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# The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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

10 x 1,000 = 10,000.
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THIS PAPER TO
**Ten New Readers**
AND MAKE EACH
**Thousand a Myriad.**

P.O. Box 1179.

Vol. VIII. No. 376. FRIDAY, JULY 27, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

## Preach the Gospel!

The world-wide position of labour, cheap versus "dear," with consequent unemployment as a permanent and increasing feature, is focussed in the present South African capitalist dilemma about "a black or a white labour policy." The press flounders and sophisticates, but the cat is now quite out of the bag, that there is no possibility anywhere under capitalism of saving the white, i.e., better paid, workers' standard or position against black, i.e., cheap, "encroachment." That is the irresistible process of bourgeois exploitation, and neither whining nor preaching, even by the bourgeoisie itself still hankering after a white man's country, nor threats of race war among the various grades of workers themselves, can stop it. More than ever it becomes the duty of every supporter of the working class, especially Labour Party leaders, to preach openly and always and pre-eminently the only salvation, thereby winning, not losing, votes once their own and their hearers' minds have been thus cleared of cant. It may be said that preaching the overthrow of capitalism doesn't overthrow it. Wrong! The lesson, once put, is so inevitable that it cannot but create what most of them have sedulously avoided creating so far, a clear and insistent rank and file call for Socialism now; and that, if it does not mean electoral victories, means at any rate a big, intelligent, class-conscious army capable of sabotaging or holding up many of capitalism's efforts to increase its power. It means, for instance, discountenancing and checkmating the Scout and Defence Force movements, which depend on white working class support: but they must drop their poisonous "imperialism" for that. It means keeping the pot always on the boil, ready to boil over when occasion offers. It means hope and spirit in the movement, whereas careful avoidance of revolutionary slogans yields only apathy. It means at least an intellectual solution of the very black and white dilemma itself, and thus some hope of avoiding what silence only fosters, and capitalism secretly desires—a race war between the two sections of the population; for a revolutionary outlook alone enables the white worker to see in the black worker, and vice versa, not an enemy but an ally against the enemy. Labour politicians and trade unionists, resolve henceforth boldly to preach the essential Labour objective; it will bring our goal 100 per cent. nearer realisation.

## German Fascists Unleashed

Our comrades' reports from Germany that the starving masses there are in at least as great danger from German White Guards and Fascisti as from Poincaré's poilus and negroes are borne out by the incidents of the Breslau food "riots," which are instantly visited with Government suppression and martial law tactics at least as savage as those of the French in the Ruhr, with the "Security Police" supported by the notoriously bourgeois class organisation of the "Industrial League." The usual Fascist symptoms appear. "The Communists at once appeared on the spot and were eager in inciting the mob to violence." It is perfectly well known to anyone who has studied the reputable news from Germany that the Communists in Germany, and in particular in the Ruhr, have been the one restraining influence in all these "disturbances" as far as looting and hooliganism are concerned, and that where these occurred they were due to Fascist provocateurs which is borne out by the report that Jewish shops have come in for special attack. Once more, the one thing on which the capitalists of Germany, France and England alike are agreed in their German policy is to try and provoke the working class to "violence" and so provide an excuse for crushing once for all, as they hope, the power of Communism or "Bolshevism" in Germany.

## Merrie England.

Moderate leaders are fond of telling us that the strike weapon is played out; but the British dockers are showing us that it is the leaders that are played out, while the strike offers an unending wealth of new stunts. A 1,000-strong picket from Canning Town dumps itself on Tilbury to pull out the Tilbury men, and won't be happy, or leave Tilbury, till it gets them; while another 5,000 en masse hoot their scab leaders and then leave them to address an empty hall. We must admit, however, that these tactics would have failed in South Africa, for Smuts, still the darling of the empire and the British Labour Party, it seems, would have wasted no time in shooting the picket and bombing the meeting hall.

* * *

Among "the millions now living who would be better dead" the Rev. Richard Lee includes the members of His Majesty's Government.

—"Forward."

## The Cloud of Witnesses.

Here is another testimony taken from a letter received last week by a Johannesburg resident from his brother, a doctor, and politically of Social Democrat affiliation, at Moscow:

"I am interested to hear whether you in South Africa know anything about Russia and what kind of lives we live here. To-day we have the best and most honest government that can possibly exist, one which has won the entire sympathy of the whole working masses of the country—and the profound hatred of all the "speculants," dealers, former factory owners, etc. All that you read in foreign papers is just lies inspired by the rage and bitterness of that class. No other country in the world has such a government as ours: nowhere else do the toiling masses enjoy such freedom. We have lived through famine, cold and invasion, but now our country is coming back to life again, and barring intervention as in 1918, 1919, and 1920, it is certain to become thoroughly strong and great. Put me any further questions about it you like, I have no fear of being able to answer them."

## Strange Bedfellows.

"COMMUNIST" PAPER HELPS CAPITALIST PRESS.

The "Evening Standard" improved the shining hour by working up a leader with extracts from the "Workers' Dreadnought."

The "Morning Post" and other papers are also displaying a sympathetic interest in that organ of "extremism."

With evident relish these capitalist papers quote from an article in the "Dreadnought" which suggests that Communism is no longer propagated in Russia, and that "back to capitalism" is the policy of the Soviet leaders, consequently, "Capitalism grows like a snowball; new businesses are opening every day."

The sight of the "Workers' Dreadnought" in the arms of the "Morning Post" makes us scratch our heads, and wonder.

—"Workers' Weekly."

***HELPING HENRY***

"The S.A.L.P. has pursued . . . its aims . . . relying on evolutionary as against revolutionary methods. . . . Dictatorship of the proletariat is attainable only by violent revolution, and . . . WOULD BE . . . LITTLE TO THE BENEFIT OR TASTE OF THE WORKING CLASSES."—Letter from the S.A.L.P. refusing Communist affiliation (see page 4.)

## "Lack of Imagination."

We feel slighted. The Native Affairs Department has lost its nerve. A little tiff seems to have occurred between a Rustenburg chief and some of his tribe who didn't see why, if they all had to work for him, he should exempt any favourites. A few months ago this sort of thing used always to be traced direct to Moscow. Now the best they can say is that it is "due to the spreading of an unhinging propaganda by educated natives—a source which is difficult to trace but which is known to exist." Courage, N.A.D., keep up your reputation for acumen, and discover, like Curzon on the Ruhr, that it was all worked up by those "agents of Radek" (it's always Radek nowadays)—Messrs. "Travkin and Ryvkin," expressly despatched from the Kremlin for the purpose on bicycles!

* * *

We notice an editorial note on "the passing of the horse." Political observers are convinced that the ass and the mule are also passing—but not quickly enough.

—"Forward."

## "Its Up to You."

The "Guardian" calls attention to the replacement of four male employees at from £35 a month downwards by females at from £14 downwards, and says it is certainly getting time that European women put a stop to this capitalist game," etc. Well then, if it is up to the women in this case, whom is it up to when the white man is replaced by the black, which is by far the more serious form of replacement going on in South Africa? If the "Guardian" is right, as it is partly, the remedy is better organisation of the blacks, a colossally difficult task in view of the huge African "reservoir" of potential native labour: but an essential condition of Labour victory, requiring the support and assistance of every section of the Labour movement.

* * *

Serrati, the editor of "Avanti," and others of what may be termed the Left centre of the Italian Socialist Party, have been more than once arrested and charged with conspiracy against the State and for having signed a manifesto of support for the Third International. The presiding judge at Milan has dismissed the charges, and the accused have been set at liberty.

## The Communist International.

SESSION OF THE AUGMENTED EXECUTIVE.

