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The International

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Hamburg and Moscow.

A CONTRAST IN FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

By W. H. ANDREWS.

Com. Andrews writes from Moscow on 2nd July:

The most interesting thing that I saw in Hamburg was a Singerbund concert organised by the Hamburg, Altona, and Kiel Communist singing clubs. Men, women and children to the number of two thousand with two bands marched from Altona, where they assembled (on Sunday, June 17th), to a hall and gardens about three miles into the country. Everyone walked, and the humble bread and sausage or bread and cheese sandwich formed the universal diet carried by the people themselves. The bread is like the English war bread—awful stuff. Beer was there, and choir after choir, male, mixed, children and women, sang revolutionary and other songs from a platform in the open air. After the songs, some speeches from comrades, and I had to give the greetings of South African comrades and compliment the singing leaders on the success of the arrangements. Then the "Internationale" and dancing ended the day. This was one of the bright spots in the sombre and pinched lives of the German workers. THE SADDEST THING I HAVE EVER SEEN IS GERMANY TO-DAY, and Berlin is several degrees worse than Hamburg. The poverty is appalling and self-evident to anyone with eyes. How men who claim to be Communists and are workers can go to Germany and come back stating that "the German workers are quite comfortably off" beats me. THERE IS NOT ONE HEALTHY LOOKING PERSON IN A HUNDRED IN BERLIN, man, woman or child, white, pinched, or puffy. There are rags and bare feet, although they are hidden in the poorer streets and the great majority keep a decent appearance to the world; but in their homes—and I was in some—the pitiful shifts that have to be made and the meagreness of the fare is heartbreaking. The German people have been reduced to the level economically of coolies, with German efficiency superadded. The cafes, theatres, etc., however, are full every night, so that someone is making money, and there are of course the foreigners.

We arrived at Moscow at 11 a.m. on June 29th. I attended the meeting of the Proffintern all Sunday, to-day I attend the Commintern. But let me say at once that Russia is improving every day. EVERYONE LOOKS HAPPY AND WELL FED; EVERYONE IS HOPEFUL AND CONFIDENT. THERE IS AN AIR OF BUOYANCY NOT TO BE FELT ELSEWHERE IN MY EXPERIENCE, AND THIS IS THE FEELING THAT EVERYONE HAS. The picturesque old city has an endless variety of pictures to present, in the morning, in the evening, at night, from this point and that. Moscow I think would never become dull or tiresome.

Judas on the Job.

During the English dockers' strike a number of spies, detectives and agents provocateurs have been found on the docks working actually WITHIN THE UNIONS.

These despicable minions of the master class went to work so clumsily—perhaps because they had so poor an opinion of the dockers' intelligence—that they "spilt the beans" pretty badly. At every critical stage in the dispute men have been observed "giving the griffin," to use the dockers' phrase for signalling, to known representatives of the forces of "law and order." More than one "under cover" man has been detected in this way. "Tick-tacking"—signalling by tapping—has been a prominent feature right through the strike, and in several cases it has served to reveal traitors who had been suspected but against whom no definite proof had been obtained.

Another illustration of the methods employed is to be found in the decision of the FIRST UNOFFICIAL STRIKE COMMITTEE to order a resumption of work. IT IS NOW PROVED THAT THE COMMITTEE WAS "RIGGED," and confirmation of this may be found in the fact that the evening newspapers were being sold in Poplar giving the resolution of the Strike Committee before the resolution had been agreed to! In spite of these measures the strike has been maintained, although up to date news of it is not edible. "Jimmy Green" has been active on the strikers' platform.

We Know Him!

[illegible] agent-provocateur [illegible] agent who poses as a worker, [illegible] to stir up factions [illegible] different [illegible] of the [illegible] work-

Flashlights on the European Situation

By KARL RADEK.

Lord Curzon called the Communist International "a mischievous organisation," presumably because it concerns itself with questions of world politics. We have not studied world political questions at Eton College. We, as the OBJECTS of world politics, have studied world political questions in the school of bitter experience.

* * *

Speaking militarily, England has ceased to be an island. It consists now of nothing but Achilles' heels owing to the overwhelming superiority of the French aerial forces.

* * *

In Russia, where the working class is in power, national consciousness is a part of the dictatorship. Mirbach and General Hoffmann were the fathers of this national movement when they forced the peace of Brest-Litovsk upon Russia. And Curzon, with his notes, is playing a similar role. We will see to it that these notes are translated into popular Russian and brought to the notice of every worker and peasant.

The magnitude of the budgets for military expenditure is to-day far larger than before the war, and consequently the danger of war is greater than in 1914.

* * *

In order to carry on the fight in the Ruhr, the German bourgeoisie was compelled to unleash all the dogs of nationalism, and it is now the victim of its own agitation. The case of the French Government is the same. There is a difference between the national and the revolutionary-national interests of Germany, which latter are covered by the revolutionary interests of the proletariat. The German Communist Party must remember that every act that drags Germany down is a danger to the German revolution. The masses of petty bourgeois and technical intellectuals, who will play a great part in the revolution, face to face with de-classed capitalism, assume the form of a national opposition. If we want to be a workers' party which desires to fight for power, then we must find a way of approach to these masses, and we shall best find it not when we show ourselves afraid to assume responsibility, but when we say that the working class alone can save the nation.

Strike Prisoners' Release Committee.

WELCOME

TO THE 28 RELEASED PRISONERS,

— ON —

WEDNESDAY, 15th AUGUST,

AT THE BERKELEY ROOMS, 148 Jeppe Street
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Never Again!

The S.A. Young Communist League has published the following leaflet:

YOUNG MEN OF SOUTH AFRICA!

Early in 1924 you will be called upon to register your names for the Defence Force.

For what purpose will the Defence Force be used when once it comes into being? It will be used for the suppression of the working class and the maintenance of the capitalist class in its position on the backs of the workers. We have only to point to what happened in 1913, 1914, and 1922. The members of the Defence Force will be used to shoot down their striking fathers, brothers and comrades.

FELLOW-WORKERS!

The time has come for a final decision to be made. The Press will try to befool and intimidate you. They will prate about the liberty of the British Empire, the glory of the British Flag, the honour and renown of South Africa. But experience has taught us how to value this useless prattle. We [illegible] that the British Empire stands for the vested [illegible] exploitation; that the British [illegible] the system of wage slavery and [illegible] that the honour and renown of South [illegible] the possession of a few [illegible] of [illegible]

The capitalist class stand morally damned for the great sin of 1914-1918, but they still seek to trade on your national instincts, they still seek to use you for their own narrow ends. In the Great War "to make the world safe for democracy," millions of young workers laid down their lives. And in this world "made fit for heroes to live in" unemployment is chronic, wages are reduced to the pig level, and every attempt of the working class to better their conditions of living is met by the armed forces of "law and order."

Never again, fellow-workers, let it be said that you helped to drive the working class still further into misery and starvation.

The unity of labour is the hope of the world! The united front of the toilers is the only salvation for the world to-day—

AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALIST MILITARISM!

AGAINST CAPITALIST WARS AND CAPITALIST [illegible]!

[illegible] WITH THE SMUTS GOVERNMENT!

[illegible] FOR THE UNITED FRONT OF THE [illegible] AND PEASANTS!

[illegible] LIVE THE YOUNG WORKERS WHO

"They Only Fought a War."

We are accustomed to think of "The Star" simply as one of the large number of newspapers serving to-day the interests of those who rule in society. Compared with the newspapers of the future Socialist order, compared with our modern "Pravda," the "Star" is "as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal"; not even that sometimes, for our "Star" often plays very harsh music, and we hear behind it at such times, very distinctly, the battery stamps grinding out profits for the Chamber of Mines, and the cough of the men along the Reef with phthisis eating their lungs away.

