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NINE
REMAINING
Strike Prisoners

The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

THE ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (S.A. Section of the Communist International)
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Parktown.

'Ere Y'are!
'Ave Another Go
AT
Smuts.

Remember
Turffontein!

The British League of Nations.

The League of Nations is but the British Government writ large, says the Italian Press, and Smuts, in a farewell gas escape, seems to confirm this. "Both I and the Union Government support the LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT." Where the two are not identified, as in the Anglo-French dispute, then he supports the British Government; still more so, we may be sure, if the League should be opposed to the British Government, a position which, curiously enough, has never arisen, for the League has never functioned except to impose the will of Britain on its supposed proteges the "liberated" small nations, and even then only when this coercion is QUITE safe. Similarly, Mussolini's triumph is indifferently described as a humiliation for the League and a humiliation for Britain, although to be sure the London "Mail" reassures us with the consolation "Blow the League, Mussolini has rendered greater service than any other living man to the" (truly British) "cause of law and order"—viz., of course, the suppression of the working class. In short, Mussolini himself is no worse than anyone else when he says: "If the League is for me, I am for it; if not, I am for myself"; and the Italian "Socialists" quite justifiably twit the British Trade Union Congress, now backing the League against him, with having been during the war (and potentially being still) every bit as imperialist as Mussolini is now and more hypocritical!

The Conquest of Wheat.

A LETTER FROM THE ANTIPODES.

I have in my letters to you already explained the degree of exploitation carried on in Victoria. Well, it is the same here in New South Wales. The same exploitation and by the same people, who are ubiquitous throughout the whole of Australasia. Why is this exploitation possible? Because the Australians' whole psychology is derived, in the mass, from two sources, viz., Church and pub., which are distributed over the City with the utmost profusion. Every street corner has a pub. and nearly every street has a church of some kind or another. These stupefy the people, and then on top of this comes, as a fitting consummation, patriotism, forming a trinity of Dope.

The "statesmen" (?) State and Federal, are very pessimistic as to the future. This is reflected in the paradox of immigration and over-production. One party seems to regard a large increase of population as a "way out"; and another says too much is already produced and if a large increase of productivity is made and no more markets are found for the disposal of the products, the country will be worse off than it is now. In this connection the "wheat pool" has now expressed a note of optimism because the Russian wheat, of which they were much afraid, will not be large enough to compete, and what exportable surplus there may be Germany will take, leaving presumably the rest of Europe to the Aussies. But what will happen if Russia does have a large wheat surplus? The Aussie farmer will be bust. He has now a "Russian nightmare." What will he have in 1924-5 when Russia has an exportable surplus greater than ever before in her history (vide Leonid Krassin)? The staggers! And not only he but U.S.A. and Canada as well. The farmers in both these are mortgaged up to their eyebrows, and the banks "are viewing Russia's recovery with apprehension"—vide "Saturday Evening Post." When we read the press here and then the "Pictorial Russia" you kindly sent us, we laugh like hell and feel elated that in the near future Russia will give the world such an ultimatum through its wheat, etc., etc., that has no precedent in history. A world conquest in fact.

The "wheat pool" has during the past few days given through the press some informative reading, and to me highly amusing also. The spokesmen importuned the Government for the payment of more subsidy to which they laid claim. The Government retorted that they had already been OVERPAID to the extent of £855,000 odd, but they did not ask for a refund, as they were entitled to do. Comment is superfluous. But alongside this partiality and extravagance is the fact that 2,000 homeless and destitute soldiers sleep in the Domain nightly, for whom the Government cannot, or won't, do anything. All the while unemployment grows, trade declines, prices are still rising, and all classes are beginning to realise, and say, that conditions can't continue as they are now; something must be done, but the generality don't know what, and appear waiting for "something to happen." Recently the immigrationists have been working the Japanese menace stunt. Yesterday a large and illustrious party of peers and scientists arrived from Japan to attend a scientific, Pan-Pacific, conference. There also arrived a Chinese Soccer football team, mostly University students, who will play a series of matches throughout Australia. The reception and many speeches of both parties are interesting reading. When read with the declarations for a White Australia they are amusing.

E. P. BEER.

CHEAPER CHAMPIONS

Promoter Ch. of M. (to South African champion of former years): "You heavies is off—see! Bring yourself to this lad's weight and condition and I might think about matching you—otherwise get out of my office."

