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THE ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (S.A. Section of the Communist International)
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## England and the Ruhr.

By M. PHILIPS PRICE.

It has been an open secret for some time that the British opposition to France's Ruhr policy has been dictated to no inconsiderable extent by the fact that the French air fleet is some ten times stronger than the British. The question before the Baldwin government was—did the continent of Europe matter for the British bourgeoisie sufficiently to make expenditure on new armaments with all their dangers of new wars necessary? For it was obvious that only if the British air fleet was approximately near the strength of the French fleet could the Baldwin government begin to talk to M. Poincare in terms other than platonic protests.

The finishing industries in the North of England, the cotton trade and engineering trade, and the banks connected with them, feel that their best markets are on the continent and that there can be no hope for any large trade revival, as far as their industries are concerned, unless the purchasing power of Germany is revived. They point out that many of the British manufactures are of the type intended for a white population in a high state of civilisation, and that therefore it is useless to expect that the relatively small and slowly increasing white population of the British colonies can replace the loss of the Central European markets.

But what does this policy imply? It implies a more active opposition to the French in the Ruhr. And the first symptom of this was seen in the decision of the Baldwin government to raise the air fleet to 60 squadrons, whereby the British air fleet would be brought to about half the French fleet. That was to be a beginning—

But here the British government is faced with an internal contradiction. It must either abandon its policy of "tranquility" or else face the loss of its influence on the continent. And it is not only the trading and finished industry elements of the British bourgeoisie who want to counteract the French policy in the Ruhr, but also some sections of the big banking aristocracy. The international money lending interests in Wall Street and the City of London, the Rothschilds, Grenfels, Kleinwerts, Morgans and the banking group of which Mr. McKenna is the head and which is shortly to be represented in the Baldwin cabinet by McKenna himself, as Finance Minister; all these want to prevent at all costs the creation of a Stinnes—de Wendel heavy industry trust, the amalgamation of German coal and coke industries in the Ruhr with the French iron and smelting plants in Lorraine. They are opposed not so much to an amalgamation, as such, but TO AN AMALGAMATION WITHOUT THEIR PARTICIPATION, because that would definitely exclude them from industrial, financial or political influence on the continent. Like hawks round a dying horse, they foresee that one day the German bourgeoisie will be faced with the necessity of stabilizing the mark and they wish to obtain their share of the guarantees for the floating of an international loan. Stinnes shall not be allowed to be the only creditor of the bankrupt German Reich, nor shall he be allowed to have the sole control of the German railways.

And so the Baldwin government is on the horns of a dilemma, which, however, is typical of the anarchy within the capitalist system. For successful stabilization of the German mark and for the floating of an international reparations loan, peace and tranquility is necessary. And yet the necessary conditions cannot be obtained without preventing Stinnes from selling out the German Reich to the Comite des Forges. And in order to stop this a new British air fleet must be built, a new race for armaments must begin with France, the policy of tranquility, which is the necessary condition of stabilization and of an international loan must be abandoned. The vicious circle is complete.

---

Mr. Baldwin has openly admitted that the number of resolutions against war with Russia pouring in to him from the local Labour Parties and Trades Councils, I.L.P.'s and other Socialist branches, to say nothing of those of the Communist Party, was so great that he was unable to deal with them and therefore he was compelled to hand them over to Mr. Henderson to answer them. There is no doubt that the ruling classes in England saw that, if the policy of Lord Curzon was allowed to succeed, a very dangerous situation would arise.

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# Science and the Working Class.

Ask any scientist what he thinks of the newspapers and he will tell you that from his own point of view as chemist, physicist, pathologist or what not, the newspapers are utterly unreliable as sources of correct information. He will explain that newspaper editors and journalists lack completely what he calls "a scientific training." They seek always the sensational, scientific accuracy being consequently a minor consideration, pushed so far into the background, as a rule, that most newspaper "science" is positively misleading.

And yet these same scientists, who are sufficiently well acquainted with their own particular subjects to resent the subordination of scientific truth in the interests of competitive journalism, are wont to be fooled when the Press on a very much larger scale subverts political and economic truth in the interests of Big Business and industrial feudalism.

Perhaps some of them are conscious of the contradiction; perhaps some even are partners to it. At any rate a professor of "economic science" writing on the "brotherhood of Capital and Labour" seems to indicate just about as much knowledge of the subject as a journalist writing on "monkey glands."

Science always appears as a monopoly of the ruling class. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that scientists are monopolised by those who alone can afford to employ them, because, as in the case of prime-ministers and economic "experts," the capitalist class pays others to do its thinking for it.

### SUPERHUMAN KNOWLEDGE.

The scientist is, to the popular mind, a creature strange and awe-inspiring, possessed of almost superhuman knowledge. He is the lineal descendant of the alchemist, the astrologist, and the witchdoctor, and their mantle of divine perception seems also to have fallen on his shoulders. Let Doctor So-and-so, and Professor Somebody-else express their opinion, and, however obviously prejudiced that opinion may be, the vast majority believe the Oracle has spoken and that the last word has been said on the matter.

That a knowledge, say, of biology, is certainly of use in the discussion of political problems does not mean that an acquaintance with evolutionary methods in the STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF ANIMALS is all that is required to enable anyone to speak with authority on the SOCIOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MANKIND.

### SOCIOLOGY THE PREMIER SCIENCE.

Without a knowledge of sociology the most thoroughgoing scientist has at best a lop-sided outlook. Sociology is at once the most important and (as far as bourgeois civilisation is concerned) the most neglected science. It has remained for the working class to formulate a theory of social evolution. Marxism is not recognised by the ruling class for obvious reasons. WHILE BOURGEOIS SCIENTISTS CAN AFFORD TO BE IMPARTIAL SEEKERS AFTER TRUTH AS FAR AS THE STRUCTURE OF THE ATOM IS CONCERNED, THEY CANNOT FOR ONE MOMENT REGARD THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY IN THE SAME IMPARTIAL WAY. THAT WOULD BE DAMNING.

### MORE OR LESS UNINTELLIGENT THOUGH VERY LEARNED.

The time is coming when science, both its pursuits and its results, will be the common property of society. Until then the scientist will have to be regarded as a more or less unintelligent though very learned and (on occasion!) well meaning individual, generally dependent for his microscopes and his salary on the ruling class, and consequently economically and ideologically bound to them.

Poison gas, X rays, wireless telegraphy, T.N.T., together with most other constructive and destructive products of modern civilisation, are the direct results of scientific achievement. The scientist is not concerned with the object for which the bomb is going to be used; he is only concerned in making the bomb. He has little or no social consequence.

Like many other things the scientist is dangerous only when he gets into the hands of unscrupulous persons. In the working class republic to be he will help to bring that "happiness and prosperity" of which we hear so much to-day but of which we know so little.

E.R.R.

