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The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

IN AID OF THE INTERNATIONAL DELEGATE FUND
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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. 370. SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

Before the Revolution in Bulgaria

(By CH. KABAKCHIEV, in the "Communist Review.")

Stamboliski, at the head of the Government, represents the so-called "Left" of the Agrarian League. But this "Left" does not represent nor protect the interests of the lower and propertiless masses of the League. It consists of the newly-enriched village bourgeoisie. . . . This "Left" is now embarking upon a recklessly reactionary policy against the Communist Party. The latest action of the "Left" is an alteration of the electoral law, by which the electoral system is almost abolished. By this law more than 100,000 Communist electors will be without representation in Parliament.

The explanation is to be found in the circumstance that dissatisfaction with the policy of the old and the new village bourgeoisie is increasing every day amongst the mass of the small and propertiless peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Agrarian League. The Government sees that the ground is beginning to crumble under its feet, and that the village masses are hearkening more and more to the voice of the Communist Party.

But with this anti-Communist campaign the Government is approaching the old cliques more and more. It is discrediting itself in the eyes of the working masses of town and country, and is preparing the conditions for the extension and the strengthening of the United Front of the proletariat of the towns and the working masses of the villages. The slogan of the "Workers' and Peasants' Government," which was raised by the Communist Party, is causing anxiety and confusion in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, and especially in the ranks of the village bourgeoisie and their leaders.

The Communist Party is organising thousands of demonstrations and meetings throughout the country against the growing reaction and against the disfranchisement of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants. It threw amongst the masses the slogan of self-defence with every means against the armed onslaughts of the Fascist bands.

Where the Masses Rule.

POLITICS.

"Curzon's ultimatum," writes Com. Ivon Jones from Moscow, "brought the whole of the workers in the street with thousands of flags; this was the following day. Effigies of Curzon and "His Majesty's Note," "Curzon on the gibbet," with the words "Advice to British workers how to deal with Curzon," all spontaneous mass enthusiasm tinged with a lot of humour. Miles of demonstrants and a Red Army cordon round the block where the English Mission is! There is no dualism in the Soviet! The overwhelming fact is: the masses are enthusiastic for THEIR Soviet and their PARTY after their period of weariness and exhaustion.

CULTURE.

Just now proletarian culture is beginning. The workers have reserves for it. The woman who sweeps the room tells how she went to a lecture by a professor. "We were all working women. My! it was interesting. Now we don't know ourselves from five years ago. Everything for us working folk in the way of education. The intelligentsia people don't know what to do with themselves: there's nothing for them and they grumble, and we working women—we say the word and can go right up to the university," etc. [Mr. Stallard has his answer.—Ed.] Of the 6,000 Communists in this district of Moscow 3,000 are studying in the university or in Party schools, etc.: of course mostly extension courses.

BREAD.

If the Trade Agreement continues, Russian foreign trade during 1923 will probably amount to double the 1922 figure. If the present Russian harvest is even satisfactory, Russia will be exporting between two and three million tons of grain this year. Bread to-day is so cheap in Russia that a worker will hardly thank you for a pood of flour. But industrial products are enormously dear. The result is that the peasant can't buy anything with his surplus. So the relative price of bread will have to be raised so that he can buy implements, ploughs and clothes; and export is the only way to do this. The Government will be the middleman between the peasant and the foreign market. The profits will go to Socialist accumulation, to develop industries. Relief of suffering cannot come from surplus wheat but from the wheat tax. The New Economic Policy has shown that everything has to be paid for even in a Socialist State; otherwise our capital—or stored labour—will dwindle away. The export of wheat as a Socialist measure, like any other measure of the Government."

A "Short Way" With Fascists.

Monday's "Star," page 11, had a breezy little par. entitled "Short Way with Communists," telling how M. Stambuliski's law was to hoist the Communists of Bulgaria on their own petard. Alas for that amiable and humorous Mikado, the very same "Star," on page 7, recounted Bulgaria's "short way with Stambuliski." "It was thought that he was firmly seated in the saddle as the result of the overwhelming triumph he scored at the elections" only six short weeks ago. He "governed with a strong hand, particularly the Communists, and earned a reputation for square dealing in his foreign policy." (You know the sort of "elections," and the sort of "deal" with foreign powers, that they mean.) And now! No wonder our African angels fear, in spite of Col. Truter's brave threats, to tread in the path of Stambuliski. He tried to grasp a nettle, and has got smartly stung for his pains.

BULGARIANS AND BOLSHEVIKS.

What may have happened is a new phase of bourgeois democratic revolution, a reaction against Fascist reaction, a turn of the tide which will give, because it can't help it, the chance which the Bulgarian Communist movement needs, an up-to-date edition of the March to October Russian revolution of 1917. Communism, and fellow-feeling with Soviet Russia, are strong in Bulgaria; and as for a professorial Premier, why, we remember a professor or two among the Bulgarian delegates to the Moscow Congress last November! What will happen next perhaps depends largely on whether the Bulgarian Communists can devise an agrarian policy which will suit the small peasants.

"FIGHT DEMOCRACY."

Anyhow, the victorious revolutionary party seems at least less reactionary than its predecessor. Consequently it is apparently less to the liking of the Great Powers, who have learned by now how dangerous it is to back the overthrow of such a tyrant as the Tsar even by "constitutional democrats." The new government is on the anti-Entente side, it is mixed up with "Germans, Turks and Bolsheviks," and an excuse for war is sought under the plea that it will have to increase its army contrary to the treaties. But provokingly enough, it excludes Communists, so why fight? Again, Stambuliski "had shown a growing contempt for legality, and apparently considered violence to be a fundamental principle of domestic administration": whereas "the new government will adhere to fixed principles as regards law and democracy," it "will re-establish the constitution as a true democratic regime," it promises "complete political and economic freedom," appeals for "a scrupulous observance of law and order," "forbids interference with the right of assembly and liberty of the press," and "lays stress on its desire for peace." What on earth are the Powers to do? After the war for democracy, are they to fight democracy?

THE PEASANTS AS PAWNS.

Incidentally, the reference to a "peasant dictatorship" in Bulgaria shows up the meaning of that reliance on the peasantry which the "Daily Mail" has been so touchingly displaying recently in the case of Russia. The peasantry, lumped as one instead of being distinguished as rich and poor peasants, are wooed, as regards the mass of them, in no way for their benefit but as mere tools (easily handled because, as Mrs. Smuts says, "they never read the newspapers and believe everything they are told") to bolster up the power of governments that are themselves puppets of the great world financial and political powers. Bywoners of South Africa, see that you too are not used for similar ends by the big interests behind your own Nationalist Party. Note, by the way, that when the latter party goes to the backyards, the brick-kilns, and the washtubs, it is "actuated by hate," yet Mrs. Smuts immediately afterwards proposes to the S.A.P. to do the very same thing itself. But the only party which will or ever can do it for the benefit of the people concerned is a proletarian party, neither imperialist nor aristocratic nor place-seeking but concentrated only on the task of placing those workers themselves, all of them, organised in workers' councils, into power as workers, whether in Bulgaria, Africa, or anywhere else.

WHOSE TURN NEXT?

Meanwhile friend Benito, who has out-trumped Stambuliski and already suffers from continual unrest among his own followers, must be sleeping uneasy nights against the day when despite all his "militia" his turn may come. And after him the Poincares and the Curzons and the Smutses, whose "short ways" with the Boches and the Bantus are already leading them into the mire where neither bombs nor bribes will avail them.

Workers of the Railway Unite!

