to Fat.

* * *

On, then, with the Revolution! Nothing short of it. To stop just outside the revolutionary ranks is to aid the enemy: witness the social democratic Noske, the ex-editor of "Avanti" Mussolini, the one-time tub-thumper Crawford. Let every worker face the facts as intelligently as the capitalist apologists do, but honestly and conscientiously, without regard to "respectability," place-hunting or vote-catching, and he will have no uncertainty about whither his duty leads him.

The Black Workers: Some Suggestions.

By L. TROTSKY.

In reply to a question from Claude Mackay, "What practical steps are to be taken to prevent France from employing coloured troops on the European continent?" Comrade Trotsky writes:

(1) The coloured workers themselves must offer resistance against being so employed. Their eyes must be opened, so that they realise that when they help French imperialism to subjugate Europe, they are HELPING TO SUBJUGATE THEMSELVES, in that they are supporting the domination of French capital in the African and other colonies.

The working class of Europe, and particularly of France and Germany, must realise that their own most vital interests are involved in this work of enlightening the coloured race. THE DAY OF GENERAL RESOLUTIONS on the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples, ON THE EQUALITY OF ALL HUMAN BEINGS REGARDLESS OF COLOUR, IS OVER. The time has come for direct and practical action. Every ten negroes who gather around the flag of revolution, and unite to form a group for practical work among the negroes, are worth a hundred times more than dozens of those resolutions establishing principles, which are so generously passed by the Second International. A COMMUNIST PARTY CONFINING ITSELF TO MERE PLATONIC RESOLUTIONS IN THIS MATTER, WITHOUT EXERTING ITS UTMOST ENERGIES TOWARDS WINNING THE LARGEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF ENLIGHTENED NEGROES FOR ITS IDEAS, WITHIN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME, WOULD NOT BE WORTHY OF THE NAME OF COMMUNIST PARTY.

(2) There is no doubt whatever that the use of coloured troops for imperialist war, and at the present time for the occupation of German territory, is a well thought out and carefully executed attempt of European capital, especially of French and English capital, TO RAISE ARMED FORCES OUTSIDE OF EUROPE, so that capitalism may have mobilised, armed, and disciplined African or Asiatic troops at its disposal, AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES OF EUROPE. In this way the question of the use of colonial reserves for imperialist armies is closely related to the question of European revolution, that is, to the fate of the European working class.

(3) There is no doubt whatever that the employment of the economically and culturally backward colonial masses for the world conflicts of imperialism, and still more in the class conflicts of Europe, is AN EXCEEDINGLY RISKY EXPERIMENT, from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie itself. The negroes, and indeed the natives of all the colonies, retain their conservatism and mental rigidity only in so far as they continue to live under their accustomed economic conditions. But when the hand of capitalism, or the hand of militarism, TEARS THEM FROM THEIR CUSTOMARY ENVIRONMENT, and forces them to stake their lives for the sake of new and complicated questions and conflicts (conflicts between the bourgeoisie of different nations, conflicts between the classes of one and the same nation), then their spiritual conservatism gives way abruptly, and REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS FIND RAPID ACCESS to their consciousness.

(4) Therefore it is of the utmost importance to-day, immediately, to have a number of enlightened, young, self-sacrificing negroes, however small their number, filled with enthusiasm for the RAISING OF THE MATERIAL AND MORAL LEVEL OF THE GREAT MASS of negroes, and at the same time mentally capable of grasping the IDENTITY OF INTERESTS and destiny of the negro masses, WITH THOSE OF THE MASSES OF THE WHOLE WORLD, AND IN THE FIRST PLACE WITH THE DESTINY OF THE EUROPEAN WORKING CLASS.

The education of black propagandists is an exceedingly urgent and important revolutionary task at the present juncture.

(5) In North America the matter is further complicated by the abominable obtuseness and caste presumption of the privileged upper strata of the working class itself, who REFUSE TO RECOGNISE FELLOW-WORKERS AND FIGHTING COMRADES in the negroes. Gompers' policy is founded on the exploitation of such despicable prejudices, and is at the present time the most effective GUARANTEE FOR THE SUCCESSFUL SUBJUGATION OF WHITE AND COLOURED WORKERS ALIKE. The fight against this policy must be taken up from different sides, and conducted on various lines. One of the most important branches of this conflict consists in enlightening the proletarian consciousness by awakening the feeling of human dignity, and of revolutionary protest, amongst the black slaves of American capital. As stated above, this work can only be carried out by self-sacrificing and politically educated revolutionary negroes.

What forms of organisation are most suitable for the movement among the American negroes, it is difficult for me to say, as I am insufficiently informed regarding the concrete conditions and possibilities. But the forms of organisation will be found, as soon as there is sufficient will to action.

With Communist greetings,
L. TROTSKY.

WAR, FOR THE UNITED FRONT, AND FOR SOVIET RUSSIA.

The world revolution must come, in spite of all. The frenzy of the Fascisti, the invasion of the Ruhr, the cynical betrayals of the Second International are all in vain—nothing can save the bourgeoisie.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION!
LONG LIVE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!
LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

—The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

May Day on May Day.

WAR ON WAR AND FASCISM, AND STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA!

Mr. Strachan, M.L.A. for Maritzburg, wants to make a statutory holiday of, not the first of May, but the first Monday in May, so as to give a clear break from Saturday noon to Tuesday morning. "Labour Day," according to him, would be just another Easter Monday, a day for slacking, not for fighting. The Communist International must have been thinking of him when they issued their May Day Manifesto, which says:

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

The founders of May Day intended it to be a MIGHTY DEMONSTRATION of working-class solidarity, an expression of the growing class-consciousness of the workers, a DECLARATION OF WAR on capitalist society. That, indeed, is what it was. In 1890 the bourgeoisie looked forward to the First of May with fear and trembling, as to the Day of Judgment. To-day, however, in all countries where Reformism has developed, they regard the May Day demonstration with contempt. The Reformists have done their best to REDUCE THE FIRST OF MAY TO THE LEVEL OF A BANK HOLIDAY.