## Wage Trickery.

Here is a question we should like to ask Mr. Jagger, the Minister of Railways: What amount has he received from the Capetown Docks contractor for importing Native Labour from the Transkei and Natal? Does he not receive so much per head of Native Labour?

Is he aware that these natives are displacing the Cape Native and that the Cape Native displaces the Coloured and the Coloured displaces the White?

Mr. Jagger stated some weeks ago in an interview with the Mayor of Capetown that the only way to prevent the influx of natives into Capetown was to reduce the wages of the City Council employees from 6/6 to 3/6 and 4/-.

But when he was beaten at the post by the Cape Unemployment Committee and his trick exposed, he decided to import natives. The City Council would have reduced wages wholesale, but they were found out, and Councillor Ash was instructed by the committee to fight a d'outrance against it. Every method possible has been adopted by this gang of Councillors to reduce wages, and their latest tactic is to sack men working at 6/6 per day and re-engage them as relief workers at 3/6, 2/6 and 2/- per day.

The committee appeals to all sections of the working class to realise this trickery and stand by the committee throughout this fight. If the workers don't stick together then woe betide them, as wages will drop at least 25 per cent. during the next twelve months.

## Relief Work (sic).

A report on the question of relief work in the Cape "has been presented by Canon Lavis and Rev. Mr. Balmforth, stating in effect that in order to deal with the fringe of destitution they must receive a grant at least £9,000 from the City funds.

"Before the war the amount of relief granted per orphan child boarded out in England ranged from 3/- to 5/- per week with 10/- per quarter for clothing."

These amounts would probably be doubled to-day, and yet this Board of Aid has been doling out quite contentedly until the Unemployed Committee came into operation—a measly 3d. per day for a European child and 6d. per day for the mother, and if the mother happens to have a sixth child this child will not be entitled to anything!

And the "Cape Times" still pleads for economy, and sooner than allow relief to be "organised" urges that if it is doled out from hand to mouth, so to say, it is more likely to be cautious in its operations. It quotes lines from the "Spectator" of 1834:—

"Then drive away sorrow and
Banish all care!
For the State is bound to maintain us."

And asks for a commission to inquire into the question!

This is just the "confidence trick" over again. It is no use trying to kid us with that. They cannot catch old birds with chaff, and we are sure they won't catch at least Mr. Balmforth.

## Our Eighth Anniversary.

TO-MORROW FORTNIGHT, i.e. on Saturday September 8th, the Eighth Anniversary of the "International" and of the I.S.L. will be commemorated with a Grand Social and Dance at the Selborne Hall from 8 p.m. to midnight. This information should be enough to satisfy the most fastidious critic that a first-class evening is assured. Those who want a dance will get it to perfection; those who like a song or two will hear of the best. And those who are PROUD OF THE LONG AND ACTIVE LIFE OF THE PARTY, and feel like rallying on this anniversary to celebrate and renew their vows with a hearty send off FOR THE NINTH YEAR OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY IN S. AFRICA—why, they will be the cream of the company, and will not miss the occasion. Tickets 5/- double, 3/- single, of the usual sellers. DON'T MISS THIS.

### BIRTH.

To Coms. Mr. and Mrs. R. Ginsberg, 71, Betty Street, Jeppes; on the 17th inst., a son. Comrades are invited to a reception at the house this Sunday afternoon, the 26th inst., at 3 p.m.

THE INTERNATIONAL.
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# Smuts Beats the Air.

Mr. Cresswell, M.P.C., the other day told us that the only hope of uplift for the chronic workless was labour colonies, where they would be "detained" without pay and with "no sentiment in the administration"; and in our present society he may be right. General Smuts, however, before sailing for the Economic Conference, makes one last kick against the pricks of his own economic system by a rhetorical appeal to farmers to employ white labour (the day before he was pleading for the aged poor!). Cynically enough, he at the same time admitted that to-day "there is a certain amount of surplus production" of wheat for instance, with millions starving for bread; and note, it is not the starvation but the lowered price of food that constitutes, under capitalism, the "very serious position." Meanwhile, Swaziland, he says, is soon to come into the Union. More labour for the farmers!

What a perfect pair of horns he is impaled upon! Does he think the "desirable immigrants with capital," atttracted from white labour countries by the High Commissioner's English advertisments (in the interest of land-selling companies) of the "inexhaustible supply of cheap, docile native labour in S. Africa" are coming here for the good of their health and a philanthropic provision of billets for Afrikanders who "will never make good farmers on their own but are excellent workers"? If so, what does it mean? Only this: that having a black helot race (which of course his Defence Force will keep in its place) his solution now means adding to it a white helot race, which eventually must inevitably be reduced to the same standard. There's his "white man's country" for you! This is the "saving our skins," for which he wants "us," as a "small outpost of civilisation (!) in a black continent," to plunge into another war!

# Break the Warmongers.

Within a couple of days of Gen. Smuts' appeal to all the world to back Britain against France and so frighten France from war, "ere it be too late," America for one has declined, and thereby brought Smuts' only alternative, a war with France, nearer than ever. There's "statesmanship" for you!

Not by supporting Smuts or British capitalism, but only by opposing them more violently than ever, can the peace which Europe needs, especially to win the "Workers' United States of Europe" which Trotzky proposes, be realised. Thrice within the last few months have British capitalists brought us near war: with Turkey, with Russia, and now with France. Each time, and especially in the case of Russia, their plans have been defeated partly by the opposition of Labour. Let us of the working class remember that each defeat leaves the bourgeois war parties weaker, just as a by-election defeat weakens general election chances, and let us therefore make each victory more decisive than the last.

Let every Trade Union and every working class political party branch send forward resolutions repudiating these war plans, as was done in England last May, let every M.L.A. be forced to pledge himself to vote against war credits, and every parson be compelled to preach the gospel of the Prince of Peace.

Down with the warmongers!

Smash their confidence, shatter their pride, break their hearts, and thus make easier our final victory over the whole criminal gang!

# Comrades of the Great War.

The British Empire Service League has dropped the term "Comrades" for fear of being confounded with the Third International. Not the slightest danger of that, deah boy; but let us confess now, it has always rankled with us that a word meaning so much in the working class movement should have been PIRATED ALL THESE YEARS BY A WHITE GUARD ORGANISATION OUT TO FOOL AND SPLIT THE WORKING CLASS. Yes, we have felt contaminated at having to share the title of "Comradeship" with the imperialist jingo mandarins of the B.E.S.L., and are glad to be shot of them.

So much for ourselves. More significant is the implication that—simultaneous with the collapse of the "Entente"—the BASTARD "COMRADESHIP OF THE GREAT WAR" HAS BEEN THROWN OVERBOARD. It was never more than a stunt, like "co-operation of classes," put about in order to cajole numbers of the working class to sacrifice themselves en masse for the purposes of the capitalist class. It served its purpose: forty million were duped; hundreds of millions are still suffering for it. And in the next war, we must infer, IT WILL BE USELESS TO REVIVE IT. Those who march into the next shambles will be no "comrades," they will be plain slaves. True comradeship is possible only under Communism, or in "the Great War" to win it.