But when we compare the "Star" with a filthy rag like the "Daily Wail" or a filthier one like the "Sunday Slimes," we realise the possibility of finding degrees of intelligence even among capitalist journalists. The "Star" certainly commands more efficient brains than its rival daily; its journalism is certainly of a higher standard. Perhaps that is the reason why this organ of our mine-owning aristocracy occasionally comes forward with something that seems to indicate that a journalist may sometimes be something more than a mere mechanical disseminator of dope.

An explanation such as this seems necessary in view of the fact that the "Star's" cartoon of August 3rd assumes an attitude which, if persisted in, could not be otherwise than revolutionary.

Tommy Onlar and Jack Khayyam were "heroes" in the Great War. They have now been cast on the scrap-heap. Tommy (quoting) says to Jack:

"There was a door to which I found no key:
There was a veil past which I could not see:
Some little talk awhile of ME and THEE
There seemed, and then no more of THEE and ME."

The veil is that of "European Diplomacy," and (if the "Star" will allow us) the key is the key of revolutionary Marxism, which will unlock the door of capitalist exploitation—the robbery of one class by another.

We remember very plainly the "Star" helping to preach men into the trenches in 1914-1918. When those men came back ("all that was left of them") they expected "the world fit for heroes to live in"; at least they did not expect what they actually got—drastic wage cuts and retrenchment. When they revolted against these conditions they were shot down, and the "Star" preached them into their graves once more, this time from the front—not from the back as in 1914.

Long was a "tommy," so was Garnsworthy. Long and Garnsworthy saw this far through the veil: they realised that they had been cruelly and deliberately deceived by a gang of international financiers. Long was hanged—and we hold the "Star" equally responsible for his death with Jan Smuts and the Chamber of Mines. Garnsworthy would have been hanged also were it not for the massed demonstration of Rand workers at the funeral of Long.

We said that the cartoon was revolutionary. It is revolutionary in this, that when Tommy and Jack have made up their minds that capitalist wars are no concern of theirs, then there will be no capitalist wars. When Tommy and Jack realise that they are being exploited, and that the only way to end their exploitation is the revolutionary way, then they will not sit still and philosophise as the "Star" suggests. They have rifles in their hands. These rifles they will one day use (as in Russia) to overthrow the class of officers and exploiters and establish their own soldiers' and sailors' councils.

There is no question about it. The revolution is coming. We are glad that the "Star" has some inkling of the direction in which things are moving.

E. R. R.

White and Black Unemployment.

The civilised standard has to be maintained, white men must be given a chance in life: but what is being done on behalf of thousands upon thousands of unemployed black people who endure the same hardships and suffer similar wounds of starvation, poor clothing and shelter? I would not take from the "poor white" his chance. I would rather augment it and make it more secure. At the same time I would make that of the unemployed black man equally as good.—The "Workers' Herald," organ of the (native) I.C.U.

* * *

Canon Lavis, of Capetown, says: "There are those, and their number is legion, whose one aim in life seems to be evasion of work and maintenance of life along the line of least resistance, added to a tendency to avail of all illegitimate means by which they can obtain food and shelter."

We agree heartily whenever we look [illegible] pages of the "Toiler" and such like [illegible]

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Spoils of War and War of Spoils

As long as the Allied thieves got on well together their motives were all perfect and saintly. But as the rift has increased, the necessity for reciprocal abuse has brought about more brutal candour; to hurt their rivals they will give the whole show away. Capitalist "public orators" blurt out the truth about their society more arrantly every day, until now, with France and England at loggerheads, we get to the bottom of it. Unblushingly, without apology, the "Manchester Guardian," in regard to the Ruhr, "suggests that the issue may be regarded as a CONFLICT BETWEEN BRITISH AND FRENCH FINANCE FOR THE CONTROL OF THE VAST MASS OF GERMAN CAPITAL which is useless to Germany but which is bound to be used in conjunction either with French or British capital."

This then is the fire that emerges from the great smoke spread over the Ruhr adventure during the last six months. This is what marks fell for! Shades of the Fourteen Points! Gallant little Belgium! Liberty and Justice and the Freedom of Small Nations! God versus the Devil! Right versus Might! "We seek no territory, we seek no spoil," etc., etc. And here is the reality! A scramble of British and French capitalists for the plunder of German capital! This is what you fought for, you heroes, you halt and maimed, you workless tramping the streets; for this you lost your husbands, brothers and sons, you bereaved women; for this you salute your British flag waving over you so proudly; for this all the world walks in "chaos," on "a precipice's edge," with "tottering civilisation" and untold misery in five continents. Truly did Lloyd-George confess that "wars are precipitated by motives which the statesmen responsible for them dare not publicly avow: a public discussion would drag these motives in their nudity into the open, where they would die of exposure to the withering contempt of humanity."

Not only was this the "final cause" of the last war, but it threatens to be the occasion of a new one. You Scottish and I.L.H. and Highlanders and all the rest, is it good enough? Have you such a love for one set of robbers that you will die to help them against another? You cadets and scouts who know not what war is, still less what it is for, is this your idea of service to king and country? Are you such pitiable young fools as all that?

As for the spoils your masters want you, and French masters in turn want their dupes, to help them seize, they belong neither to the French nor to the British highwaymen nor even to their immediate victims the German capitalists themselves, but only to the German working people themselves, in trust for the nascent commonwealth of working people of all the world. Refuse to have anything to do with any campaign for the benefit of any but the real owners. If you want to fight for the Good Cause, there is one war, and only one, in which you must engage, the war against all the robbers, and first of all those of your own country. What we in South Africa too need is a Defence Force that will defend the masses of South Africa from their own rapacious plunderers—the "men of the hour," forsooth!

Behold them seated in their glory,
The lords of mine and ship and soil:
Too long their rich men's laws have fooled us,
Robber kings too long made spoil.

The most ghoulish touch in the picture is the expectant waiting of each of the rival aasvogels on the "collapse" of Germany—the signal for each to step in in the name of "law and order" and crush the workers of Germany—next to Russia's the most notable champions of the world labour movement. In this coming struggle it will not be possible for the working class to remain aloof or pacifist. The war is being forced on us and against us. We must make up our minds, if we are not to be destroyed, to seize the occasion to destroy our enemies, the same gang in every country, the enemies of the human race. Taking advantage of their disunity, we must redouble our struggle for unity:

From mine and field and shop united,
Courage, comrades, we'll break their sway!
'Tis ours to free a world benighted,
And bid the slave behold The Day!

"Proletarian Dictatorship."

"The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all other proletarian parties: organisation of the proletariat on a class basis; overthrow of the supremacy of the bourgeois; conquest of political power by the proletariat."

But it is reserved for the South African Labour Party to deny that this is the immediate aim, and to inform the world that "proletarian dictatorship would not be to the taste or benefit of the working classes." Then what on earth is the South African Labour Party out for? It wants "to free the people from capitalist domination," it says; "organically changing the existing economic system." That means the victory of the Labour movement, the victory of the working class, "Labor omnia vincit" as the motto over the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, says. What is the working class going to do with its political victory? Re-establish the parasite class, bring the capitalist system back to predominance? No, it is going to use its power to better purpose than that. It is going to carry out resolutely all measures necessary for the abolition of capitalism and introduction of socialism. It is going to reconstruct society on a basis of production for the use of the producers ("by hand and brain" by all means, if you like), to the toilers the fruit of their toil, the CO-OPERATIVE commonwealth, that is, the WORKERS' Fellowship, the World for the Workers, and away with all the capitalist bag of tricks, isn't it? All this would be the duty of the S.A.L.P. if it attained power.

Does the S.A.L.P. think the capitalists will help the working class in this? Why, of course the working class will have to do the job itself, and in the teeth of capitalist opposition, which it will therefore have to suppress. That is the proletarian dictatorship in broad features: for it is unnecessary here to refine about the terms on which support will have to be obtained from anti-capitalist elements which are not strictly "proletarian." If the "working classes" (we won't quibble about the plural) neither want NOR NEED thus to be victorious and push their victory to the utmost, but prefer their chains, like slaves, and are "all the better for them," then both we and the Labour Party are wasting our time, both talking about "freeing the people from capitalist domination" and attempting to do it.

