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The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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IN AID OF THE INTERNATIONAL DELEGATE FUND
(Com. Andrews' Travelling Expenses, etc.)

Social & Dance
ON
Saturday July 7
AT
Selborne Hall.

TICKETS 2/6. DANCING 8—12.

Vorovski's Last Journey.

A "FUNERAL ORATION."

(By KARL RADEK.)

(On May 20th Vorovsky's body arrived in Moscow, and all Moscow turned out to the funeral. Very significant was the demonstration in Berlin, where 150,000 workers accompanied the body to and from the station. It is for that occasion that Radek wrote.)

The Berlin Proletariat has accompanied Comrade Vorovski on his last trip from capitalistic Europe, his assassin, to his beloved proletarian fatherland, Red Russia.

Germany's workmen did not know him, they beheld him only when, felled by the bullet, he covered his fighting post with his body. They recognised in him their OWN champion only at the moment when the Red Flag slipped from his hand. (Here follows an account of Vorovski's thirty years' activity in the revolutionary movement.)

. . . . . .

Vorovski, as Russia's Soviet Ambassador, went to Rome. From the first moment the object of hatred and of the attacks of the Fascists, he did not for a moment allow himself to be intimidated, and he remained at his post when the victory of the Fascists in Italy directly threatened his life. At the Conference at Genoa, at the first Orient Conference, he served Soviet Russia and the Russian proletariat by his excellent knowledge of the countries abroad and by his quiet and sober judgment.

Vorovski fell a victim of the new attack which the capitalistic world, with the English slaveholders at its head, is preparing against Soviet Russia. At Genoa Soviet Russia had refused to enslave Russia's peasants and workmen to foreign capital, or to sacrifice, to immolate what the October revolution had conquered. Then woe to Soviet Russia!

Soviet Russia has dared to stand up at Lausanne as the champion of the Eastern nations living in secular slavery; Soviet Russia has dared to say before all the world to the English slaveholders:

> For centuries you have exploited and oppressed these hundreds of millions of the East, and you can force the yoke upon them even now, but your chance, your dominion, will not last for ever. Lo! there is already rising up against you a well-armed foe in Russia's peasants and workmen, the champion not only of the proletariat of the world but of the masses of the East as well, before whom, when they rise, the world will tremble.

Woe therefore, woe to Soviet Russia! Lord Curzon resolved to show the nations of the East that whosoever dared to stand up for the oppressed would be treated as a pariah and an outlaw. One insult after another was heaped upon the Russian delegation, in order that the Persians, the Turks, and the Arabs might see that whoever wished to go with them was mere cattle to be belaboured.

At the second Lausanne Conference he sought, by all kinds of pretexts, to prevent the Russian delegation from being admitted. At the same time there began the savage drive of the English Government, of the English propaganda, against Soviet Russia. ON MAY 8th THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PARISIAN "TEMPS" WIRED TO HIS PAPER THAT THE FASCISTS HAD TOLD THE PEOPLE OPENLY OF A "COUP" IN PREPARATION AGAINST VOROVSKI, ALSO THAT THE POLICE KNEW OF IT, and he added that something would happen if they did not interfere. But Mr. Motta and his spies were waiting for Vorovski to write: "I do not wish to be assassinated either privately or officially." And since that courageous and proud representative of the 150 millions of Russian peasants and workmen said to himself, "It is not my business to go begging for the protection of that government which vised my diplomatic passport, it is rather THEIR DUTY to protect me," Mr. Motta permitted Vorovski's assassination. And then that lot of scamps who call themselves the representatives of the free Swiss people had the impudence to express their condolence neither to the victims of their wretched sort of statesmanship nor to the Soviet Government. NOR HAVE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHRISTIAN CIVILISED POWERS, assembled at Lausanne in order to impart to the nations of the East how a "civilised life" is to be conducted, DEEMED IT NECESSARY TO PRONOUNCE A WORD OF SYMPATHY AT THE ASSASSINATION of a member of the first Lausanne Conference before the doors of the second.

Well, the international working class will see in this the proof that the murderer did not dare to approach Vorovski's grave, for fear lest his body

(Continued at foot of next two columns.)

Native Recruiting Corporation, Ltd.

The Government and Native Affairs Department have hitherto kept up a show of being the friends and protectors of the natives; but now they don't bother about that, the Director of Native Labour and the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg are openly sent as a Government Commission to tout for native labour for the mines, saving the Chamber of Mines the expense. "Col. Pritchard's speech amounted," blurts the capitalist press itself, "to AN EXHORTATION TO THE S.A. NATIVES TO COME FORWARD TO THE MINES OR TO RECOGNISE THE POSSIBILITY OF BEING OUSTED BY NATIVES FROM MOZAMBIQUE"—just as the white unemployed are told to go to relief works or recognise the same possibility. "When recruiting stopped last year," he reminded them, "some of them had been plunged into dire distress and failed to obtain work anywhere. . . . There was still famine in certain parts of the country," as also in Portuguese territory. Under the whip and lash of hunger they must go to the mines.

And yet Mr. Merriman objects to the "Communist propaganda" which tells the natives they are slaves.

"Johnny Shall Have a New Master."

The "Weakly Herald," described as "Official Trade Union Organ," comes out with the following message of hope to the working masses. It has the advantage of being endorsed by the King of England, who delights to honour B. Mussolini, G.C.B.—"a great consolation to many":

> "Fascism rules Italy through a remarkable man, who GATHERS NO SMALL DEGREE OF HIS STRENGTH FROM FORMER STUDY AND EXPERIENCE AS A SOCIALIST. Fascism is Socialism stripped of all its Utopianism and sentimentalism. It is a manifestation of TRUE SOCIALIST REVOLT against Socialist excess. It is the counterpart of Bolshevism. It is a corrective that the LABOUR MOVEMENT WOULD BE WISE TO ACCEPT."

And in the same issue Mr. Crawford, for a column and a half, controverts Mr. Barlow's statement in Parliament that "trade unions look upon him as a masters' man"!

The Interrupted Feast.

BEWARE!

The complacency of Parliament has been startled by three intruders who, in the name of South Africa's unemployed, shook their fists in the face of the smug occupants of the green benches.

should begin bleeding again. Well, the workmen of Europe, in whom a mighty horror of the proletarian terror was to be instilled, and of whom more "humanity" was demanded—they will say to the gentlemen of Lausanne: "Many thanks, many thanks for your teachings! We shall understand their sense, we shall understand that you wish to tell us that BETWEEN THE DOWNTRODDEN PROLETARIAT AND THEIR OPPRESSORS THERE ARE NO HUMAN TIES ANY MORE, THERE IS SOLELY A LIFE AND DEATH STRUGGLE AND ITS LAW."