The Hague "Court of International Justice" [illegible] for Germany to hold [illegible] a future war on Russia. [illegible]

# The Goose Step.

Professors often represent themselves as detached from class bias, free from sycophancy, pure devotees of science, although their real subservience to the interests of the financial patrons of Universities has been glaringly shown up recently, especially in America. Unconsciously, let us charitably suppose, Professor Hoernle, head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, has been illustrating in a newspaper article (these professors are constantly writing columns for the press nowadays) how their science is encouraged for its usefulness to the patron class, and consequently tends to concentrate in directions likely to serve that class.

"Psychology and politics" is his subject, and he boasts that "pure psychology is no longer studied simply for its own sake but for the sake of its possible applications in practice." And what is this practice? "To equip the statesman with the knowledge of the scientific principles to be applied in the GOVERNING OF MEN"; "the POWER which psychology gives over himan minds"; "this acquisition of POWER through knowledge," "MOULDING the material of human nature" "to realise OUR ideals for the individual and for society"; "the study of public opinion and POLITICAL LEADERSHIP." In short, the production of Machiavellis or Smutses or Bottomleys, the tricks of ascendancy, the art of bluff and spellbinding, like the science of beauty specialists.

In illustration of "practical psychology," he quotes "the object lesson, furnished abundantly during the Great War, of the importance of maintaining the RIGHT STATE OF MIND. . . . Propaganda, used sometimes with almost diabolical cunning, for fostering the emotions and the mental attitude CONSIDERED requisite for the winning of the war. . . The falsehoods which we WERE INDUCED to accept as true, and some of the emotions of hate, vindictiveness, cruelty, which we WERE LED to feel." "The peoples of Europe have been too slow in switching over" (WHEN SO REQUIRED BY THE GOVERNING CLASS, ASSISTED BY PROFESSORS, OF COURSE) "from a war-mind to a peace-mind" "There must be in the German people a fixed will to bear . . the utmost sacrifices. The problem—a problem of psychological statesmanship—is how to PRODUCE and maintain this will."

"A conflict between employers and workers," too, has nothing to do with profit or exploitation or wage slavery. is is just "a conflict between states of mind," and the psychologist will facilitate "mutual understanding": in short, turn out graduates in Crawfordism.

The psychologist does indeed "analyse social environment": but having done so, he is not concerned with changing it, but only with noting how "instincts and sentiments" affected by it "may be AROUSED OR CONTROLLED." How, for instance, to persuade a victim of environment to be content with his proper station: how to work on the temper of returned soldiers to break up a Pussyfoot or Socialist meeting; how to spoof the nigger that the Government is his best friend, or that the mining houses (incidentally donors to the University funds) shot down "revolutionaries" to allow him to rise in the world; how to break striking workmen's "will for victory"; how to work up "public opinion" to a pogrom, and so on. There is no limit to the "utilitarian" application of science. It is all a question of the class interest in which it is applied.

Altogether, the most cynical avowal of the prostitution of science (as of religion an art) under capitalism that we have come across for many a day. No doubt, the Professor would repudiate the charge. Many middle class intellectuals, steeped, however unconscious of the fact, in "bourgeois psychology," are profoundly impressed with their own "impartiality." Then all one can say is "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do."

# Marty's Big Vote.

The final result of the Seine-et-Oise election in France, in which the Communists put forward Andre Marty, the seaman who refused to fight the Bolsheviks in the Black Sea, was that he was beaten by Franklin-Bouillon (who represented capitalist France in the Turkish scramble) by 77,000 votes to 54,000; but this latter figure, representing a "bloc" of workers and peasant votes, really represents a colossal advance in a department hitherto a stronghold of the worst reaction. Socialists and Communists combined against the capitalist-cum-clerical enemy. "Humanite" considers that the vote points to a landslide against Poincare in the near future.

# The One Thing Needful.

Many irrelevant questions were asked in the recent prosecution for employing a native engine driver: but the one relevant question was carefully avoided. What wage did he draw? If the standard engine driver's wage, then good luck to him. If less, then all the talk about Trade Unions keeping the natives down is shown up as rank hypocrisy—to cover the callous use of unorganised native standards to bring the Trade Unions down.

Similarly, it is no use bawling "we want more white workers" or "we can't get them to leave the cities" or "unemployment is all a bogey, they won't work," unless you also state what wage you offer. That is the one relevant question; and if the best you offer is terms that don't attract, again your cry is shown up as rank hypocrisy.

# United States of Europe.

## Is the Time Ripe for This Slogan?

By LEON TROTZKY.

The motive power of the late war consisted in the fact that the capitalist forces of production had outgrown the boundaries of the European national States. Germany had set herself the task of "organizing" Europe, i.e. of uniting economically the European continent under her own control, in order then seriously to set about contending with Britain for world power. The aim of France was to break up Germany. The small population of France, her predominant agricultural character, and her economic conservatism, make it impossible for the French bourgeoisie even to consider the problem of organizing Europe, which, indeed, proved to be beyond the powers of German capital, backed as it was by the military machine of the Hohenzollerns. Victorious France is now maintaining her mastery only by Balkanizing Europe. Great Britain is inciting and protecting the French policy of dismembering and exhausting Europe, all the time concealing her work under her traditional mask of hypocrisy. As a result, our unfortunate continent is disintegrated and dismembered, exhausted, disorganized and bankrupt—transformed into a madhouse. The invasion of the Ruhr is a piece of violent insanity accompanied by far-sighted calculation (the final disruption of Germany)—a combination which is not unfamiliar to the psychiatrist.

Behind the war lay the need of the forces of production for a wider field of development, unhampered by customs barriers. Similarly, in the occupation of the Ruhr so fatal to Europe and to mankind, we find a distorted expression of the need for uniting the coal of the Ruhr with the iron of Lorraine. EUROPE CANNOT DEVELOP ECONOMICALLY WITHIN THE STATE CUSTOMS FRONTIERS CREATED AT VERSAILLES. She is compelled either to remove these frontiers, or to face the prospect of complete economic decay. But the methods adopted by the ruling bourgeoisie to overcome the frontiers it itself created, are only increasing the existing chaos and accelerating the process of ruin.

To the toiling masses of Europe it is becoming ever clearer that the bourgeoisie is incapable of solving the basic problems of European restoration. The slogan "A Workers' and Peasants' Government" is designed to meet the attempts of the workers to find an issue by their own efforts. It has now become necessary to indicate this issue more concretely, namely, to assert that ONLY IN THE CLOSEST ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION OF THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE LIES THE PATH TO THE SALVATION OF OUR CONTINENT from economic destruction and enslavement to American capitalism.