Fragments of the proceedings of the Enlarged Executive of the Commintern have been cabled to our press, obviously picked out for hostile use, e.g., references to the anti-imperialist effectiveness of the British Communists, or to the attitude of the Party towards religion in its private members. The reports so far received from genuine sources show among other things that Com. Andrews was expected to arrive before the session ended, that the English party was represented by Coms. Stewart, Gallacher, Jackson, Pollitt, Brown and Newbold; and the C.P. of South Africa by Com. Ivon Jones, who seems to be doing his share of the Committee work too.

* * *

Zinoviev's opening address displays his usual masterly judgment of the strong and weak points of the movement and its progress in the various countries.

Since last year's Congress, he says, the economic position has developed in favour of the capitalists in a number of countries. But Russia was threatened with attack by England because Russia is growing in strength; the capitalists had hoped that the New Economic Policy was the first step in Russian capitulation, in the fall of the Communists; whereas they never had such whole-hearted support as to-day. Still, the danger of war has increased, and any day may bring forth an acute position.

* * *

The Hamburg Conference has joined up two parties of like import, the German Social Democrats and the British Labour Party, whose admission even to the Second International used to be opposed by Kautsky, but the Second has degenerated since then to the level of the Labour Party, which can now play first fiddle in it, with the Mensheviks now as its right wing! The Second used to exclude Cabinet Ministers from its executive, now it is an executive of Ministers. These gentlemen really need no International, they are only holding an international parade, which will have only a weakening effect. The only real International is the Communist. Under its aegis two great parties in countries whose capitalists are at each other's throats have succeeded in effecting common action, a great step towards the single party which "unites the human race."

* * *

As for the United Front, we find that it cannot always be attained behind the backs of the leaders. We must constantly appeal anew to them until the masses grasp that our position is the correct one. No doubt the Scheidemanns or Renaudels will never fight side by side with us, and will always pervert our words. But we must point out every step of the way to the rank and file, again and again, even at the risk of degeneration on our part. I used to have my doubts of the United Front, but they have all vanished now.

* * *

Our British party does not yet grasp the great significance of national emancipation. It displays plenty of verbal radicalism, but cannot nerve itself to any big action whether in the Irish or in colonial questions. In German politics too, as well as elsewhere, the national question is a vital one. The difference between us and bourgeois parties is not that we recognise no national questions, but that BOURGEOIS PARTIES CANNOT SOLVE THEM: they can be solved only in a socialist society. Our parties have not yet sufficiently grasped the necessity of having the majority of the country behind them. We are not just a Labour party within bourgeois society, we are not just a sectional party of the workers, but a workers' party which must be a party of the whole people.

* * *

The Social Democrats have had to abandon a number of positions among the workers, and are seeking their salvation among the peasants. We must occupy the positions they have abandoned, and at the same time **compete with them for the support of the peasants. "WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT" IS A DESCRIPTION OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.** If we really want to attain the latter, we must learn how to win over the peasants also. Many workers who have lost hope of victory off our own bat have gained fresh confidence from the fact that we (in Russia) have new Allies on our side, and this solution will be of great value for every country. It is a sign of the times that the peasants are everywhere beginning to play an independent role. We are not accustomed to it, perhaps the Executive will not accept it right off. But the peasants are in no way directly opposed to the workers; why should we let them be played off against us? The proletariat must rule, true enough; but it must act skilfully, not clumsily.

* * *

(It was subsequently made clear that the "peasants" catered for were the working peasants, not those who lived by landownership.)

"Act 1.—Let us have cheap foreign labour."
"Act 2.—Let us deport the Reds."

—"Albany Times."

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# "Keep Out the Communists."

S.A. LABOUR PARTY BAULKS AGAIN

We learn from the "Guardian" of the 20th inst. that "at a full meeting of the National Council of the Labour Party the application for affiliation by the Communist Party was refused with only one dissentient."

"Was she the worse for liquor?" asked the beak. "No, your worship," replied the witness, "she said she felt all the better for it."

No doubt the Labour Party's Council felt all the better for having rejected the Communist application; but we have only to study their more "moderate" speeches, platforms, and press, their petulance at criticism, especially from Communists, their avowed postponement of "weightier matters" to immediate votes, place and (now) portfolios, to realise how very much they are really the worse for it—the worse for being dominated by their "right" wing, the worse for want of the element which would make them a class party, and therefore a militant party, whose slogans, if the country were whole-heartedly stumped with them, would eventually gain them greater support—and give them a stronger hand vis-a-vis even the Nationalists—than they can boast of now. So far as the Labour Party is effective (i.e., in bringing us nearer Socialism, not just in winning seats), that may be ascribed to its "left" wing; its ineffectiveness, referred to in the "Star's" "Forty years on" cartoon last week, is due to those elements that yearn for respectability, muffle the class struggle, think only of meeting "on equal terms" with the bourgeoisie, and froth at the mouth at the very suggestion of holding out a hand, still less appealing, to the submerged and disfranchised proletariat, even on unequal terms.

Those are the elements that we for our part attack. It is childish to take offence at that and call it just "bitterness." In point of fact, it implies a great sympathy with the opposite elements in the party, those whom the "Star" wrongly calls "Communists" but rightly calls "the most active members of the Labour Party"—though unfortunately still too few to gain the day in it. The "Guardian" quivers with vicarious indignation at the "Star's" misnomer, and protests that the Communists are the Labour Party's "most active and virulent opponents." That is just as untrue a statement as the "Star's," and is made with just the same eye to votes as the "Star's." It is only S.A.L.P. thin-skinnedness that imagines we are occupied most of our time in attacking the Labour Party. We have bigger fish to fry. But certainly we have attacked the Labour Party—for its conduct, not its objective, which is substantially ours; and when, as for instance during the war, it allowed itself to be dominated by an imperialist war policy disastrous to that objective, and relegated everything else to a back seat, we did attack it "virulently"—and shall do so again if ever the same blast rears its head. We have criticised it, and shall do so again, for its many failures to espouse its professed cause. But we have never attacked that cause itself; on the contrary, we have always supported conduct in accord with it.

When, as last year, S.A.L.P. men expressed a truly working class protest against Smuts' treatment of the strike and the strikers, we not only supported them but formed a "United Front" with them. This year we have applied for affiliation with them, and, though rejected, we shall probably assist, or at least not oppose, their election candidates where such appear the most likely ones to defeat Smuts' supporters. Indeed, we shall be even more faithful to that principle than they, for we tolerate no mere personal ambition for office, and can afford to take a bigger view of the scope and effect on the world movement of a South African anti-imperialist victory.

Who is it, then, that shows the "virulence"? We have repeatedly made the advances: it is the S.A.L.P. that has repudiated the United Front, it is the S.A.L.P. that rejects our affiliation, it is the S.A.L.P. that has declined even our local requests to discuss with it the avoidance of electoral competition, although it has gone so far as to make a pact on this matter with the Nationalist Party, with whose only saving policy, anti-imperialism, it does not agree at all, still less with the rest of its platform, and least of all, we hope, with its governing class objects. Let us quote the "Guardian," page 2, against the "Guardian's," page 1: "If the . . . Labour Party would waste less time denouncing the Communists." That was said of Britain, but applies here too.

Of one thing we are sure, that the Labour Party's present idea of how to defeat the ruling class will never succeed. It must make up its mind to get rid of its "right" or pro-bourgeois elements, no matter how long or distinguished their career in the Party. It must concentrate on a definitely proletarian programme, and cater for the entire proletarian support, whether available at elections or not, no matter what other support it thereby loses. Let it always look a little further afield than just as far as the next South African election, and measure its effectiveness by something a little greater than its actual number of M.L.A.'s or M.P.C.s, and it will see that in a few years, even at cost of a temporary election set-back perhaps, such a proletarian programme will have brought it to a far more powerful position than it can ever reach on present lines.