We shall carry the body of Vorovski to Russia, we shall carry it across all Russia, and we shall ask the masses of Russia's workmen and the masses of Russia's peasants: Will you allow yourselves to be treated like pariahs? And we shall ask the proletariat of the world: Will you, workman of the world, permit that the representatives of the first proletarian state shall be "free game" for every capitalistic scoundrel? We are not uneasy about the response of the hundred and fifty millions of Russian peasants and workmen, we are not afraid of the reply of the proletariat of the world. When Jaurès was assassinated so that the brute of war might be let loose on the world, there fell but one man, behind whom no troops stood ready for combat: BEHIND VOROVSKI'S BODY AN ENTIRE NATION, ORGANISED AS A STATE POWER, WILL BE MARCHING IN RUSSIA, ABLE TO OPPOSE CANNON TO CANNON WITH CANNON SHOTS, AN ARMY THAT HAS REPEATEDLY BEEN VICTORIOUS. BEHIND HIS BODY A CONSTANTLY INCREASING ARMY OF THE WORLD'S PROLETARIAT WILL BE MARCHING, AN ARMY TO-DAY YET TOO WEAK TO SEIZE THE POWER, TO-MORROW, HOWEVER, PERHAPS STRONG ENOUGH AND READY, SINCE THE PRESENT MASTERS OF THE WORLD LEAVE US NO OTHER CHOICE THAN EITHER VICTORY OR DESTRUCTION.

Like a flash of lightning that shot of Lausanne is illuminating the world situation. The lightning fell from heavy clouds that may discharge themselves in a storm. We were born in a storm, we are not afraid of the storm, even though

> "victims shall fall here,
> neither lamb nor deer,
> but human sacrifices numberless."

Pay The Piper!

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATE FUND.

Already acknowledged: £22 9s. H.B. 10/-, Communist Party (Benoni) 10/-, G.M. 5/-, F.B. £2, G.W. £1, E.S. £1, J.E.B. 5/-, J.A.D. 10/-, A.S. (Springs) 10/-, R.R. 3/6, A.A. (Durban) £2, H.G. (Pietermaritzburg) 10/-, H.R. 5/-, W.G.S. (Benoni) £1.

* * *

The egregious Crawford backs up the capitalist press attack of last week with a characteristic suggestion that this Fund is a bogus affair, and that the donors are figments of the imagination. Comrades and friends, your very existence is being called in question! To be or not to be! PINCH YOURSELVES to see if you are there—and also TO BUILD UP THIS FUND to its proper figure. Remember the Social and Dance at the Selborne to-morrow fortnight, in aid of the same fund. It should be well worth a 2/6 ticket to attend such an assembly of phantoms and clasp the waist of a ghostly partner who is really an unreality.

To reassure yourselves of your grip on the world put the cash down and spoil Archie's sport.

Red Triumph for Unity.

TRANSPORT WORKERS' DECISION.

UNITED COUNCIL OF ACTION.

The following is the text of the resolutions and manifesto issued at the joint meeting of representatives of the International Transport Workers' Federation and of the All-Russian Union of Transport Workers, Rail Workers and Seamen, held in Berlin on May 23rd and 24th.

The actual decisions are four in number:

1. That a united committee of Transport Workers be at once formed to carry on the struggle of the Transport Workers, Railway Workers, and Seamen of all countries against Militarism, Danger of War, and Fascism. To carry through the necessary propaganda, organisation, and all measures necessary for such a campaign.

2. To establish a permanent control of all munition traffic by the creation of observation stations at the points of production, chief harbours, rail junctions, and frontiers.

3. To call a World Conference of Transport Workers to form a united battle front and make preparation for the creation of united national and international organisations.

4. To take necessary measures for helping transport unions suffering from the attacks of Fascism and to create an international fund for this purpose.

The Conference further expressed the view that to make the united front a reality, and a capable weapon to carry on the struggle against war and Fascism, it is imperative that the other trade union internationals must take similar steps in the interest of the world proletariat.

The manifestos published are two in number and work out in full detail the necessary steps to make the united front a living world force. They are signed by EDO FIMMEN AND ROBERT WILLIAMS, as Secretary and President of the International Transport Workers' Federation, and by Andrejew, Atschankow, Sadowsky and LOSOWSKI ON BEHALF OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN UNION of Transport, Rail Workers, and Seamen.

The decisions of this Conference constitute undoubtedly THE MOST MOMENTOUS DEVELOPMENT ON THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD SINCE THE FORMATION OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF TRADE UNIONS, and offer promise not only of one all-embracing Trade Union International in the near future, but that this international shall be an international of action and struggle, not an international of pious resolutions and inaction.

Class War Prisoners.

Three major streams of protest on behalf of the 53 remaining war-opinion prisoners in the U.S.A. are now pouring against the White House—expressions of indignation at President Harding's failure to grant amnesty, voiced at mass meetings in scores of communities on April 29th, and by innumerable clergymen from their pulpits on that day, the challenge of many letters from labour unions in England, and the general strike in the United States.

And at the very gates of the White House, three veterans of the war in Europe are parading daily with an American flag and a banner reading: "Soldiers who fought in the world war demand the release of political prisoners. There is no democracy without freedom of speech."

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The Interrupted Feast.

INTRUSION BY THE D——D UNEMPLOYED

After months of dilly-dallying on the part of Town Councils, Provincial Councils, Administrators (of everything except what is wanted), Chamber of Mines, and Government (its servant), delegates of our white unemployed fellow-workers of the Rand, acting on behalf of the many thousands of white, coloured, and native unemployed workers in the whole of South Africa, have invaded Parliament suffragette-wise, chaining themselves to the pillars and disturbing the peace and comfort of assembled Fat with their desperate and bitter demand for Work or Maintenance. Typical representative European "by-products" of South African capitalist exploitation, a phthisis man, a landless Afrikander from the veld, a returned soldier from the field of blood, all pointed the finger—nay, raised the fist—of reproach and denunciation at the insolent gang below that battens on their starvation.

And the sole reply of Parliament is to send for police reinforcements and have them violently removed from the sacred Chamber back into the outer darkness where their fellows, wives and families wait with empty stomachs, with weeping and gnashing of teeth.

"To hell with the d——d unemployed," that is the answer of Parliament, which proceeds to REDUCE the unemployment vote from £450,000 to a beggarly £250,000—250,000 pounds among almost as many destitute men, women and children for one year!

Schemes, plans, "policies," oh yes, we can have plenty of them, relief works at Hartebeestpoort (that white elephant), where white men die of rheumatism, at 3s. a day. "You men talk of a white standard, indeed!" they say to the whites. "You shall take the kaffir wage or die!" And remember, it is a wage which natives themselves repudiate, as witness the hundreds of native unemployed at the Cape and even on the Rand, including natives who rightly refuse to be forced to the deadly underground work of the mines. This is their "relief," then; "break down the colour bar," not to uplift the natives but to force the Europeans to native standards and worse, and just deride them for kicking at it and picketing the relief offices to dissuade men from accepting such ultra-scab rates.

That is capitalism, that is imperialism, that is how the ruling caste become richer and richer, and the working class poorer and poorer. It is a permanent state. There is no possibility of "a turn for the better." This is the normal process of the system which we still tolerate, the system for which alone Parliament is adapted, the system to maintain which miners die of phthisis, byvoners are driven off the land, soldiers writhe in agony on the battlefield or starve for the rest of their lives, natives by the million sweat and groan in slavery, degradation and crime.

"Platitudes," says Col. Reitz, Minister of Lands. But we mean more than platitudes. We are clenching our teeth and our fists. The spirit of the working class is becoming aroused all over the world as never before. Masters that cannot feed their slaves, we say, are unfit to remain masters. Away with them! Away with their grinding tyranny, their smug indifference, their cynical contempt! Workers of South Africa, white and black, turn those platitudes into practice, and by a mighty, organised class-conscious effort of solidarity, all together, hurl this foul brood from your midst and establish your own government, your own workers' councils, your own Co-operative Commonwealth!