Further information to hand this week of the Nurah crisis is not illuminating. The old ship may be really sinking, but those who escape from it may not all necessarily be better than rats. A period of recrimination and disputation and searching of hearts is probably inevitable: and any reconstructive attempt in which leaders, more or less self-appointed in advance, are already at the head is unlikely to fill the bill. If the various individuals are sincere and disinterested, they will co-operate and concentrate all efforts on securing, not a faction victory but A THOROUGHLY REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE OF ALL RAILWAY WORKERS out of which one reformed and all-embracing union may ultimately emerge, with a spirit not of subservience to the "gentlemen" ruling the Service but of vigorous championship of the cause of the rank and file. For the moment the slogan is: EVERY RANK AND FILER TO HIS BRANCH MEETINGS, in full strength and with an unprecedented regularity which will make a snatch vote impossible. Surely to goodness the experience of recent years has shown the necessity of this, and the disastrous effect of an apathy which only give the chance to designing place-hunters and, still more, to ruthless attack by the employing Government.

Only eight people out of every ten do any work at all, of these eight only three work usefully. So that every three workers have to maintain themselves and seven others.

* * *

"I am glad that a system of labour prevails under which labourers can strike when they want to; when they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down to work whether you pay them for it or not. I like a system which lets a man 'quit' when he wants to, and I wish it might prevail everywhere.

"I want a man to have a chance to BETTER his condition; that is the true system."

—Abraham Lincoln.

Messrs. Facing-Both-Ways.

Which is it now? The Rev. C. B. Hamilton, a Presbyterian minister, reports on the attitude of "the revolutionaries" of March last year (who, as we know from the Marshall Square beg pardon, Martial Law Commission, were the Communists) to the natives as one of colour hatred, "anti-native feeling," "an inherent ANTAGONISM TO THE NATIVE as such." But the "Friend," on the other hand, says, equally baldly, the very reverse. "The Bolshevik and Communist in S.A. is at work inflaming the black man AGAINST THE WHITE." According to Mr. Hamilton, the "black Bolshevism" which "we" so much dread must mean native anti-native feeling; whereas according to the "Friend," the dreaded thing is not that at all but white anti-white feeling. You pays your money and you takes your choice as to which absurdity you will be driven to in your effort to misdescribe the emancipation of the workers, irrespective of colour.

Labour Imperialists.

"The European wage-earners in Kenya emphatically protest against the granting of political equality to Indians, and heartily approve of the attitude of the S.A.L.P. in supporting General Smuts' policy of voluntary repatriation of Indians from South Africa." Now, Creswell, are you going to repudiate all that? Are you for the white settler aristocracy as such, or are you for all the workers, and for abolishing all the lords—white, brown or black in either case? Repatriate Indians? What for? To be arrested in their own country for carrying their national flag, as 524 more have just been? Or to be again expatriated to labour on the Mauritian sugar fields, as another 1,500 of them have just been? Come, you imperialists, tell us what advantage there is for a worker in being a citizen of your Empire as against our Soviet?

What about renewing your sub. to the "International"? DO IT NOW!

Pay the Piper!

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATE FUND.

First list: J.W.G. 10s. 6d., A.M.E. £1 1s., W.H. £1, B.M.J. 5s., Well-wisher £2 2s., W.W. 1s. 6d., L.P.C. £1, G.N. £1, W.F. 10s. 6d., M.S. 10s. 6d., J.S. 10s., M.B. 10s., R.G. 1s., 38 H.M. £1 1s., B.M. £1 1s., J.R. £2, S.K. 5s., M.N. 5s., G.S. 10s., A.N. 2s., L.J. 5s., I.J. 5s., R.C. 10s. 6d., W.C. £1, J.J.H. 10s. 6d., A.S.D. 10s., J.F. £2 2s., H.R. 5s., A.M. (Pret.) 10s., J.E. (Pret.) 5s., F.R. 5s., J.R. 10s. 6d., S.R. 2s. 6d., M.W. 2s., H.A.L. £1.

The reptile press have suggested that Comrade Andrews' expenses are paid by the Russian Government, and may thereby have discouraged some of our readers from sending their quota to the above fund. We have dealt with that typically dastardly insinuation elsewhere in this issue. It affords ALL THE MORE REASON FOR A BIG RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE FUND. See to it that these knavish tricks are confounded by rolling up with your pounds, shillings and pence in support of the Workers' International!

A Labour Scandal.

CLYNES ATTACKS RUSSIA.

While the whole of Labour's forces are uniting to resist the attacks of the bond-holders and reactionaries against the Russian Workers' Republic, the Right Honourable Mr. J. R. Clynes has gone over to the enemy.

He has written a signed article in the "FINANCIAL TIMES," an organ of capitalism if ever there was one, denouncing Russia and denouncing the trade relations with this country.

He begins with a reference to what he calls the "series of blunders perpetrated by Russia in an attempt to undermine the prestige of this country." He speaks of the "murder" of the Archbishop of Moscow and the arrest of the Patriarch Tikhon, "for professing his religious beliefs," in a manner which BRINGS EDITORIAL CORRECTION EVEN FROM THE "FINANCIAL talist camp!

He boasts of PATRIOTISM—to the capitalist State attacking one ruled by the workers. Clynes goes on: "At the expense of the British taxpayer, a British trade representative is maintained at Moscow. His influence on trade is admittedly nil, yet still he remains." This is a call for the withdrawal of the British representative—the last step before war.

He ends up with the HOPE OF A PEASANT REVOLT against the Soviet Government. He joins the band of emigre nobles and counter-revolutionaries in saying "it is the peasant who will ultimately save Russia. He is the man we ought to encourage."

If there is war Clynes intends to be in the capitalist camp!

—"Workers' Weekly."

Roll Up, Roll Up!

The Johannesburg Entertainment Committee of the Communist Party announces a Social and Dance to be held at the Selborne Hall on Saturday, July 7th, from 8 p.m. to midnight. A capital programme of songs and dances led by a slap-up orchestra will cater for all tastes, young and old. Tickets at the proletarian price of 2s. 6d. should mean a bumper house, and can be obtained at No. 4, Trades Hall. Every member must make a point not only of buying one but of selling a dozen. The proceeds will go to the International Delegate Fund, to swell the "salary" which Lenin and Trotsky are paying to Com. Andrews.

RE OUR LATE COMRADE HARRY SPENDIFF.

The Editor, "The International."

Dear Comrade,—It may still not be well known to comrades, friends, and sympathisers that the widow and dependants of our late Comrade Harry Spendiff are urgently in need of a helping hand. I propose to make an effort to do the work required to this end in an organised manner, and therefore desire to form a "non-party" committee for that purpose. I therefore am writing to ask you to be good enough to publish this letter, with a request to all Comrades who are interested, and have the time, to send in their names to me, THROUGH YOU, so that an immediate start may be made.

Trusting that many will rally to the support of those who depended upon one who gave his life for the cause.—Yours fraternally,

ANON.

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Some "Salary"!

MORE "BRASS CHECK" PROSTITUTION.

The South African press has been flooded with the information that Com. W. H. Andrews, who has gone to Russia in pursuance of his election by the Communist International Congress last December as a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, will receive a "salary" for his work.

So does every member of Parliament, or member of a Government Commission.

So does every delegate to a Trade Union Congress or the like.

So did Tom Mann when he came here last year.

So did the "delegate" of S.A. Labour to the Washington and Geneva Conferences of the League of Nations.

And so, we hope, will Com. Andrews.

How much? The S.A. press probably has a good idea, for it is significantly silent on the point.

A member of Parliament receives £500 a year and free railage.

A member of a Government Commission draws two or three guineas a day and expenses.

Tom Mann received about £40 a month spread over his tour, and fares, etc.

A trade union delegate is paid at trade union rates, with fares.

The International Labour Delegate from S.A. drew, we understand, £2 or £3 a day, plus possibly something from the S.A.I.F., fare, incidentals, etc., etc.