Every class-conscious worker should protest against this DEGRADATION of the festival of Labour. May Day should give clear expression to the longing for unity that possesses all sections of the proletariat, it should demonstrate the READINESS TO FIGHT which has begun to stir even in the countries where the White Terror reigns in Hungary, in Italy and in Jugo-Slavia.

The day is not far off when this longing will be gratified. The capitalists in all countries, in spite of themselves, are preparing the way for this. They are unable to re-establish the old "normal" conditions, the capitalism of pre-war days. They are therefore making desperate attempts to create a new and more powerful form of capitalism. They make commanding gestures, and exclaim: "Peace! Work!" But their deeds are senseless destruction.

They organise war and civil war. They hope to establish the empire of the new capitalism by the degradation of the workers to a class of slaves, to a herd of beasts of burden. That is the object of the capitalist offensive.

The Reformist parties have done their best, in open and secret coalition, to FURTHER THE SHAMEFUL ENDS OF THE CAPITALISTS. But they were too feeble, and so the capitalists are abandoning them and are placing their hopes in FASCISM.

Fascism is nothing more than a continuation of the policy of the social-patriots, employing different and more drastic means. What the social-democratic leaders failed to achieve by cajoling and deceiving the workers, Fascism is to achieve by violence. Fascism is capitalism armed for the last attack against the proletariat. It reveals THE TRUE FACE OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY—the democracy from which the Reformists awaited salvation. They wait in vain, for they themselves feel TOO FEEBLE to conduct the fight, as the leader of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, Edo Fimmen, himself recently confessed.

The workers must MOBILISE to the last man to fight Fascism. The United Front of the Exploiters must be opposed by the United Front of the Proletariat!

When the Communists first issued the call for the United Front, the great mass of the non-Communist working class made no response. To-day the will to unite has awakened among the proletariat everywhere. The apostles of Reformism preach their policy of tranquility, civil peace and coalition, in vain. They can no longer hold their followers in the hollow of their hands; they can no longer lay down the law for the Labour movement. The wage demands, the strikes, the demonstrations in the Saar Valley, in Belgium, in Czecho-Slovakia, in Horthy's Hungary, and in other countries show that ever larger numbers of the workers are beginning to assert their will and independence. The United Front will be realised not through the wisdom of the opportunist leaders, but through the sure instincts of the masses.

The workers are no longer prepared to believe that their best policy is to live "in peace" with the capitalists. The policy of civil peace has brought them nothing but low wages, high prices, longer working hours, short time, unemployment, degradation, and violent repression. To these is now added the daily increasing menace of war. The capitalists, it is true, are crying for peace—not from humane or pacifist motives, but for the sake of business and profits. They are powerless, however, to bring peace. They tried it at Versailles, but in vain, and are now themselves obliged to speak of the treaty which was to be the greatest act in history as the "shreds of the Peace of Versailles."

Every day aggravates the antagonism between the imperialist powers and creates new antagonisms. War has become the normal state of capitalist society, as the recent events in the Ruhr once more prove. The proletariat alone, conscious of its aims and prepared for extreme sacrifices in a determined struggle, can give permanent peace to the workers of the world.

The fight against Fascism and against war implies a fight on behalf of Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia is a thorn in the flesh of capitalist society. It regards, and justly regards, the very existence of the Bolshevik State as a permanent threat of world revolution. It therefore hates with the same intensity with which it formerly loved the autocracy of the Tsars. Hence the abuse, vilification and persecution to which Soviet Russia is subjected. Precisely for that reason the duty of all class-conscious workers is to place themselves UNRESERVEDLY ON THE SIDE OF SOVIET RUSSIA. Shoulder to shoulder with their Russian comrades they must give capitalism its death-blow.

WORKERS!

DEMONSTRATE ON THE FIRST OF MAY AGAINST FASCISM, AGAINST THE DANGER OF

(Continued at foot of previous column.)

"Cossacks" in Cassocks.

THE RUSSIAN CLERGY TRIALS.

In view of the misleading statements in the Press on this subject, we print salient passages of the judgment in the priests' trial, promulgated by the Supreme Court, March 24, 1923; and also the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee with regard to the sentences.

JUDGMENT IN THE TSEPLIAK-BUTKEVICZ CASE.

The Supreme Court has established that the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church in Petrograd, under the guidance of the Metropolitan Ropp and the Archbishop Tsepliak, while admitting the beneficial influence of the decree on the separation of the Church from the State in so far as this decree gave to the Catholics, as to all other citizens, COMPLETE LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE IN THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND COMPLETE FREEDOM TO THE RELIGIOUS TO WORSHIP IN ANY WAY THEY PLEASED, nevertheless opposed clauses 8, 9, 12, and 13 of this decree. These clauses provide that all transactions and rights relating to civil property were to be in the sole hands of the civic authorities, that the schools were to be separated from the Church, that the Church was to have no property or juridical rights, and that all Church property was henceforth to be regarded as the property of the people of the Russian Republic.