Commintern Leaders' Courageous Offer.

"Invite us as witnesses in the case," Bukharin and Zinoviev, two of the outstanding Russian leaders, have written to M. Jiusselain, examining magistrate in the trial of Communists and Syndicalists arrested in Paris. The evidence against the arrested men includes a speech by Bukharin, and the Russian Communists urge that they be called to discuss the subject matter of the speech in the interests of justice.

Fortunately or unfortunately, since the foregoing was written, Comrade Cachin and his associates have been discharged, and Paris will miss a treat for its workers and a shock for its barbarous bourgeoisie. Perhaps that is why the accused were discharged—and Fascist assassins baulked of another "bag."

* * *

Mr. Stallard, who scouts education for natives except "in terms of work," thereby himself exemplifies the demoralising effect of bourgeois university education, which just develops intellectual tools and apologists of the small ruling class, seeking to keep the rest of mankind in ignorance and subjection. But now he is out-Stallarded by Senator Smith, who attacks white education too as producing too many of these intellectual parasites for the ruling class' requirements, and preaches "Back to boxing and courtesy." No colour bar in illiteracy! What a contrast to the workers' education in Soviet Russia!

The Russian Church Unfrocks Tikhon.

By D. IVON JONES.

Just at the time when the Archbishop of Canterbury and the capitalists are raising a fury about the persecution of the Church in Russia, the All-Russian Synod of the Russian Church meets and declares that Tikhon is no longer Patriarch, defrocks him of his priestly cassock for allying the church with counter-revolution, and says that he shall henceforth be known as plain "Mr. Belavina"!

The Synod further declares the office of Patriarch abolished, as a relic of Tsardom.

Just as the Protestants of England sought salvation from defeat by seeking to reconcile "religion and science," so the All-Russian Synod declares the task of the church to be the "reconciliation of religion with revolution, preserving the dogmas of the Orthodox Russian Church, and at the same time sincerely accepting the great Russian revolution with its world consequences."

What about religious persecution in Soviet Russia? Here is the Synod's declaration:

"According to the Soviet Constitution, freedom of thought in religion is the right of all citizens. The decree on the separation of church and state guarantees this right. Freedom for religious propaganda (side by side with the right to propagate anti-religious ideas), gives a possibility to believers to defend their religious convictions. For that reason it is not possible for the church to regard the Soviet Power as anti-Christian; on the contrary, the Synod draws attention to the fact that the Soviet Power, by its methods, is the only State power in the world which is able to realise on earth the ideal rule of God."

The Synod was attended by 350 delegates, and in its varied composition reflected the enormous change that has come over the Russian Church, precisely because of the freedom of religious discussion. Under the Tsar there was no such thing as freedom of religious thought. Now the church is moving away from orthodoxy; in fact, there is far more freedom of discussion now than would please the Archbishop of Canterbury—he will soon be excommunicating the Russian Church for heresy.

The Synod traced the history of Tikhon's counter-revolutionary activities for the past five years. It accuses him of deceiving the faithful in the interests of the White Guards. "Tikhon is not the leader of the church, but a leader of the counter-revolution," says the resolution. "The Patriarchate was established for counter-revolutionary purposes. The primitive church had no Patriarch, but administered the church by Synods. It is therefore abolished." And so the Pope is a thing of the past.

And what is the attitude of the Synod towards the proletarian revolution? Here is the resolution. What does "my lord of Canterbury" say to it?

"The All-Russian delegated Synod bears witness before the whole church and humanity that the world is divided into two classes: capitalist exploiters and the proletariat, on whose blood the capitalist world builds its well-being. In all the world only the Soviet Power of Russia has entered upon a struggle with this great social evil. Christians cannot be indifferent in this struggle. The Synod denounces capitalism as a deadly evil and the struggle against it is a holy duty for Christians. In the Soviet Power the Synod perceives a world leader for fraternity, equality and peace among the nations. The Synod denounces, with all its religious and moral authority, the international and national counter-revolution.

"The Synod calls upon every true Christian citizen of Russia to a united front under the leadership of the Soviet Government, to enter into the struggle against the world evil of social injustice."

Bishop Blake, representing the American Methodist Episcopal Church, was a specially invited guest at the Synod, and greeted it in language that would make Rockefeller strike him off his subscription list.

Work or Maintenance?

The answer of the unemployed must unquestionably be "Maintenance first." Mr. Madeley in Parliament is reported to have "contended that the money to be spent on unemployment would be thrown away, and declared that it should be spent on schemes for national development." We differ entirely. We work to live, not live to work. Our workless people are hungry, they have nowhere to lay their head. Feed them first, house them first, and work up your "schemes"—if you can in face of a system dooming them to failure—at leisure thereafter. If the masters had meant business they would have had the "development schemes" ready against this evil day. But it is too late to begin now, it is too late to offer them talky-talky instead of bread. Indeed, capitalism can probably never again find WORK for all the white workers in South Africa (only Communism can do that); it can only find them food. At any rate, it is a case of maintenance first, if not first and last, and the capitalist class has got to provide it, NOW. If it cannot, it must give place to those who can and will.

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

White Unemployment and Native Labour.

We are sometimes told that white unemployment does not really result from the use of cheap native labour in South Africa, because it exists equally in Europe where there are no natives. But to-day less than ever does any country or any continent stand by itself. Three-quarters of a century ago, when Marx and Engels called upon the workers of all lands to unite, they might perhaps have contemplated an International consisting principally of European workers: these might nearly enough have constituted the "workers of the world" to "win the world." But to-day the "workers of the world" are found all over the world, and the great majority of them are not of European race; they live and work in Asia and Africa. Imperialism has pressed them all into the service of world capital as one of its main props—that is why they must all be pressed into the service of the Labour campaign against world capitalism, as one of its main destroyers.

Meanwhile this cheap Asiatic and African labour is displacing or depressing white not in Asia and Africa alone but in Europe itself. Here, on a small scale, we can see the process visibly and rapidly taking place, e.g., since our Rand "Kap. Putsch" of last year: but on a vaster scale, too, less patently, with a more glacier-like progress, millions are becoming poorer or jobless to-day in Britain; for instance, not as the result of British conditions alone, not even as the result of Germany's reduction to coolie status alone, but as the result of world conditions. They become "redundant," or submit to big cuts, at home because their work, directly or indirectly, can be done cheaper abroad—in the jute mills of India, the machine shops of Japan, and so on. Not in South Africa only, therefore, but in the world sphere, capitalism is ever depressing European wage scales to coolie and kaffir level—and the coolie and kaffir wage scales in turn to the yet cheaper level obtained by importing labour from Central Africa, Kenya, and so on. The "native problem" is a world problem: "Western standards" are secure nowhere: the "white standard" is being ruthlessly broken down not on the Rand only but all over the world. Hence it is true, after all, though it is not the whole truth, that everywhere white unemployment is being caused by the competition of cheaper colonial labour. It is imperialism we have to thank for that. That is why the foremost duty of the working class, of whatever race, is to defeat the parties of imperialism; in this country, to defeat Smuts.

Our "Ulterior" Aims.