COM. ANDREWS WILL PROBABLY DRAW SOMEWHERE ABOUT £4 OR £5 A MONTH, with lodging and board on a pretty ascetic scale which in practice is barely sufficient for a visitor not accustomed to it, and will probably have to be supplemented out of that "salary."

This "salary" will not, as the "Mail" says, be paid "during such time as Com. Andrews is absent from this country," but only during the time that he functions as an Executive member.

FOR THIS £4 OR £5 COM. ANDREWS LEFT A WAGE OF £30 A MONTH HERE. That wage ceased when he left South Africa, and will not be paid again until he resumes his work here. We should like to see the pressman who would make that sacrifice!

But the sting is supposed to be that Comrade Andrews will be paid by the Communist International (not by "Soviet Russia," as the "Mail" says).

Com. Andrews will, as Executive member, be a full-time worker for the Communist International, and will naturally be paid by it. The Communist International, the supreme authority of the World Communist movement, sent for him, called him up, and is the natural source of his princely emolument.

Similarly a member of Parliament is paid, not by his constituents, but out of Government funds. So is a member of a Government Commission.

Similarly Tom Mann was paid by the "Tom Mann Tour Committee" which raised the funds here for the purpose, and sent for him from England.

Similarly a trade union delegate may be paid out of the funds of the Confederation of Trade Unions which organises a Trade Union Congress.

Similarly it is quite likely that the League of Nations, through its International Labour Office, contributes something for the delegates to Washington and Geneva Conferences which it organises.

It does not make very much difference, after all, for the funds of these central bodies are financially supported by the constituent bodies, although not always on the same proportional scale.

And likewise with International Labour bodies. The Second International was supported by affiliation fees from the various parties belonging to it. It is the same with the Third International, TO WHICH THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA LIKE THE REST PAYS AFFILIATION FEES.

What becomes then of the talk about paying the piper and calling the tune? It is not merely meaningless, it even recoils on those who use it. Who pays the staffs of the South African papers calls the tune: and it is a truism that the capitalist press is bought and sold all over the world. The S.A. Government paid the S.A. Labour delegate to the League of Nations Conference: the same argument would involve the conclusion that that delegate danced to the S.A. Government's tune, that a member of Parliament dances to Smuts' tune, a member of a Commission finds what the party appointing him wishes him to find, and so on.

As a matter of fact the tune of the Communist International is, of course, the same tune as that of the Communist Party of South Africa; as Com. Andrews wrote in applying for affiliation several years ago (quoted by the Martial Law Commission), our aims coincide with theirs; it is not a question of cash nexus, the only thing the scribes understand, but of common aims, embodied in statutes and theses to which we are bound because in the framing of them we, through our delegates, have participated. If Com. Andrews were found dancing to any tune discordant with that of the Communist Party of South Africa—in short, to a tune like that of the "Mail," the "Star," and the "Sunday Times"—our party would be the first to disown him.

So much for his "salary" at Moscow. No S.A. Government free travelling outfit for him. No largess like that bestowed with obvious motive by the British Government on the Swazi Chief and his retinue early this year in London. No royal welcomes and entertainments galore like those lavished on princelings on their Indian and Colonial tours, so generous as to justify the cartoonists, on the "pay the piper" argument, in depicting the Prince of Wales blowing "God save the Randlords" to the call of Solly Joel.

FOR COM. ANDREWS' ENTIRE FARE AND TRAVELLING EXPENSES, FOR HIS SALARY AND/OR MAINTENANCE EN ROUTE, OR WHILE ON HOLIDAY IF AT ALL, FOR ANY ADDITIONAL COST OF LIVING IN RUSSIA, FOR INCIDENTAL EXPENSES, "TIPS" (like Col. Mentz), ETC.—and these together of course constitute PRACTICALLY THE WHOLE COST OF THE TRIP—THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF S.A. IS RESPONSIBLE. "Local Communists," to quote the "Mail," are thus correct if they assert (although we do not know that they have asserted) that "his expenses are being defrayed entirely from South Africa."

As for Com. Andrews' "message" from this country, the cartoonists rather contradict themselves by giving his "tune" not a Russian but a South African caption. Com. Andrews will no doubt "draw attention to" the growing identity of the aspirations of the oppressed classes in this country with "Bolshevik aims"; and when he can point out that the relation between the peasant farmers of Russia and the Reds of the big towns is almost exactly paralleled in South Africa," we shall indeed smile—by that time there will be no "Mail" left to sneer.

During the war it was "German gold." Lately all the go has been about "Soviet propaganda funds," which would aggregate perhaps a ten-thousandth part of the capitalist propaganda funds now being expended throughout the world, to say nothing of the cost of military missions, spy services, Hague Conferences, etc., all directed against Soviet Russia, with not a word said. Our prostitute press would love to have been able to say that a bit of the ten-thousandth part had found its way to South Africa (AND IF IT DID WE SHOULD TAKE IT AND USE IT AND CERTAINLY NOT APOLOGISE ABOUT IT), but it knows it dare not and cannot say so, and it is reduced to unearthing this wonderful maresnest of Com. Andrews' £4-£5 salary!

Try again, "Mail" and "Star"! But let us put your sleuths on to a more productive "clue." If, as suggested in the "Star," "Red Revolt" was paid for by "Russian gold," then, to prove it, call for the books of the Chamber of Mines and the S.A. Government, which caused the revolt. Call for the books of the financial houses of the world and of their imperialist governments which, though enriched out of the sweat and blood of their millions of workers, NEVER DREAM OF PLAYING THEIR TUNE, but only the tune of the robber band that sweats and shoots them. The Communist International claim to play the tune of the world working class, already the master of one-sixth of the world's surface, and soon to be master of the rest. Com. Andrews or any other Communist will only claim to have done his duty if he can be credited with speaking in THAT MASTER'S VOICE, "salary" or no salary.

Belgian Workers in Revolt.

REVOLUTION BREWING!

The "Labour Press Service" of May 19th published the following. As we do not recall reading in the enemy press of a "victory," it would seem either that the strike is still on or that it has been won.

Belgium is believed by many shrewd observers to be on the verge of revolution.

Railway and postal employees are on strike for a living wage, and the transport system of the country is completely paralysed.

It is probable that the miners will decide to join in the struggle, thus locking the front against the reactionary clique which forms the Government.

Partial mobilisation has been ordered by the Government, but this, according to a prominent official of the Syndicat Nationale, the biggest of the Unions involved in the struggle, will merely give the authorities 12,000 men with which to replace the 150,000 on strike.

Meanwhile, as a counter-stroke, the Syndicat has mobilised the women and children of those called up, and processions and demonstrations have been organised which indicate the strength of the movement of revolt.

HUNGER-TAXES.

The root cause of the trouble is exposed in a striking manifesto by the Belgian Workers' Party, in which they point out that the Government is seeking to meet a Budget deficit of two milliards by increasing taxes on the food of the workers to a point at which mere subsistence even becomes next to impossible.

Most of the deficit has been incurred through taking part in the crazy Ruhr adventure of M. Poincare.

Wild threats of intimidation have been uttered against the leaders of the strike by inspired Government organs, while the menace of general mobilisation is also held as a trump card.

To this the workers' leaders reply calmly. "We are not afraid."

It is generally believed, in fact, that general mobilisation would lead to disaster for the Government.

The Workers v. Tikhon.

SOME SIDELIGHTS BY "A.P.L." IN "FORWARD."