Flag and Wreath.

(On seeing High School boys hang a Memorial Day wreath on the statue of Lincoln.)

Merry, merry marchers, following the colours,
Do you know that you are marching to slaughter and be slain?
On the green of this spring morning, on the white of your young bodies,
Murder-thoughts of men who herd you make a horrid stain.
Stepping off so carelessly in blouse or belted jacket,
Led by lads in uniform—look at them, and think:
Where is it you are marching to the music of your masters,
Who dig the pit and play you merrily towards its brink?
A pit in France already filled is marked with ghastly crosses.
THOSE WHO ESCAPED ITS JAWS ARE FAR TOO WISE TO MARCH AGAIN.
So the masters pipe to you, merrily, oh, so merrily;
For when they make their next war you will be young men.
They have you talk of Gettysburg, no word about the Great War;
The Argonne is best forgotten and graves with crosses new.
Lay down your wreath and march away. THE URCHINS WHO LOOK ON TO-DAY
WILL MARCH IN TURN WITH BAND AND FLAG TO BRING A WREATH FOR YOU.

—Rena Deane.

Confessions of a "Pauvre Diable."

Sneerers at the labour movement often instance some far from faultless individual belonging to it, and ask "Is that the sort of man you are fighting for?" forgetting that, apart from the fact that his upbringing was in capitalism's hands, working for "the multitudes" does not involve extolling all or any of them as paragons, any more than white support of native emancipation means "letting a black man marry your daughter." Not all the strike prisoners released last week are heroes or philosophers, and one of them was ostensibly induced to give a "Sunday Times" interviewer some statements so mean and abject as to read more like "Sunday Times" opinions than his own, but representing perhaps the reaction of unnatural prison surroundings on his mind. Brooding in his cell, he may have asked "Was I wrong?" and parsons may have been quick to call him, a sinner, to "repentance."

THE TWO CODES.

But what is the standard applied? Capitalist apologists themselves admit to-day that the best to be said of their world is "how sad and mad and bad it is," and hence, even if you purport to conform to their current morals, you cannot do either wholly right or wholly wrong: capitalist society being a hopeless tangle, its morals are only so much futile casuistry. And once you go further and realise that current morals are after all only the morals inculcated (though not observed) by the ruling class, which controls schools, churches, homes and "public opinion," for its own advantage, you can only conclude that "right" or "wrong" means just "for" or "against" the interests of that class; and moreover, that class being no better than a usurper and a robber to be ousted and overthrown, its "right," meaning "for" that usurpation and robbery, positively becomes wrong, and its "wrong," meaning against them, right. To attempt (usually in vain) to "make snug" in the present system is revealed as the deadliest of sin; to struggle to expedite its inevitable downfall and replacement by "a better world," the only canon of virtue. The one means to lose your own soul and probably the whole world too; the other, to lose your liberty or life perhaps, but to gain your own soul and the whole world too.

"LAW AND ORDER" = SURRENDER EVERY TIME.

"It was wrong to join the revolutionaries," whispers the confessor. An arguable point, perhaps, as a matter of class war tactics: possibly it did not aid the workers' cause in every respect. But if the "Sunday Times" is correct in saying that "every strike is a milder form of rebellion," or, as Mr. Brace put it, "a war," then rebellion or war being "wrong," every strike tends to be "wrong" too: in other words, you must never strike, never resist the boss, but always avoid a "clash," i.e., always submit to the boss' will, at any rate when he makes any show of force. That is where capitalist "law" and "ethics" land you, and it is plain to see the reason for it all.

WHERE ARE THE VILLAINS?

Our prisoner then takes refuge in the cant phrases about having been "misled" by people who "led us into trouble"; "we were dupes in the hands of those who had an axe to grind" and "led us on to violence." Tea-room bioscopes must always provide us with a villain of the piece; but every sane person knows that a clash like last year's is as natural under modern capitalism as sunrise, and the theory of an extraneous conspiracy to make a revolution, besides having been disposed of in the Courts where not a single charge of any such thing was sustained, is intrinsically "redundant" and absurd. The evidence of C. J. Erasmus, of Fordsburg, put the position perfectly simply. "The Chamber of Mines," he said, "seeing the men determined not to go back to work, did all it could to injure them, and tried every possible way to separate them and make them return to work. The Government sympathised with the Chamber of Mines, which asked that the attack should take place. My opinion, seeing the position as it was, was that war must have been declared by the Government, AND I STOOD ON THE SIDE OF THE STRIKERS. I think the police were put up to shoot strikers to get the strikers to go back to work. They shot down innocent people in the street. Several of our leaders had told us we must not use force; but if the police came with violence the men would defend themselves. When the firing commenced" (e.g., at Boksburg) "the temper of the people naturally was worked up: we fought the police because they shot at us, and by disarming them we prevented them from again shooting." And Viljoen and Coetzee said: "There was no premeditation on our side, we were only dismayed at the length things had gone." That evidence is the truest story yet given of the whole affair. The Martial Law Commission's anti-Communist mare's nest is typified in that mythical Benoni Russian Jew ("Lenin's last kick," as Winston Churchill called him) who, like Curzon's Ryvkin and Travkin on the Ruhr, has only made a laughing stock of his sapient inventors.

THE REAL MISLEADERS.

Lenin as a matter of fact was able to size up the Rand affair as correctly as anyone. He too could see that there were plenty of misleaders after all. The greatest lesson of the whole episode is "Beware of provocateurs." Spies and detectives were brought up from all parts of Africa to the Rand long before the strikers had any suspicion of coming violence—while indeed they were priding themselves on their unexampled peacefulness; and the Crown and King's evidence in the trials makes it perfectly clear that these "misleaders" joined and honeycombed the commandos in order to provoke and precipitate a clash and give an excuse for "Martial Law," and all the more when they saw Communists and others attempting to ginger up the strike leaders to a more resolute refusal to surrender. "Our misleaders were not to be found when the trouble began," says our ex-prisoner. Of course not. "They had not the courage of their convictions"—such men have neither convictions nor courage. And if anything were wanted to clinch this view it would be the affair with natives just before Martial Law, a wholly artificial outbreak, certainly in an inflammable atmosphere, but answering completely to our ex-prisoner's description that "there was quite a lot of wire-pulling through persons who had no sympathy with our cause; that was one of the things we did not know then." Quite so.

PROLETARIAN POLITICS.

And then he wants to "thank Smuts" as a modern Jesus! Let us leave that nauseating suggestion and recall his redeeming words: "We approached and acted in the matter FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE WORKER and not the politicians": reminding him only that the workers too must learn to be "politicians," and cleverer at the game than their adversaries; must learn to cultivate a keen eye for crooks, a long memory, a grasp of world-wide capitalist devilry as a whole; sleepless vigilance, undying hatred of the enemy and his tools, sustained preparation throughout times of peace; yes, must after all engage in a calculated "conspiracy" (the LACK of which was the feature of last year) to ensure that the victory of the working class shall never again be in doubt.

A Real United Front.

The Hamburg "Parade" and the Berlin Pact.

By A. LOSOVSKY, Secretary R.I.L.U.