(Continued at foot of next column.)

# The Defence Force.

"Wanted: 58,000 young workers and farmers to fight for capitalism."

Such, in its essence, is the meaning of an article which appeared in the Johannesburg, "Star" of June 15th.

The Corner House Government at Capetown is going to try to enforce the Defence Act of 1912. This act demands the compulsory registration of young men when they reach the age of 17. The "Star" says: "There was a registration in 1914. Then came the war, and the normal course of things was shattered. In 1920 a registration was to have taken place, but another war upset this—the general election." (Does the "Star" mean that Jan Smuts did not want to show the mailed fist until after the election was over?) "Since the 1914 registration, therefore, many of the youths of 17 and over have been running loose in a military sense. But the hiatus is now to be closed up. . . . The process of registration will take place in January, 1924, and it is thought that the official notices thereanent will be published in October of this year. . . . About 68,000 are expected to be registered."

During the industrial crisis of 1913-1914, Jan Smuts called up the Defence Force and found in it a valuable strike-breaking weapon. During the years immediately following the war, however, he did not dare to enforce the Defence Act. The working class organisations at that time were forces to be reckoned with. The National Party, too, had won over large sections of the farming youth, and these, though by no means proletarian in outlook, were not prepared to do Smuts' murdering work for him.

Thus in 1922 the Chamber of Mines had no conscript army at its disposal. The White Guards were made up of bourgeois youth elements, together with stiffs, loafers and other venal bye-products of capitalism. The so-called "burgher" forces were the dregs of the backveld districts, tempted to the Rand by tales of loot and plunder. The Nationalist youth, to their credit, refused to obey the commandeering order, and many of them were prosecuted for this afterwards.

But during the past eighteen months the position has changed considerably. The Witwatersrand workers have been severely defeated. The Nationalist leaders have shown themselves in their true colours, at worst a gang of political place-seekers, at best a flock of garrulous and backboneless sheep. The "Labour" Party has proved that it is no more to be feared than in 1914. (Witness the attitude of Waterston on the occasion of the unemployed demonstration in the House, when he asked Colonel Reitz "whether he thought the Labour members were responsible for the incident in the gallery.")

It is almost certain that the "Labour" and Nationalist leaders will allow Jan Smuts to enforce the Defence Act without even a half-hearted protest. There is only one organisation that stands in the way, and that is the Young Communist League. We must continue and intensify our anti-militarist activity and we must so consolidate and improve our forces that when the Government calls for cannon fodder, it will meet with the united resistance of the youth of this country.

—The S.A. "Young Communist."

# "And All Found."

Court Messenger Smuts' return to the summons for unemployed was that "after diligent search neither they nor any of their household could be found." Next day, on the news of £2,000 a month being suddenly "found" by Smuts' Government for these same mythical workless (after they had raided the Government Labour Bureau), 450 coloured and 125 Europeans applied for work at Capetown alone. A book has been written on how to live 24 hours a day; a contemporary suggests a second volume on how to live on 2s. 4d. a day, which is what the £2,000 would work out at among these 575 applicants. Certainly it could hardly be called a case of "All found," and as a matter of fact rations had to be found before anything else could be done. This in that great and prosperous country which looks so pityingly on the miserable plight of the "poor" at "Home." Yet even such a beggarly figure, which would not be looked at "at Home," is clamoured for by hundreds in this jewel of "our Empire."

# Giving the Show Away.

Sir Robert Coryndon tells the London Chamber of Commerce that "native production will be the financial salvation of British East Africa (Kenya)." Ten million natives, he said, would be willing workers for a sympathetic Government, and they would, so to speak, WORK FOR NOTHING, for they would buy commodities from England as the fruit of their labours.

It is not discreet to put the matter quite so frankly. Sir Robert should have spoken long and earnestly about the duty that rests upon us of spreading civilisation (or "spreading Christianity" will do) among the natives, and it is not usual to say anything about the profits that are to be made out of natives, such being always understood.

—"S.A. Review."

**Let us put it in this way. As long as the S.A.L.P. is run by those who bridle with indignation at the veriest suggestion that they have anything in common with Communists, so long will it continue to play the futile and even chief-prop-of-capitalism role that it has for the most part played all these years, and not only during the war. On the other hand, if the expressed and sustained hostility of the capitalist class is any criterion, the "two hundred" Communists in South Africa are more effective at getting into its ribs than all the S.A.L.P. mandarins. IF EVERY MEMBER OF THE LABOUR PARTY WERE A COMMUNIST, WOULD IT NOT BE AN IMMEASURABLY STRONGER PARTY THAN IT IS TO-DAY? Of course it would; indeed, the position would probably be that capitalist rule in S.A. would already have been driven into limbo—"gone, no address.**

# Made to Order.

A HISTORY LESSON FOR JAN SMUTS, AND FOR THOSE WHO STILL BELIEVE THAT THE S.A.P. GOVERNMENT IS NOT THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CHAMBER OF MINES.

1877—The Transvaal is declared British territory.

1880—The Dutch commence the War of Independence.

1881—British troops are defeated at Laing's Nek, Ingogo, and Majuba. The Transvaal is declared an "unsound business proposition," and its white inhabitants allowed to establish an independent republic.

1886—Gold is discovered on the Witwatersrand. The Transvaal acquires a new significance in the eyes of British Imperialism. From this time onward the annexation of the Transvaal is only a matter of time and diplomacy.

1890—Cecil Rhodes, ex-illicit diamond buyer, now the foremost capitalist in South Africa, becomes premier of Cape Colony. He is assisted in his election campaign by a young Dutchman, a native of the Cape, who has been educated in Europe at Rhodes' expense. Thus the first time Smuts of Fordsburg makes his appearance in the South African political arena he is definitely associated with Big Business, British Imperialism, International Capitalism.

1895—The gold barons of the Rand, Albu, Phillips, Farrar, Fitzpatrick, conspire to overthrow the farmers' government. They realise "that they who control the industry of a country must also control its politics."

A "coup de etat" is planned with the assistance of Cecil Rhodes. The "coup d'etat" does not come off, however, because Jameson's raiders are defeated outside Johannesburg by the armed burghers.

1896.—The "Reform Committee" is arrested and put on its trial for high treason. The "Big Four" are condemned to death. When the sentence is pronounced, Lionel Phillips faints in the dock and has to be carried out of court. The sentence, however, is commuted to a fine of £25,000 each. This "unfortunate" incident renders "a peaceful solution of the difficulties almost impossible."

1898.—J. C. Smuts becomes Attorney-General for the Transvaal. (How an "Uitlander" and a man who had been one of Rhodes' lieutenants could walk straight into one of the highest official positions in the S.A. Republic is a problem for the historian. There must have been considerable wire-pulling somewhere at the back of it. A former Attorney-General, Dr. Leyds, had been "promoted" to the position of South African Republican representative at the Hague. Dr. Leyds was a Hollander and a free-thinker. The Volksraad wanted an Africander and a good calvinist. Jan Smuts combined both these characteristics, although, strangely enough, he had been a rationalist when at college in England).

Smuts, in collaboration with another, writes "'t Eeuw van Ourecht," a book calculated to rouse the racial feelings of the Afrikander and increase his fighting spirit.

1899—British troops are placed on the borders of the Transvaal. The Republics send an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of these forces. The British Government "regrets that such a demand should be sent," and refuses to withdraw the troops. The Republics declare war.

1899-1901.—The combined strength of the British Empire is used to squash the Boer Republics. Jan Smuts is a republican general, but (another problem for the historian) nobody seems to know of his ever coming into violent contact with the enemy.

1901.—De la Rey and De Wet want to go on fighting, but Jan Smuts negotiates the peace of Vereeniging.