Peter the Great, a dictator with some advanced ideas (he ruled during the reigns of Dutch William and Queen Anne) made up his mind TO PUT THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT DEFINITELY ABOVE THE CHURCH, so he abolished the Patriarchate—the last was, I think, Patriarch Adrian. In its place he instituted the Holy Synod; this included the Archbishops of Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev; a few other ecclesiastics nominated by the Tsar; and at its head was placed a civil official, the Procurator, who acted as the personal representative of the Tsar. In the years before the Revolution the Procurator of the Holy Synod was the notorious Pobyedonostsev, the embodiment of the most intense dictatorial reaction—and proud of it! In this reactionary policy he had the fullest support from Prelates like Tikhon, Bishop Eulogius, and others.

* * *

In the "Morning Post" of 22nd August, 1918, an interview is published with a "representative of a new anti-Bolshevik movement in Russia, then recently arrived in England, as follows:

"In the Moscow region a movement of the most influential character has been set on foot WITH THE PATRIARCH TIKHON AT ITS HEAD. This movement is a rally of the many elements devoted to the Orthodox Church and looking to it as the symbol of Russian nationality. The influence of the Church in Russia is very potent at the present time, and will be made apparent in the issue of the Church Council that is to be held at the call of the Patriarch in Moscow next month (i.e., 1918). If this Church Council DECLARES FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY, as some confidently expect, it is almost certain that the most likely nomination for the throne would be the Grand Duke Nicholas Michaelovitch, uncle of the late Tsar.

* * *

A letter in "The Times" of 23rd August, 1918, says:

"... The restoration of Monarchy in Russia happens to be also desirable for GERMANY. GERMANY IS ALREADY IN TOUCH WITH THE NEW POWER WHICH HAS ARISEN UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE CHURCH. It is practically certain that Germany will at the proper time proclaim herself openly for the Church and Monarchy in Russia."

* * *

The whole Labour movement, including Ammon and Jones, was entirely silent in 1915 when, after the Russian armies of the Tsar had overrun Galicia the Tsarist authorities forcibly introduced the Russian Orthodox clergy and the Russian Orthodox service into numerous Catholic churches, imprisoned many Catholic priests, and deported to internment in Russia the Catholic Uniate Archbishop of Lemberg, Andrew Szeptycki. No protest from the British Government (there were Labour members in it), no protest in the "Morning Post," no protest from Archbishop Tikhon, no protest from our Labour movement! Archbishop Szeptycki would be "rotting in prison" to-day but for the uprising of the common people of Russia, who liberated him with the revolution of 1917.

Reuter or Fact?

Readers will remember how the cables represented Com. Newbold as repudiated by a Trafalgar Square demonstration against war with Russia. Here are the facts:

The I.L.P. refused to allow the Communist Party to take part in its demonstration of protest against war on Russia in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, May 13. But the crowd insisted that Walton Newbold, the Communist M.P., should be allowed to speak. Newbold's speech was direct and to the point. He reminded his hearers that if the British workers could not stop war on Russia, there were three million Red Army reservists ready to defend the one country where the workers rule. The workers here must help that army even if war is declared.

Hunter, of the I.L.P., started to speak, disclaiming "all this talk about Red Armies." But the workers in the crowd could not stand this. They hauled Newbold down off the plinth, and he was carried shoulder-high from the Square along the Strand, practically the whole demonstration following.

Cannons or Tractors.

A campaign for the purchase of tractors for Russia has been begun in America. It is part of a world-wide effort to bring working class help in rebuilding Russia's agriculture. Even the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Government admit the need for tractors to prevent further famines and to reconstruct the country's economy. The campaign in America is being conducted by the Friends of Soviet Russia, which has worked untiringly and with great success from the moment that news of the famine catastrophe reached here.

"Cannons or Tractors." That is the alternative to which the F.S.R. points in making its appeal. The peace of the world depends in a large measure upon the economic stability of Europe, and that in turn upon Russia's reconstruction. It is a real alternative. On the one side, bloodshed and futile death; on the other, a flourishing Russia, tangible token of working class ascendancy.

The twenty tractors set as a goal by the Friends of Soviet Russia can and should be obtained. At this time they will serve as a specially effective reply to the enemies of Russia.

The Black Man's Viewpoint.

This is how the President of the recent Native Congress views the Native Urban Areas Act, which is adding to the heap of "trouble" in store for the ruling caste of South Africa:

"Before this cruel law (the Native Land Act, 1913) was made, the Government had ALREADY SECURED THE WHITE RACE AGAINST ANY POSSIBLE BANTU RISING OR REBELLION by means of the Defence Act, the primary object of which was to create the citizen army for the purpose of quelling any native disturbance. And the fact that the Native Land Act was enacted immediately after the organisation of the citizen force is eloquent proof that the Defence Force Act was a part of the anti-Bantu programme of the Government policy.

"In 1920 the Government, owing to the agitation which followed the passing of the Native Land Act—an agitation which revealed to the white race the fact that the Bantu people had lost confidence in the white man's sense of justice, in his religion, and civilisation—enacted the Native Affairs Act, an Act which through General Smuts' speech was said to be 'a step in the right direction.' For it promised to do great things, among which were the establishment of Native Councils IN NATIVE AREAS WHICH DID NOT EXIST, and the creation of a permanent Native Affairs Commission.

"The urban areas were the only places to which the cruel operation of the iniquitous Native Land Law did not apply. Thus since 1913 a stream of Bantu families has flowed into the towns, and the inevitable outcome was that the European population of the towns became alarmed. . . . In the first place there would be industrial competition as between white and black workers which ultimately might act disastrously upon the white workers whose existence depends largely upon the maintenance of the colour bar in the industrial world, the rigid enforcement of the Pass Laws, and the economic repression and political oppression of our race. Secondly, the economic repression of our people by means of depriving them of the right to own land, one of the chief factors for the production of the necessaries of life, made them take to trading on a small scale. . . . But the whites missed the fact that MANY OF OUR PEOPLE DO NOT WANT TO LIVE IN TOWNS. They emigrated to the urban areas because they were rendered homeless and landless as the results of the operation of the Natives Land Act. Now the Urban Areas Act is rendering them homeless and landless in those places to which the Act of 1913 did not apply. . . . The white man, because he controls brute force, shall inherit this country and dominate the six millions of our people who inhabit this land. His motto is NECESSITY KNOWS NO LAW. MIGHT IS RIGHT, AND CRAFT IS THE TRUSTY SERVANT OF MIGHT."

Do you agree with us?
THEN JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

What about renewing your subscription to the "International"?

Public Opinion and Atrocities.

"The public opinion of the civilised world" is greatly affected by the reported execution of a Catholic prelate in Russia.

This public opinion has a strange way of reacting towards political events. It was silent fourteen years ago when the Spanish founder of the Modern School, Francisco Ferrer, was executed at the behest of the Catholic clergy—for the sole crime of being a freethinker. It was silent in 1918 when the British arrested and shot without trial twenty-six Bolshevik Commissars in Baku. It was silent when Horthy executed hundreds of leading Communists in Budapest and members of the French and British diplomatic corps relished personally the agonies of the strangled men. It relented in its Hun-baiting when the Germans executed scores of Lettish Bolsheviks in Riga—a feat that was recorded in the American press as "German efficiency at its best." It did not conceal its glee over the assassination of two thousand radical workers by the Fascisti in the course of the last two years. It hardly took notice of the systematic murder—by policemen and thugs—of literally hundreds of radical labour leaders in Spain. It did not even record the execution of Kingisep, leader of the Esthonian Communists, for the mere holding of opinions. But it cries out because a Catholic priest, a Russian citizen who openly proclaimed allegiance to Poland, has been dealt with in the way in which spies and traitors who give military information to the enemy in war-time are usually dealt with. It cries out on behalf of a man who in the time of his country's greatest calamity, the famine, with all his might encouraged violent resistance to the seizure of church treasures for the relief of the starving.