After the expropriation (in accordance with the above decree) of the important income yielding estates of the Holy Catherine Church in Petrograd, and also after the expropriation had been extended to apply to the church buildings themselves and to the movable property and church plate contained in them—these buildings, plate, etc., being TRANSFERRED TO THE CONGREGATION OF WORSHIPPERS TO BE USED BY THEM FREE OF CHARGE on certain agreed conditions - the Catholic clergy started to work out a series of measures for struggling against the Soviet authorities, in order to regain for the Church its lost property and juridical rights. Being, however, convinced at first of the instability of the Soviet authority, and expecting its downfall daily, the leaders of the Catholic clergy in Russia were ready to permit their parishioners to conclude the above-mentioned agreements with regard to Church property, regarding such agreements as being of no importance and merely temporary and fictitious. They continued to regard such property as belonging to the Churches, and the prelate Butkevicz, with the permission of Ropp, even MORTGAGED THE ESTATES OF THE HOLY CATHERINE CHURCH TO PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS IN PETROGRAD FOR 600,000 ROUBLES, THE LOAN TO BE REDEEMED AFTER THE DOWNFALL OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT and the return to the churches of their property.

When, however, Tsepliak, Butkevicz, Ropp, and other Church adherents lost all hope of the overthrow of the Soviet Government, they began to organise mass resistance to the application of the law of January 23, 1918, on the separation of the Church from the State, and having held a series of preliminary meetings for the purpose of working out a plan of action, they instigated deliberately, in the hope of securing the return of their properties and rights, a STRUGGLE FOR THE WEAKENING OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS and against the conquests of the November revolution. . .

Simultaneously, this same group of priests, with Tsepliak at their head, organised in Petrograd frequent meetings at which were discussed questions of a purely political nature, such as the nature of Communism, the programme of the Communist Party, and plans were worked out for further resistance to the Soviet Government and for dragging their parishioners into this struggle. For this purpose they published by their joint efforts and at their own expense the ILLEGAL JOURNAL, "Mogilev Khroniku," in Polish, directed entirely against the Soviet Government. Resolutions were also adopted which they subsequently proceeded to put into operation.

Thus, in a whole series of churches (enumerated by the judge), under the direction of the above-named priests, there was VIOLENT RESISTANCE to the carrying out of the orders of the authorities. Besides this, the prelate Butkevicz, at the celebration in Moscow of the opening of the first Polish mission, sent, together with others, a telegram to the Polish Government EXPRESSING HIS LOYALTY TO THIS GOVERNMENT, although he himself was and is a RUSSIAN AND NOT A POLISH CITIZEN.

In addition, all the accused priests declared at the trial that they considered themselves responsible and subject to the decisions of the Roman Pope, not only as regards their religious practices, but also as regards the expropriated and nationalised Church property, in spite of the fact that the Papal instructions were in direct opposition to the Soviet decrees. Similarly, these same priests declared at the trial that in spite of clause 121 of the Criminal Code—read at the trial—they taught and would continue to give children (in groups or classes) religious instruction, and that they refused to recognise or to carry out the law forbidding such teaching.

DECISION BY THE A.R.C.E.C.

The following was the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee with regard to the sentences on Tsepliak and Butkevicz:

(1) The trial of Tsepliak has proved that Tsepliak's actions were clearly and intentionally detrimental to the interests of the working class and to the fundamental conquests of the proletarian revolution. His action, having been carried out by the wilful exploitation of the law on the liberty of conscience for all forms of religion, forms a serious crime, for which, IN A REVOLUTIONARY REPUBLIC STILL SURROUNDED BY NUMEROUS ENEMIES, there can be no other punishment than that promulgated by the Court. . . . The A.R.C.E.C. decides to commute the death sentence to ten years' imprisonment with strict isolation.

(2) As regards Butkevicz, who combined his criminal activities based on religion with direct and evident counter-revolutonary activities, which he pursued in direct contact with foreign bourgeois governments hostile to the Soviet Republic, and who utilised his position as priest for definite acts of treachery against the State, no mitigation of sentence can be permitted.

* * *

It has been remarked that while the British Government affected such tender interest in these gentry, the Pope raised no protest. Our press has also suppressed the fact that in revenge for the sentences an anti-Jewish pogrom took place in Poland, in which fifty Jews were killed.

THE PATRIARCH TIKHON.

Full particulars of the charges against Tikhon have not yet been received; we print below a summary of the main points contained in a message from the Russian Telegraph Agency:

Documents published in the Press reveal Tikhon as a conscious AGENT OF THE MONARCHISTS who was in full accord with the interventionist aspirations of the most reactionary Russian circles. Tikhon (alias Beliavin) was in close touch with these circles even before the Revolution. At that time he was the CHAIRMAN OF THE YAROSLAV SECTION OF THE UNION OF RUSSIAN MEN (THE BLACK HUNDREDS). Tikhon has systematically changed the whole Church organisation, from the Synod to the congregation, into a COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY APPARATUS, which carried out the orders of the Patriarch to resist the Soviet authorities. Tikhon TWICE SUCCEEDED IN PROVOKING BLOODSHED. One occasion was in 1918, in Central Russia, in connection with opposing the decree of separation of the Church from the State. Another was in 1922, in Petrograd and Smolensk, in connection with strict orders given not to allow the Church treasures to be confiscated for famine relief. Tikhon, who was looked upon by Russian monarchist emigrants as their representative in Russia, was in close touch with all important Russian and foreign interventionists. He admitted himself that for two years he SUPPORTED DENIKIN, KOLCHAK, AND KRASNOV THROUGH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE CLERGY OF THE OCCUPIED AREAS, and that he tried through the Archangel churchmen AND THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO INDUCE THE ENGLISH TROOPS TO REMAIN AT ARCHANGEL. He openly agreed with French intervention, PLANS FOR WHICH WERE COMMUNICATED TO HIM in 1918 by Rene Marchand on the instructions of the French Consul, Chevilly. He gave his benediction. The largest Russian counter-revolutionary organisations, the "Tactical Centre," "National Centre," and the Conference of the Russian Clergy, which assembled together with the most important monarchists in Carlovitz in 1922, also had Tikhon's blessing. Tikhon sympathised openly with the decisions of the conference to UTILISE THE FAMINE, COLD, AND EPIDEMICS FOR MONARCHIST RESTORATION AIMS, which explains his policy in connection with the confiscation of Church treasures. Tikhon's activities disgusted not only the labouring masses, but EVEN THE CLERGY, who induced Tikhon to renounce the title of Patriarch. A characteristic letter of the Siberian clergy, signed by the Metropolitan Peter, appeared in a recent issue of "Izvestia," in which the clergy consider that Tikhon ought to receive the punishment he merited, and ask that the coming All-Russian Church Congress which takes place on April 29th in Moscow shall condemn Tikhon's offence.