1906.—Responsible government is granted to the Transvaal. Smuts and Hertzog become colonial secretary and attorney-general respectively.

1907.—The Rand miners out on strike are clubbed back to work.

1910.—First Union Government. Smuts Minister of Defence.

1913.—Smuts uses Imperial troops to shoot down strikers in Johannesburg.

1914.—Smuts subverts the constitution and deports the workers' leaders.

1914-18.—"Great War to End War." South Africa is led into the slaughter.

1919.—Smuts makes speeches about freedom, toleration, "a land fit for heroes to live in," the League of Nations, universal brotherhood. He comes back to South Africa, and in

1921.—COMMITS BULHOEK!

1922.—Smuts "allows things to develop." The S.A.P. Government and the Chamber of Mines are seen to be so thoroughly part and parcel of each other that it is impossible to say where one begins and the other leaves off.

1922.—Judge Stratford fails to find Long guilty, and others do the needful while he is given leave of absence.

1923.—Jan Smuts continues to SPEAK about "progress and prosperity" and "noble ideals," but we know from bitter experience that "progress and prosperity" and the other wonderful things must not interfere with the profits of the Chamber of Mines. Jan Smuts has a smiling and paternal exterior, but beneath it lies one of the most cold-blooded and unscrupulous natures that has ever been used by world capitalism to cajole and bully the working masses into submission. From the capitalist point of view he is a "perfect instrument"—NEARLY perfect, because nothing can be QUITE perfect.

E. R. R.

# Young Communist Notes.

THE JUNIOR S.A.P.

This movement is "all in all" with the authorities just at present. The S.A.P. leaders, conscious of the increasing unpopularity of Chamber of Mines government in this country, are making strenuous efforts to avert the approaching catastrophe. They are beginning to realise that "they who have the youth have the future," whether that future be the continued pauperisation of the working class or the overthrow of existing conditions and the establishment of a decent, sane order of society. We are faced at present with both these alternatives, and the growth of the Junior S.A.P. and Young Communist movements will indicate, more or less, which tendency is gaining the upper hand.

It is interesting to compare these two organisations: one the tool of Big Business, consisting of middle-class snobs, run almost exclusively by members of the senior party; the other the leader of the youth of the working class, consisting of revolutionary young workers, run entirely by its own members and not fathered and mothered by T. F. Allens and Mrs. Smutses.

Recently the Junior S.A.P. had a big "bust up" at the United Party Club. Jan Smuts was present. The speechifying, as usual, was done by the adult members, with one "important" exception! A junior member actually got up and addressed a few words of welcome to the lavatory-captor of Fordsburg. Think of it—a young Sap actually getting up and speaking!

To quote the press report on the Prime Minister's speech: "He believed that Mr. Allen had been looking for gold in three countries—Australia, Canada, and this country—and at last he had struck real gold, the young men and women of South Africa. There was nothing like them." As far as the Junior S.A.P. is concerned we agree, "there is nothing like them": A more hopeless set of noodles and molly-coddles it would be hard to find. Fortunately the future of South Africa does not depend on the Junior S.A.P. As for the S.A.P. itself, Jan Smuts admitted that "the old men were C3 or some impossible class."

Meanwhile the Young Communist League is growing slowly but surely. It is extending its field of activity. It is becoming more and more "an organisation of the live, thinking young workers of South Africa." We must remember during this period of reaction that every gain made now is a permanent gain. If we can hold our own in the face of the bitterest attacks of the enemy, if even we can advance our trenches in spite of the severest artillery bombardment, then surely, when the organisation of the enemy is broken, when his well-made plans come tumbling about his ears, when his ammunition runs out, when those huge reserves of the working class army behind us come forward to swell our ranks, then indeed we shall sweep onward in a mighty flood to the victory of the working class, to the proletarian dictatorship, to communism.

STUDY CLASS.

This is held every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in No. 4, Trades Hall. All interested in working class education are welcome. A special appeal is made to young men and women between the ages of 15 and 25.

The E.C. of the Y.C.L. has been concentrating for some time on the problem of making the study-class as interesting as possible. The hard work put in seems to be bringing results. During July the attendance has shown a steady increase, discussion has improved, and the enthusiasm is rapidly approaching the standard of pre-strike days.

BENONI BRANCH.

The Y.C.L. has opened up a branch at Benoni. Meetings every Friday at 8 p.m. at 61, Bedford Avenue, Benoni.

Friday, July 27: Debate on "Social Credit." All welcome.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS.

The Y.C.L. has been conducting a weekly meeting in Jeppes for the last two months. The pitch is rapidly becoming "stabilised."

Every Saturday night, at Lewis and Hill's corner, Marshall Street. The meeting commences as soon as the Salvation Army moves off, approximately 8 p.m.

"The rich love the nation through their possessions; otherwise they have no country. If they loved the country they would care for the people. Their hearts are eaten up by property."

—George Meredith.

* * *

"As a man is so he sees."—William Blake.

* * *

"I have and hold—you shall hunger and covet, until you are strong enough to force my hand—that's the speech of the wealthy. And they are Christians."

—George Meredith.

England's dockers claim to have made innovations in the history of trade unionism, but we wonder whether the rest of the world can cap the latest product of South Africa, the Cape "Relief Workers' Union"?

* * *

That the policy of segregation will not solve the race problem we are quite convinced, but its discussion by representatives of both races will certainly show the impracticability of the whole scheme.

—"Abantu Batho."

# Hands versus Brains.

THE PASSING OF THE LABOUR LEADER.

The robbery of the working class takes place at the point of production. That is exactly why the Communist movement is a labour movement bounded by class boundaries. It is true that many intellectuals are to be found within the Communist Party, but they are deserters from their class, just as the worker who supports and defends capitalism is a deserter from HIS class. They are both exceptions, and both are execrated by the class to which they belonged, and lauded by the class they have attached themselves to. The fact, however, cannot be denied that the controllers of capitalism are capitalists, and the driving force of the Communist movement is supplied by the mass of manual workers.

Respectable Labour and Social Democratic parties continually try to camouflage these facts, as witness the notorious phrase, "workers by hand and brain" recently adopted by our own Labour Party (and, since 1918, by the British Labour Party). Why is it? It is simply because capitalism has, of late years, realised that the world movement advances inexorably, and the only means of side-tracking it and causing it to lose the main objective is to obtain control by means of capitalist "labour lieutenants," just as Constantine, unable to check the spread of revolutionary Christianity, adopted (captured) it, and so rendered it innocuous to private property. Always can capital find plenty of shabby-genteel "intellectuals" willing to be bribed by bread into accepting the role of "labour leader," and that is precisely why the purely political labour movement within the British Empire has lost touch with the manual workers and become an emasculated organisation, controlled by "respectable" intellectual tory anarchists, who look upon marrying for money, or becoming a tame sheep in labour organisations, as legitimate means of "getting on in life."

Scratch the labour leader and you'll find the bourgeois."

Of late years capitalist education has become more markedly "democratic." An aristocrat in the "labour" party is not uncommon, and he is not looked upon as a deserter from his class, but rather looked up to as a far-seeing defender of the system. The press—that great organ of defence—for some years now has "accepted" orthodox labour, and, if only from this circumstance, it is easy enough to see that tame labour has been added to the scalps gathered at the waistbelt of FAT. It is in consequence of this that the inclusion of a left wing in the Labour Party is viewed with horror by the intellectual labour-leader. He instinctively senses the effect upon Fat, and is not prepared to risk the complacence and smug respectability which he retains only while he remains the old man's darling. Furthermore, being merely a brain-sucker, and consequently entirely ignorant of the real facts of the world labour movement, the cartoons and articles in the daily press, which threaten him with dire consequences to "his" party if he allows Communism to creep in, fairly "put the wind up" for him. He quite understands the threat and shows "he is willin" by fighting hard to guard his position—a position he knows he can only hold by preserving intact his good-old-union-jack-damn-the-French-up-with-the-British-Empire-petit-bourgeois-white-labour party. Hence it is not until he is swamped by the rising tide of Communism (as in Australia last month) that the labour leader makes any attempt to earn his bread by an effort to deliver the goods, and even then only in rare instances. Billy Hughes fled to his paymasters, the capitalists, as soon as his rat instinct warned him that "respectable" labour was found out by the Australian workers. In South Africa we shall soon be witnessing similar somersaults, unless I am greatly mistaken. Communism here advances by leaps and bounds, while "labour" snuggles closer and closer to the bosom of all-saving nationalism. God save the King!