Ministers in Parliament have taken up the stereotyped C.I.D. formula that agitation of the unemployed is really worked by Communists for their own ends. To which we make our equally stereotyped reply that the ends of the Communists are identical with the ends of the unemployed and all other sections of the working class. There is no difference. The immediate demands of the workers strike at the very root of the capitalist system because it cannot satisfy them. Once they become pressing and insistent enough, they involve its downfall and replacement by the workers' commonwealth, they become the revolution. It does not need Communism, indeed, to create discontent among the toilers of the earth, that is capitalism's job; but it needs Communism to satisfy it.

Rolls-Royces "Do" the Slums.

"REFORM THEM ALTOGETHER."

A highly select slumming party, advertised beforehand in the press, like a "Tatler" group, as open only to those having motor-cars, visited Vrededorp and Ferreirastown last week to see "How the Poor Live," no doubt by way of a change, almost too piquant for their delicate noses, from the ordinary Wild West film. Their visit aroused a flicker of class-consciousness among even the "slum proletariat," who rightly resented this "respectable" intrusion and even threatened to give them in charge for trespass.

Without being conscious sociologists, the "people of the abyss" divine the hypocrisy of these goody-goody descents on, and disapproval of, "slums" as such. They desire slums removed out of sight and far from contaminating proximity: but after all, on what do the motor-car class live if not on the proceeds of slumdom, of unemployment, of prostitution, of daily suicides? These things are of the essence of the system which enables them to own motor-cars at the expense of their fellow-men and women. The slum-dwellers care nothing for paper housing schemes; like the unemployed, they want their immediate demands satisfied first, and when those are secured it is time enough to talk of rescuing and regenerating them. But those immediate demands are just what the motorists will not and cannot vouchsafe without sacrifice of their own class supremacy; and when that is threatened, then to the winds with philanthropy and out with the guns and the bombs. In any case, what sort of "relief" do they offer? It must be at a rate so low as not to attract any poor devil from the country to the towns. The rural workers are the worst paid of all, so it must be worse than worst. Goodwill among men, yes, subject to the over-ruling proviso that "our" labour remains cheap and is made ever cheaper.

Returned from slumming, the smugs received the thanks of the Administrator for "repudiating any political party or bias in the movement, which was purely social and designed for the uplifting and salvation of the poor and distressed." Quite true. Bourgeois politics is concerned with quite other things than the uplifting and salvation of the poor and distressed. But just that task is of the very core of Communist politics. We are here not to "do" the slums, but to do away with them, as with unemployment, by doing away with the class that now thrives on them, and exalting the class that is now stifled by them. Thus "reform" involves revolution after all. Charity may begin at home, but it extends round the world. Slums are an outward and visible sign of the local victory of capital over labour; their removal requires a world-wide victory of Labour over Capital, nothing less.

Seize the Reins.

"Pull the native driver off the carts," say some of the white unemployed in desperation. That is to say, stop the employment of cheap labour in South Africa, just as Creswell says stop its importation. To demand either is to ask the life-blood of the ruling class, to cut at the roots of its power; it is going to take the social revolution to do it. Short of that, the attempt is a rearguard action, doomed to fail. The real driver, the man with the whip hand who sits on the box seat of the Juggernaut chariot of capitalism—he, and not the helpless "nigger," is the one to pull off.

The Boy Scout Movement.

HOW ABOUT IT?

1899—Colonel Baden-Powell becomes famous by his defence of Mafeking.

1903—He organises the South African Constabulary.

1908—He founds the Boy Scouts organisation.

1909—Lord Roberts takes the salute from 1,500 boy scouts in Hyde Park, London. The Earl of Meath writes a magazine article—"What the Boy Scout Movement may do for Britain." He says: "These young lads can be of no real present military service to the Empire; their numbers can hardly be seriously considered of first-class practical value in the military defence of the Empire . . . but they are bound in honour to hand on to their successors unimpaired the magnificent heritage, etc. . . . The Scout Movement arises just in the nick of time. . . . We must prove our worthiness or we may rest assured that in accordance with the wise dispensation of Providence we shall be DISPLACED FROM THE SEATS OF PRIVILEGE AND POWER."

1914—The "War to End War." The Boy Scouts prove a useful asset to the ruling classes of all countries. They are used to replace adult workers who go to the front and are slaughtered "to make the world safe for democracy." Millions of workers are butchered (by workers) and Europe runs red with blood.

Extract from instructions to officers in the Boy Scouts, 1917—"There appears to be a degree of looseness in the methods by which some Scouts are earning their war service badges. Officers in charge of troops are asked to see that Scouts perform ACTUAL WAR WORK for all periods claimed for."

1918—"Fire discipline means the immediate and accurate obedience of all orders and signals of a commander, combined with an intelligent observation of the enemy. It requires of the firer endurance of the enemy's fire, even when no reply is possible, combined with a cool and intelligent use of the rifle, when superior control can no longer be exercised."

1922—Scoutmasters, patrol leaders, the older Scouts, serve "ex-officio" as officers in the Civic Guards and help to shoot down the striking miners of the Witwatersrand and drive them back to work.

In England, Lord Willoughby de Broke says: "Our salvation as a nation (HE MEANS 'AS A PARASITE CLASS') is coming from teaching the youth of the nation. We are face to face with a very awkward situation. The attitude of the miners is NOT BRITISH." (He refers to the Welsh coal miners who have repeatedly proved their loyalty to their class.) "At the bottom of it there is some conspiracy or another that aims at a class war. The Boy Scout Movement IS THE MOST VALUABLE ASSET WE HAVE TO-DAY."

1923—The Y.M.C.A., Johannesburg, on the occasion of the distribution of an anti-militarist circular by the Y.C.L., indignantly denies that the Scouts are a militarist or even a semi-militarist organisation!

Young men of the working class! The Boy Scout Movement has been deliberately organised for the express purpose of maintaining the present position of the capitalist class. It is one of the bulwarks of the system which compels millions of workers to lead lives of poverty and misery in order that a few may surfeit on more than is good for them.

If you are a Boy Scout we call upon you to leave that organisation immediately. If your friend is a Scout get him to leave too. You cannot be loyal to the working class and remain in a capitalist militarist body. We have had one bloody war on an international scale. We seem to be moving rapidly towards another. When the capitalists go to war the workers always lose, no matter whether "their own" country conquers or is beaten.

There is only one war in which it is honourable for a worker to fight, and that is the war for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Workers' Republic. This is the struggle into which every young worker should fling himself, not that a few usurpers may maintain themselves in "the seats of privilege and power," but that the workers may have the good things of life to which they are entitled.

—"The S.A. Young Communist."

"The D——d Nigger."

Unemployed Europeans are still heard on the Rand railing against "the d—d nigger," or sometimes against "the d——d German" or other foreigner, who takes their jobs. Trade unionists in work are quite likely speaking of their unemployed fellow-workers in similar terms, as "the d——d unemployed," who threaten to accept a lower wage and destroy their standard. Both are perfectly intelligible and natural sentiments, just as the action of the native, or the white unemployed, in taking a job at any price in order to live, is also perfectly intelligible and natural. But as a slogan or a remedy the cry in all these cases is equally futile. If anything ever stuck out like Markham's cleek from last year's strike, it was that the enemy of the threatened or "redundant" workers is not the cheaper workers who "have to live," nor the workers who in normal times are "lucky" enough—it is a matter of "luck" under this system—to be in a job, but the masters who perpetuate the system by force of arms and, while living in comfort themselves, drive their victims ever deeper into misery.