And those who shout loudest in the name of humanity are the Polish pogrom-mongers, the mercenaries of French and British imperialism, the oppressors of millions of Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, and White Ruthenians. They are joined by the British Tories, the murderers of hundreds of Indian and Egyptian patriots, the inventors of the humanitarian and chivalrous method of bombing from the air recalcitrant villages in Mesopotamia to hasten the collection of the taxes. Is there any need to continue the roll call of this "public opinion" which Russia, in the execution of a traitor, seems to have offended?

—"Soviet Russia Pictorial."

Russia Day by Day.

MAY DAY IN MOSCOW.

May Day in Moscow was greater than ever. Never have I seen the greatness of the proletariat as a class demonstrated so magnificently. This year one central parade would have been unmanageable, and besides it was realised that the time had come to give May Day some of the jollity and mirth of the old May Day Carnival. So in EVERY SQUARE were platforms and decorations and parades for the workers of the district. Even so, one great procession passed for hours through the Red Square. There was a wonderful display of tableaux, the creation of the factory groups, or institutions, each working centre vieing with the others in originality—humorous representations of events and figures in the international class war. Poincare getting whacked by the Soviet hammer, the Macdonalds, Hendersons, Vandervelde's, all these the Moscow workers like to rig out in strange outfits. A cage with wild beasts (workers in big furs) representing the capitalist class under lock and key. Tikhon and his pals in a prison on wheels, these workers played their parts with gusto and pretended to heap curses on the Comminтern delegates as we passed, to the great amusement of everybody. One humble factory did not forget to greet "Australia" and "South Africa" in its tableau. And not a solitary policeman about to mar the proletariat in sole possession. Oh, it was grand to feel the free air of proletarian order.

THE MILITARY PARADE.

The army, too, is at last thoroughly proletarian. The old Czarist "specs" are dispensed with, the officers are all proletarian. Muralov, the Commander of the Garrison, which is paraded on this day, a big tall Russian, dwarfing even Trotsky (although the latter is well over the average height)—Muralov, a common soldier in the old regime. The Red Square does not hold all the troops, they spread out to the by-streets, where fifteen thousand armed factory workers, keeping splendid order, all dressed in white woollen jerseys, are also waiting for the "march past"—the core of the dictatorship.

THE ARMY CHIEF.

Then Trotsky, who acquaints the army of the policies of the Soviet on every possible occasion, speaks about the great international day of the working class which we were celebrating, and comparing the Red Square in Moscow with the police and Fascist-ridden squares where the workers of other countries had to celebrate; and as he spoke to these peasant boys and workers about the fraternity of the peoples, his voice ringing out to the most distant part of the square, you can imagine the thoughts that surge up in one's mind at this miracle that has happened; at this people and at this man, Trotsky, who six years ago was an unknown fugitive in the Jewish quarter of New York. Here he is in the simple uniform of a Red Army man, and who better than he has the right to wear it! But what a combination! Here speaks not a soldier, not merely a soldier, but a Marxian scholar, a leader of a Party, the greatest party in the world, a writer whom Bernard Shaw has described as the "Prince of Pamphleteers," an administrator who out of the hopeless ruins of an army fashioned one that is the fear and envy of capitalist Europe, and the hope of the working class of the world—OUR army; and on top of it all a military strategist. What strikes you when you get near Trotsky is how atrociously all the pictures misrepresent him. Normally, among his comrades, his face has a most soft and pleasant expression, in spite of its strength, although one can well imagine that face a concentrated satire when turned to the enemy. But how fresh and vigorous he looks with his forty-five years. Why, you feel confident that he can do another forty-five without turning a hair! And where is that arrogance that legend lends him? He is modesty itself in personal relations, but he has a tremendous grasp of a situation—born of intellectual power, coupled with faith in the proletariat and Marxian learning.

TROTSKY'S SPEECH TO THE ENEMY.

How he stands there, talking not only across the Square, but to England and Poland, in bold, aggressive language—the diplomats and military attaches listening below him—every word measured, but not a note of paper to help him, such power is rarely concentrated in one person in one epoch. "England," he says, "is trying to dictate to us whom we shall judge and whom we shall have mercy upon. But we tell England, in the name of the workers and peasants of Russia: 'Hands off.'" Imperialist England was never spoken to as she is spoken to by the Soviet Power.

Last night I again had the opportunity to hear Trotsky. He asked: "Why this resurgence of hostility in the capitalist governments towards Russia? The execution of a couple of priests is only a smoke screen. When we launched the New Economic Policy they thought we had changed our mind, they thought we were easing the way back to capitalism and only talking stuff about 'dictatorship of the proletariat' just to fool the workers and reconcile them to the new policy. Genoa first gave them a start, then the Hague, then Lausanne. And now they are beginning to see that instead of gradually shunting towards capitalism we are actually preparing the way for Socialism. They are disillusioned. And they are glad to vent their chagrin on anything. . . . Executing a priest won't alienate a capitalist if we are otherwise 'sound,' no more than the top-hats and frock coats of our diplomats will reconcile them if we are not going to play their game. One is as trivial as the other."

A C.P. PUBLIC SERVICE.

When Lenin's proposals for linking up the Communist Party officially with the State apparatus first appeared. Miliukov, who is a far-sighted bourgeois, wrote in the white guard press that the game was all up, it was all "my eye" that Lenin was steering for capitalism. At the recent Party Congress he turned the critical switch towards Socialism. And the whole bourgeois world knew it. Krassin was against the proposal, for administrative reasons. But the Congress paid little heed to the objection, and he quietly submitted to the majority. Lenins' proposal was adopted: the new Central Control Committee has met and appointed its chairman Commissary of Workers and Peasants Inspection.

Trotsky made a great speech at the Congress full of searching technical analysis of the state of Soviet industries. The details of the proposals are too elaborate to recapitulate here. Suffice it to say that it has been decided to concentrate on the most efficient and up-to-date plants, and load them up 100 per cent., in order to reduce the cost of goods to the peasant; otherwise with the high prices, in other words, the large amount of bread he has to pay for a yard of cloth, there may be serious complications of an economic character.

THE CHURCH GOES I.W.W.!

Soviet Russia is mounting higher and higher. Why, the Church has now capitulated to the revolution! At the All-Russian Synod this week the parsons have gathered, denounced Tikhon for allying the church with the counter-revolution, declared him disrobed and no longer a priest but plain "Mr. Belavina," and recommended him to the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Synod greeted the Soviet Power as the only power on earth trying to "realise the ideal rule of God." What a strange mixture! The Synod resolution opens by declaring "the world divided into two classes, the capitalist exploiters and the proletariat, on whose blood and sweat the capitalist world builds up its well-being." Sounds like an I.W.W. Congress instead of a Synod of Holy Church. As a matter of fact, since the revolution, free discussion has entered the church, so that, although still nominally one, it is divided up into different sects, such as the "Living Church," the "Union of Communities of the Primitive Christians," both strong sects, and the "Regeneration" group, of which the Metropolitan Antonio, President of the Synod, is member—all running off at different tangents in their newly-found enthusiasm for free religion, all holding preliminary congresses before the All-Russian Synod. The question is, will the old bottle hold the new wine? Why, I saw a church on May Day flying the red flag. Of course, it may be a church, or it may be a workers' club.

D. IVON JONES.

How Larkin Won a Strike.

Jim Larkin is back home again, released from an American penitentiary, where he had been "jugged" for the shameful crime of being anti-war. And now he will require to watch himself lest one of these accidental done-a-purpose-bullets which fly about Ireland these days should find in him a billet.

He put a dignity and a character into the working class of Dublin, so that they closed drinking dens, demanded decent conditions, and scared the most shameless exploiting class of greedy employers in the world well-nigh into their graves.