America is standing aloof from Europe, patiently waiting until her economic agony has reached such a pitch, that it will be easy to step in and buy up Europe—as Austria was bought up—for a mere song. But France cannot stand aloof from Germany, nor can Germany stand aloof from France. Therein lies the crux, and therein lies the solution, of the European problem. Everything else is incidental.

Just as federation was long ago recognised as essential for the Balkan Peninsula, so now the time has arrived for stating definitely and clearly that federation is essential for balkanised Europe.

The question of Great Britain depends on the pace at which her revolutionary development proceeds. Should the "Government of Workers and Peasants" triumph on the European mainland before British imperialism is overthrown—which is extremely probable—then the European Federation of Workers and Peasants will of necessity be directed against British capital. And, of course, the moment the latter is overthrown the British Isles will enter as a desirable member into the European Federation.

We are now concerned not with the future socialist economy of the world, but with finding a way out of the present European impasse. We have to lay a solution before the gulled and ruined workers and peasants of Europe, quite independently of how the revolution develops in America, Australia, Asia, or Africa. Looked at from this point of view, the slogan "The United States of Europe" has its place in the same historical plan with the slogan "A Workers' and Peasants' Government"; it is a transitional slogan, indicating a way out, a prospect of salvation, and furnishing at the same time a revolutionary impulse for the toiling masses.

If backward Russia did not, and could not, await the revolution in Europe, all the more Europe will not, and must not, await the revolution in America. Workers' and Peasants' Europe, blockaded by capitalist America (and at first, perhaps, by Great Britain) will be able to maintain herself and develop as a closely consolidated military and economic union.

But just as the triumph of the proletariat in Russia furnished a mighty impulse to the development of the communist parties of Europe, so, and even to an incomparably greater degree, will the triumph of the revolution in Europe furnish an impulse to the revolution in America and throughout the whole world.

What is perfectly obvious is that the European customs barriers must be thrown down. The peoples of Europe must regard Europe as a field for a united and increasingly schematic economic life.

Of course, if we advance "The United States of Europe" as an independent programme, as a panacea for achieving pacification and reconstruction, and isolated from the slogans "A Workers' Government," the "United Front," and the "Class Struggle," we shall certainly end in democratised Wilsonism, i.e. in Kautskyism, or something baser (if there is anything baser than Kautskyism). But, I repeat, we live in the year 1923 and have learned a little from the past. Pacifism is an academic programme, the object of which is to avoid the necessity of revolutionary action. OUR FORMULATION IS AN IMPULSE TO FIGHT. To the workers of Germany, not the communists (it is not necessary to convince them), but to the workers in general, and in the first place to the social-democratic workers, who fear the economic consequence of a fight for a workers' government; to the workers of France, whose minds are still obsessed by the questions of reparations and the State debts; to the workers of Germany, France and of all Europe, who FEAR THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WORKERS' REGIME WILL LEAD TO THE ISOLATION AND ECONOMIC RUIN OF THEIR COUNTRIES, we will say: Europe, even if temporarily isolated (and with such a powerful bridge to the East as the Soviet Union she will not be easily isolated), will be able not only to maintain herself, but to consolidate and build herself up, once she has broken down the customs barriers, and has united herself economically to the inexhaustible natural riches of Russia. "The United States of Europe"—A PURELY REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE—is the next stage in our general revolutionary perspective.

# I am Interest.

I feed on toil,
Labour is my meat,
Sweat my drink;
Production makes my bed,
Industry builds my palaces.

I control commerce,
Lobby legislatures,
Jolly judges,
Create commissions,
Organise trusts,
Enlist armies,
Build navies,
Establish boundaries,
Rule Kings, Emperors, and Presidents

I am the State,
The people be d——d.
I have them on the hip;
Through rents, interest and taxes,
Whichever way they turn,
They are subservient to me.

—David B. Page.

"We have men to-day, writers of merit, who maintain that there is no light to guide the people to a better land except it come from the hands of those who watch and guard to keep them in the slough in which they live; others who are content to implore, almost as an alms, some fraction of liberty for the people; who protest against every bold movement of the people as 'inopportune' and 'ineffectual,' against every really creative belief displayed by the defenders of the people's rights."—Joseph Mazzini (quoted by "Abantu Batho").

* * *

Teach your children that whoever is an idler, whoever lives upon the labour of others, whether he is a pirate or a king, is a dishonest person.

# Hist! The Bogey Men!

During the last two months a number of men have been arrested in India as "Bolshevik Agents." The charge against them is so imaginary that most of them have not even been brought to trial. They are held under the antiquated Regulation III of 1818. The crime of these men was their attempt to organise a Workers' and Peasants' Party. It is stupid to call them Bolshevik agents, since none of them has ever been out of India. But the remarkable part of this incident is the ease with which our nationalists have gobbled up this pill of Bolshevik Bogey.

—The Vanguard, Central Organ of the Communist Party of India.

In other words:—

In order to strengthen his now mouldering ultimatum against Soviet Russia a few weeks ago, Curzon copied the tactics of Major Trigger and his merrimen by rounding up all supporters of the working class movement in India and then declaring that he had unearthed a Russian conspiracy to overthrow the British Empire in India!

* * *

A poor man is ever at a disadvantage in matters of public concern. When he rises to speak or writes a letter to his superiors, they ask: "Who is this fellow that offers advice?" And when it is known that he is without coin, they spit their hands at him, and use his letters in the cooks' fires. But if it be a man of wealth who would speak, or write, or denounce, even though he have the brain of a yearling dromedary or a spine as crooked as unseemly, the whole city listens to his words and declares them wise.—Li-Hung-Chang.

* * *

International Solidarity.—Congratulations to the Australian Seamen's Union for insisting on German sailors in Australian ports being paid on a basis of something better than "conditions of slavery."

## Cape Unemployment Committee.

### ITS RECENT WORK.

(Concluded from last week.)

The motion for a Municipal Committee on Unemployment was almost unanimously agreed to, the result being the formation of a joint committee to meet immediately.

They met on Friday last, at least some of them did! Eight out of a total of 21; this eight doing a complete volte face.

Who says the workers pay rates and taxes? We know the workers produce all wealth, but we also know that it is stolen from them at the point of production.

The Capitalist who gives him wages, also gives his wife the price of a fifty guinea hat, he may also buy a racehorse.

The Capitalist also pays rates and taxes, and a hundred and one things, out of the balance, after paying wages to the workers.

This explains the reason why the Unemployment Committee meets with so much opposition in Parliament and in the different Councils.

There is also another point, very important, that the Councillor sits there in a dual capacity, once as an employer and again as a ratepayer.

In the Cape Town Council there are numerous contractors-out for cheap labour,—and as a consequence they tend to lose twice, once with the increase in rates and again with the increase of wages. These men can always be found in the fight.

If the workers would only be prepared to fight with half the same degree of tenacity of these people it would not be long before this system was brought to a close.