To abuse the d——d nigger is a policy of despair and impotence, it leads nowhere, it is on a par with the Luddite machine breaking of last century. The "nigger" is doing only what every unemployed would do if left to himself, taking what job he can get to keep body and soul together; for he too thinks he must live, and can no longer do it by sitting in his kraal, from which a whole system of laws and institutions drive him out in search of bread. Damning him will not stop him: he is not a voluntary scab like strike-breakers who deliberately accept special pay to defeat the workers. We said "if left to himself." The white unemployed are, quite rightly, not left to themselves: they are being organised, and relief offices are picketed to prevent them from accepting degrading terms. Why do they never dream of the same tactics with the native workers? They cannot expect solidarity or co-operation from those whom they not only ostracise but revile and hate and even shoot down.

The only immediate remedy for distress is relief, which is rightly demanded before all else; but the only ultimate remedy is to destroy the system that necessitates relief, to instal the workers' control, political and industrial. That means control by all workers concerned; and that in turn means common action from top to bottom of the whole working class, all victims together of a ruling class which battens on their common enslavement. Common action means mutual recognition, mutual understanding, solidarity no matter how wide the gulf between. Not equalisation of wages necessarily—to wait for that under capitalism would be hopeless—but an equalisation and co-ordination of EFFORT against the common enemy, involving support for the struggle of every section to better its conditions, and, as between the sections, a modus vivendi sufficient to make co-operation practicable. The emancipation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves, and if all must be emancipated, all must join in the task.

That recognition, that co-operation of all workers, is the distinguishing message of the Communist International as compared with the parochialism and provincialism of the Second. It is that all-embracing campaign, irrespective of race or colour, that is described by Curzon as "anti-British" propaganda, because Soviet Russia recognises the nations of the East not as objects of exploitation but as peoples equally entitled to freedom and civilisation with Europeans, and sends representatives to Teheran and Cabul to proclaim that message to Persians and Afghans—and Indians: an unforgivable offence in imperialist eyes, but in the eyes of a working class Republic the only road of true progress.

Every effort is made to foil the movement towards workers' solidarity. The N.U.R.A.H.S. are split, clearly to the order of the railway chiefs. The miners are split, we all know how (though it is gratifying to note that at the City Deep recently it was the S.A.M.W.U., and not the "Rock-breakers' Association" which has its stronghold there, that compelled the management to eat its short notice of a price cut). The workers' political parties everywhere are split, by prejudices born of upbringing, press and social influences, into Bolshevists and anti-Bolshevists, witness Mr. Boydell's veto of the "united front." The natives are now to be split, if Smuts and the kept native press are to prevail, into intellectuals versus raw natives. And of course the whites are kept divided against the natives in general, and vice versa—a task only too easy for our enemies, who won last year's strike that way. But let us never forget that it is all enemies' work, and work to combat it accordingly.

Not by "damning" the nigger then, but by getting his support, AND GIVING HIM THEIRS—for he can't be expected to help them if they won't help him—can the white unemployed ever begin really to tackle their own otherwise hopeless problem. Insist on bread meanwhile, and do not let the ruling class put you off with disquisitions on either the cause or the cure for your plight: but don't stultify yourselves with false slogans. Workers of all lands and races, unite. At the very least, remember Percy Fisher's advice, proclaimed at risk to his life from the housetop in Vrededorp on March 8th last year: "Leave the kaffir alone."

Exhibitions: For Profit or Use?

The Administrator of the Transvaal has written to the Editor of this paper asking him to publish an appeal on behalf of the South African section of the British Empire Exhibition.

Imperialist production and commerce have increased enormously in the last few decades, but except for some temporary slight advantages to the "aristocracy of labour," no benefit has resulted to the workers. On the contrary, their exploitation has only been intensified, their suppression has become more brutal, and as a consequence even the "aristocracy of labour" both in England and in the colonies has come to poverty and unexampled unemployment. We therefore are not in the least interested in boosting an exhibition designed to further the imperialist economy.

The national production in which we are far more patriotically interested is that of Soviet Russia, because, as far as the conditions of that country and of the world allow, every gain to Russian production and commerce is a gain for the Russian workers and peasants, as well as for the workers' movement elsewhere. We therefore readily comply with the request of the Communist Press Service to publish the following notice of the forthcoming agricultural exhibition in Moscow:

THE MOSCOW EXHIBITION.

On the 15th of August of this year an event will take place in Moscow which is of the greatest importance for Soviet Russia: The opening of the All-Russian Exhibition for agriculture and home industry (with a foreign department). New Russia will display everything its economy has created or developed under the new social order.

The exhibition will have to bring the worker nearer to the peasant, and to show both parties of what great mutual help they can be to one another. The cause of the low level of agriculture under Tsarism was, to a large extent, the loose relations between town and country. Russian agronomy made progress only within the walls of the city. The laboratory of the savant remained close to the peasant. The Soviet Government, on the other hand, has broken fundamentally with this system, and regards as the only pre-requisite for the economic strengthening of the country the close contact between town industry and agriculture, in the application of the advances made by science to actual farming practice. However, the exhibition will by no means be an agricultural one exclusively. It will display every branch of non-city industry in the country, and its natural treasures. Every province of the republic will exhibit the products of its raw materials and its local production, whether it be from Turkestan (cotton), from the vineyards of the South or from the forests of the North (furs). Every branch and description of Russian economy will be graphically displayed by the aid of a tremendous number of objects from every part of Russia: Tillage, work in flax and hemp, cultivation of vegetables, cattle rearing, vintage, silk worm breeding, etc., besides every branch of the multifarious home industry, from Buchara carpets to articles of Karelian birch.

Extensive arrangements are being made for a FOREIGN DEPARTMENT on a large scale, so that western industrial undertakings which are desirous of resuming trade with Russia will have the opportunity of exhibiting THEIR samples, if these are likely to be useful to Russian agriculture. Commercial agreements will be concluded directly in the trade and export department of the exhibition. The foreign exhibitors—citizens of those States which have resumed diplomatic and commercial relations with Russia—will enjoy a number of privileges and advantages. The representatives of the commercial world of the West will doubtless arrive at the conviction that Russia has already won the first victory in the battle against economic decay.

Pass this paper to a pal

TWENTY PEOPLE SHOULD READ IT!

Some Nigrophiles!

Typical bourgeois verneukery characterises the passage of the savage Stock Thefts Bill through Parliament. First, it was ostensibly a private member's bill, the Government desiring to escape responsibility for it; yet the Government gave it precedence, as an "urgent public measure," over several Government measures. And secondly, the Labour Party seems to have been diddled into a pact not to speak against it, though it is a grossly oppressive attack on thousands of agricultural labourers. The "Star" consequently calls Mr. Stewart's, the Labour M.L.A.'s, solitary protest a "sham fight": but the "Star's" own occasional championship of the subject races is, like the Bloemfontein "Friend's," itself only a sham fight, and meets a complete accord with the helot policy of the ruling caste (and a complete hostility to the only true white Friends of Native Freedom), providing only it be covered with a veil of "decency."