Witwatersrand Unemployed Report.

A mass meeting of unemployed was held on the Market Square last Friday, at three o'clock. A good number attended and listened with marked approval to the remarks of Messrs. Woudberg, Glass, Mason and Haynes. The meeting closed at 4.45, in time to allow a deputation to wait upon the Provincial Administrator at the Law Courts at five o'clock. The deputation put the following demands before the Administrator:

(1) That tenants of houses who are unemployed shall be protected from eviction, and where they have necessary furniture under the hire-purchase law it shall be protected from seizure.

(2) That ALL WHO SO DESIRE SHALL BE REPATRIATED to countries where a Western standard of civilisation prevails.

(3) That the necessary facilities to establish an unemployed camp—site, water, tents, and sanitary arrangements—shall be provided immediately.

(4) That weather-proof buildings shall be erected on such site. The Provincial Council to find the necessary material and finance, and the unemployed to carry out the construction.

(5) As an immediate demand rations on a standard scale for 200 families.

The Administrator promised to make representations in the proper quarters.

A deputation met the Gold Producers' Committee of the Chamber of Mines on Monday morning, and put before it the suggestion of an unemployed camp and repatriation.

They were "courteously received" as usual and the spokesman (H. W. Haynes) received a "patient hearing" (as usual).

The Chairman pointed out that in other countries unemployment had become a State matter, and that, as it was LIKELY TO BE A PERMANENT QUESTION IN THIS COUNTRY, the Government was the only body which could adequately deal with it.

Comrade Haynes pointed out that many of the unemployed were derelicts of the mining industry who were unable to follow their occupation by reason of the fact that they were phthisis men, and on that ground argued that the big industry was looked to to support the unemployed movement.

The Chairman expressed the sympathy of himself and colleagues with the destitute unemployed, but pointed out that the industry was very heavily taxed and the Board could HOLD OUT NO HOPE of financial assistance from the Chamber.

The deputation then withdrew after an hour spent in pleasant surroundings on spring-bottom chairs.

A Russian Trade Union.

THE TEXTILE WORKERS.

There is now only one trade union for all the workers and employees connected in any way with the production of textiles, such as cotton, wool, and silk, or the treatment of raw materials such as flax and hemp in their various stages. The basic factor in the organisation of the union is the factory committee, elected by all factories or works employing 100 members of the union. Where a smaller number of workers is employed a group of delegates is elected instead of a factory committee. The factory committee is elected at a general meeting of all workers. This form of organisation, which developed spontaneously during the revolutionary period, keeps the rank and file and the leading organisations in close touch, and is able to deal rapidly with all local questions that arise.

The industry is "ninety-nine per cent. organised, although there is no compulsion to join the union. The one per cent. who are not members of the union are mainly temporary workers. Membership fees amount to two per cent. of wages and entrance fee is half a day's wage. The first period of the union's work was mainly occupied in fighting the sabotage of the original employers, who held up industry in their opposition to the Soviet regime. Later (when the industry had been nationalised the union had to tackle questions of organisation, of management, education and wages. Until the beginning of 1922 wages were settled by agreement between the union and the Government, which had assumed financial responsibility for the industry. Last year production was put on a self-supporting basis; the industry was organised in trusts and syndicates, and the union negotiated with regard to wages with the management committees established by the trusts.

These negotiations led in almost every case to collective agreements covering all members of the union and dealing with conditions of work as well as wages. These agreements, which are generally revised every three months owing to fluctuations in prices, are often discussed by factory managers and union representatives at the general meetings of the workers. So far they have always been concluded without trouble, and it has been unnecessary to seek arbitration. The last agreement brought the real wages of textile workers up to seventy-five or eighty per cent. of their pre-war level. During 1922 real wages were very much below this. The union also takes part in working out standards of production for the various crafts. No factory can be closed or radical re-organisation carried out without the consent of the union.

Under the collective agreements, the factories pay one and a-half per cent. of their total wages bills for the maintenance of schools. The union has so far organised 380 elementary schools for 40,000 children, 43 secondary schools for 5,000 children, and 235 schools for adults.

The latter are particularly needed, as nearly fifty per cent. of the membership of the union were illiterate in 1921. The union also runs 196 kindergartens with 15,000 children, 291 libraries, and 140 workers' clubs. There are part-time schools for students and apprentices working in the factories, which educate some 4,000 young workers. There are also four higher schools where textile specialists are prepared. Of these the most important is the Moscow "Practical Textile Institute"; the union pays students at this institute the wages of a worker of average skill, and supplies them with books.

The Cinderella of the East.

The following is a report of Mr. Singaravelu Chettiar's speech delivered before the 37th Session of the Indian National Congress. It is noteworthy that none of the Indian nationalist papers, even those who indulge most freely in talk about "the masses," published more than a few words of this stirring address.