HARRY HAYNES.

# Tactics.

Take the army to-day. It is a model of good organisation. And this organisation is good solely because it is flexible and at the same time able to imbue millions of men with a single will. To-day these millions are in their homes in various parts of the country. On the morrow the order is given to mobilise, and they assemble at given points. To-day they lie in trenches where they may possibly remain for months. To-morrow, in different order, they go into attack. To-day they work miracles in evading bullets and shrapnel. To-morrow they do wonders in open fights. To-day their advanced detachments lay mines underground. To-morrow they advance over dozens of miles as directed by aviators. This is what is called organisation—when inspired by a single aim and animated by one will, millions of men change their mode of intercourse and action; change their instruments and tools in accordance with a change in circumstances and the requirements of the struggle.

The same relates to the struggle of the working class with the capitalist class. If no revolutionary situation is in existence to-day, or conditions which breed discontent amongst the masses and increase their activity: if to-day you are handed a voting paper, take it and organise so that you may beat your enemy, but do not use it for the purpose of sending men to parliament for the sake of soft jobs, at which they clutch, for fear they may be sent to prison. If on the morrow they take away your voting paper and hand you a rifle, a magnificent quick-firing gun, built in accordance with the latest requirements of machine technique—take these instruments of death and destruction, don't listen to sentimental whimperers who fear war. In this world there still remain many things which must be destroyed by fire and iron before the working class may be free. And if exasperation and despair are on the increase amongst the masses; if there exists a revolutionary situation, be ready to create fresh organisations and to employ the useful instruments of death and destruction against your own capitalist class.

—N. LENIN.

# Some Roasted Chestnuts.

T.B.B., a "Star" scribe (who is now joined, hardly to mutual advantage, by an Assyrian parson who tells us that Soviet Russia was in as dire a plight in 1919 as his own country, under French imperialism, is to-day) reels out anew the usual flat, stale, and unprofitable commonplaces against the Bolsheviks.

NINEPINS.

Evidently he is fond of a game of ninepins. A paradise of prosperity, he sneers, is the claim we make for Soviet Russia. Yet in the same breath he tells us that Communism does not exist in Russia to-day, it has failed, the revolution is dead and capitalism is back in possession (Sylva Pankhurst stuff, and we hope he is proud of his company). Well, then, if so, why on earth should we Communists be screwing about it; and why for his part should he call it "tyranny"? What, in his eyes, could be the object of keeping up "tyranny," and who keeps it up, if Communism is finished? Why still revile Russia if "things" there are back to "normal"?

And when we examine the authenticity of the ninepins, we find they are not ours at all, for in the "International" of May 4th we said: "Russia is not yet a paradise for the working mass; far from it. That capitalism could be replaced by Communism in five years . . . is a suggestion so unreasonable as to be palpably dishonest."

"TYRANNY."

Next, please. "An awful tyranny": yes, perhaps it is, for those "well-known Socialists" who think Russia is fair game, who think they can go about conspiring for her overthrow, and make a grievance of it when they are caught. But what is the tyranny? "Under the Soviets people have to work or get no food." Oh, well, T.B.B.'s apostle Paul approved of that long ago, although under our beloved capitalism we admit it is otherwise, and many people get food without working, and many more work (or try to get work) without getting food.

Anyhow, in Russia it is a self-imposed tyranny, for a "Soviet" is a committee elected by the masses themselves, and not, like our Government, an alien despotism holding down by force the great mass of the population, which it has conquered and dispossessed both of its country and of its self-determination, and which it exploits as helots or pariahs for the sole profit of the usurpers—and these now dare to talk of tyranny!

DIRTY WORK—YES.

"T.B.B." is afraid that under Socialism he, instead of the Bacas, might have to do the "dirty work." That is true, for of course in a Socialist society it is arranged for not, as the capitalist class arranges for it, by making the working class, or some section of it, do the job, but by distributing it fairly and therefore without hardship, or perhaps by giving it extra remuneration. In Russia you will not find the "dirty work" being done under such conditions as were imposed by Magistrate Macfie in this country a few years back, when the sanitary boys, having dared to strike for that extra remuneration, put at only a sixpence, were, in addition to heavy sentences, driven back to work and kept there at the point of the bayonet. This, as we remember stating at the time, seems to point to a happy solution of any difficulty that might arise in this connection under Socialism. Tyrants, or parasites, or working class misleaders and others engaged in fighting the peace or war battles of the master class, are eminently suited under a workers' government to perform the dirty work, for they have been used to it; they wallow in it by preference. There will be no lack of available "hands" when the time comes.

HUMAN NATURE.

For although the "human nature" of the working class can unquestionably change (why, people used to boast of how the war had transfigured poor Tommy This and Tommy That into a Line of Heroes) and although, as H. G. Wells says, our best work is not done for gain, and although human nature is visibly changing in Russia now that the political power of "T.B.B.'s" friends has been broken, yet there are some incorrigibles, especially bourgeois sycophants, and a "career" must be found for them.

THIS WAY TO PARADISE.

After all, we must not exaggerate the denial that Russia is yet a paradise. Even in a material matter like food, such as "T.B.B." might understand, it is by this time well ahead of Germany and Austria, still victims in the talons of capitalism; and unlike any other country in the world, its material conditions, for the masses, are getting better and better, so that, given peace and unblockaded commerce, it will soon be absolutely the finest country in the world even as regards bread and butter. But for the class-conscious worker it is already an actual paradise—a paradise of victorious Labour, a triumph of the working class movement, an oasis of working class political liberty, an arena of great and heroic striving towards a better life, intellectual as well as physical, for the masses, a great scene of forward movement, of noble struggle onward and upward, of good feeling between fellow-workers of all lands and races, of nation-wide and world-wide inspiration released by the elimination of the blighting, demoralising oppression and degradation palpably resulting from capitalist rule everywhere else.

AND THIS TO HELL.

Capitalist rule! Who dare make such a boast on its side? Its unending wars, its crippling taxation for wars, its constant crises, its permanent 12 per cent. unemployment, its chronic, hopeless poverty, its consequent dependence, ignorant servility and snobbery for the great majority, its corrupt government in the interests of the few on top, backed by judicial, police and military tyranny, its senseless anarchy in production and distribution, its enslavement of all education and culture to the purposes of a predatory oligarchy, its ever-falling standards, its rage oppression, its rape cases, its vice, its sordid country life, its political chaos, its total absence of mass proletarian freedom, its all-pervading hypocrisy and insincerity—let even the meanest of journalistic bounders get up before a working class meeting and try to defend this monstrosity, and if he came out of it alive it would then be time enough for him to begin to talk, if he still wanted to talk, about "Bolshevism."

# More Will-o-the-Wisps.

The following resolutions of the recent Native National Congress, which were not published by the daily press, are worth recording, if only as indicating the great lack of independent thinking and acting still prevailing in those circles.