While in Hamburg the Socialist Congress was proceeding, accompanied by the wildest agitation against Communism and social revolution, in Berlin, there met the conference of the Transport Workers, participated in by representatives of the R.I.L.U. and of organisations affiliated to the Amsterdam International. Hamburg was the rendezvous for the drawing room coalition ministers of yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow, whose greatest anxiety was the concealment of THEIR NATIONALIST AND IMPERIALIST ANTAGONISM. Berlin was the meeting place of the leaders of the transport workers of all countries, convened with the sincere and honourable intention of finding a COMMON BASIS OF UNDERSTANDING among the workers of different parties. In Hamburg, all participators were permeated with the idea of supporting to their utmost that which has been happily termed by that unhappy child of Menshevism, Abramovitch, "DEMOCRATIC CAPITALISM." Here in Berlin "democratic capitalism" was not talked about, the question dealt with was how best TO GATHER TOGETHER THE SCATTERED MASSES FOR SELF-DEFENCE against the growing capitalist and democratic reaction. On one side a congress where Left and Right combine on the basis of CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSES, and on the other side, a conference resulting in an understanding for the purpose of UNITED REVOLUTIONARY CLASS WAR. And although many hundreds of people took part in the Hamburg congress, including many ministers, while in Berlin it was but a modest gathering, attended by nine persons in all, not one of whom was a bourgeois minister, still the Berlin conference was of much greater significance for the working class than the empty cackling of the Hamburg geese. What is the real import of the Hamburg congress? The strengthening of the coalition policy, the sanctioning of working unity among the classes, and thus the WIDENING OF THE CHASM WITHIN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT. And what is the import of the Berlin consultation? The extension of the anti-capitalist front, the consolidation of proletarian positions, and a stride forward towards the RESTORATION OF UNITY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, on the basis of revolutionary class war.

THE TEST QUESTION: FOR THE ENEMY OR AGAINST HIM?

If anyone asks what our United Front signifies, we reply: Read with attention the resolutions passed by the Transport Workers' Conference and you will find the answer to this question. But now we put a few questions to our opponents: Can you find in these resolutions, passed by us, anything with which any workman can disagree? Perhaps the war against war? The struggle against Fascism? The defence of Soviet Russia? The creation of organs intended to carry on the struggle against militarist reaction on international lines? Or perhaps the desire of the conference to overcome the trade union split as rapidly as possible, is unacceptable? We are fully convinced that no worker can contest any one of the points of our resolutions. But now the reformist leaders are doubtless expressing themselves as opposed to these resolutions, for they prefer coalition with the bourgeoisie to coalition with the Communists. This idea appears through all the speeches and actions of the conveners of the Hamburg congress. The reply received by the International Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism, to its appeal for the formation of a united front, signified: Rather with the bourgeoisie against the Communists than with the Communists against the bourgeoisie! The International Transport Workers' Federation rejected this formula, and declared: RATHER WITH THE COMMUNISTS AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE, THAN WITH THE BOURGEOISIE AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS. And here lies the historical import of the unity conference of the transport workers.

BUILDING UP MUTUAL CONFIDENCE.

Neither of the two parties to the agreement is a victim to any delusion: both parties are fully aware of the difficulty of maintaining unity of action in the present disunited state of the labour movement. Both parties grasped that the fundamental and political differences of opinion existing within the trade union movement are not to be overcome by the joint signing of some few resolutions, but that various opinions and ideas will continue to combat one another. The united front does not wipe out differences of opinion, but it paves the way for bringing the scattered trade unions together, and creates on the basis of common action—that MUTUAL CONFIDENCE WHICH IS INDISPENSABLE IN A STRUGGLE AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY.

EXTEND THE FRONT!

Where will this understanding among the transport workers lead us? We should like to see it spread as rapidly as possible to every branch of production. We shall work systematically and thoroughly for the amalgamation of the parallel trade unions in all countries. We shall continue repeatedly to propose joint action to the Amsterdam International and to all international associations. The interests of the international proletariat demand this. And woe to those leaders of the labour movement who do not grasp this!

THE STRUGGLE [illegible]
Slowly and painfully [illegible]

(Continued on [illegible])

ing class is born. As the roots of the schism in the working class lie in the policy of working unity with the bourgeoisie, the schism is overcome in proportion as the BROAD MASSES OF THE WORKERS, and the organisations created by them, throw over this policy. One thing is beyond all doubt: THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS CAN ONLY ORIGINATE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE, and as the conference held by the transport workers set itself the task of combating the bourgeoisie, it thus at the same time created the premises for the unity of the transport workers of all countries. This conference proved the vitality of the united front, and hence I close my remarks by repeating the declaration which I made at the Hague International Conference: "WHETHER YOU WANT IT OR NOT—THE UNITED FRONT WILL COME ABOUT. IT WILL COME ABOUT WITH YOU IF YOU LIKE, WITHOUT YOU IF YOU STAND ASIDE, AND AGAINST YOU IF YOU OPPOSE IT BY RESISTANCE."

[illegible] International and the German [illegible] Workers' Union are appar[illegible] Transport Workers' United

Co-Operation Under the Proletarian Power.

HOW "CIVILISATION" FOLLOWS REVOLUTION.

By N. LENIN.

Why were the plans laid down by the old co-operators, beginning with Robert Owen, so fantastic? Because they dreamed of the peaceful transformation of the present state of society into a socialist one, without giving any thought to such fundamental questions as class warfare, the conquest of political power by the working class, the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class. And therefore we were quite right in seeing nothing but foolish and romantic imaginings in this "co-operative" socialism: mere dreams for the conversion of class enemies into class co-operators, of class war into class peace (civil peace), simply by the spread of co-operation among the population.

There is no doubt whatever that we have been in the right from the standpoint of the fundamental task of the present day. For without the class struggle for the political power of the state it is impossible to realise socialism.

THE ONUS SHIFTED.

But let us consider how matters have changed since the state power actually came into the hands of the working class, since the political power of the exploiters was overthrown, and all means of production (with the exception of those placed voluntarily and temporarily in the hands of the exploiters, on terms of concessions) belonged to the working class.

We have now the right to say that THE GROWTH OF CO-OPERATION (with the slight reservations mentioned above) IS FOR US SYNONYMOUS WITH THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM. At the same time we must admit a fundamental alteration in our whole point of view with regard to socialism. This fundamental alteration consists in the fact that hitherto we have rightly laid the greatest emphasis on the political struggle, on the revolution, on the conquest of power; but now the time has come to attach the greater importance to peaceful organisatory "cultural" work. . . . And cultural work among the peasantry, as an economic aim, is precisely one of the things accomplished by co-operation.

WORKERS' CONTROL ENOUGH.

Is not the actual power of the State over all the most important means of production, this State power in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of the proletariat with many millions of peasants and small holders, the secure and leading role of the proletariat in relation to this peasantry, etc.—is not this all that is required to enable us to build up, with the aid of co-operation, solely with the aid of that co-operation which we formerly treated as petty shopkeeping (and which we may still so treat, from one point of view, under the New Economic Policy), the complete structure of socialist society? This co-operation is not in itself the structure of socialist society, but it is everything that is required for this structure.

WHAT IS SOCIALISATION?

To utilise the New Economic Policy for the purpose of inducing the whole population, every separate individual, to take part in co-operation—this requires a whole historical epoch. We may pass through this epoch in one or two decades. But it will still be a distinct historical epoch, and without this historical epoch, without everyone's being able to read and write, without adequate insight, without having educated the population to the extent that all can make some use of books, and without having created the material basis for this, without a certain security, let us say, against bad crops and famine—without all this we cannot attain our end. Everything now depends on whether we can supplement that revolutionary élan, that revolutionary enthusiasm which we have so often successfully proved, by a capacity—I might almost say of acting like a sensible and experienced shopkeeper, which is all that is required from a good co-operator. And the organisation of civilised members of co-operatives, given common ownership of the means of production on the basis of the class victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie—this is socialisation.

Jim Larkin.

A REAL LABOUR LEADER.