Mr. M. Singaravelu Chettiar, in supporting the Labour resolution, spoke as follows:

"President, Comrades in this Hall, Fellow-workers, Peasants of Hindustan, Ryots and Tillers of the Soil of Hindustan:

"I have come before you to-day to speak as a fellow-worker, on your behalf. I have come here as a representative of the great world movement represented by that great order of the World Communists, to give you the great message which Communism offers to the workers of the world. I come to offer you the greetings of these workers—of the Communists who are interested in securing you your liberty, your home, your food and your clothing.

"Comrades, we all know that the Congress is fighting for your rights, the right to lead a free life in our country, and these rights ought to be secured for us all. We do not want the accumulation of power in a few or fewer hands. We want power enough to enable us to be fed properly, to be clothed properly. These are the essentials we want. Our Congress must pledge itself to this. The World Communists have pledged themselves to assist the Congress in securing these rights to you. Comrades, the Communists all over the world have a common faith in the greatness of our cause and in the justice of our demands. Therefore, you must understand that they are here in spirit to help you to obtain these rights and to attain Swaraj. Let us welcome them.

"Comrades and Workers! You know not your own strength. Once you realise yourselves, the ignorance that blinds your eyes will vanish, and the world will be yours. In the land of Ukrainia, in far-off Russia, there is a tradition of a huge giant called the Vee, whose eyelids were so long that they touched the ground. He could not see anything lying beyond him. His drooping eyelids are now being slowly lifted. He is now beginning to see beyond the frontiers, beyond the hills and mountains, beyond the seas and oceans. Through the workers of Russia, the workers of the whole world—of India, Asia, Europe, America and Australasia—have become one in comradeship. They know no frontiers, race, caste nor class. They have all pledged themselves to work for that comradeship. We Communists believe in the real brotherhood of the world workers, and the workers of India must help to realise this unity. Therefore, ye bourgeoisie, know that the workers of India are also awakened. Know that, like their comrades abroad, they now see beyond the hills, beyond the seas and oceans, encompassing all the world workers in real comradeship. You cannot neglect them to-day. They have now realised their strength.

"To-day, the Indian labourer can be called the Cinderella of the East. To her have been assigned the bitter things of the world, all the famines, pestilences, diseases, and miseries of the world, all the cares and anxieties of the world. But beware, you rich men: While labour has given you all the good things of the world, you have kept her in the background; while all the time ministering to your wants, you have neglected her. By her skill, devotion and industry, you are enjoying all the luxuries of the world. But the change is fast approaching, when the bourgeoisie will sink into merited neglect. Cinderella, the Labour of India, will reign supreme. Indian Labour is awakening, and is coming steadily and surely to her rights."

"Exploiting the Native."

The following, with which we quite agree, appears in the "Guardian's" Turf Notes of all places:

"I am glad some of the Labour men in Parliament had the courage and the honesty to vote against the proposal to prohibit the native from buying freehold land in their locations. Probably there was never a more unjust proposal. We whites come to this country, and gradually push out the original owners, the natives, making them our hewers of wood. When we find that their presence pleases us we let them dwell in our towns. When we find that their presence is not an unmixed blessing we try to make the best of both worlds by sending them to locations and letting them walk or ride in at their own expense to serve us. One would think our persecution of them would end there, and that at least we would let them be the proprietors of the locations into which we force them. But no, they must either pay us a weekly or monthly rent for the land we have stolen from them, or hire it from us on lease, so that we can always squeeze a little more profit out of them as the value of the location rises. Suppose that the Germans had enacted such a measure for dealing with the people of Alsace and Lorraine, and think how the welkin would have resounded with our denunciations."

But on the same sheet appears the following and, except perhaps for the substitution of "coloured voter" for "native," the same headline would seem appropriate:

"The Wynberg Branch of the S.A.L.P. recently interviewed the African Peoples Organisation in the district—that is, the organisation representing the Cape coloured voters, under the presidency of Dr. Abdurahman. The coloured people were told that their only salvation in life lies in the South African Labour Party, and that as workers it was their bounden duty to combine with the workers' party and so secure a better system of living for all, irrespective of race, creed or colour. It seems that at last the coloured people are beginning to see light. The day they do WILL MEAN A LABOUR VICTORY AT NEWLANDS—and may that day come soon!"

Unstablest Government in Europe.

England is dropping pilots and swopping horses too frequently for her capitalist class to be proud about it, and perhaps it is a desire to show that she is no worse than Russia ("the stablest government in Europe") that inspires the glass-house stories of Government crises at Moscow, Krassin "overthrowing" Trotsky, and so on. Hardly any of the war pets are still secure in office. Change and decay in all around we see. France and Germany have each had their many changes. Italy has succumbed to Mussolini, who in turn is already beginning to feel shaky—no dictatorship except a proletarian one can last. Branting has fallen in Sweden, Greece and Portugal are like the fabled "South American Republics" we are so often told about; and so on. Curzon the "world menace" or Baldwin the steel shark will last no longer than the rest, and the Tories have admittedly got nobody else. Even when Ramsay Macdonald's turn comes, who will guarantee him a longer run?

"The Better Way."

Mr. Crawford is holding meetings in support of "Mr. Crawford's methods," though it would be more edifying if ALL of these, behind the scenes as well as in the limelight, were expounded. "Negotiation, with the strike in the background" (and how much in the foreground?) is stated to be "the better way." There was not much room for "negotiation" last year, was there? The capitalist "negotiates" obstacles in his own way, something like the "persuasion and a little force" we read of at Beira the other day, which began with a speech saying the police would stand no nonsense, and ended by the crowd of protesters being driven on the pier by armed force. Let Mr. Crawford tell his audiences the best way of "negotiating" tanks and bombing planes, and his lectures will be much more to the point.