This cartoon, originally drawn to represent the position between British and German labour, also indicates the present situation of white and black labour in South Africa with the colour bar gone.

The Cape Municipal Elections.

VOTES COUNTED AND WEIGHTED

The unemployed and the underpaid workers, having nominated Comrade W. Green, of the Communist Party, as their candidate for the Municipal election in Ward 6, rallied well to his support. The result was as follows:—

No. of single votes:	Green	313	Callanan	411
No of plural votes:	,,	89	,,	533
		402		944

It must be remembered that the voting system in the Cape disfranchises hundreds of the proletariat. There are hundreds of families denied the right to vote because they are sub-tenants, and as a consequence hundreds of landlords have votes which otherwise would belong to the workers. In the Cape it is possible for a landlord to cast 42 votes, three in each of the 14 wards; it is possible for a Trust to wangle scores of votes in any one ward.

Again, the ruling class have every facility to cast their votes at any hour of the day. The worker (in work) must needs attend between 12—1 or 5—7. And the Mayor appointed only one polling booth, the City Hall, thus making it still more difficult for the povertied voters of Ward Six to record their votes. Had there been a booth fixed in the district itself the result would have been different.

In short, had the poll been conducted on the same lines as for the House of Assembly, Comrade Green would probably have been returned hands down.

PRESS OPPOSITION.

On the morning of election day instructions were circulated by the hirelings of the ruling class (the Press) to property owners of all kinds to rally against the Communist candidate. A sub-leader was inserted in the "Slimy Times" calling upon "public-spirited" people to "refuse to be either cowed by violence or repelled by disgust."

> "If the electors of Ward Six vote for Mr. Green they will know what to expect. He will have no concern for the general interests of the City. Public spirit, good order, fair dealing, as between man to man—these will be nothing to him. He is the slave of Communism and that will be the beginning and the end of his duty as a Councillor. Votes given to Mr. Green will be votes for handing the government of the City over to a tyranny of the boot and heel and the foul word."

And in booming to the full the Women's Municipal nominee for Woodstock, the same article says:—

> "There is nothing that Communism hates and fears more than the quiet common-sense and home-making ideals of women, who are always the chief sufferers in class upheavals and political revolutions."

"LABOUR" OPPOSITION.

The Trades Federation too (it is said) at one of its meetings decided to oppose the unemployed nominee and support the Chairman of the Relief Committee of the Board of Aid (a red-hot Catholic), who was supported by all the wealthy class, with motors galore placed at his disposal, he being also a six weeks' member of the Labour Party. It is worth noting that the Trades Federation nominee for Salt River (Ward Nine) had only 240 votes out of a total of 1,250.

As for the Labour Party, at a meeting of its District Committee, comprised of two delegates from each of five branches, a discussion took place on the question of supporting Comrade Green, the candidate of the Unemployment Committee. The voting was two for and two against, the chairman giving his casting vote against, five not voting at all.

This election has been a fine education. It has solidified the workers of all shades, Indians, Malays, Dutch, Natives, English, and every shade of religion; all worked together against the poison gas of the Capitalist. Moreover, it has solidified the Communist element. All the big guns of Capitalism have been brought into action. THE WORKERS WHO VOTED FOR W. GREEN HAVE BEEN DUBBED AS COMMUNISTS. That is a good sign of the times. The Communist or Bolshevik gag will henceforth be a spent force. It will have no intimidating effect; the Communist Party will therefore be in future a Party that every worker might join to advantage. It is the Party of the future.

A Revolutionary Released.

TO SERVE THE REVOLUTION STILL.

The release of Andre Marty, the hero of the revolt in the Black Sea, was a day of great rejoicing for the French worker and peasant class, which has been working uninterruptedly on his behalf for four years, and has energetically demanded his release. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of France, the proletariat has chosen him as public representative 42 times.

An extremely capable technician and naval officer "risen" from the ranks, he lived like a stranger among the reactionary officers, but in intercourse with his fellow-sailors he was always unpretentious, good-natured, and brotherly.

When Andre Marty was sent to the Black Sea with a squadron in November, 1918, for the purpose of throttling the Russian revolution at the behest of the Prime Minister Clemenceau, he was indignant at the incapability of the army staff, at the mad waste of millions, above all at the attack upon Russia without a previous declaration of war, and at the bombardment of unfortified cities and the murder of women, children, and old men.