The S.A.P. M.L.A., Mr. Stuart, another so-called native advocate, also charged the Labour Party with hypocrisy because, he says, they seek to restrict native development on the Rand. True, the Labour Party has little to boast of in the matter, but is it "the trade unionists of the Rand" or is it the Smuts party and the interests behind it, the supporters of the Stock Thefts Bill, the Bulhoek and Village Deep massacres and all the rest of the bloody calendar, that have been the actual oppressors when it comes to the point? If so, why does not Mr. Stuart resign from that party?

Again, we find the Rev. Chas. Phillips, noted as a friend of the coloured man as such, and particularly as against the white labour unions, disclosing his real sympathies when he sounds a warning against the movement to unite all non-Europeans as "foreshadowing evil days," i.e., for the white master class, showing that theirs are after all the interests he is thinking of all the time.

For that matter, everyone knows what the Defence Force is for, and why it is being strengthened just when the screw is tightening and native resentment growing. We say that every supporter of the Defence Force of this country is thereby showing up the "sham" nature of his "negrophilism."

We charge the whole of the bourgeois "negrophilists" of South Africa with serving as screens for the oppression which goes on not in spite of them but because their philanthropic talk facilitates it, until even the policeman's gorge rises to declare that stock theft is due to the scandalous poverty in which the "bosses" keep their native farm slaves (compelled to be such by the Native Land Act); so much so that, to quote the "S.A. Review," "white rule" (rather "capitalist rule") "in this country has its sequel to-day in bands of starving casual farm hands prowling about the farms.

The "love the nigger" and "damn the nigger" policies come to the same thing. It is for the organised workers to point the way to real emancipation, by the destruction of imperialist capitalist exploitation of labour, whether white, black, yellow or brown.

A Lie Factory at Warsaw.

The Polish landowners and the capitalists require the commotion of a war to conceal the bargaining going on behind the scenes in the Sejm, among the parties of the landowners, the capitalists, and the big farmers, at the expense of the poor peasantry. They require a "foreign danger" upon which they can rely when they seek a pretext for the military skirmishing now being initiated by the Polish Government at the behest of France. They are preparing for the possibility that French imperialism may order them to attack Germany, an event which, in the opinion of Polish military circles, might also lead to complications on the Eastern frontier.

With this object in view, the landowners drag the corpse of the prelate Butkievitz through all the streets of Poland—with the idea that the priestly cowl is the most popular ensign among the peasantry. The wildest rumours about Soviet Russia are being spread from Warsaw. It suffices to mention that in the course of one day the following reports on the situation in Russia were telegraphed from Warsaw to the foreign press: In Russia, great conspiracies are going on! Practically the whole of the military staff of the Republic has been arrested; Trotsky is in a dying condition; Chicherin as well; a fight is going on in the Kremlin between the different fractions of the Communists.

All this, of course, is nonsense, and there is not a single foreign government which believes it for a moment, as there are more than ten foreign missions in Moscow, who keep their governments informed as to the absurdity of these inventions. But the English Government needs all this nonsense. Its prestige has been seriously damaged by the failure of its attempted intervention in the trial of the Roman Catholic prelates, and even more damaged by the sharpness of the reply sent by the Soviet Government rejecting all interference.

QUID PRO QUO.

Soviet Russia, though she can only begin to reconstruct her economy at the cost of great exertions, is none the less in a position to withhold the granting of concessions until her opponents are ready to grant some too. "In return for our concessions," she says, "we demand credits, credits which will really enable us to reconstruct our economics within a shorter term than we can do with the means at our own disposal. Should the allied governments reply to this by saying: 'In this respect we can do nothing, for governments do not dispose of credits,' then the Soviet Government can only reply: 'If you will give nothing, then we too will give nothing.'"

The Powers are at cross purposes in the Ruhr because they can't agree on how to dish the Bolshies. Baldwin wants to disarm the German Bolshies by taking away the sting of the occupation; Poincare wants to disarm the Russian Bolshies by occupying the chief armoury of Central Europe whence they might import guns. Good luck to them! Out of such concrete "contradictions of capitalism" the working class will come into its own.

Shaking the Dust off Their Feet

The colonial petty bourgeoisie feel keenly the scandal of the widespread demand of South African workers for repatriation—deportation, it should perhaps rather be called—the demand not of immigrants only, but of far more who were born and bred in this country. They feel it, not because they feel for the workers concerned, oh dear no, but because the mere fact of the demand mortally wounds their silly imperialist conceit and "prestige." Here, in this fairest and richest province of "our far-flung Empire," this land of milk and honey and gold, to advertise which in the English press many thousands of pounds are spent year after year by the High Commissioner—what an exposure, what a calling of the bluff, and WHAT A DAMPER ON PROPERTY VALUES AND SHOPKEEPING PROSPECTS AND CREDIT, to find thousands decrying it as a pigsty not fit for civilised men, and praying to be shipped away anywhere rather than remain here. Yes, Ministers may offer single tickets for overseas, but "the public" don't like the aspersion all the same.

"A Western Standard."

The South African unemployed are asking to be repatriated to countries where a "western standard" prevails. This is what the East thinks of the West, according to the "Cape Indian":

Europe is still bloodthirsty. The Great War of 1914 seems to have intensified its thirst for blood. A few individuals may try to bring back peace and tranquility in the world, but the governing classes in the Western countries are warlike and greedy. Executions, murders, lynchings have become matters of daily occurrence in the West. . . . ALL the Western nations are in the grips of inhuman economic imperialism, and as long as their SELFISH interests are not jeopardised they will indulge in the tall talk of internationalism, justice, self-determination to small nations, and what not. An American will give you a long lecture on personal liberty one should enjoy, but he raises not his little finger against the savage lynching of negroes in America. The Britisher takes pride on his justice and love of humanity, but he acquiesces in the judicial butchery that goes on near his home. The Frenchman speaks of "equality, liberty, and fraternity" in the terms of merciless exploitation of Algiers, Tunis, and Morocco. The Italian sets aside his spirit of Mazzini and enters on an era of Fascistian pillage and plunder. Wherever we turn our eyes, we find the West groaning under the debris of its own creation, and the time is near when its decent burial takes place "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung."

Parliament refuses a pension to the widow of our late Comrade Dave Nortje because, though killed by natives in last year's strike, he was "reported" to have taken up arms against the Government. But Parliament does not refuse a pension to the widow of General Christiaan De Wet.

White Labour Policy.

White workers, you cannot have it both ways, you cannot speak with two voices. Do you want to retain "white supremacy," that is, retain a helot caste of workers under you, or do you want to eliminate their competition? For the two things are totally inconsistent. If you keep them down, they pull you down. There is no future for you as "boss-boys for the capitalist class"; the native workers are rapidly making that vocation redundant. Nor again is there any hope of your continuing indefinitely to do work they can do, at higher pay than theirs: that too means, as you see daily, that you become more and more redundant. Even if you had won last year's strike on "white supremacy" lines, retaining cheap native labour, the same result would follow. "Segregation" is another shibboleth for simple Simons that conceals these inconsistent aims; it means in one breath "retaining cheap native labour," in another "dispensing with it." Make up your minds that under capitalism you will never dispense with it, and do the only sound thing left, viz., recognising that the native workers are here to stay, help them, and let them help you, to eliminate—neither themselves nor you but—capitalism itself. Only with capitalism out of the way can you retain your job and your "white standard" (which is what you really need), because only then will it be possible for them to enjoy a like standard or at least a standard which, while satisfying all their demands, will not interfere with the satisfaction of yours. What is more, only then will it be easy and natural to avoid the present "miscegenation" which hypocrites have the astounding effrontery to represent as a product not of capitalism, which it is, but of Communism!