Figures recently published show that there are 2,000,000 orphan children in Russia at the present time.

What about renewing your subscription to the "International"?

W. Z. Foster Acquitted.

Wm. Z. Foster, perhaps the leading man in the advanced labour movement of the U.S.A., has stopped a seven years' rot by securing his discharge, for the time at least, on a charge under the Criminal Syndicalism law, the jury having been equally divided for and against him. Hardly a prominent anti-war man or Communist has escaped the clutches of the law since the American Terror began in earnest. There are 70 Communist trials to follow, resulting from the arrest of the whole of the Party Convention last August, but Foster's success perhaps marks the turn of the tide, the beginning of the forward march of American Labour to victory.

Abraham Lincoln, Bolshevist.

Capt. Paxton Hibben, executive secretary of the American-Nansen Committee for the Relief of Russian Children, who is recognised as one of the foremost apologists for the American Communists, compares Foster's ideas of social progress with those of Lincoln.

He declared that the Communists are "not so much revolutionists seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States as they are men trying to bring the government under which the people live back to that freedom which was promised in the Declaration of Independence."

WHAT HE WAS ASKED.

"According to the press," said Hibben, "Prosecutor Smith has asked William Z. Foster many questions as to whether he believes in the Communistic programme of the Third International and whether he stands for Bukharin's 'A.B.C. of Communism.' But I have not heard him ask Foster whether he subscribes to the following radical pronouncement:

"'The people of these United States are the masters of both Congresses and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.'

"That statement is Lincoln's, and if the suppression of free speech in this country, the imprisonment of men for their political convictions is not overthrowing the Constitution of the United States I don't know what is. What we do not see is that there has already been a revolution in the United States—a reactionary revolution, as reactionary as that Fascist revolution in Italy, which, according to Mussolini, 'has passed over the more or less decomposed body of the Goddess of Liberty.' I hear no outcry in this country against the reactionary revolutions in Italy and Hungary.

HOW LINCOLN PUT IT.

"Foster is quoted as favouring a government in this country whereby those who labour are secured the fruits of their labour—you can call it a dictatorship of the proletariat, if you like high-sounding terms. But Abraham Lincoln did not call it that, though he was as much in favour of it as Foster. He said:

"'Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labour, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labour has produced them.'

"Not Foster or any other so-called radical could put the matter more clearly. It was neither Moscow nor any Communist who said:

"'It has so happened in all ages of the world that some have laboured and others without labour have enjoyed a very large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue.'

"That, if you please, is also what Foster says. And Lincoln further said:

"'To secure to each labourer the whole product of his labour, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government.'

"That appears to be the object of the Russian Government. Is it on that account an evil and dangerous government?

DIFFERS WITH FOSTER.

"Foster, it appears, believes that the Soviet form of democracy is a good one for the United States. I do not agree with him. But I can scarcely find his belief menacing to our safety when Lord Bryce says of the Soviet form of government:

"'This scheme of government by a series of local bodies, primary assemblies, both administrative and elective, sending delegates to bodies for larger areas, up to the supreme congress for the whole country which appoints and supervises the small supreme council, is ingenious and interesting as a novel form of constitution. It is not necessarily connected with Bolshevism or any form of Communism and deserves to be studied apart from any doctrines, on its own merits.'

"One does not have to be a Communist to say with Lincoln:

"'Let the workers beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them until all of liberty shall be lost.' The workers have, under selfish leadership which has betrayed them, surrendered their political power. That is the counter-revolution which has quietly taken place in this country until there is grave danger to-day that 'all of liberty shall be lost.' If those who point these truths out are 'Revolutionists,' then Lincoln was a Revolutionist. If to say that

"'The strongest bond of human sympathy outside the family relation should be one uniting all working people of all nations, tongues and kindreds' is to be a dangerous Internationalist, then Lincoln was a dangerous Internationalist, and there are millions of people in this land, not Communists or ever apt to be, who feel the same way."

The "Star" complains that "the Bolsheviks in Britain and the British Dominions carry on their real propaganda not in the open but UNDERGROUND—IN HOUSES, WORKSHOPS AND SCHOOLS." A sad commentary on the homes, factories and places of education of the working class. Would the "Star" prefer us to hold drawing room meetings in Parktown?

Blasphemy: The Profits of Religion.

Much stir is being made of the alleged irreligious character of Communism. The champions of church, chapel, and synagogue also happen, it seems, to be champions of the exploiters' order of society. Their ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class. As a matter of fact, the only function of any importance left to religion in modern times is to serve as a prop to the ruling class and as a weapon for purely capitalist agitation. Whoever hears nowadays of the deep spiritual life of our fathers and grandfathers, of the school of Maurice or Westcott? Just as legitimate violin playing has largely given place to acrobatic performances while standing on your head or the like, so religion, to catch on to-day, resorts to stunts about millions never dying, or else is used simply as a means of inflaming opposition, like the Rev. Mr. Van Broekhuizen's, to "Bolshevism": indeed, De Jager's stunt winds up with that too.