"That in view of the fact that the segregation of European and non-European races of the Union of South Africa appears to be the settled policy of the Union, even though the Bantu section of the Community has never been consulted on this subject, this Congress urges upon the Government the expediency in the interests of peace, order and good government of this land, of convening a Conference representative of the Government, the Church, the National Congress, and the Coloured and the Indian members of the community for the purpose of considering the question of the advisability, expediency, desirability and feasibility of applying the principle of the said policy of segregation."

"The African National Congress resolves that the various religious bodies established in this country be requested to assemble at the Conference with the view of forming and framing one constitution or supporting any movement in that direction."

"Congress considers that one or two representatives should be at Capetown during the session of Parliament to watch the interests of the Bantu population, and that the President is hereby authorised to take steps in this direction."

# Christo-Jewish Fascism.

Documents which have come into the possession of the Vienna "Rote Fahne" show conclusively that the Christian and Jewish capitalists organised in the "Federation of Austrian Industries" have expended 24 milliards this year for the upkeep of Fascist organisations (including the "Christian Socialists" and the Zionist employers!). A condition of the grants was that the movement must be directed against the working class only, and must also not attack Jewish capital—special guarantees were required discountenancing anti-semite tendencies, and concentrating operations where the workers were most "radical."

but in the class of workers and peasants, of which you are part, as workers and peasants; a workers' and peasants' government which to-day does "stretch out its hand to uplift" all subject races, all its fellow-workers, "superior" and "inferior" alike. Follow the lead of Russia! Do not let the capitalists confuse you with mere racialism! Learn to fight not only as blacks but as workers and peasants!

# "Can Any Good Come Out of White Men?"

Last week's "Abantu Batho" comments characteristically on the press attacks on the recent publication in the "International" of an article by Com. Ivon Jones dealing with a projected Negro Congress to be called by the Communist International; and connects it with Mr. Merriman's and Col. Truter's snarls about S.A. Bolshevism. What has Russia done, asks our contemporary, that the whites of South Africa should be so scared of her, declaring that the result of such a Congress must be bloodshed, and that "pamphlets issued from Russia and circulating among the natives of South Africa" must be suppressed? Do they really think people from Russia will come to South Africa to emancipate the natives from slavery? Or that "Russian influence" can have that effect? Their fears are groundless, says "Abantu," for no good can come out of Nazareth: no whites will ever save blacks. Everyone works for the interest of his own country, his own race, only. No race stretches out its hand to uplift another, and least of all an "inferior." Blacks alone can emancipate blacks: whites may quarrel among themselves; but it is only for the spoils of black exploitation. White men were exploiters ever, and Russia can be no exception.

Natives of South Africa, can you not see that, although you are not all workers, you are exploited as a race, not for your skins, but for the work and the profit that can be got out of you, that is, as workers and peasants? Do you not see that while every race, and not only the European but the Asiatic and even the African races, have their exploiters, yet they all have also their far more numerous workers and peasants exploited like you. Perhaps the position of the white workers immediately around you seems quite foreign to your own (though in the case of many of them to-day there is not much to choose); but look further afield, and ask yourselves how the position of the workers of the Ruhr or of Germany as a whole, or of the dockers of London, or the miners of North America, differs in essentials from that of yourselves or the "coolies" of India and China! Besides, the Russians are not all white men, far from it; there are millions of blacks in the Soviet Federation. But THEY ARE ALL FREE AND EQUAL CITIZENS OF A WORKERS' REPUBLIC TO-DAY. Why? For the very same reason that Merriman and Truter and the "Sunday Times" fear Russia: because Soviet Russia to-day represents not a white race as such but a victorious working and peasant class, as such, irrespective of colour. That way lies your salvation, too, not in Russia as Russia,

(Continued at foot of previous column.)

# Fascism = Murder.

TORTURING A COMMUNIST WORKER.

FASSOMBRONE (Italy).

The local Fascisti had sworn to kill a Communist worker, Valenti, and one hundred of them, armed with rifles and bombs, surrounded his house. The police were conveniently absent. Valenti prepared to sell his life dearly and killed two of his opponents. In confusion the heroic Fascisti retired and . . . called the police. Taking advantage of their panic Valenti fled to the country. The following day the local Fascist Commandant ordered a general mobilisation, and thousands of "Black Shirts" searched the district. It was a centrally organised search, and during this man-hunt five workers who refused to give information were butchered by the Fascists. Eventually, Valenti was given up by a farmer who had only hidden him to betray him.

Valenti was bound and thrown into a motor-car. While driving to Fassombrone his tormentors, after abominable insults, CUT OFF HIS NOSE AND EARS.

IN FASSOMBRONE THEY BOUND HIM TO THE MUD-GUARDS OF THE CAR AND DRAGGED HIM THROUGH THE STREETS, which were deserted because the terror-stricken inhabitants were behind closed doors. Valenti was strong, and even this torture had not killed him. Dragged to Fascist headquarters he presented a terrible sight: his mutilated face one raw wound and his clothes torn to shreds. Even the relatives of the Fascisti who were killed in the attack on Valenti's house were so impressed that they pleaded for him to be sent to hospital, but in vain.

Comrade Valenti was tied to the car again and dragged once more through the streets, the motor changing its speed to vary and prolong the agony; only when the cemetery was reached did they finish the foul work of horror by firing into the shapeless body.

The perpetrators of this crime are quite easy, for although their names are publicly known the police ignore the affair. Nor is this an isolated case, but a typical episode of the class war throughout Italy.

HUMBERTO TERRACINI.

# The S.A.L.P. "Fighting" Platform

The "National Council" of the Labour Party has recommended the following planks among others:

"The control of the credit and monetary policy of the country by the establishment of a State bank." Also "encouragement of State enterprise."

Control of THE STATE (by Labour) would be all right; but without it a State Bank or enterprise (e.g., "The State Mines") will be used just as the Smuts or any other like Government uses every government weapon such as the aeroplanes to help the capitalists.

"Fostering manufacturing industries," etc.

M'yes, but, run, like mining, on cheap labour, a "civilised standard of life" is incompatible with their ability to survive foreign competition.

"Land taxation."

With a view to drawing to Labour the support of the landless or small holders, why not reserve this dreaded tax for the big landowners? Never mind theoretical perfection.

"Discouragement of native migration to European centres." . . . "Adequate native reserves."

As long as the "uplifting of natives" is thus (as it must really be) retarded, it is useless under capitalism to expect employers to prefer dearer (white) labour. Try "the land for the workers, or for the land workers"—ah, we forgot, they have no votes. The same in general as to Asiatic competition, which, even though harassed here, will continue to affect us from Asia. Get these cheap exploitees to fight with you against the exploiters, there is no other hope for them or you. That means offering them something, e.g., "free primary, secondary and university education." You go away sorrowful, eh.

"Wages and Conciliation Boards."

These may answer (but are not needed by you) while there is a boom and the masters want you, but fail (and are not needed by the masters) when there is lots of unemployment about. Still, use them as teasers if you can, but never forget that if "cost of living" is to be the test, it should mean cost of living like a lord, eh, what? not like a kaffir, which again implies that the kaffir must get it too, or he will undercut you, for all your "segregation" talk.

But, after all, can't you see that without the propaganda for revolution all these trimmings are worthless? This "fighting" platform is deliberately silent on the one thing needful which you should be fighting for.

# Reformism & the Proletarian Task.

The decision of the Hamburg Conference to join forces with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat will aid the disintegration of the ranks of the working class still backing up the representatives of the reformist Internationals; it will have the effect of separating the working masses from their treacherous leaders and uniting them with the revolutionary workers. The formation of the proletarian united front can be hindered by the united leaders of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals, but it cannot be prevented. Months will pass before the present capitalist world crisis develops into open counter-revolutionary war between world bourgeoisie and world proletariat, into practical execution of the designs against Soviet Russia. It is incumbent on the Communists to use the short time still at our disposal to rouse the working populations of the whole world, to prepare them to join forces and take up the fight against war and Fascist world reaction, if need be without and against the one-time leaders of the Western European labour movement.