The Communist Party is a political party but has not yet learned to take part in the struggle to half the extent that it could.

There is one feature manifesting itself in the Cape, pleasing at any rate as a sign of life, and that is that the Trade Federation intends contesting the forthcoming Municipal elections.

The Capitalist class has its financial cliques in all governing and administrative councils. Why not the workers?

Is it policy to leave the capitalist a clean field, then to grouse because he does not do things to our liking?

The Unemployment Committee does not agree to that policy. It is a political body, although non-party. Still whilst it is non-party, it is undoubtedly of the working class and to a great extent is class conscious.

It intends to fight the Capitalist in every possible way, whether political or industrial.

It intends running candidates itself at the forthcoming Municipal elections wherever it can thereby further the interest of the working class and secure approval of its slogan.

The committee does not intend opposing Labour, Trade Unionists or Communist Candidates, but rather to support these wherever possible.

Our enemy is the Capitalist Class, we don't recognise any other, all our efforts are directed against this class, and in that we hope not only to assist the unemployed but to organise them in such a way as to constitute the nucleus of the Red Army, the nucleus of that great force which will sooner or later overthrow the degrading system of Capitalism.

P.S.—All those desirous of joining the Unemployed and Relief Workers' Union should communicate with the Hon. Secretary, No. 6, Adderley Street, Cape Town.

W. GREEN, Hon. Sec.

## Blessed are the Poor in Spirit.

Driving an engine, whether it be a winding or a locomotive one, seems to produce a "moderate" mental outlook, to judge on the one hand from the S.A.E.D. & F.A.'s new organ. "The Indicator," and on the other from the reported enthusiasm of Transvaal railwaymen to secede from the NURAHS to the so-called "Brotherhood," although to be sure we are supplied with no figures of or even reasons for the alleged landslide. "Sound progress, as against the intransigeants on both the capitalist and Labour sides, and a curb on the activities of those who would take a royal and heroic road to emancipation" —such is the dreary refrain to be crooned by the man sitting at the levers: while on the footplate all thoughts of express speed are to be lulled by a soothing slogan of "negotiation and conciliation, peace and progress; no political activity, which antagonises the employing class and (so!) subordinates the very objects for which the unions were established; and what a favourable reception our deputation had from Sir Wm. Hoy!" Well, well, the tortoise too was a crawler, and yet won the race, we are told; but thank God most of us (drivers and railmen included, we are sure), still retain a healthy instinct for moving on our feet like men and not on our bellies like worms.

A speech of Gen. Hertzog in 1915, condemning the Labour Party as jingoistic, has been quoted for the purpose of discrediting him, General Hertzog. Surely if anyone is discredited it is the Labour Party. It was utterly impossible for Hertzog to co-operate with the Labour Party in 1915 because it was then all for the Smuts Government. Now that (although led by an Imperialist) it is against the Smuts Government, he finds it possible to do business with it. That is all. It is not he that has changed, but the Labour Party.

A humble slave I despise; a rebellious slave I respect.—Wendell Phillips.

* * *

[illegible] make paper. Paper makes money. Money makes [illegible]. Banks make loans. Loans make [illegible] and poverty makes [illegible].

# A Ghastly Record!!

## WILL YOU AGAIN BE FOOLED?

THE WITWATERSRAND UNEMPLOYED COMMITTEE HAVE ISSUED THE FOLLOWING LEAFLET IN CONNECTION WITH THE TURFFONTEIN ELECTION:

To-day Turffontein is being called upon by the mine owners to vote a mining magnate (and race-horse owner) into Parliament, pledged to support the "world's greatest statesman," General Smuts.

Lest we forget, let us recall a few—only a very few—of the acts of "statesmanship" perpetrated by this "Man of the Hour" and acclaimed by a servile Press and (for the time being!) Parliamentary majority.

In March last year after the "capture" of Fordsburg, Smuts' armed minions were "released" to indulge in an ORGY OF TERRORISM AND LOOTING, and, in the Southern suburbs in particular, an almost unbelievable campaign of house to house SMELLING OUT, UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF C.I.D. detectives who, instead of functioning for the protection of citizens, are suborned for the suppression of political propaganda against Government and Chamber of Mines, while uniformed police are used to bludgeon the masses into submission to the dictatorship of the ruling clique.

In the course of this armed search, on 16th March, 1922, William Dowse, of Rosettenville, was taken out of his house, brutally knocked about, and shot dead. Eye witnesses stated that they HEARD THE SOLDIERS ORDER DOWSE TO RUN and when he had got a few yards away he was shot in cold blood.

On the same date Peter Albertus Hanekom, Johannes Petrus Hanekom and Barnard Daniel Hanekom, three brothers, together with Marthinus Wessels Smith, were TAKEN PRISONER AND THEN SHOT DEAD by the same troops.

In these cases it is clear enough from the evidence given before the Martial Law Commission that a lot of perjury was committed. The military stated that the four men attempted to escape and RAN AWAY IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS. Yet medical evidence showed that every man was shot in the chest or head except Smith, and he was shot through the hip but his head was battered in. Fragments of skull and brains littered the ground where they fell.

On the same day a sick man named Van Wijk was taken out of his bed in his own house by Captain Clark and shot dead by the troops.

A few days earlier, on 11th March, 1922, Mrs. J. C. Truter was killed in her own house at Benoni—half a mile from the scene of fighting—by an aeroplane bomb; and Mr. Bothma, a civilian who had been assisting the police all day, was shot dead by the military at point blank range outside his house at Fordsburg.

On 14th March, 1922, Mr. R. W. Smith, a shunter "of excellent character," was shot dead and his house ransacked; Mr. Gillan was also shot dead at Booysens; the ten year old son of Mr. Nathan Wainer, of Fordsburg, was shot dead, likewise Christoffel Klopper, aged 16, and Johannes van den Berg, aged 18.

The Martial Law Commission exonerates the Government forces in all these affairs! And GENERAL SMUTS ENDORSES THE COMMISSION'S REPORT! Henceforward we must expect officers and men to slaughter citizens with impunity!

Such is the brief outline of only one small episode in the career of General Smuts and his mine magnates of the S.A.P. To tell the full story of all the butcheries enacted by the same party would fill a volume. Rule by machine gun and bombing aeroplane has been the method throughout its blood-bespattered history.

"Statesmanship" it may be called by the ghouls of the Press, but it is the sort of statesmanship that has eventually ruined every man, every party and every country in history that has practised it. Smuts is an incarnation of all the corruptive forces in present day society.

MEN AND WOMEN OF TURFFONTEIN! Remember July, 1913, remember January, 1914, remember March, 1922! Smuts was in it all.

UNEMPLOYED OF TURFFONTEIN! Smuts says you have only yourselves to thank for being unemployed!

MOTHERS' SONS OF TURFFONTEIN! Smuts is preparing to call upon you to go and fight the French!