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The other day Mr. Merriman, who asks General Smuts every few days what he is going to do with the pernicious propaganda of the Communists—pernicious, in his eyes, especially because it is supposed to reach "the youth and the coloured" (who need it most)—gave us a sample of his own amiable views on labour and religion. "Let us get the natives and coloured people away from Mr. Bunting and his friends," says he. "We must avoid the influences which teach the natives that there is no God, that there are no Ten Commandments." Why this unctuous solicitude for their immortal souls? Mr. Merriman explains. He praises the Germans in South-West Africa, for instance, because "there the natives are found using drilling machines in the shops and cutting out steel for engineering works. THEY ARE NOT WELL PAID, AS THEY ONLY RECEIVE 1s. 6d. A DAY, BUT IT IS USEFUL WORK, AND TO THE NATIVE HIMSELF 1s. 6d. IS REGARDED AS A PRINCELY FORTUNE. WE HAVE A LESSON TO LEARN HERE." In Uganda he smacks his lips at the thought of the magnificent cathedral, "FULL OF NATIVES ATTENDING SERVICE. . . . The recently arrived Apostolic Delegate (of the Dominican Fathers) had come here with a view to starting similar education in this country among the natives, and if H.E. succeeded in this work he could turn out"—good devout Catholics, one expects him to say, but no—"SOME OF THE MOST USEFUL ARTISANS AND CRAFTSMEN AS WELL AS VERY SUPERIOR AGRICULTURISTS," at 1s. 6d. a day, of course. "That would be a great achievement, and he" (Mr. Merriman) "DID NOT CARE WHETHER IT WAS ROMAN CATHOLICS OR ANYBODY ELSE AS LONG AS THEY TURNED OUT SUCH NATIVES. . . . WE MUST NOT TURN OUR BACKS ON THE WHITE FATHERS BECAUSE THE TENETS OF THEIR CREEDS ARE DIFFERENT TO OUR OWN. . . . These people are doing GOD'S GOOD SERVICE as well as man's in assisting the native. Teaching the natives the singing of hymns was an admirable thing," he remarked, "but it was MUCH BETTER to teach them . . . that they could only lift themselves up in the scale of life by the performance of HARD WORK" at 1s. 6d. a day, of course.

* * *

Who said blasphemy? If ever the name of the Lord was taken in vain, it was by this Right Honourable gentleman. Religion! What matters what religion it is? Any religion OR NONE will do, provided it supplies US with cheap labour. Indeed, he hands out special praise for the Congo natives for having "advanced themselves" EVEN THOUGH THEY HAD NOT BECOME MORE RELIGIOUS. So, you see, it is not the religion as such that pleases him, nor the alleged irreligion of Communists as such that displeases him: it is CHEAP LABOUR that he loves the churches for, and as for the Communists he hates them only because they urge that the natives should "advance themselves" not merely to do skilled work, but to demand and receive the proper standard wage for it, instead of remaining humble and sweated slaves at 1s. 6d. a day.

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Let us turn to the "Star" of the 10th inst. "In the Russian schools" (you see it is not a question of the native as native at all) "the young plant is watered with copious doses of BLASPHEMY in the effort to eradicate the religious instinct," and it attacks some lines of the "Internationale" welcoming the end of the age of cant and superstition. Blasphemy? Yes, against the capitalist God! Against religion? Yes, against the religion of Fat, against reverence for exploitation and capitalist society. "The Sunday School hymns of which the quoted lines are characteristic are held to be in consonance with the Sermon on the Mount"—yes, and we have yet to learn which of the practices and products of capitalism are characteristic of the Sermon on the Mount. "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon," for instance, as Mr. Merriman and the "Star" want to do. "Where their treasure is, there will their heart," and THEIR SO-CALLED RELIGION, "be also." The class of persons most roundly denounced in the Sermon on the Mount are the hypocrites. There is not much difficulty in putting our finger on them to-day.

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Thus the mystery of what is meant by Communist atheism is cleared up. The "Star" quotes from the Socialist Song Book the following to show what is meant:

"A robber band has seized our land, and we are exiles here."

(Edward Carpenter, a religious man.)

"Who is a slave to all the tyrant brood? The proletariat."

(An old German working class song, written long before "Bolshevism" was ever heard of.)

"Force and fraud alike oppose you."

"The vile insatiate despots dare to mete and vend the light and air."

That is the blasphemy, and conversely the "religion" is simply reverence for Mammon.

* * *

Perhaps the naivest of all the attacks is that of the "Jewish Chronicle" of London, which should be grateful to Bolshevism for having at last freed Russian Jewry from persecution and pogroms. But bless you, Jewish religion too is chained to capital's chariot, and the "Chronicle's" charge is: "They attack CAPITALISM AND RELIGION"; although General Smuts runs it close when he said the British Government, in threatening Turkey with war for oil, the other day, was "upholding the authority of Christendom."

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Referring to Dr. v. Broekhuizen and Bolshevism, a Bredasdorp correspondent furnishes yet further evidence that religion is merely the HANDMAIDEN OF BOURGEOIS POLITICS. Protesting against the Nat.-Lab. "pact," "is it not a fact," he asks, "that the great majority of the present Labour Party consist of Bolshevists, Communists, and Socialists, AND IF THESE THINGS BE EVIL IN THE SPIRITUAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, and social spheres, WHY SHOULD THEY BE LESSER EVILS IN THE POLITICAL WORLD? But instead of sounding a warning note, we find that the great majority of our predikants and other church leaders are supporters of the Nationalist Party, and support and encourage this unholy alliance. What does a man like Dr. van Broekhuizen do? From the pulpit on Sundays he warns his flock against the danger threatening the Church, but on week-days he speaks at meetings, and (though it may not be his direct intention) uses all his influence to assist indirectly in letting those evils take hold of the countryside."