— H. Brandler (Berlin).

# Communist Affiliation.

## LETTER FROM THE LABOUR PARTY.

Since our article on page 2 was printed, we have received the following communication from the South African Labour Party. We have largely anticipated it in this issue, and any further observations suggested by it will appear next week :

The Secretary,
The Communist Party (South African Section of the Communist International).

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 18th, applying on behalf of the Communist Party, South African Section of the Communist International, for affiliation to the South African Labour Party. The National Council of my Party having given the application its most careful consideration, I am now instructed to reply thereto.

Ever since its formation your Party has been regarded both by itself and by the S.A.L.P. as a separate and distinct organisation, with aims, methods and policy which are not of the S.A.L.P. It was, indeed, mainly formed by a number of those who felt compelled by differences of opinion on vital matters with the great majority of members of the S.A.L.P. to withdraw from the Labour Party, and those differences have become more pronounced rather than the contrary.

The S.A.L.P. has pursued and continues to pursue its aim of building up a Political Labour Party national in its scope and conforming with its consistently held principles of relying on evolutionary as against revolutionary methods, and endeavouring to achieve its ends and to influence public policy through the country's representative institutions. It maintains friendly relations with the Labour Parties overseas, having similar aims and objects-bodies which have recently considered how far it was possible to co-operate with the Communist Parties in their own countries, have arrived at the decision that such co-operation is impracticable.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, is affiliated to the Third (Moscow) International, and has wedded itself to the ideal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Apart from the very important considerations suggested by the racial composition of the population of South Africa, some four and one-half millions of whom are barely on the threshold of civilisation, the S.A.L.P. is of opinion that this ideal is attainable only by violent revolution, and that in any case its realisation would be as little to the benefit or taste of the working classes or of the country generally as the rule of any other dictatorship.

Such differences as these, in aims, methods and policy do not in the opinion of my Council become any less vital by reason of the fact that the S.A.L.P. aims at organically changing the existing economic system, and so freeing the country and its people from the capitalistic domination. That your Party is on its side, quite clearly conscious of this fact, is plain to every reader of its official organ, "The International." In almost every issue of that journal the fundamental and unremitting hostility of the Communist Party to the S.A.L.P. have been clearly indicated or vigorously expressed.

In view of these and other considerations, my Council cannot regard the case you cite of the affiliation of the Independent Labour Party to the British Labour Party as in any way a parallel to the affiliation to the S.A.L.P. now desired by the Communist Party.

On the one hand the aims, methods and policy of the I.L.P. are in harmony with the British Labour Party, and this affiliation enhances the strength and effectiveness of the Labour Party and of the I.L.P.

The aims and policy of the Communist Party are, on the other hand, in conflict with those of the South African Labour Party. So far as its affiliation adding to the strength or effectiveness of the Labour Party, my Council is convinced that if it permitted the affiliation of a party whose avowed policy is in such sharp conflict with its own, the S.A.L.P. would be rightly regarded by the wage and salary earning classes in South Africa and by the public generally as guilty of so flagrant a contradiction of its own professed policy and principles that it would deservedly forfeit its growing claim to public confidence, and do irreparable harm to the progress of the labour movement in this country.

So far as the Communist Party is concerned, my Council cannot discern any way in which affiliation can be thought by it likely to increase its strength or effectiveness, unless its aim were to break up the S.A.L.P. by its activities within that Party. However devoutly, as appears from the speeches and writings of some of your members and of "The International," such a consummation may be wished by members of the Communist Party, my Council can hardly suppose it was with this object that the application for affiliation was resolved on by your Conference. In any case, it is an aim in the achievement of which my Council can hardly be expected to assist.

I have only to add that the existing constitution of the S.A.L.P. merely permits of the affiliation of the "trade unions and kindred societies," and that as, on the grounds set forth above, my Council would be unable to entertain your Party's application, it is unnecessary to discuss whether or not it is prepared to recommend to the South African Labour Party any alteration of its constitution.

I am, yours faithfully,
ARCH. JAMIESON,
General Secretary.

# Chamber of Mines Tactics.

**The booklet, "How to Make the Nat-Lab Connection Permanent," and other circulars supposedly written by a "red" working man are beginning to flood the countryside.**

**On the 9th of this month a considerable number of down-and-out clerical workers were taken on by the Chamber of Mines at 17/6 per day.**

**They have all since been kept busy ADDRESSING ENVELOPES, and are still at it.**

**I wonder ?**

# It Can't be Done.

## CAPITALIST "PANACEAS" TURNED DOWN BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL.

In marked contrast to the cheap sneers and contemptuous retorts of "won't works" which are hurled at the workless by members of the Government and their officials from time to time, it was quite refreshing and encouraging to read the remarks made by Mr. Parris, of the Johannesburg White Labour Bureau, at a meeting of a Committee on Unemployment appointed by the Brakpan Town Council.

In expressing his personal point of view, Mr. Parris said that he could not see that local authorities would be doing themselves any good by employing men for whom there was no hope of permanent employment in the future in that particular area, as on the expiry of the temporary job the problem of re-employment had again to be faced. In reference to relief work Mr. Parris said he considered the Council should strongly represent to the Government the right of the men on relief work to have their families with them. In Johannesburg the men did not want to take this class of work. Their leaders demanded the right to work under conditions they considered to be civilised conditions. Life in tents with no future was not one they could recommend to their followers. They said in effect: "We want the class of work we desire, and here, in Johannesburg."

The Unemployed Committee of the Witwatersrand has on numerous occasions pointed out the futility of men going to relief works and leaving their families behind in Johannesburg—to starve, seeing that the highest wage earned is 5s. per diem, this not permitting them to maintain their families away from the works. The whole argument against relief work is that the pay offered can only afford a subsistence on a semi-starvation basis. This being the case, any reasonable man would rather eke out a semi-starvation existence with his family, by doing odd casual jobs, in Johannesburg, than leave them to the mercy of the heartless city while he betakes himself to Hartebeestpoort or elsewhere to starve for a mere pittance. His very manhood demands that he strive together with the dependents he is responsible for. Furthermore, by remaining in the town, he can at least organise with his fellows in distress, thus enabling all to put up a fight for it. Drafts going to the different relief works serve to split up the unemployed army into isolated sections, thus rendering effective action impossible.

Mr. Parris struck a good point when he advocated the right of men to have their families with them wherever they worked. One of the chief arguments put up against Communism is that it will break up family life. What, may we ask, is South African capitalism doing to-day with its relief work schemes?

Dr. Kerr Muir, at the same meeting, referred to the possibilities of cotton growing on a large scale in the Northern Transvaal. He said it was self-respecting work (whatever that may mean) and might prove a great asset to the country, as the demand would be unlimited. Ten or twelve acres would be quite sufficient per man. This is an old and musty idea reminiscent of mediæval times—the day of the handicraftsman and of the agriculturist with a small holding. If the cotton industry in the country is to be big then the small holder will soon be crushed out of existence—in agriculture this process has almost been completed in South Africa. Further, big industry demands cheap labour, and cheap labour in South Africa is black labour. So, then, what value is there in Dr. Muir's hope that the cotton industry may be able to absorb the white unemployed? Mr. Parris, in reply, said that any hope of each settler becoming an owner-producer in the cotton industry was very remote. The tendency all the time was the replacement of white unskilled labour by black labour. This tendency would, in his opinion, immediately become active in cotton growing if developed as an industry.

One after another the bourgeoisie's pretentious panaceas—"new industries," "small holdings," "afforestation," "diamond cutting," etc., etc.—are shown up as so much dust in the eyes, until even a bourgeois government official has to admit them to be worthless.