I remember one incident in Glasgow in which Jim Larkin figured. It was a strike of shop assistants in a swell grocery establishment in Union Street. The strikers were being defeated; blacklegs filled their places; the police prevented demonstrations at the shop door; all seemed lost.

"Leave it to me," said Larkin, who happened to be in Glasgow at the time. "To-morrow, Saturday, is their busy day. I'll settle the thing to-morrow." And good as his word, he did settle it. He turned up with a following of some hundreds of dock labourers. They crowded into the swell establishment. Each man asked for a farthing's worth of this, that, or the other thing. It was all perfectly legal and orderly. The proprietor was frantic; his regular customers could not get into the shop; his sales were nil, and quickly becoming a wise man he sent across the street to the Shop Assistants' organiser to come over and settle the strike on the spot. And when the strike was settled, Larkin marched back his farthing customers away to the docks, all in high feather at a good deed well and skilfully done.

—"Forward."

CHINA.

CAPITALISM'S UNITED FRONT.

In view of the news of May Day "premieres" in Pekin and Shanghai, the following account of Chinese labour progress will be interesting to large sections of the South African proletariat:

Nine-tenths of the Chinese population are composed of workers in the fields and in the factories. But these workers do not all reside in China. Everywhere there are thousands of Chinese workers—in U.S.A., in Canada, in South America, in Australia, in the Federated Malay States, and even in Europe. From the fact that the Chinese labourer is employed everywhere, it follows that he is a remarkable agent for international action. The development of his proletarian consciousness is of interest therefore not only in China, but possesses a world importance.

There are in China two categories of capitalists—indigenous capitalists and foreign capitalists.

Side by side with Chinese capitalism there exists in China a cosmopolitan capitalism, which is entrenched behind the Consuls, the Ambassadors, and the Expeditionary Corps of the foreign powers.

These foreign capitalists at first secured special rights to exploit the Chinese workers, but afterwards they found that this exploitation could be carried on more easily by associating themselves with the Chinese capitalists. In this manner the international front of capitalism was established in China.

"Coolie" is an expression which comes from two Chinese words—"coo," (which means hard, dirty, and unpleasant) and the word "lie" (which means work).

The fact that the Chinese worker is called by the name of coolie clearly indicates the unpleasant and hard nature of his work, and the miserable economic position which he occupies.

While in other countries the worker generally gets just enough to live and nourish his family, the coolie in China does not even secure that remuneration. Except for several privileged persons, the coolie gets hardly sufficient to nourish himself, and not his family.

The hours which the coolie works are unlimited. In the home industries and in agriculture he works from five or six o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock in the evening. In the factory the duration of the working day is from ten to fourteen hours. The Chinese worker does not get a weekly holiday. He only secures three holidays per year—New Year's Day and two other holidays.

Nothing is more sure in life than that men subject to such slavery will finish by rising against their exploiters. This rising is just beginning today. Previously the coolie was a mystic and fatalist, who attributed his miserable destiny to fate. But the establishment of Soviets in Russia and the rule of the workers has roused him from his lethargy. In the light of the Russian revolution he has commenced to be conscious of his historical destiny. He knows now that society is divided into two classes—those of exploiter and exploited—and that his situation as exploited will only end by the realisation of his historical destiny, which is workers' control of industry.

Labour organisations have already grown up rapidly throughout the industrial districts of China, and the prevailing industrial unrest has already manifested itself in numerous strikes.

The most important of the latter was that of the strike of the dockers in Hong Kong (the largest port in the world), and that of Canton in January last. After two months of struggle international capitalism had to surrender, and 300,000 workers celebrated the success of the strike to the refrain of "The Internationale."

—"Australasian Seamen's Journal."

"Calling a man a fool will never make a Socialist of him. Give him plenty of Socialist literature, and after a while he'll call himself a fool, which is much better."

—"The Worker," Brisbane.

S.A.L.P. Affiliation.

Beyond an acknowledgment, no reply has been received to the Communist Party's application for affiliation to the S.A.L.P. In the meantime "Tramp," in the "Guardian," argues the case against affiliation in a violently prejudiced way, but we do not deny his right thus to "influence the jury." Let us devote a few lines, however, to correcting some of his mis-statements.

"They are out" he says of the C.P. "to establish their own dictatorship over South Africa." No, the Communist International is out to establish Communism, and as a first step to this, to establish the dictatorship not of themselves, but OF THE WORKING CLASS, and not in South Africa only but ALL OVER THE WORLD.

Certainly they aspire to be the expression of the best interests of the working class. Certainly they do not consider that the S.A.L.P. is at present that expression in South Africa. Certainly they wish to get into closer touch with the S.A.L.P., and especially those strata of workers whose ear the S.A.L.P. has (which are not all the workers, by the way) with a view to getting their Communist point of view better known to them than "Tramp's" articles will ever do. What motive can possibly be behind this than "the strengthening of the labour cause"?

"Tramp" speaks of "the barrenness of 'Direct Actionist' methods," and favours "capturing the legislative machine." "Direct action" in the first place means strike methods. Does "Tramp" express the views of the Labour Party in condemning these wholesale as "barren"? If so, then the need for enlightenment through affiliation becomes more crying than ever. As for the legislative machine, once "captured" by the working class, will it not from the very outset require to transforming, to suit its captors' purposes, that, like the Labour Party itself, it will require to become a new machine to be really capable of functioning for the "socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange," to quote the S.A.L.P. constitution, past or present—we really forget what the present phraseology is? If that is not the S.A.L.P. view, once more the need for affiliation becomes more glaring than ever.

The Labour Party may function in a sort of way under a capitalist system regarded as permanent. But with the disintegration of capitalism the Labour Party is bound itself to disintegrate. That disintegration is leading, however, to something better—better than capitalism, better than the Labour Party. The Communist Party endeavours to look ahead, to hasten the process and the change, to keep its eyes skinned to the various weapons both of fraud and force with which capitalism will seek to postpone its evil hour, and to prepare not its own members only but the whole of the workers for the "sacrifice" which undoubtedly awaits them before they can expect to triumph. Instead of clinging like a Die-Hard to outworn forms and ideas of the Labour Party, "Tramp" should welcome its regeneration because it means throwing off its reactionary elements, tacking on new and more proletarian and revolutionary elements, and making an up-to-date fighting machine of it.

"Tramp" says "the policy of the Third International is deliberately to set itself completely to destroy every trace of what is now known as the political labour movement." On the contrary, the Third International is, as all its activities show, a more thoroughly political labour movement than any other. It is THE political party par excellence; not only in Russia, but in the Parliaments of Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, and many another country, its sections are everywhere striving for the utmost political expression and influence.

The S.A. Labour Party is not the S.A. Labour Movement, it is just Communist affiliation that is needed to help make it so. In the meantime, the political needs of the time may require either Communist opposition to Labour candidates, as in recent years, in order to maintain a party which shall be a rallying point for militant Labour, or support of them, as at Stamford Hill, when the most important immediate result to be gained was a reverse to the ruling capitalist party.

Come, "Tramp," you and the Nationalists have made a pact, with the original aim of which, as distinct from its developments, we agree. Could not your language be far more appropriately applied to your Nationalist allies? They, if you like, have no belief in the rule of Labour; yet you don't spurn them. The Communists are, as you know, in entire accord with what professes to be the ruling principle of the S.A.L.P., repeatedly though it has been and is betrayed. Where then is the logic of your hostility? **SURELY IT CANNOT BE THAT IT IS THE BETRAYAL, AND NOT THE PRINCIPLE, THE PRESENT SYSTEM AND THE PARTIES APPROPRIATE TO IT, AND NOT "THE LABOUR MOVEMENT," THAT YOU ARE SO ANXIOUS TO DEFEND?**

Pass this paper to a pal

TWENTY PEOPLE SHOULD READ IT!