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Finally, Mr. Merriman says the "coloured and young" people of South Africa learn sedition from Russia, through Messrs. Andrews and Bunting, and General Smuts froze our blood a few weeks ago by telling us of a "Bolshevik University" at Moscow where African natives absorbed the poison (quite a myth, by the way). But apparently it is not Russia's, nor A. and B.'s, fault in particular; any old country will do, even the headquarters of capitalism. Speaking recently at the Wesleyan Synod as principal of a great native training institution near Alice, the Rev. Jas. Pendlebury, B.A., said that "this was started mainly TO COUNTERACT THE PRACTICE OF SENDING NATIVE STUDENTS TO THE UNITED STATES. They often returned from America with SEDITIOUS IDEAS." We should have said rather "from Bulhoek, from the Village Deep, from G.S.W.A., from Port Elizabeth." Anyway, one thing is clear: not for the glory of God do the Wesleyans train their natives, but to combat sedition—in other words, to perpetuate a race of docile, one-and-sixpenny slaves. Once again, WHAT A COMPLETE GIVE AWAY OF THE FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION!

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It is not the Communists that will make atheists of the working class, it is Mr. Merriman, the "Star," Mr Pendlebury, and General Smuts. It is the system these men are blasphemous enough to defend under the cloak of religion. It is the life and conditions which the system imposes on them and in which it forcibly holds them down: in which, as the Port Elizabeth parson said, "it is impossible for them to be Christians"—especially when they realise that Christianity has been degraded into an instrument to keep them down.

European readers may sometimes be inclined to feel impatient at the attention given in the "International" to native affairs and the relation of black and white labour. But we must face the facts: most South African labour is black. Last week we published an account of the white labourers recruited in Britain for service in Australia at 10s. a week. Does it not strike every reader that these "boys" are in just the same position as the Shangaans recruited in Portuguese East for service on the Rand? The same desire to see life, the same princely wage in comparison to anything they were likely to get by staying at home, the same ignorance of their class position, the same disillusionments perhaps, and the same inexhaustible supply of cheap labour seeming to defy all attempts at organisation or solidarity.

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Readers abroad will be interested to know that there are only 38 "Rand Revolt" convicts still in prison, after allowing for twelve released last week and three the week before, involving reduction of sentences in some cases from several years to a few months.

* * *

Readers are asked to send us clear photographs representing scenes or incidents illustrating the condition of the working class and the effects of capitalism in South Africa.

"The Communist has enough sense," says the "Star," "to realise that his easiest converts are people of unbalanced mind, and particularly people of immature years who have not as yet formed their own opinions based on experience." The capitalist, of course, hasn't that much sense. He never, no never, tampers with the young.

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The confidence of the voters in the policy of the Soviet Government is reflected in the election of Communist delegates to the higher Soviets and Soviet Congresses; thus, while in the village Soviets the number of Communists averages only about 15 per cent., in the district Soviets Communists form about 45 per cent., in the county Soviet congresses 53 per cent., in the provincial Soviet congresses 65 per cent., and in the Union Congress of the Russian Soviet Republics 94 per cent.

* * *

It was reported after the sentence on Mgr. Butkiewitz that some 300 persons were shot in the Ukraine for protesting against it. No more has been heard of that obvious lie. But our papers, even the Jewish papers, which attack Russia for ill-treating Jews, have not reported the news in a Berlin paper that a sequel to the sentence was a traditional pogrom against Jews in Poland, in which over fifty were killed.

Lay Down Your Guns.

FRATERNISE WITH YOUR INDIAN BROTHERS. AN APPEAL TO THE BRITISH SOLDIERS IN INDIA.

English Comrades,—The Young Communist League of Great Britain addresses you on behalf of the young working class of Great Britain and the Y.C.I.

We know that most of you are young workers, like ourselves, that you are with the colours in India because you could not find a job in the old country.

We know, furthermore, that you are sent to India by the British Imperialists, to crush, by military force, the Indian workers and peasants.

This is the reason why you are in India, in order to safeguard, not your interests, nor those of the British workers, or any other workers, but the interests of British Imperialism, which is determined to wring big profits out of the Indian workers and peasants.

Young English comrades, you know that they are industrialising India.

Why? Because they want cheap slaves.

British white labour is too dear for them.

They want the Indian worker to be driven into the mines, mills and steel works, and they want YOU to do it for them.

What does this mean for those at home? It means UNEMPLOYMENT, STARVATION AND MISERY.

If you drive the Indian workers to work long hours for the crust of a slave, you drive your family at home into starvation. Because the Indian workers will work cheaper than the English workers at home.

Refuse to be the tools of British Imperialism.

Join hands with the workers in India who are standing solid with us.

Recognise the right of the Indians to decide their own Indian affairs without outside interference.

Long live the solidarity of the workers of India and Great Britain! Long live the fraternity of the workers, soldiers and peasants of the whole world!

At the social given by the Capetown Branch on the eve of his departure for Hamburg, Comrade Andrews said he was sorry to leave this country. Having been closely connected with the industrial section of the working class movement, he thought it was very essential for the Communist Party to neglect no opportunity of trying to induce the trade unions as such to see things as they (the Communists) saw them. "The trade unions," said the speaker, "are an organised body, and you can do very much more with a machine like that—with a regiment—than you can with a mob. The trade unions have no political soul to-day; it is for us to give them that soul." And then, he said, they would have no longer a collection of generals without an army, but a collection of leaders with a whole army to lead. He regretted his absence from South Africa for that reason, but if the visit to Europe would, as he hoped it would, increase his usefulness to the workers of this country, he hoped the time would not be ill-spent. (Cheers.) He believed that every effort should be made to insist upon their rights to carry out their propaganda, just the same as the Nationalists did or the South African Party or the Labour Party or any other organisation in the country.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Dates of meetings: 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.

Comrade SAM BARLIN

Wishes to inform all Comrades and Friends that he is removing his Tailoring Establishment from Royal Arcade to

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