ELECTORS OF TURFFONTEIN! Before you record your vote on Tuesday next, think all these things over! Do not be carried away by Smuts' honeyed words: WATCH HIS HANDS, DON'T WATCH HIS MOUTH! Let his actions decide your actions and your votes!

Give him your answer, show him what you think of him, by consigning him to perdition, once for all, at the ballot box.

You may not agree with Major Hunt, nor he with you. But we are not out to boost Hunt, WE ARE OUT TO SMASH UP SMUTS AND HIS GANG FOR EVER! You will help to smash them up by VOTING FOR HUNT.

By the blood of those slaughtered victims of March, 1922, DO YOUR DUTY!

# Wriggling on Their Own Pin.

Trotzky says England's traditional policy has been to set other nations by the ears and let them pull her chestnuts out of the fire. The Ruhr affair was going to be such a case. But as it has turned out, England is herself falling out with France over the plunder, and it is on the cards that the two of them willy nilly will be found PULLING OUT CHESTNUTS FOR PROLETARIAN GERMANY AND SOVIET RUSSIA, if not actually dancing to the tune of the Communist International! That is why the position is, as Smuts says, so serious: serious, that is, for the British bourgeoisie, serious for the bourgeoisie of all countries concerned, including Germany itself.

### CONTRADICTIONS OF COURSE.

Thus does capitalism provide its own gravediggers, not as an exception, but as part of its normal course. Capitalism, British like any other, must always HAVE ITS CAKE AND EAT IT. It wants war with Russia, but it also wants trade with Russia. It wants tranquility, but it cannot stand tranquilly by while France collars the Ruhr. It persecutes "Bolshevism, but also breeds it. It boosts democracy, and helps to upset it in Italy, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc. It tries to suppress revolution in the East, and succeeds only in inflaming it. It purports to create a League of Nations, and then treats it with contemptuous neglect. It signs Washington treaties, and then fortifies Singapore and multiplies its air fleet. IT FIGHTS THE GREATEST WAR IN HISTORY TO BREAK GERMANY, AND THEN THREATENS ANOTHER AND GREATER WAR TO PREVENT THE BREAKING OF GERMANY. It cries for peace, but unless it is a pax Britannica it breaks the peace. It prates of Imperial self-sufficiency, but is more agog for continental cheap labour, foreign markets, German capital and investment.

### RIFTS IN THEIR LUTES.

Moreover, every capitalist government is weakened by internal disputes. Curzon has been put in his place by Baldwin; Baldwin, between Diehards and Labour, is ALREADY SHAKY AFTER TWO MONTHS OF OFFICE. French Royalists and Communists alike are threatening Poincare, German Nationalists and Communists alike are threatening Stressmann, Mussolini is encountering opposition even from Fascists.

### "BOLSHEVISM," THEIR OWN CHILD.

Capitalism is paralysed by its vain quest for expansion on the one hand and by fear of the opposition it incurs in the quest on the other, opposition in its own ranks as well as from the workers on whom, if it is to expand, it must needs impose intolerable conditions. It is not the Communists of Germany that cause the acute discontent and "disorder" there: it is not only Communists that are hungry, but millions more: as "our own" ex-South African financier with the funny name says, "the maintenance of order in Germany depends on A REASONABLE FOOD SUPPLY FOR ALL CLASSES," AND THAT IS JUST WHAT NO CAPITALIST CLASS, least of all that of Germany, CAN OR WILL PROVIDE. As little is it "Bolshevik Agents" that create Indian unrest; it is the rule of British capital, which by periodical pogroms against Indian labour only confesses its fault, and fans the unrest, the more. Pat Duncan joins the silly chorus against "Bolshevik propaganda among natives in Johannesburg," which in point of fact—to our great shame—scarcely exists on our side, it is the Chamber of Mines and landowning class that are the great propagandists of "native Bolshevism."

### THE LOCAL BOURGEOIS DILEMMA.

A like dilemma is the occasion of endless futilities in our S. African politics. Our ruling caste is in alarm at the declining status of the bulk of the white working population, which it requires both as customer and as ganger: yet Smuts offers 3/6 a day (calling it 20/- as a Scotchman calls a florin (half-a-crown) and sneers that no white man need go workless, while the Chamber of Mines gloats over its saving of "redundant" whites, and covers itself behind INANE MINISTERIAL APPEALS TO FARMERS TO EMPLOY WHITES, who are bound to be just as "redundant" in country as in town, so long as the reservoir of cheaper labour is available. Again, we have the PERPETUAL DILEMMA of "more native labour means more jobs for whites," and "native labour displaces white"; and in fact the Labour Department continually reports further decreases in the number of whites employed, if only because many whites still fight shy of the kaffir-level relief work.

### UNITED FRONT vs. UNITED FRONT.

Capitalism is utterly unable to solve a single one of these dilemmas, for they are of the essence of capitalism, they are all due to the overriding quest for profit. Only the new system of society can solve them. THE UNITED FRONT OF GOVERNMENT, CHAMBER AND BIG LANDOWNER CAN AND MUST BE OVERTHROWN ONLY BY THE UNITED FRONT OF WORKERS, WORKERS ON THE LAND AS WELL AS WORKERS IN TOWN INDUSTRIES, organised to capture political power and establish a new economy in which all these bourgeois contradictions will become obsolete, uncouth memories of a barbarous past.

## News from Com. Andrews.

Private letters received from our "E.C.C.I." member give a number of impressions of which we have space only for a few.

"I have already begun attending Executive meetings, which are held at the Red Hall, with Zinoviev in the chair, Radek, Kameneff, Losovsky, and about a dozen from other countries. Translations take up a lot of time: a "universal second language" ought to be one of our slogans. I have met a lot of well-known and interesting people from all over the world."

Com. Andrews finds that S. Africans have a name, like Englishmen, for being "insular"—"knowing nothing of the vast continent outside the Union and sometimes their own province." On the other hand, he thinks the Russian Government does not sufficiently exploit its own country as a place for visitors, and in fact an American Club is being organised in Moscow by the well-known writer "Anise," to receive English speaking strangers, which will tend to break down the isolation of Moscow and the mystery in which the enemy attempts to wrap it.

As regards retail trade, Com. Andrews too has noticed how little of it is really in private hands. "Everywhere there are Soviet stores, cafes, etc., clean, well kept and well managed, and much of the apparently private enterprise proves on closer acquaintance to be under Soviet control or run by and in the interest of some workers' union or co-operative organisation, and more are always opening up. Certain special stores open every night till twelve and are crowded with people purchasing food in the leisurely Russian way. On the Pushkin boulevard there are lucky dips and various gambling stalls. These are for Children's Aid Funds.

"There is no doubt that the people in this city at any rate are sufficiently fed and adequately clothed in the mass, though the styles are various and queer!

"I have visited several factories and power stations and seen the work and the clubs, dining-rooms, etc., attached. The Moscow workers' headquarters is a big building once used as the nobles' club. It will be a magnificent place when fixed up. Most of the old decorations still remain but they are introducing some typical working class designs in the smaller halls.