The March of the Workers.

"These are they who build thy houses, weave thy raiment, win thy wheat,
Smoothe the rugged, fill the barren, turn the bitter into sweet.
All for thee this day—and ever. What reward for them is meet?"

William Morris.

"We have helped in the building of this great Dominion; in the building of a South African civilisation of which we are now an inseparable part; we have built the railways, and the cities, and have sacrificed precious lives in the gold, diamond, and coal mines of this country. On account of our share in the establishment of these things we feel justified in demanding the enjoyment of the fruits of our labour. We demand the right to enjoy liberty of conscience and equality of opportunity in State, church, commerce and industry; and we feel assured that the day is not far distant when we shall break through the barbed wires of artificial barriers and capture our rightful place in the affairs of mankind. The struggle for human freedom is going on throughout the world, and everywhere small races and nations, which for ages have been submerged by the tyranny of Might is Right, are coming into their own, and the tragic fact is that mighty empires are crumbling down like a castle of cards."—From the President's speech at the Native Congress.

It may be mentioned that the permanent officials of the Communist International, such as Zinoviev, draw about £7 10s. to £10 a month (according to exchange) with room; or did last year, for by now it is quite possible the figures have either been increased with better conditions, or been reduced all round, as economy is the order of the day in Soviet Russia as elsewhere, and living probably is cheaper. Capitalist scribes do not understand working for a public cause, but only doing what they are well oiled to do. Communists have a different outlook.

* * *

The Centre of the Communist International is at present in Moscow, but some day it will be in Berlin or London, and it will then be for the "Mail" to sneer, but for us to boast, that "German" or "British" funds are "at the disposal of delegates from this country to the Third International."

Profit is the amount the workers pay their masters for the privilege of earning their own wages.

Fascism All Round.

The other day an anonymous Fascist Anti-Semite leaflet was issued in Johannesburg. The anti-Semitic stunt is really only a screen: the real object of attack is the radical Labour movement. Let us compare what the ruling class is doing in this line elsewhere to-day, and learn the lesson:

* * *

America.

The Ku Klux Klan, formerly an organisation for the mental, social, political and economic oppression of the negroes, to-day directs its attacks against all those who are not "100 per cent. Americans." It comprises several hundred thousand members. It exercises an unequalled terror on the working population, especially in the South.

* * *

Hungary.

The Hungarian counter-revolution itself admits that it has imprisoned 70,000 workers and intellectuals, executed more than 10,000, and forced 20,000 to 25,000 to emigration. These numbers do not include those workers who have been assassinated by the "fury of the people" or by the "best officers" of Horthy.

* * *

Austria.

Everywhere in Austria "self-protection leagues," "home protection leagues," and "associations of front fighters" are in existence which conclude open alliances with the German "Orgesch." These organisations are led by ex-officers.

* * *

Czecho-Slovakia.

The Fascists of this country receive financial assistance from the large banking interests, while they are morally supported by the National Democratic Party, which is the party of the finance capitalists. The "golden youth" are organised in the "Sokols," bourgeois athletic clubs which even receive arms from the Ministry of War for the purpose of "physical training."

* * *

Bulgaria.

Bourgeois youth and "Wandervogel" organisations, associations of officers and sub-officers, and similar bodies are the organisational forms for the armament of the Fascists. The Fascist movement is not only tolerated but even protected and supported by the government of landowners. During the municipal elections in February, the government, hand in hand with the reactionary bourgeoisie, organised armed terror against the Communists. On the day of the elections hundreds of communist voters were arrested, and after the elections the municipal councils with a communist majority were dissolved. The Mayor of the Communist Municipality in Dupnitza was assassinated.

* * *

Roumania.

While on the one hand the Government supports the formation of Fascist organisations and the anti-Semitic campaigns of the "noble" students, it dissolves, on the other hand, one labour organisation after the other. The labour homes, the trade union headquarters, the treasuries and membership lists are being confiscated. The communist press, especially that in the Hungarian language, is being ruthlessly suppressed and the continuous arrests have not yet come to an end.

* * *

Spain.

Under various pretexts revolutionary workers are exposed to the mercy of the police and the white guards. Trials are taking place on the basis of confessions enforced by torture.

* * *

Italy

Mussolini's tactic against the Communists is digging its own grave. The prisons are so overcrowded that there is no more place for a single person. The attempts of the police to discover a "great Bolshevist plot" have entirely failed. More than 8,000 arrests have taken place, which—especially with regard to the failure of the police action—has roused discontent among the population. The new national militia is nothing but the legal form of the former robbers' gangs in black shirts. The trials prove the irresponsibility of Mussolini's attacks against the proletariat. Hundreds of Communists had to be released. Prior to their release they had to sign a statement to the effect that they promise to cease all Party and trade union activity. Simultaneously all organised workers are dismissed without notice and thrown on the street. The entire labour press is prohibited. The last victim of this suppression was the "Lavoratore Communista," which had been issued to the end by some heroic comrades despite all Fascist attacks.

* * *

Germany.

In Germany there are hundreds of small legal and illegal organisations with various names and constitutions, but with one common aim. The following is an extract from the rules for one of these brigades:

"The Brigade must be joined only by men who are determined; who are not restrained by any considerations whatsoever, who obey their leaders without reservation, who are brutal enough to employ all means wherever they are used. Subleaders can only be officers who possess experience of war and street battles with revolting masses; who have especially the main experience from practice: No negotiations, but attack and ruthless command! Within the brigade there must be a shock troop of bold elements, who like sports, and if necessary are ready to carry a risky scheme into effect, without considering the consequences to their own lives. Therefore young men are necessary, who have no families and whose loss nobody will bewail."

In Bavaria even twelve-year-old children are members of the reactionary shock troops. All universities in Germany are centres of blackest reaction. The programme of the Nationalists demands, apart from the destruction of the Jews, the most ruthless struggle against the proletariat, and above all against the Communists. The Ruhr occupation is a welcome occasion for the mobilisation and the sharpening of the inner conflicts.

* * *

Lithuania.

In view of the failure of the Government to carry out the promises made to the organised workers of this small country, the labour unions declared for a strike. In the city of Memel, this became the signal for an outright and violent attack of the military forces of the State against the workers. Machine guns were turned upon the strikers and demonstrators. Many were killed and a still larger number wounded.

* * *

India.

In the prisons of India more than 30,000 men and women are languishing. More than 6,600 poor farmers of Malabar have been sentenced to terms of hard labour; five of them have been hanged and 70 strangled. In Punjab 5,600 Sikh farmers are in jail, and are being beaten and maltreated; 172 were sentenced to be hanged. The brutality of these legal assassinations is unequalled even in the bloody history of the British rule in India.

* * *

"Our efficient weapon is the organised mass struggle. We must overthrow Fascism not only by means of violence, but also overcome it politically. Forward! To work, to struggle against the general offensive of capital, against fascist terror, for the establishment of the labour government and, beyond that, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the only guarantee for the complete victory of the proletariat over the counter-revolution."

—(From the concluding remarks of Clara Zetkin at the Frankfort Conference.)

Pillar to Post.

"A robber band hath seized our land,
And we are exiles here."
—Ed. Carpenter.

"Abantu Batho," in further protest against "the pinch of economic strangulation and political ostracism" most recently exemplified in the Urban Areas Bill, writes:

The "Cape Times" says "Parliament has set apart, under the Land Act of 1913, large areas of the country for the exclusive possession by natives." This, of course, is a travesty of the truth. The Act of 1913 did nothing of the kind; it did not establish any areas other than locations and reserves which existed prior to Union. These locations and reserves are scheduled areas under the Native Land Act; they are the areas in which natives can buy and own land, but the irony of the situation is that they are held communally by individual tribes, and are already congested.