The darling of Irish working men and women the world over is a true son of the common people. He has lived through the whole hell-fire that makes up a real proletarian life. As a child of seven he delivered milk for forty hours a week, and worked Saturdays at chopping fat. His pay was big for those days—2/6 a week and a bun on pay day. He was a jobbing painter and paperhanger, french polisher and tramp before he was eleven. Tramping the South, West, and East of England; starving, crawling and huddling in fields, barns and ditches—that was the early school of the great Irish leader. From this school Larkin progressed through a long course in the university of hardship and adversity. His classes and studies were everything and anything aboard or ashore; stevedoring, portering, carting, coal-heaving, carrying bags, and bushelling. The training finished, the born leader emerges in his escapades as stowaway to South America. Leading the crews of other stows, he organises them to fight against brutalising conditions, and begins his prison career in the interests of the working class by finishing up in chains, ironed to a stanchion in hold No. 3. That was "some" prison on a Hell Packet—no companions, a tin of water and hundreds of rats eating his toenails. It is doubtful if there lives to-day another leader whose life has been so dedicable as Com. Jim's. That's why no other has such fire, hot indignation, and compelling emotion in the fight of the working class. As Larkin mirrors the life of the Irish workers in every phase, so his life has been the concentrated and terrible essence of the workers' lives. His present triumphant [illegible] through his misery, hard to the point of [illegible] the ultimate victory and the class in which he [illegible] by the [illegible] emancipation

"Civilisation."

One of the S.A.L.P.'s objections to the proletarian dictatorship is apparently the fact that "some four and a half millions of the population of South Africa are barely on the threshold of civilisation." There are times, on the battlefield for instance, when the most civilised of men, even members of the S.A.L.P. we dare say, seem to behave like savages. But leaving that point, the question is, IS THE LABOUR MOVEMENT CONFINED TO "CIVILISED" TO THE EXCLUSION OF "UNCIVILISED" WORKERS, AND IF SO, WHY? WHAT PRECISE DEGREE OF "CIVILISATION" CONSTITUTES THE QUALIFICATION, AND WHY?

A WORKER'S A WORKER FOR A' THAT.

The working class is that portion of mankind from whose labour the capitalist extracts profit. It may require little "civilisation" to work for a master's profit, but WHOEVER DOES SO IS, BY THE VERY ACT OF DOING SO, A WORKER AND A MEMBER OF THE PROLETARIAT, with the same need for emancipation from wage-slavery, the same interest in the victory of the labour movement and abolition of capitalist oppression, AND THE SAME RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN WORKERS' CONTROL, as any other. If he is civilised enough to be enslaved, he is civilised enough to be freed and to defend his freedom. ANY LABOUR MOVEMENT WHICH WOULD DENY HIM THIS RIGHT IS DENYING ITS OWN REASON FOR EXISTENCE, AND SHOWING UP ITS OWN PROFESSIONS AS A MERE DESIRE FOR RACE PRIVILEGE, DOMINANCE AND—EXPLOITATION. It is a bastard Labour movement; it is indistinguishable from General Smuts and the Kenya whites; IT IS A TOOL OF CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM.

MOBILISE, NOT "SEGREGATE."

Moreover, it is condemning itself to impotence. For the vast majority of the world's workers are non-European; and we see in this country how the white workers fighting alone are inevitably fighting a rear-guard action, a retreat, a hopeless battle, if only because their numbers, under capitalism, are inevitably dwindling. The same thing is going on, only less perceptibly in some countries, all over the world. CAPITALISM IS ABLE TO MAKE ITS OFFENSIVE TO-DAY LARGELY BECAUSE THE "UNCIVILISED" WORKERS, OUT OF WHOM IT MAKES GIGANTIC PROFITS, HAVE NOT YET BEEN MOBILISED. That is one of the chief reasons why "segregation," even if otherwise conceivable (under capitalist rule) within a given limited area like the Union of South Africa, would be of no avail to the labour movement as a whole; because the labour competition which segregation is supposed to check GOES ON NOT JUST IN SOUTH AFRICA BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, and you cannot "segregate" the whole of the cheap labour of the world; AND EVEN IF YOU COULD, THE COMPETITION WOULD GO ON, ON A WORLD SCALE, AS FIERCELY AS EVER, AND WOULD STILL INVADE THE "WHITE MAN'S COUNTRIES" AS IT DOES TO-DAY, NO MATTER HOW "PROTECTED."

THE "SWAMPING" FALLACY.

"But if the uncivilised proletarians participate in workers' control," you say, "we civilised proletarians shall be swamped." Only in so far as you try to pervert workers' control to the special advantage of a mere section of the workers. In that event the other section, unfairly discriminated against, will insist on the revolution acting up to its professions until they get fair treatment, WHICH A COMMUNIST REGIME, AND NOTHING ELSE, CAN ENSURE TO THEM. But otherwise THERE COULD BE NO COMMON RACE INTEREST FOR THE SAKE OF WHICH THE NON-EUROPEANS (for be honest and admit you are really thinking in terms of race as such and not of "civilisation" as such) WOULD HAVE ANY REASON FOR ACTING TOGETHER AGAINST, OR "SWAMPING," THE EUROPEANS, even if the latter were all "civilised" and the former all "uncivilised," which of course is not even to-day the case. Once they have ceased, by virtue of the overthrow of the capitalist power, to be an exploited race, exploited the more because they are of that race, THEY HAVE NOTHING FURTHER IN COMMON WHICH COULD CONFLICT WITH THE INTEREST OF THE EUROPEANS. The only separation which might still be desired would be social, and that would take place naturally, there would be nothing to prevent it.

AN "UNCIVILISED" GOVERNMENT.

Equally stupid is it to apprehend that because the majority of the victorious working class will, at first, be "uncivilised," therefore the measures taken will be uncivilised. J. S. Mill was not needed to point out that "one man one vote" in no way prevents the best men wielding far more than their single unit of influence; and as in Russia, so everywhere else the backwardness of the masses in no way makes their chosen champions, or their united policy, the more backward. Rather the other way. THE ONLY THING THAT WILL PREDOMINATE IS NOT THE BACKWARDNESS BUT THE INTEREST OF THE GREAT MASS INSTEAD OF THE CHOSEN FEW: which is as it should be. IT IS CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT THAT IS "UNCIVILISED."

"PROLETCULT."

Finally, it will be one of the prime tasks of the victorious proletariat, as in Russia, to conduct a whirlwind "civilisation" campaign among its backward members: to educate every man of them in reading, in writing, in history and politics, in all that goes to the making of a good self-respecting class-conscious worker instead of the uncivilised slave that it has suited capitalism to make of him and keep him, for THE WORST FEATURES OF HIS "UNCIVILISATION" TO-DAY ARE DUE TO CAPITALIST ENVIRONMENT, AND ONLY THE REMOVAL OF THAT WILL UPLIFT HIM.

LABOUR, NOT PREJUDICE, THE TOUCHSTONE.

These are notoriously matters of great prejudice with some white workers: but when the leaders of a professed workers' party presume to LIMIT THE WORKING CLASS AND THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT TO THE ORBIT OF THOSE WORKERS WHO LABOUR UNDER THAT PREJUDICE, AND TO DO SO BECAUSE OF THAT PREJUDICE (for that is what it comes to), then it is time they retired from leadership in favour of others who stand only for the workers as workers, and who by a Labour party mean a Labour Party.

The Slavery of Recruited Labour.

The "Workers' Herald," organ of the (native) I.C.U. (Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa) reports that the very police have now become engaged in labour recruiting for the Chamber of Mines, and refers to the disillusionment of the coloured and native workers of the Rand who "were congratulated by the Government and the Chamber of Mines on having remained neutral" in the 1922 Rand strike, but have got nothing for it but a "recruiting system carried on on the principles of slavery and barbarism . . . nothing but highway robbery. . . .