"I went on a charming trip down the Moscow river," he continues, "and besides passing several big engineering constructions, also many big factories, some working and some idle, I noticed that the country wore an air of considerable activity.

"I also spent a day with the 40th, 41st and 42nd Moscow regiments of sharpshooters on the occasion of their regimental anniversary, attended by, among others, the president of the Transcaucasian republics.

"As for "Bolshevik gold," I have had an allowance of about 4,000 roubles, say £5, and I paid my fare and expenses to Moscow, so that I have not got very fat out of the Soviet authorities yet, have I—and we have been paying out to various funds more often, and bigger sums, than are expected in Johannesburg.

"Com. Ivon Jones' health is not good, and he will I think, return shortly to S. Africa, for the Russian winter gives him no chance."

## Russian Recovery.

Russia's financial position is not only improving more rapidly than that of any other country in Europe, but is approaching a not very distant point at which the budget will be balanced without any deficit.

In the first quarter of 1922, eighty-six per cent. of the total expenditure of the state had to be met by the emission of paper money; in the last quarter of 1922, the deficit which had to be met in this way was slightly under 50 per cent. of the total expenditure. The early months of 1923 have shown an even more remarkable improvement, the deficit for the first four months being thirty-three per cent., while the deficit for May was only nineteen per cent. It is thus clear that inflation is steadily decreasing; and this has been made possible by the improvement of the fiscal apparatus, together with the revival of commerce and industry. In May, 1923, taxation provided thirty-three per cent. of the total expenditure, and a further forty-eight per cent. was received from railways and other State enterprises (including foreign trade), actual revenue thus producing eighty-one per cent. of the total expenditure.

—Russian Information and Review.

The new Second Chamber of the Soviet Union, the Council of Nationalities, is composed on a basis of equal representation, thus securing the Union as a whole against any possible domination by a single nationality which might arise in the lower chamber—the Union Council—which is built up on the basis of population, thus giving preponderance to the R.S.F.S.R.

"The peasants are unwilling to part with their produce or send it to the towns." Aha! the Bolsheviks have failed! But this is in Germany, which, if ever any country was, is completely under the heel of international capitalism. And its escape from that predicament is called "The fall of Germany," something more to be dreaded than the "fall" of Russia! Quite so—by international capitalism.

Up to the last moment the Unemployed Committee of the Witwatersrand was ready with its candidate for Turffontein in case no other opposition candidate was nominated; but he was held back in order not to split the anti-Smuts vote. Those who intend to see the Hanekoms, Smith and Dowse avenged one day must be satisfied for the time being with the small mercy (the obvious duty of all Turffontein voters all the same) of retorting to Smuts' alleged vain "hunt for the unemployed" by returning "Hunt for the unemployed."

# Imperialism and Soviet Russia.

## Metal in Economics and in National Character.

Some extracts from a speech delivered by Trotzky at the 6th All Russian Metal Workers Congress on June 6th, 1923.

The essence of British politics has invariably consisted in setting other countries against one another, of standing aside and letting other people pull the chestnuts out of the fire.

We all know the policy which was pursued by the English during the intervention and the blockade. Russia's losses in the imperialist war amounted to 3,080,000, whilst England only lost 455,000, that is scarcely the sixth part. In order that Lord Curzon might be in a position to hand us a ten days ultimatum, over three million Russian workers and peasants had to bleed for the honour of English imperialism. Some day we shall present this account to the English bourgeoisie. Then England inaugurated the period of intervention and blockade. England herself did not go to war, but she sent expeditionary troops to Archangel and Murmansk. With what object? In order to mobilise Russian workers and peasants for the White Guards, and to force them to fight against the red workers and peasants. Throughout the whole period of the occupation, England did not lose more than 10 to 15 men, but on the other hand, condemned hundreds and thousands to a wretched fate.

England demands from us compensation on account of two English subjects. We are surprised at the modesty of Lord Curzon's demands; he does not require compensation for the 15 or 30 English who died in Northern Russia.

We have not yet forgotten the name of that English officer who had our 26 comrades murdered in Baku. Some day we shall also demand from the English bourgeoisie that it pays pensions to the relatives of these 26 comrades.

* * *

The essential character of capitalist economics is mainly expressed in the Ruhr occupation, which is nothing less than a devastation and a potential war. There is no normal capitalist life in Europe. Even such a small incident as the upheaval in Bulgaria shows that the whole of bourgeois society, at least in Europe, is still suffering from intermittent fever. The latest telegrams report that the Bulgarian revolution has been directly supported by English and Italian agents. To-day we receive news of an upheaval in Persia. England, who demanded that we recall our representative from Persia, has now overthrown the Persian national government, which beyond doubt was supported by the overwhelming majority of the population, and has replaced it by her own agents.

* * *

In France the royalists, converting themselves into Fascisti, have begun the attack on state power. But the delusions of victory spread abroad by the national bloc are beginning to disappear, not only among the workers, but also among the peasants, and the bourgeoisie is taking sides with the left bloc of radicals, radical socialists, and Mensheviki The next elections, in about 11 or 12 months, will probably bring victory to the left en bloc.

* * *

Our neighbours are Poland and Roumania, and despite all Lord Curzon's assurances as to his peaceful intentions, still our "friends" on our west frontier have signified their intention of giving us military difficulties, and of making use of the one or two years during which the national blocs are likely to be in power.

At the present time, we are devoting our main attention and our best forces to the economic reconstitution of the country. At the same time we have taken the first steps towards reconstituting our army on the militia principle. Only one-fifth of our infantry divisions will remain as professional soldiers. The rest will remain in the factories or on the land, and will only be called up occasionally for drill or training. The further development of our air fleet is necessary for our army. We shall reply to every blow dealt us, even to every pin-prick, by the extension of our air fleet. When we were presented with an ultimatum, we equipped an aeroplane squadron and christened it "Ultimatum." This squadron we have already. Then came the upheaval in Bulgaria, and we shall equip another air squadron and call it, if Comrade Chicherin permits: "Red Bulgaria." If we convert all the attacks of the bourgeoisie into aeroplanes, we shall be able to put an end to those attacks.

* * *

But if our work for the development of the air fleet, and of our war technics generally, is to be made really possible and fruitful, it is necessary above all to develop our industry and the foundation of our industry—the metal industry. We are terribly short of metal. And the new culture and new technics are the technics of metal.

The most important task now set us, which decides our fate for a long period, is the rational and scientific organization of industry. The concentration and proper organization of production is as difficult a task to-day as was the struggle for state power in October.

By means of enormous exertions, we are building up a new form of life, step by step, on the basis of what we have already won. The form of life still existing to-day is the old petty-bourgeois form.