Alma Gluck Adopts 4 Orphans.

Following on Isadora Duncan's invidious comparison of America, which hires music and musicians, with Russia which produces them, comes the news that Alma Gluck Zimbalist, the world-famous soprano, has adopted four Russian orphans through the Friends of Soviet Russia. She will care for their upbringing and education, she told New York reporters, as if they were indeed her own children.

The four youngsters assigned to her will be put into a children's home established by the F.S.R. where, if Alma Gluck's plans for a European trip materialise, she will be able to meet them personally. The concert star has three children of her own.

"I will see," she says, "that the four children allotted to me are properly provided for and educated. If any of them shows musical talent, I will see that he or she receives the best musical instruction the world affords.

"Russia has long been famous for its musical conservatories and teachers, and there is no reason why my little wards should not receive their musical instruction there.

"In addition to my great love for children, I was prompted to adopt these four because I believe that in the children lies the future of that great country. I have great hopes for Russia, and believe that she will shortly take the place that is rightfully hers—that of one of the great nations of the world."

Russia Recovering.

The prophets of Russia's downfall have had to swallow another bitter pill, one prepared, moreover, by a native apothecary. E. F. Wise, one of the foremost economic experts of the British Government, has resigned his respectable position, his prospects of a pension, etc., and has become economic adviser to the Central Union of Russian Co-operative Societies ("Centrosoyus").

"Ever since 1919," Mr. Wise told a surprised American correspondent, "I have taken part in international conferences, often with American colleagues, on the economic recovery of Europe. I have formed the conviction that we can never return to stability until Russia has been set on her feet again to take part in the economic life of the world."

Russia, he stated, has already taken larger strides toward such recovery than the world realises.

What about renewing your subscription to the "International"?

Christians Awake!

TESTIMONY FROM A LIBERAL CHURCH ORGAN.

Last week we read nearly two full columns in one issue of the New York "Times" describing the All-Russian Church conclave of May 3, in Moscow, which did four remarkable things. It exalted Christ, his portrait being the most conspicuous object in the meeting-place. It tried the former patriarch of all Russia, Dr. Tikhon, and unfrocked him. It proclaimed the "evangelical" aims of the Soviet Government, "which though non-believing is doing good, while many of us who are believers are doing wrong." It heard Bishop Edgar Blake, a familiar American leader of the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose jurisdiction is Southern Europe, and who enthusiastically assured the delegates that their effort to uplift the masses of Russia was such a gigantic task that he could not see how the Church could stand aside.

We all know that the simple and profound religious life of the people, the vast majority of whom are of the peasantry, must find a new organisation for the expression of their aspiration. The priestcraft that has passed kept the masses in a spiritual treadmill, their vision and understanding darkened. Whatever may be lacking in the new movement, and of that we cannot speak for want of information, the professions of religious zeal at Moscow in behalf of the people are to be accepted with a high measure of confidence.

We should say on the face of the report before us that a new church is being born with all the vitality and power of a primal urge. If it is to be a permanent church will depend upon two things: first, its complete attention to the things which are spiritual; and second, the accommodation of its ministry to the Soviet Government, at least in principle. And let us all know that it is one thing to form simple opinions about Russia, and another thing to keep before us the enormously complicated psychological conditions which run deep into the soul of that old and yet young people. One thing we do—we believe in the people. And may their ministers truly serve them.

—"The Christian Register" (U.S.A.)

The Black Man's Burden.

Says the "Spectator": "Whenever Europeans have brought the BENEFITS OF CIVILISATION to a primitive country the ungrateful natives begin to die out. The decrease in their numbers and the distraction of their joy in life was notable and natural when our main traffic with them consisted in slaughter and slavery: when we had become more scrupulous and merely provided them, in the ordinary way, with firearms, alcohol, drugs and venereal disease, they still declined in population, prosperity, morals, physique and intelligence; now, when many officials and hundreds of missionaries are devoted to their welfare, rapidly or slowly they approach extinction." (January 6th, 1923.)

The Government of this country is making every effort to obtain the continued support of the native races; but these races as such are absolutely useless to them; they require a SLAVE NATIVE, not a free one.

In spite of the glaring exposure by the "Spectator," at a debate in the Johannesburg Diocesan Synod on Wednesday last week, Major Henley summed up the general opinion of our masters when he said "He believed the native was determined to be educated, and if the church did not attempt to guide this education, the Bolsheviks or other undesirables very readily would."

Mr. C. F. Stallard, K.C., participating in the debate, said: "Education did not necessarily consist of book learning; it might just as well, or even better, be inculcated in terms of WORK. . ." A judge had recently recounted to the speaker an experience. The Judge had sentenced a native for forgery and, when subsequently visiting the prison, he saw this native, and remarked that he was sorry for his position. The native replied: "Well, what could I do? You trained us."

The native is educated to serve, but the good things which capitalism can offer him are outweighed one hundredfold by the bad things. The native more than the European craves for freedom. It is comparatively only a few short years since he left his kraal. The only way in which he can get back is by and through the medium of Communism. That is the reason why his master is so earnest in keeping this gospel from him by every possible means.

W. G.

Lord Birkenhead, who has only just discovered "the red light" in England, is another typical product. Arrived at the top of his profession, he remains, like so many, a perpetual undergraduate, still dominated at fifty by the instincts of the social climber instilled and stimulated in college days. Even then he aspired to be Premier, and put his money on the Die-Hard horse. Now he sees a danger that there will never be a Tory Government in England again, and that the aristocratic company into which he has wormed his way is doomed, with himself, to be an "also ran." What is more, when the workers of Britain really wake up, among the first to feel their fury will be types like F. E. Smith.

* * *

Zionism, according to the cables, has resulted so far in Palestine under a Zionist bureaucracy [illegible] Arab majority in an excited [illegible] as well as the Moslem [illegible] Council all resigning. A [illegible] to the impe[illegible]

Why Indeed?

Why have education? says Mr. Stallard. Why have land? says General Smuts, who (says the "S.A. Review") during the debate on the Native Urban Areas Bill, stated that he would not be in favour of natives having free title to land, as they would lose their ground the same as the Griquas did.

It so happens that the League of Nations is now being informed, inter alia, as to the manner in which the Griquas lost their ground; that is to say, how, among other means by which they were deprived of their land, THE THEN GOVERNMENT SEIZED AND SOLD AS CROWN LANDS no less than 1,080,000 acres which the Griquas held by Act of Parliament.

Private persons robbed the Griquas of many thousands of acres, but the Government robbed them on a far bigger scale.

Particulars of these dark doings are embodied in the evidence which was given by A. A. S. Le Fleur before a Special Commission of Enquiry held at Pretoria recently in connection with the Bondelzwart enquiry. It appears that the League of Nations wanted the evidence of Le Fleur, and now the League has got it.