It is an irrefutable fact that the influx of natives into urban areas is due to the operation of the Native Land Act, to the evictions of natives from farms by farmers who are afraid of contravening the law. At a meeting held at Thabanchu on September 12th, 1913, attended by some thousand natives, among whom were several evicted tenants seeking places of refuge, Mr. Dower, Secretary for Native Affairs, representing the Government's view, said, inter alia, "My best advice to you is to SELL YOUR STOCK AND GO INTO SERVICE." At the present there are tribes in the Transvaal and Natal who are being evicted from lands which they have occupied for over two hundred years. It is a well known fact that, under the Bill, it will only be those natives who are required to administer to the needs of the white population in towns who will be allowed to live in the urban areas. This cry of the urban areas is the cry of the rural districts.

It has been argued that freehold title being not a native system, the native people were not entitled to it. But we wonder why the pass laws and other laws which are foreign to us have been imposed upon us and that against our will?

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BISHOP W. M. BROWN, D.D.—	
Communism and Christianism, o/s	1 6

Keep It Up, Out-of-Works!

The Carlton Theatre, Johannesburg, was packed with an unemployed meeting last Sunday, under the chairmanship of H. J. M'Carthy, an ex-war hero. The speakers included M. Kentridge, C. Mussared, C. F. Glass, and V. C. Woudberg, the latter in Dutch and English. A resolution was passed dealing with "the present discontent," declaring that it had "become a menace to civil government and the well-being of society," and calling for State aid "to preserve the human energy of the country until the evil of unemployment was finally abolished," and to perpetuate the white standard of living or—repatriate.

But the logic of the situation compelled the speakers themselves to adopt a militant tone of "menace to civil government and the well-being of society," both because the pangs of hunger drive men to "crime," as our masters call it, and because the evil is inherent in "the well-being of society," as our masters run it, and therefore calls for a "short way" with them. A copy of the resolution has been sent to the Prime Minister, who has also received a deputation of Johannesburg Town Councillors as the result of pressure from the Unemployed Committee. The powers that be will have to get a move on, for the unemployed movement grows more and more aggressive each week, and serious "trouble" is brewing. The hardship of unemployment, accentuated by the severity of winter weather, is bound to breed desperation. And desperate men do not stand on ceremony—why should they, anyhow? Keep it up, out-of-works—all class-conscious workers are solidly behind your movement!

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

We gratefully acknowledge the following further donations to the "International" Guarantee Fund:—April: W.F. 5/-, J.A. £5, S.M. 2/-, V.B. 5/-, H.G. 20/3, M.G. 5/-, B.F. 5/-, S.K. 10/-, D.L.D. 2/6, J.J.H. 2/-, C.F.G. 2/6, K.W. 5/-, G.M. 10/-, F.B. 10/-, H.B. 20/-, R.E.C. 5/-, Rebel Soldier 2/6, P.D. 10/-, R.G. 5/-, B.S. 2/6, O.K.S. 8/6, H.G. 20/3. May: W.F. 5/-, D.L.D. 5/-, W.H.G. £3, M.G. 4/-, V.B. 5/-, G.M. 10/-, H.B. 10/-, Mrs. H. 10/-, M.B.M. 8/-, J. Macp. 10/-, H.L. 20/-, J.A.D. 20/-, F.P. 2/6, P.D. 10/-, D.G. 50/-, C.A. 10/-.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

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

MAY DAY SOCIAL. Ticket sellers are earnestly requested to settle up IMMEDIATELY with the Treasurer, Com. Rabb, No. 4 or 6, Trades Hall.

The General Dealer's Licence granted to Lena Jaffe trading as Madame Jay at Stand 635, 3 Albemarle Street, Kensington, Johannesburg, will be transferred to Freda Dahm as from 1st July, 1923.
15-22-29

Comrade SAM BARLIN

Wishes to inform all Comrades and his Customers that he has removed his Tailoring Establishment to

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Corner JOUBERT and KERK STREETS.

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"FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA"!

These hypocrites of British capitalism do not really care a straw for the Happy and Holy Family of the Russian Church, or for the alleged victims of alleged Bolshevik tyranny.

How many workers, as well as teachers and intellectuals—yes, even parsons, known and unknown to us—have been tracked, punished, and victimised in this "free" country? Hundreds of them are condemned, have lost their jobs, and been deprived of the right to provide bread and a home for their children and themselves; only because they are honest enough to express themselves against a tyrannical government, or belong to the communist school that is opposed to the "law and order" of capitalist interpretation?

The British Government thought, by trading with Russia, that they would get the upper hand and influence over Russian economic life, as well as over political affairs in that country. The request of the big bosses for the discharge of the priests meant nothing else than an ultimatum to prove their power and influence over Russia. What they are really against is the propaganda for Communism in Russia, which will never cease so long as the Soviets remain in power. British diplomacy has failed to bring Russia down to the level of "freedom and justice" as we see it in Britain. They are against the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, which is marching step by step but rapidly, towards Communistic reconstruction, helping along the road every other country that struggles to follow suit.

The British capitalists never really intended to leave Russia to her own fate and self-determination. They prated of such a policy in their press, but in reality they kept all their reactionary forces at full speed. Denikin, Koltchak, Petlura, Wrangel; Poland, Latvia, and the rest: all kept busy fighting Russia with the direct and indirect help of the British Government, which spent millions of pounds created by the sweat and tears of the British workers. Lloyd-George was appointed to arrange trade relations with Russia, and he tells us to wait for the inevitable and immediate fall of the Soviets. They are not capable, he says, of carrying on the State on Soviet principles, because, forsooth, the Soviets lack the assistance of the experienced state-constructors of capitalist aristocracy, "the only people able to control and manage society."

Russian trade relations with Britain meant an end to the blockade. To supply means of production, agricultural implements and machinery from England and other countries meant helping the entire reconstruction of Russia. Russian trade with Britain also meant diverting the hatred of many of Russia's enemies. It also meant a natural spread of Communism, for it made visits to Russia a matter of course, and the news of the management and control by workers' councils and soviets was bound to spread, to the great inspiration of the workers in Britain and elsewhere. And in fact this is what happened, and in a space of time unimagined by the world's diplomats. The huge Red Army, too, partly turned into an army of labour and the rest still remaining as a workers' army to protect the toilers in Russia from exploitation, was a new invention most unpalatable to capitalism. In short, Soviet Russia has refused to collapse, and continues its direct attacks on capitalism in and out of Russia. Hence the world's capitalists are greatly concerned, and look for some way of hindering Russian progress. All they can do is to revive the blockade that will ruin Russia, and on the other hand to build a Chinese wall round Britain against Communism coming from Russia. No wonder the British King by the (dis)grace of God is stretching out his hands to the outlawed Mussolini.

It is for the workers of Great Britain, South Africa and other countries to tackle the situation, relying only on their own iron will and power. To break off trade with Russia is a great injury to the workers of Britain as well. It gives a greater speculative opportunity for the exploiters of labour to starve the workers by raising the prices of many commodities now exported from Russia. No doubt, too, the Moscow Exhibition may suffer, as many who are prepared to take an interest in it will refrain from visiting Russia after such a hostile attitude on the part of the British capitalists.

But we workers may be sure that though Russia will suffer a little, the Soviets will overcome the attack as well. If we stand shoulder to shoulder against capitalist tyranny, nothing can stop the progress of Russian reconstruction, which operates for the benefit of the working class alone, and for the achievement of Communism only.

B. KREEL.

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