"Under this system the African workers are debarred from forming themselves into an industrial union, quite apart from the interference and jurisdiction of the Chamber of Mines. The system is there to supply scab labour in the event that the African workers have withdrawn their labour. The workers are forced to accept wages which do not allow of expenditure on their families. They are not provided with housing accommodation suitable for their families, or if they are, they are expected to pay for it out of 2s. a day. Rand mining companies do not take on African workers with families. They can be dismissed from work without notice, whilst if they absent themselves from work they are criminals. They have no chance of recovering their wages in the Magistrate's Court. The compensation paid to them is not the value of a poor donkey. The system of 'loafer's tickets' serves the purpose of docking their fragmentary earnings at the pleasure of the white trade union boss, and the result is that the worker labours for twelve months for six months' wages. Young boys are employed in the mining areas, boys between the ages of 12 and 15. . . . (And apart from mine work) thousands of African children at an age when their muscles are still soft and pliable and their bodies not properly developed, instead of entering the schools, are condemned to the service of a master or mistress from early morning to late at night, without having any play-time and with scarcely a ray of sunshine entering into their young lives.

"We want" (continues the "Workers' Herald") "free labour within the Union of South Africa and elsewhere in the Continent. We want a living wage, a new scale of compensation for the African mine workers, proper housing accommodation for our families, reasonable working hours, new conditions for farm labourers, a reasonable minimum wage for our women workers engaged in factories and domestic service, and, above all, this criminal recruiting system must go at once."

"And WE ALSO REQUEST THE WHITE WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO SUPPORT OUR ATTITUDE."

More "Disloyalty."

Following on the Native Congress' republican resolution comes another breakaway from S.A.P. imperialist loyalty on the part of a yet more bourgeois section of the community, the Durban Indians, who supported a Labour candidate in the municipal elections there, let us hope without misplacing their evidently halting confidence. Says "Indian Opinion":

"We have hitherto always supported, and stood by, the South African Party whose declared policy is 'fairplay and justice.' Fair words and fair promises have so very often been given us by the heads of this Party, but to our deep regret these have invariably ended in keen disappointment to us. We are not able to say that the Labour Party has been very much in favour of us either. But by experience we have seen this difference between the two Parties, namely, that while the S.A.P. has been playing the part of a hypocrite, the Labour Party, however brutal it may have been, has always been frank and open; and this difference must be taken into consideration. After the very bitter experiences we have had in this country we have no hopes of gaining much from any of the Parties. But election is like a game of gambling to Indians, and if one horse betrays them they are apt to back another horse, and more especially when that horse appears to be a promising one. This is, in short, our reason for backing a labour candidate."

Another "Glorious" T.B.B.-ism

T.B.B. comes out again, this time with Crawford stuff, supplied by the Amsterdam International for anti-Bolshevik propaganda, about the tyrannical or tyrannised (uncertain which) condition of labour in Russia in 1920. Whatever the accuracy or precise application of the measures he speaks of, it must be remembered that in those days of repelling attacks on twenty-three fronts, the best workers were in the trenches. On the other hand, there were many people who wouldn't fight, and remained behind on the chance of sabotaging industry in the meantime. Those were loafers, spekulants, white guards, T.B.B.'s, and such-like elements. In order to earn their skoff they had to go to work, or pretend to work; but in the factories they were of course all potential traitors: and in those martial law days, the regulations dealt with such cases accordingly.

It is now reported that Lenin has completely recovered from his recent death.

How the Workers Live.

WHITE AND BLACK AT PAP-LEVEL.

When a visitor to Oudtshoorn, being interested in the unemployment question, takes the trouble to visit the Relief Works, a sight never to be forgotten is encountered. Some hundreds of emaciated, thin, ragged, half-starved poor whites are employed on the construction of the new railway to Calitzdorp, and they call it relief work. These men have to walk very long distances, there being no trains or trams, on coffee and a bit of dry bread. They arrive at their work tired even before beginning a long, hard day's toil. They work in all weathers on the astounding pay of 2s. 6d. a day, and nearly all those men are married and fathers of large families! No food is supplied, and at lunch-time they swallow a lump of dry bread with cold coffee or tea. Now the worst of this tragedy is that the method is piece-work. If a man is exceptionally strong and accustomed to rough, manual labour he may be able to earn 4s. a day; but this is quite an exceptional case, while his strapping native fellow-worker, with whom he toils side by side, will perhaps earn 5s. a day. Even though a native does earn his 5s. a day it is not too much; I only mention it by way of emphasising the parlous condition of the white man, by comparison. The native thrives on mealie pap made in a particular native style and costing him very little, while the white man would soon become a chronic dyspeptic on similar diet. Thus even the poorest white man, trained to a certain extent in civilised conditions of living, must spend more than a native.

—"S.A. Review."

Communists Propose: 'Labour' Opposes.

The direct reason for the rejection of the Communist advance by the Labour Party is unquestionably the fear that by admitting the Communists it might lose votes. In view of all the events of the last few years, such as the war, the Russian revolution, and our Rand strike, working class consciousness generally has greatly advanced, despite temporary depressions; but the S.A.L.P. officials are still convinced that it is better to angle as heretofore for bourgeois votes than to make the veriest semblance of a common cause with the militants of the world labour movement.

Our Communist argument against the S.A.L.P. is not that it believes in using Parliament, whereas we do not, for we do; nor that it avoids unnecessary or suicidal violence, for so do we, much more (e.g., in 1914-18); but that while professing the same end as we do, it has ALLOWED THE END TO BECOME SACRIFICED TO THE MEANS. In its anxiety to gain electoral favour it has subordinated its objective to vote-catching; it has habitually disowned it, and never more flagrantly than in the war.

If indeed it were merely a question of riding to power on non-labour support and then carrying out a labour programme, that might be good tactics. But, as might be expected, the effect is the reverse. With ever an eye on the next election, it is almost inevitable that in case of doubt the official S.A.L.P. will always, on every question, choose the bourgeois road in preference to the proletarian road; will try to please "the public generally" in preference to the "wage and (even) salary earning classes"—THE PUBLIC, AN UTTERLY NONDESCRIPT MOB CONSISTING OF THOSE WHO SWALLOW CAPITALIST PROPAGANDA INSTEAD OF FACING REALITIES; will allow itself to be shorn of its locks and strength and betray its proper constituents. IT WAS JUST THAT ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF CERTAIN IMPORTANT SECTIONS OF LABOUR THAT LOST LAST YEAR'S STRIKE.

We Communists deplore this stifling of the historic aspirations of the working class to suit political exigencies, and we want to stop the rot. We believe that in the genuine rank and file of the Labour Party those aspirations are only latent, not absent; and we flatter ourselves that by the closer contact afforded by affiliation we could draw them out and help them to effective action. We believe that this common interest, the fight of the working class against capitalism, is gaining pre-eminence in the temper of the working class members of the S.A.L.P. in proportion as the crisis between working and capitalist classes throughout the world becomes more acute. We do not want to become identified with all the S.A.L.P. policy; but we maintain that the need for solidarity, or at least a "United Front," against the common enemy overshadows in importance all the reasons against it. Even as regards the Nat-Lab Pact, if its object, to defeat the Smuts Government, had been propounded and frankly maintained AS THE ONE AND ONLY OBJECT IN VIEW, and not been complicated by questions (unanswerable now in any event) of how and by whom power is to be exercised when such defeat is secured—if, in short, Creswell had said to Hertzog, "We are Reds and you are Greens, and we are concerned together ONLY to oust Smuts"—it could, we believe, be just as effective if the Communists were also parties to it. What is more, WHEN THE S.A.L.P.'s BROTHER PARTY IN BRITAIN CAN UNITE WITH THE GERMAN "SOCIAL PATRIOTS," IT NO LONGER LIES IN ITS MOUTH TO TALK OF "INSUPERABLE" OR "FUNDAMENTAL" OBSTACLES TO CO-OPERATION.

We still invite the S.A.L.P. to "explore" with us all possible actions in which we and it might become associated; we challenge it to refuse; and if it refuses we are justified in appealing to its rank and file to take a more serious view than its official element does of the gravity of the situation of the working class, and the necessity for a more decisive attack on the real enemy. In Germany the masses are flocking from the S.D.P. to the Communists. . . .

C. P.

Rome fell when one per cent. of the population owned ninety per cent. of the wealth. Capitalism is heading the same way.