As a mechanic, and as the son of a father who refused to shoot upon the rebelling workmen during the Commune insurrection in 1871, he could not comprehend that the France of the great revolution had placed herself at the head of the coalition conducting a life and death struggle against the Russian Revolution.

He refused to fight against Russia. But this was not enough for him. He wished to serve the Russian Revolution. With an intimately comprehensive grasp of the revolutionary situation, Andre Marty in 1919 conceived the idea of seizing control of his torpedo boat, and of appearing with it before Marseilles for the purpose of demanding, with the help of the revolutionary French proletariat, the cessation of the campaign against Russia. This plan, which might have led to incalculable results for the world revolution, failed through the treachery of a sailor. Andre Marty was arrested on the 16th April, 1919, and since then he has personally suffered the merciless treatment accorded to common criminals in all prisons of France.

But he has left prison exactly the same man as he entered it.

To the magnificent reception accorded him by the population of his native city he replied:

"Comrades! I thank you! I have done no more than my duty. If I had to return to Clairvaux (his last prison) to save you, I am ready to return at once. THE WORKING PEOPLE HAVE RESCUED ME FROM MY PRISON. I REMAIN AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE WORKING PEOPLE."

The army of the world revolution may again count another soldier ready to sacrifice himself once more in the cause of revolution.

Firm and Just.

A bloodless Bulhoek has just been enacted in Natal, where a force of police, armed for the real thing, has been evicting some natives residing on "what was recently Crown land and is now occupied by returned soldiers." The huts were destroyed, but the "squatters" preferred the better part of valour and fled into the bush. Illustrating to a nicety the remarks of the High Commissioner in London a propos of the League of Nations' criticism on the Bondelswart campaign: "No Government could be administered on the principle that the interests of natives should come before those of whites. EQUALITY OF TREATMENT (sic) is essential." Just as well for him and his kidney, after all, that the League of Nations critics were "ignorant of South African conditions," or they would know how to size up unctuous hypocrisy like Sir Edgar's.

Sign the Petition.

"Support the death penalty" appeals a Johannesburg poster inviting signatures to a petition. A few months ago petitions were very largely signed against the death penalty. It all depends on who is to be put to death, and what for. For our part, we are preparing a pretty list of gentry for whom the death penalty is too good, and shall have pleasure shortly in floating it on the Johannesburg market. Meanwhile we are going to do our little bit in procuring signatures to a petition circulated by the Strike Prisoners' Release Committee, calling upon the Government to release the nine men still in gaol; and we invite our readers all over the country to assist in the campaign. Forms can be obtained from the Secretary of that Committee, No. 5, Trades Hall, Johannesburg.

Pacifist phrases in the mouth of representatives of an oppressed and dismembered people are cowardice or lies, and must arouse every healthy instinct in the people against them.—Karl Radek.

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Wanted: Castor Oil.

"A pretty kettle of fish" is the best description our enemies can give of the mess they have themselves created here and throughout the world. "Here's a how-d'ye-do!"—for all the world as it it were an earthquake, as indeed it is, but an earthquaking not afrom obscure submarine collisions merely, but as the result of social and economic forces which these gentry avowedly approve and indeed profess to lead and direct. In identifying themselves with Capitalist rule and oppression of the enormous majority of mankind, they have, in the past ten years, had things all their own way. They have plunged us into world-wide war at and for their pleasure; they have presumed to "settle" the business afterwards by voluminous treaties of peace and plunder. In furtherance of the "liberty of small nations," they have manufactured a series of governments, Poland, Czecho and Jugo-Slavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and what not, each with its own military forces, not one of which has any liberty at all but exists only to do the dirty work of the "Great Powers," who are directly responsible for this "pretty mess."

Why this thusness? Why have they done it? Because they have deliberately tried to fly in the face of nature. The Capitalist regime which they represent has been digested in the body politic during the last hundred years, and while its good elements have been assimilated, its waste matter is ready, in the normal course of nature, to be "cast out into the draught." And all the monstrous wars and peaces have simply been so many attempts to retain their position within a world aching to be shot of them; in short, to promote chronic political constipation. Every channel of relief, every pore, they have attempted to stop up, only to create further dyspepsia and disorder amounting, as they now admit, to serious danger to life. They now wring their hands in affected despair of the remedy they themselves obstruct—the evacuation of themselves and all their noisome and useless product, now suitable only for manure.