As to the treatment coloured men have received under the British flag, to which they remain loyal, he invites the Bondelzwart Commission to conduct an investigation into the Native Affairs Department of the Union Government, as its conduct "might lead us into great conflicts with other countries."

To which we say aye, and not as regards action towards coloured men only, but also towards whites.

With regard to the charge of Russian "anti-British propaganda" in Eastern countries, M. Krassin in an interview says:

"The Russian Government did not, and could not, undertake to abandon the interests of its nationals and of its trade in those countries, nor could it modify its policy of friendship with the Eastern peoples merely because this was suspected of causing these peoples to draw comparisons between their treatment by Russia and their treatment by Great Britain. With regard to Persia, for example, Soviet Russia formally abandoned all the claims and privileges which the Tsarist Government had established in northern Persia, and it is not surprising that this in itself should have created a feeling of friendship with Soviet Russia among the Persian people. But there is no question of propaganda hostile to the British Empire in Russia's action."

Terrible Conditions in Russia!

We begin to think that the International Banking Trust, the Standard Oil Company, and the Shell Oil Company, and their friends, are justified, after all, in spending so much money in exposing Russia in the interests of religion, humanity and civilisation. . . . For the condition of Russia is really terrible. . . . The official report states:

One factor which prevents the fullest use being made of these facilities is the fact that most young workers live with their parents and have to hand over all their wages. They have been refused the small daily sum necessary to supplement their meagre and unappetising lunch with a plate of hot soup or dinner. In one instance some under-nourished and anæmic young workers who frequently FAINTED AT WORK were given a free meal daily for a fortnight in order to show their parents how they improved by having a hot well-balanced mid-day meal. They were still refused the necessary money, and soon relapsed into their old state of weakness and inefficiency.

(Later).—Since writing the above we have found that it has nothing to do with Russia at all. It turns out to refer to Capetown and Durban, and the extract we have quoted is from the annual report of the Factories Division of the Department of Mines and Industries, Union of S.A.

—"S.A. Review."

Paying for Prejudice.

If all the existing obstacles to trade were swept away, there is no doubt that Russian and Britain would soon be engaged in very considerable commercial transactions, to their mutual benefit.

At present many Russian trade representatives are debarred from entering Britain.

"To take one instance only," states "Russian Information and Review," "a very important order for machinery for the Baku and Grosny oil industries, which it was originally intended to place in England, finally went to Holland, simply for the reason that the representatives of the enterprises concerned could not obtain a visa for entry into England."

This loss of present and prospective trade seems a heavy price to pay for the prejudices of Lord Curzon.

CATCH US THAT NEW SUBSCRIBER

Get his name and address. Get him to take this paper on trial for four weeks, and judge for himself.

Why the Proletariat Must Lead.

A NEW-OLD WORK BY VLADIMIR ILYITCH.

The comrades who are engaged in the work of publishing Comrade Lenin's complete works recently discovered a hitherto unpublished and magnificent work written by Comrade Lenin in 1894. The title of this work is, "Who are the friends of the people, and how do they fight against the social democrats?" In it he says: "It is impossible for the worker not to see that capital is oppressing him, that he has to struggle against the class of the bourgeoisie. And this struggle, which he carries on for the satisfaction of his most immediate economic needs, for the improvement of his material position, inevitably becomes a fight which is not directed against one person, but against the class, that same class which SUBJUGATES AND OPPRESSES THE WORKERS EVERYWHERE AND IN EVERY RESPECT, and not only in the factories and workshops. Thus the factory worker is nothing else than THE ADVANCED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WHOLE EXPLOITED POPULATION. And if he is to act as such a representative in an organised and obstinate struggle, it is necessary that he receives a simple enlightenment as to his position, an enlightenment on the politico-economic constitution of the system which oppresses him, an enlightenment on the necessity and inevitability of class antagonism."

And again: "This position taken by the factory worker in the collective system of capitalist relations renders him the sole champion for the emancipation of the working class, for it is only the most highly evolved stage of capitalism, the great machine industry, which can create the material conditions and social forces needed in the struggle. Everywhere else, where less developed forms of capitalism exist, these material conditions are not present: production is scattered among thousands of small producers. The exploited are generally themselves owners of some small property, and thus belong to the same bourgeois system against which they should struggle. This scattered and individual exploitation binds the workers to one place, separates them from one another, and prevents them from perceiving their class solidarity; it does not enable them to unite by causing them to realise that the cause of their subjection is not this or that person, but the whole economic system. The concentration of capital, on the other hand, inevitably destroys every tie connecting the exploited to the old state of society, to a definite place, to a definite exploiter; it unites the exploited, induces them to think, and creates the conditions rendering an organised struggle possible."

He closes with the following:

"If the advanced representatives (of the working class) appropriate to themselves the idea of scientific socialism, the idea of the historical role of the Russian worker; if these ideas become widely spread, and stable workers' organisations arise, which convert the present scattered economic struggle of the workers into a conscious class war, then the Russian worker, having raised himself to the position of leader of all democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the Russian proletariat (side by side with the proletariat of all countries), on the straight path of open political struggle, to the victory of communist revolution."

"In Russia the man of the future is the musjik—so thought the representatives of peasant socialism, the Narodniki, in the broadest sense of the word. The man of the future in Russia is the worker—so say the social democrats. Thus in one manuscript was formulated the standpoint of the Marxists."

In this short observation, the essence of the matter is thoroughly grasped. In order to give expression to the present views of the Bolsheviki, in order to formulate exhaustively the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat, it is now necessary to alter the formula as follows: "In Russia the man of the future is the worker who carries the peasantry along with him."

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Dates of meetings: 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.

* * *

JEPPE BRANCH.

Meetings on Wednesdays, July 4 and 18, at 227, Fox Street.

On July 4, Com. W. F. Ward will open discussion on "The A.B.C. of Communism." The public are cordially invited.

* * *

The editor would be glad to receive copies of Nos. 316 and 317 of the "International" from anyone who can spare them.

Electors of Turffontein should not be blind to the fact that the return of Major Hunt would keep a pledged anti-Smuts man out of Parliament. The situation, and any prestige gained by backing up the unemployed, are probably being manipulated by the S.A.P. wirepullers to that very end. Better vote for "the devil you know" will oppose the Government in any event. By the way, we understand Major Hunt during his recent visit to Johannesburg has never got in touch with the Witwatersrand Unemployment Committee.

* * *

Mr. Lloyd-George, in Tuesday's debate on our relations with Russia, drew attention to a remarkable letter which has been sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the officials of the Russian Orthodox Church, in reference to the present state of ecclesiastical affairs in Russia. This communication declares that the churches are really more at liberty under the Soviet Government than they were under that of the Tsar.—"The Inquirer" (London), May 19, 1923.

* * *

"A special campaign is now being organised to urge the Government to tax amusements and devote the proceeds to help the unemployed. There is a tax on amusements in every part of the Empire, including Capetown and Durban. Why not in the Transvaal? Sympathisers please communicate with A.R., Box 116, Johannesburg."

We are informed that an advertisement in the above terms was taken to the offices of the "Star" and the "Rand Daily Mail," and refused by them. These papers have professed great sympathy with the unemployed, but there are obvious considerations which weigh more with these organs of "public opinion."

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

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

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