Russia, 1923.

The Labour Code is a body of law protecting the workers and assuring them control over working conditions to an extent impossible except in a working class State; and it is the most important factor in the life of the Russian workers to-day.

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS.

The most important method by which the trade unions (which include over ninety per cent. of the workers in trade and industry) control their condition is that of the collective agreement. The Labour Code defines this as a "contract concluded by a trade union, representing the employees, and by the employer."

These agreements only hold good for definite periods of time, generally about three months, and in the negotiations for their renewal the trade unions have a constantly recurring opportunity of influencing or putting pressure on employers or managers of State industry. Having direct access to all the facts and figures to show "what the industry can bear," the trade unions know when to press new demands and when to withhold them. Thus the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions and the executives of the larger unions pursued a policy of stabilising wages in the first months of 1923, not pressing forward wage claims for the more highly paid workers, but endeavouring to raise the wages of the lower grades and poorer industries.

The Labour Code insists that clear and definite "Regulations for Internal Management"—i.e., working rules for each factory or establishment—must be drawn up and displayed. These are drawn up in consultation with the local trade unions, and must be submitted to the Labour inspectors.

OVERTIME AND HOLIDAYS.

The law on the eight hours' day and on overtime embodied in the Code fixes the trade unions' control over this vital matter. The total amount of overtime that any employee may perform in one year is limited to 120 hours; and the cases in which overtime can be permitted at all are strictly limited. Special labour sessions of the People's Courts now deal with all cases of infringement. The procedure of arbitration is working well, and disputes—which, so far as State enterprises are concerned, mainly arise out of interpretations of collective agreements—are settled rapidly.

Protected by this Code, the Russian workers are able to go forward in rebuilding industry under steadily improving conditions.

"Bolshevist Nationalism"

WHAT IT PREACHES FOR GERMANY.

By KARL RADEK.

When, after Jena, Gneisenau and Scharnhorst asked themselves how the German people were to be raised after their defeat, they replied: "Only by making the peasants free. From submission and slavery shall come freedom. Only the free German peasantry can lay the foundations for the emancipation of Germany." What the German peasantry meant for the fate of the German nation at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the German working class means at the beginning of the twentieth century. Only by it, and not against it, can Germany be freed from the fetters of slavery.

The German people should break with those who have not only led it into defeat, but who are perpetuating the defeat and the defencelessness of the German people by regarding the majority of the German people as the enemy. Only when the German cause becomes the cause of the German people, only when the German cause becomes the fight for the rights of the German people, will the German people win active friends. The most powerful nation cannot endure without friends, all the more so a nation which is defeated and surrounded by enemies. If Germany wants to be in the position to fight it must create a united front of WORKERS, and the brain workers must unite with the hand workers, and form a solid phalanx. United into a victorious working people, Germany will be able to draw upon great sources of resisting power which will be able to remove all obstacles

We believe that the great majority of the nationalist minded masses belong not to the camp of the capitalists but to the camp of the workers. We shall do all in our power that they should not spill their hot unselfish blood for the profit of the coal and iron barons, but in the cause of the great toiling German people, which is a member of the family of peoples fighting for their emancipation. This truth the Communist Party will declare to the great masses of the German people, for it is not a Party fighting for a crust of bread on behalf of the industrial workers, but a Party of the struggling proletariat, fighting for its emancipation, an emancipation that is identical with the emancipation of the whole people, of all who toil and suffer in Germany.

They Know.

The "Irish Times," the organ of what remains of landlordism in Ireland, in its leading article writes, very candidly, thuswise:

"THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL, FUTILE AS ITS AIMS AND INSIGNIFICANT AS ITS EXPONENTS MAY BE, IS THE WORLD'S STOUTEST BULWARK AGAINST THE THIRD."

"Trade unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail [illegible] by their unwise and injudicious use of their power, [illegible] from limiting themselves to a [illegible] against the effects of the existing [illegible] constantly trying to change [illegible] of the working class, [illegible] abolition of the wages [illegible]

— Karl Marx.

The Fermentation in Fascism.

By M. RAKOSI.

Fascism has failed to satisfy even the bourgeoisie of Italy. Mussolini has aroused the opposition of the group around the Banca Commerciale. As is only natural, the Banca Commerciale is taking steps in self-defence. It is buying one section of the Fascist leaders, and is secretly organising the steadily increasing resistance against the Fascisti. Its efforts are greatly facilitated by the ever-increasing disappointment felt among the Fascisti themselves.

The capitalists who financed Fascism, and helped it to victory, are equally dissatisfied with it. They wanted a dictatorship, but one which they could hold firmly in their own hands. But Fascism became an object in itself; it is true that in general it directed its efforts against the working class, but its power is in the hands of Mussolini and his petty bourgeois friends. And the more the capitalists seek to utilise the situation created by Fascism for their own purposes, the more they come into conflict with the Fascist masses.

This struggle became most apparent in the question of the existence of the Fascist trade unions. At first all the Fascisti were in fullest agreement as to the necessity of Fascist trade unions. But after the Red Trade Unions had been dispersed, the capitalists preferred to employ the unorganised workers rather than the Fascist trade unionists, the more so as increased poverty among the Fascist workers obliged even the Fascist trade unions to organise strike movements. Cases are becoming more and more frequent in which Fascist trade unions strike against Fascist employers.

It is scarcely possible to find a Fascist organisation in Italy which is not in a state of fermentation. There is a crisis in every large local group of Fascisti. In Alexandria and Leghorn there have been real battles. In Rome, the gendarmerie had to prevent collisions between the Fascisti.

Unemployment has increased by 20-25 per cent. during Fascist rule. Scarcely one-half of the unemployed receive a scanty dole, and prices are rising slowly but steadily. Fascism involved an enormous aggravation of class contradictions. Hundreds and thousands of peasants, workers, and petty bourgeoisie, at one time peaceful democrats, have been drawn into the conflict by the violent acts of the Fascisti. They are thirsting for revenge, and at the given moment they will take bloody revenge on the Fascisti, and thus on the Italian bourgeoisie. Mussolini is well aware of this, for he admits openly that he feels himself to be playing Kerensky's role; but to avoid Kerensky's fate he intends to suppress the proletariat. And the Minister for Home Affairs, Bianchi, a one-time syndicalist, actually made the following declaration on the occasion of the anti-Fascist demonstration held by the Catholic People's Party: "The return to the liberal democratic form of government is nonsense. To-day there exist but two possibilities: either Fascist rule or Bolshevist dictatorship."

The sensible elements of the bourgeoisie have grasped this, and are now seeking feverishly for means by which Fascism may be liquidated, and yet its inheritance not fall into the hands of a proletarian dictatorship.

The half year's rule of the Italian Fascisti has proved that Fascism is incapable of arresting the decay of capitalism; more than this, Fascism itself creates the premises for acuter class warfare.

Salt.

The Indian Government is again stirring up trouble by deciding to double the salt tax. Salt is necessary for the Indian peasant, and for his cattle. The tax was a farthing a pound—a small tax, no doubt, but the Indian is wretchedly poor, which accounts for India being "the brightest jewel in the English Crown." Out of the salt tax the Government expects to make up a deficit of something under three millions of pounds shown in its latest Budget. In recent years India has become distinguished for Budget deficits. In five years past they have amounted to nearly seventy million pounds. India's claim is that a reduction in the army and railway administrations would be a solution. The army costs each year more than double what it cost before the war, and absorbs more than 60 per cent. of the total Indian revenue. The railways are strategic and are admittedly intended to cope with revolution among the peasants. When trouble does occur with Indians (or our own natives) it is well to look into the matter closely and find out, if possible, what fresh form of oppression capitalism has devised.

The Liquor Seller.