For palpably the essence of capitalist politics, both before but in a far more accentuated degree since the Russian revolution of 1917, has been the suppression of the aspiration of the whole working class to rid itself of the incubus of an exploiting class and, Russia having succeeded in spite of them, to prevent a similar "liberation" of every other nation, small or great. That has been at the back of all their home and foreign policies for the last six years especially; it is at the back of their Ruhr occupation, their Fascism, their peace and their war policies, their Near Eastern "diplomacy," their Indian and native suppressions. It is not a case of "nation against nation," but of class against class; so much so that the German bourgeoisie, for instance, notoriously prefers to see its own Vaterland utterly ruined and crushed in despair, apathy, starvation and miscegenation with Moroccans, welcoming these latter as protectors against the Reds, rather than let it "go Bolshevik," while the "Powers," much as they dislike Mussolini's swollen-headed pretensions, have secretly allowed him to triumph over Greece because his discomfiture would have meant the end of Fascism, one of their last props. The new "small nations" are installed not to provide their peoples with "liberty" but to operate against Soviet Russia and to suppress the proletarian elements, both within their own borders and in neighbouring regions, which are crying out for the same liberty that Russia has won.

A purge, a purge, that is the only possible prescription. The longer it is postponed the greater the disorder and the more violent the disturbance involved in the ultimately inevitable operation. The mild aperients of reformism are no longer effective. We have to make up our minds to eliminate and expel Chambers of Mines, kings, banks, landlords, bullies, bosses, exploiters, generals, admirals, archbishops, and all the rest of the foul matter accumulated with years of artificially prolonged obstruction, by a good strong dose of political castor oil.

All the Difference.

In a report on Municipal salaries Mr. A. Aiken, that well-known champion of the workers, advises, somewhat beyond his terms of reference one would think, that Municipal officials should be empowered to dismiss their underlings because "when a man's position depends on it he is apt to fail in giving his loyal and best service to his employer"; and he proposes that the only appeal from dismissal should be to a board of two or three more such officials! Quite correct: under this system the only inducement to work for a boss is dread of starvation. How different under a commonwealth system! There a man's bosses are his own fellow-workers represented, in the immediate sphere of his own work, by his own Union, which itself acts as the court of appeal, subject only to the control of higher bodies representing the overriding interest, not of alien exploiters, but of his own class as a whole. For that class, i.e., for the whole of the useful population, he [illegible] starvation, but because [illegible] for what is at

S.A.L.P. Please Note!

SECOND INTERNATIONAL LEADER DECLARES FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The trial of the Belgian Communists for conspiracy ended on Thursday, July 26, 1923, with the acquittal of all the accused. This prosecution, itself first-rate propaganda, has revealed the deep sympathy felt by the Social Democrat and non-party workers for Communism in Belgium. The Social Democratic leaders were compelled by the pressure of the masses to appear at the trial of our comrades as witnesses for the defence.

The trial reached its most interesting stage on July 20, when Vandervelde appeared as witness. The defence first put the question to Vandervelde: "Will the transition from capitalist to socialist society be carried out with or without force?"

Vandervelde: Formerly it was possible to believe that the transition would take place without the exercise of force, but after what we now see before us, it does not appear as if this optimism were justified by the facts. In certain countries, such as England and the United States, the transition may proceed peacefully, but the example of Russia shows that this is not always the case. On the contrary, the example of Italy shows us that when a class finds its interests threatened by the Labour organisations, it may employ FORCE AGAINST THE WORKERS, thus evoking a violent counter-effect.

Counsel for the defence: What do you think of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Vandervelde: THE CONCEPTION OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS PERFECTLY CLEAR. We must take into consideration that during the period of social revolution the same thing will occur as in the French revolution, when the Committee of Public Safety took over supreme authority. During the war the Government exercised a certain dictatorship in the same manner. THE PROLETARIAT WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO EMPLOY A CORRESPONDING DICTATORSHIP AGAINST THOSE WHO RESIST THE MEASURES WHICH THE PROLETARIAT HAS TO TAKE IN THE INTEREST OF THE COMMON WEAL.