The foundation of the scientific organization of industry is metal. Our culture is a wood culture. Wood is a wonderful material, but only when it is in the right place. The further we advance, the more metal we require. The coming epoch is the epoch of iron, of concrete, and of glass. There is too little iron flowing in the veins of our economic organism, and the outstanding feature of the impending period of our economic struggle will be the fight for metal. More metal for our economics! And more metal in the character of the people! Three cheers for metal!

# How "Scolly Boys" are made.

We are constantly being twitted in Capetown that men on relief works and unemployed are nothing but scolly boys and corner boys.

These are the very type of men who just at the commencement of the war were "Britain's Heroes."

The greatest critics of these men now are the Press of the country.

The "Cape Slimes" and "Argue," both of them, along with Canon Lavis, attempt to discredit the genuineness of these men.

These newspaper proprietors are themselves largely responsible for the "wont works" and "work shies." They employ children from say seven or eight years of age to sell their dirty rags in the streets six nights in the week up to 10, 11 and 12 o'clock at night; and the newsboy of to-day becomes the scolly boy of to-morrow.

And in order to compel the boys to accept this blind alley occupation, the gold bugs of the City Council employ their fathers at a miserable wage of 2/6 per day, which has to maintain a family no matter how large.

Anyhow, now these men are organised they will be able to defend themselves. In the course of the next month or so they will be able to fight as well as or even better than any organised workers in South Africa.

MULES.

"Yes," said an employer, "we only work them six hours a day. We find it's all they can stand and keep in perfect health."

A shabbily dressed man leaned forward from a rear seat and said:

"You old liar! I know some of your men who work 10 and 12 hours a day."

"Pooh!" said the Employer, "I was talking about mules."

The money power garbs itself in militarism, nationalism, sectarianism, and all the other hypocritical guises which Capitalism finds useful to its purposes. These serve as pretexts to instil fresh warmth into dying hatreds. These are the bulwarks behind which Capitalism gorges and digests in security.

—Emile Zola.

**The last two years have mainly been occupied by the duel between M. Schnider, of the Creusot Works, and Herr Stinnes, for the domination of the European steel industry.**

# The Ruhr and the British Labour Party.

By M. PHILIPS PRICE.

How will the British Labour Party deal with the situation, if, as seems increasingly likely, it comes into power in the not very distant future? The present clique of labour intellectuals, who have captured the party machine and are running it in conjunction with the old school of trade union secretary, are in conscious or unconscious partnership with the powers behind the British government. The Labour Party, at its conference last week in London, rejected a resolution, brought in by the I.L.P., demanding that Labour members in parliament vote against all army and navy credits as a matter of principle. In his speech for that rejection Arthur Henderson said, according to the "Daily Herald": "They had heard a good deal about the attitude of France. If France continues in her attitude, they could not afford to ignore the possibilities of defence."

Just as the old school of British Labour leader led the Labour Party into coalition with the bourgeoisie in the war against Prussian militarism, so the seeds are being sown of a situation in which the same leaders will lead the Labour Party in a war against Poincare's militarism. On the other hand, there is a slow but very perceptible growth of an opposition movement within the Labour Party and not by any means confined to the members of the British Communist Party, who have by dint of hard work in the trade unions, succeeded in getting themselves elected as Labour Party delegates. The I.L.P., which with all its sentimental pacifism and confused, un-marxian phraseology, has a healthy proletarian instinct and is sound at heart, is likely to play no unimportant role in fighting the opportunist policy of the right wing leaders of the Labour Party. The attitude of some of these members of the Labour Party opposition is best seen by that passage in the speech of one of the Scotch I.L.P. delegates to the Labour Party conference, George Buchanan, who said: "armed forces are becoming a method of clubbing the workers in industrial strikes. If they wished to be logical, they must say that all these kinds of armaments were wrong and vote accordingly in the House of Commons."

**"Land to the peasant and bread to the worker! is the slogan of the "Vanguard," the organ of the Communist Party of India.**

# Books in Stock.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

We make no apology for bringing our literature catalogue once more before our readers, and asking them to study it and keep it for further reference. Newspaper stuff is as it were only tea-shop fare: the "workers' ordinary" should consist of the more solid meat contained in the classical and modern publications of the world-movement. Send cash with order to Box 4179, or call at No. 4 Trades Hall, Johannesburg, and let us recommend you what to read.

Our readers are advised to keep this catalogue for further reference. Further instalments will be published until the list of books and pamphlets in stock is completed. Send cash with order to Box 4179, Johannesburg.

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## Excuse our interruption, but have we had your Sub. yet?

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| The Road the Men Came Home | 2 | 3 |

# Reds vs. Whites in the Army.

An I.L.P. speaker addressing a meeting recently at Girvan Harbour, Scotland, was set upon, says "Forward," by Territorials armed with trench tools up their sleeves. They had been summoned for the purpose from a neighbouring training camp by commissioned officers in mufti. The officers threatened to throw the speaker into the sea. He was hustled off the platform, and the chairman was knocked down, kicked, and struck over the head with a trench tool, sustaining severe injury. Later some Irish workers were attacked and their property smashed.

THE SITUATION, HOWEVER, WAS SAVED BY OTHER SOLDIERS who defended the men attacked and got the Territorials back to camp.

# COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

The last "discussion night" for August will be Wednesday next, when Mrs. Bunting will open up the topic of "Passive and active resistance."

* * *

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 1/3. Together these booklets furnish a close insight into Communist world tactics.

* * *

YOUNG WORKERS' SPORTING ASSOCIATION.

TENNIS SECTION.—A start has been made and a good deal of money has been collected. The immediate need is a court for the exclusive use of the section. As soon as this has been obtained the section will go ahead.

* * *

BOXING SECTION.—Arrangements being made to start. All interested should write to Box 7599, Johannesburg.

* * *

HIKING SECTION.—A hike will take place on Sunday next, August 26. The party will leave the Judith Paarl terminus at 9 a.m., will proceed to Bedford Farm via Geldenhuis and will return to Johannesburg via Orange Grove. All friends and sympathisers are invited. All must bring their own lunch.

# Mass Meeting of Unemployed.

The Cape Unemployed Committee has arranged a mass meeting in the City Banquetting Hall on the 30th of this month, Thursday next, at 8 p.m., at which it is hoped that all supporters will attend. This meeting is arranged to further the candidature of the U.C.'s nominee for the City Council, and also as a protest against the disgraceful trickery of the City Council at its last meting. This is going to be a bumper affair, the only difficulty in connection with it is that the hall will be far too small.

W. GREEN, Hon. Sec.

# International Delegate Fund.

Previously acknowledged, £77 3/-; W.G.S., £1; R. H. 5/-; S. H. £1.

Keep it up, comrades and supporters. This fund requires a lot more money yet. In addition to Com. Andrews, who finds life in Russia expensive, we have Com. Ivon Jones to provide for and bring back to S. Africa. So Cash, Forward please.

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


# Comrade SAM BARLIN

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