Let us not be too hard on the "liquor seller." He is one of the products of the system we rejoice in. He is an angel of light compared with the slum landlord, the average politician, or the successful business man. He is entitled to a seat on the right hand of the throne compared with the present day South African statesman who ruins thousands of homes in the name of law and order, economic necessity, and the survival of the fittest. If we can find excuses for the strike prisoners giving thanks to Africa's arch political criminal, it is hardly consistent to hate and despise the poor bottom dog who oft-times, driven to desperation, sells a bottle of dope FAR LESS INJURIOUS than the political brand to secure the wherewithal to save his dependants from starvation. Rather attack the intellectual prostitutes who daily dish up the dope that stupefies the mob and clouds their vision. In so doing we shall realise and appreciate the condition of mind that drives many a good man into this form of revolt.

J. P. A.

Making the World Unsafe for Labour.

Notwithstanding a continuous White Terror, under which even to-day you get three years for saying or writing the word "Revolution," the Finnish Trade Union Congress has been dominated by the Communists since 1920. Of the 78 delegates to the latest Congress one estimate gives 55 Communists, 15 Social Democrats, and 8 Independents—and this though all the experienced trade unionists known for their revolutionary ideas were arrested shortly before the Congress. In the election of the new executive the Social Democrats only obtained three of the 26 seats. It is thus clear that in arresting 22 out of the 28 Communist members of the Finnish Parliament the other day the ruling class was attacking not a hole and corner party but the mass of the working class. Such tactics, which follow those adopted in Poland and other Versailles creatures, show the sort of "democracy" the world has been made safe for, viz., suppression of the working class. No wonder the International Union of League of Nations Societies' Conference urged special propaganda among the industrial classes in favour of that Versailles decoy duck, the League of Nations; but not all their propaganda will avail to conceal the brutal facts, including the legal outrage of [illegible] and even the Turkish peace, the "humiliation" of which is forgotten in consideration of [illegible] of valour against the Turkish labour [illegible]

"Enfranchisement" of Women.

"Sir William Henderson, giving evidence before the Sub-Committee, said that in most confinement cases there was the difficulty of GETTING THE WOMEN TO KNOCK OFF WORK IN TIME; they were loth to do it. It was also very difficult to check the resumption of work."—("Manchester Guardian," 2nd March, 1923.)

What, are we not living in a "free society" to-day? "These women are free, they need not work if they don't want to." Such is the hypocritical cry we are always hearing.

But under capitalist society the employing class is ruthless, it will employ the cheapest labour no matter if it be man, woman or child, and will beat down wages to the lowest possible point, thus COMPELLING the woman awaiting confinement to work until the last possible minute, in order to provide herself and her expected child with sustenance.

In Dundee, Scotland, 41.4 per cent. of the women are working. One report says: "Eleven women whom Miss Quaile visited had, between them, given birth to 78 children, 48 OF WHOM WERE DEAD—a death-rate of 62 per cent. 'ONE POOR THING' had given birth to twelve children, ALL OF WHOM WERE DEAD."

That's the stuff to make a woman a rebel!

W. G.

"Western Civilisation" (save the mark!)

The "Segregation of Indians" party says it is "fighting for the predominance of Western civilisation," and Mr. McKeurtan, M.L.A., proposes to effect it by some weird lawyer's stunt of "servitude by majority vote in the suburbs." Is he really so parochial as to think that an Indian ghetto in Durban, Natal, is going to save Western civilisation? Apart from the fact that the Russian ghettos have produced a good proportion of the revolutionary elements of the whole world, is it not clear that all such locations have only one effect, to perpetuate the "location" standard of civilisation? What "Western civilisation" costs is illustrated on the Rand where, says Dr. Orenstein, "we could reduce the mine mortality if the natives led a family life, but that is impracticable because there is no ground available and it is inadvisable to bring a permanent population of half a million natives to the Rand." In other words, "Western civilisation" means the preservation of a dominant caste of a few Europeans and a herd of compounded black and brown slaves. That is why "Western civilisation is cracking." Only when it scales right away will real civilisation, based on the "culture" of the whole of the working masses, begin to flourish.

Notice is hereby given that the General Dealer's Business carried on by The Louis Trading Company, Limited, at No. 118a, Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, will be removed from that address to Arcade Buildings, corner of President and Rissik Street, as and from the 1st day of August, 1923.—A. S. MALAN, Solicitor for the Company, 45, Asher's Buildings, 118 Fox Street, Johannesburg. 27-3-10

Notice is hereby given that the business known as the Pavilion Bioscope Cafe, and carried on at Store Bros. Buildings, Johannesburg, has been sold and transferred by the Assignee in the Estate of Magdalene Bresler to and on behalf of Samuel Woolfson as and from the 25th day of August, 1923.—J. T. WINDRAM, Assignee, Asher's Buildings, Johannesburg. 10-17-24

Notice is hereby given that unless Albert Seaoto formerly of 24, Von Brandis Street, Johannesburg, returns to his wife, Magdalena Seaoto, at above address within 14 days from date, proceedings for divorce will be instituted against him.

F. W. KONIG, Legal Practitioner,
New Street South, Johannesburg.
Johannesburg, 8th August, 1923.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

CAPETOWN.

The Attorney-General is so thirsty for our blood that he is appealing against the recent acquittal of our comrade Collins on the charge of selling the "International" on Sundays. Thus is Dopper piety suborned to the service of capitalist suppression of the press, as probably in no other country in the world, and the truth seller must stand aside for the dope seller. Meanwhile programmes were sold outside the Alhambra a week or two ago at 2s. each in support of a "kilt fund" meeting inside. . . .

The Branch is nominating Com. W. H. Harrison as candidate in the Provincial Council election in the new Hanover Street division. Contributions to expenses will be most acceptable. Com. Green, too, has been asked by the Capetown Unemployment Committee to contest Ward VI. in the municipal elections.

The lectures held under branch auspices have been most interesting and successful. The subjects have included a historical review of trade unionism (Com. Nuttall), The State and its history as a coercive body (Com. Lopes), Revolutionary songs, with musical illustrations (Comrades Pereira and the choir).

* * *

JOHANNESBURG.

The debates for the remainder of August are as follows:

Wednesday, August 22.—C. F. Glass: "Ethics and the Class Struggle."

Wednesday, August 29.—Mrs. Bunting: "Passive and Active Resistance."

Next Wednesday's fixture (Com. E. R. Roux on "Communist Tactics applied to South Africa") is being postponed to September 12th in view of the reception to prisoners on that evening at the Berkeley Rooms (see front page), which the members all wish to attend.

Last Wednesday's debate on the difficult question of "Joining the Defence Force" was keen and well contested, and assisted towards a definite policy on the matter. The example of such debates is about to be followed by the East Rand branches.

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INTERNATIONAL DELEGATE FUND.

Previously acknowledged, £75 6s. I.A. 2/6, B.K. 5/-, A.V. 3/6, J.B. 21/-, R.R. 5/-.

* * *

EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY SOCIAL.

The Party will celebrate the eighth anniversary of the formation of the International Socialist League and launching of the "International" newspaper (on 10th September, 1915) with a Social and Dance at the Selborne Hall, Johannesburg, on Saturday, September 8th, from 8 to 12. Tickets: Double 5s., single 3s. A fine programme is being arranged.

* * *

THIS PAPER.

The question of reducing the price of the "International" to 1d. (annual subscription 5s.) and altering the shape to that which obtained up to 1920 (8 pp., each half the size of the present pages) has been canvassed by branches of the party, and considerable difference of opinion exists on the subject. The Press Committee would welcome expressions of opinion from individual readers on the effect of such a change. It is obvious that one condition of the change is a greatly increased circulation.

* * *

NEW LITERATURE ON SALE.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International is reported in a most interesting volume by the British Section, price 2s. This should be supplemented by the text of the "theses" and resolutions adopted by the Congress, price 1s. 3d. Together, these booklets furnish a close insight into Communist world tactics.

* * *

Messrs. Thornton, Ltd., cartage contractors, have sacked all their white employees on shop and repair work in favour of coloured and native workers.

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