While the big guns of South African capitalism—its Premier, its Cabinet Ministers and higher officials, talk about the possibilities of absorbing the unemployed, and while they put forward pretty schemes which they childishly claim will accomplish that effect, it remains for Mr. Parris, a humble sword-bearer by comparison, to lay his finger on the crux of the problem and show that there can be no future for a white working class whilst the present system prevails.

C. F. G.

# A Workers' Bonanza.

Enormous raw metal diggings, says the "Berliner Tageblatt," are now taking place in the Province of Kursk, Soviet Russia. Already in time of the Tzar investigations were carried out with a view to finding out the reason of the abnormal attractions of the magnet in that region, but nothing was discovered. Now in the proletarian era comes the report of Prof. Lazarew and Gubkin that after surmounting immense difficulties they have succeeded in locating a huge reserve of raw metals. Four gigantic diamond drills, specially brought from Germany for the purpose, are being put to work. The so-called magnetic anomaly stretches to the north for a distance of 250 versts, and for an almost similar distance to the south. The Kursk reserves are reckoned to contain twice as much raw metal as all the other known reserves of the world.

# Look to Yourselves.

The Labour Party outside the House has its being in a different atmosphere to that of the Labour Party within—the atmosphere of Wrong, of Poverty, of Slavery. From that atmosphere it should draw a burning hatred of Wrong, of Poverty, and Slavery. It should seize on the fundamental cause of Wrong, of Poverty, and Slavery—the private appropriation of the Earth. It should formulate its demand from amidst the wronged, the poverty-stricken, and the enslaved, and see to it that the Parliamentarians voice that demand as an expression of the popular will. Then, instead of Labour members providing "Pink Pills for Pale People" out of the Fabian medicine chest, it will do something to send the red blood of forceful endeavour coursing through the veins of Labour.

—"The Commonweal" (R. L. Outhwaite).

* * *

"Sixteen hundred negroes have been lynched in these United States in this Twentieth Century; thirty-four negroes have been burned alive since the Armistice. Respect for the sovereign rights of our State kept Congress, however, from passing a Federal Anti-Lynching Bill. North-Western Arkansas has been ruled by a mob calling itself a Citizens' Committee, which hung one innocent striker, flogged others, and deported still more—and the Governor of the State condones the situation. And now, to prove that we are a civilised nation, understanding the rights and duties of a great State to its nationals—the newspapers report that we may send an army "TO PROTECT OUR CITIZENS IN CHINA."

—"The Nation" (U.S.A.).

of slaves must be the work of the slaves themselves.

Meanwhile it looks as if in another couple of years we should see 99 per cent. of the population of the Union "segregated"—the poor whites, the Indians, and the natives—leaving all the rest of the country to—whom? And why?

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# Indian Segregation.

The Indian movement, such as it is in South Africa, has hitherto interested us no more than the white counter movement because it has always appeared as nothing more than rival tradesmen's competition. But now that Government intervention in favour of whites against Indians as such is promised by General Smuts, this has to be shown up as just another case of imperialist tyranny.

Local authorities, he says, are to be empowered to set aside areas for Indians both for residence and for trade, and as regards the franchise Indians are to fare no better than natives. Why? Here are his reasons:

"Our forefathers established this country as a European community." What they did was to dispossess the previous occupiers of the country and then use them, and also import Indians and others, to work it for them. That is the characteristic process of imperialism, but it is the very reverse of "establishng the country as a European community."

Residential segregation is excused on "social" grounds, but really it is because an Indian residing in a white part of the town "depreciates the property in the neighbourhood"; in other words, "social" status counts for nothing in the poorer quarters, but only where property is concerned. And so no doubt even among the Indians themselves "property" will always talk as against "the poor Indian."

Indians outnumber whites in Natal. Surely then it is the minority that should be "segregated." As it is, the whine that "the white community cannot protect itself" is the last word in hypocrisy, when the whites monopolise the political power which alone makes possible this legislation "which is considered essential to the white community in ITS OWN INTERESTS." THERE IS NOTHING WHATEVER TO DISTINGUISH THE NATAL OR THE KENYA WHITES' POLICY FROM FASCISM AS EXEMPLIFIED IN MUSSOLINI'S LATEST "LEGISLATIVE TRIUMPH."

As for the franchise, it is baldly refused on the mere ground of colour: for if not, if it is fair that it should be enjoyed as an "equal right for all civilised men," then distinctions must be made on the ground of civilisation, not refused irrespective of civilisation. And although the tabled S.A.P. resolution was dropped after the Premier's speech, yet there is little to choose between his rough-shod negative and the contemptible disingenuousness of its two-wrongs-make-a-right argument that citizenship for Indians "would be an act of great injustice to the native races"!

Imperialism imperatively demands (except when, as in the case of Maharajahs, it cannot subsist without native tools) that its subject races shall in their entirety be subject to the exploitation of the capitalists of the ruling race, shall all remain for ever helots. As helots then let them combine. Let the rank and file Indians, and especially the Indian working class of South Africa, compel their national associations to recognise where the numerical and real militant strength of the helot race resides, and organise them in the only camp which has any future, on the only basis which offers hope for all the subject races of all empires, the basis of the international working class movement. And if the bourgeois Indians decline, let the workers in turn cut them out and leave them dangling between the devil on top and the deep sea of the submerged coloured masses below. The time is past for trusting to Parliament or to Downing Street. The emancipation

(Continued on previous column.)

# COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

## EAST RAND DISTRICT COMMITTEE.

A largely attended meeting of East Rand members of the party was held on Wednesday night at the Workers' Hall, Benoni. As a result, it was decided to form an East Rand District Committee, consisting of delegates from Benoni, Brakpan, and Springs, and other branches east of Johannesburg as formed. The District Committee will hold its first meeting at the Workers' Hall on Tuesday, August 7th, by which time the branches will have nominated their representatives. Com. Jack Oates, who is migrating to Springs, was elected Secretary of the District Committee. There is big work in store for our comrades on the East Rand, needing a concentration of all available brains and energy.

### JOHANNESBURG.

Branch meeting, Thursday next, August 2. Business includes proposals re reduction in price and size of the "International," and re change of future meeting nights. The syllabus and dates of discussion nights for the remainder of August will be published next week.

### JEPPE.

Branch meeting, Wednesday next, August 1. Discussion on "Evolution and Revolution."

# International Delegate Fund.

Previously acknowledged: £36 9s. 6d. R.E.L. 5/-, I.K. £2 2s., C.S. 10/-, J.T.H. 10/-, H.G. 5/-, W.D.D. 2/6, R.G. 1/-, K.O.B. 10/-, M.S. and T.G. 7/6, D.M. 5/-, S.N.G. 10/-, F.P. 2/6. Proceeds of July Social to be announced later; TICKET SELLERS ARE EARNESTLY REQUESTED TO SETTLE UP IMMEDIATELY.

Comrade Andrews wrote from Riga on the 26th ult., expecting to be in Moscow by the 28th, and promising on arrival to give us his impressions to date.

# "Imprecorr."

The issue of the "International Press Correspondence" of 21st June contains a fine article by Lenin on co-operation, its first-rate importance under the new regime, and how it is to be specially stimulated; a pretty exposure by Radek of Curzon's myth of "Russian agents" stirring up trouble in the Ruhr (it was "Poincare's agents" before, and the Social Democrats had much to say of Communist treachery to the Fatherland, but the latest yarn was spread in the interest of German Urquharts anxious to get British support); several other articles clarifying the Ruhr position and also the machinations of Fascism, Italian and German; an exposure of the lies regarding "unparalleled misery" in Russia as compared with Germany, etc., etc.

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