When questioned regarding direct action and the use of force, Vandervelde adduced several instances in which such action was employed. Thus the workers, when struggling for the eight hour day, did not confine themselves to indirect parliamentary action, but applied the whole of their Trade Union power. Such direct action as this may become an action involving the exercise of force.

Vandervelde had further to admit, AS FORMER MINISTER OF JUSTICE, THAT THE EVIDENCE GIVEN BY THE POLICE SPIES WHO ATTEND PUBLIC MEETINGS IS NOT OF MUCH VALUE. He declared further that he and his party were republicans, and would, in certain circumstances, participate in the proclamation of the republic.

And now, having won its brilliant victory in court, the Communist Party of Belgium will set to work with renewed vigour on the task of freeing the Belgian proletariat from the influence of the Vandervelde Party.

Also Among the Prophets.

Edo Fimmen, the social democratic leader of the Amsterdam Transport Workers' International, in the course of his suggestive speech recently delivered to the Workers of Aussig (Czecho-Slovakia) said:—

"If the working class in Germany neglects to defend itself; if they do not proceed to the formation of Armed Hundreds (Fighting Units), then Germany will go exactly the same way as Italy and Hungary. The German workers will be massacred and murdered; it will be all over with the socialist movement in Germany! We see signs of this already.

"The property of the German workers is being destroyed; in Munster, a labour printing works was blown up. These are sure indications of what the Fascists in Germany are doing to-day to crush the socialist labour movement.

"The bourgeoisie adheres to democracy only so long as it is serviceable to it, only so long as it can thereby deceive and dope the workers. And it proceeds without scruple to adopt violence the moment it believes it can gain more by this than by so-called democracy. I repeat from this platform: We workers hate bloodshed! But we should be crazy if, at the moment when the enemy determines to use armed force against us, we were to rely upon democracy, upon our bare legal rights!

"In the struggle which is none of our seeking, and in the fighting methods which are not our invention but which are forced upon us on the part of the bourgeoisie, it is the duty of the working class—and even if we are a hundred times against bloodshed and pacifists a thousand times over—it is our duty to proceed against our adversary with the same weapons as he uses."

The "Sacred Trust."

Why is missionary endeavour so fondled by the great? Because, in this country, in spite of all its professions to the contrary, it trains cheap labour and at the same time keeps the nigger quiet and docile and the whites therefore secure and dominant. And so the Baptist Union, having heard a report of the scandalous "Black Justice" under which its native proteges smart, reveals the true interest it serves by urging immediate steps, not, as might be expected, to the end that the said natives may get real justice for its, and their, own sake, but "IN ORDER TO AVOID FURTHER TROUBLE among the natives."

"EVEN extreme Socialists," said the Military Governor of Tokio, "must be protected in such a disaster, for they are our countrymen." We infer that if there were no disaster, or if the said Socialists were not Japs, they would stand a precious poor chance in Jolly Jappan. On their behalf, let us pray for earthquakes all the time.

THE PHILIP SNOWDENS.

FLUNKEYS TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY! (By Karl Radek.)

The name of Snowden is well known in Russia. In 1920, during the Trade Union delegation's visit to Russia, we received at the same time a visit from an elegant lady, Ethel Snowden. On her return to London this lady wrote a booklet for a bourgeois publishing firm, in which she gave Soviet Russia a good trouncing for which she was recompensed with the good money of the bourgeois publisher. This elegant lady, who was seized with the wildest horror at the thought that a Bolshevist louse might find its way into her embroidered undies, is the wife of Mr. Philip Snowden, no less well known to the workers of Europe.

* * *

Mr. Snowden has recently rendered himself famous by two speeches. In the English Parliament, where, as a matter of course, he sits as a Labour member, he proved himself worthy of such a wife by making a speech, the content of which was as follows. "Dear Capitalists, would you be so kind as to introduce socialism into England? We should pay you for all your losses."

Having thus presented himself to the British Parliament as a man who can extract teeth painlessly, Mr. Philip Snowden proceeded to prove, by means of a series of articles in the "Morning Post," the leading organ of the most reactionary English capitalists, that "when the working class rules," the capitalists will not only be not a jot the worse, but will, on the contrary, find themselves in a perfect paradise. He promised them that the Labour leaders then forming the government will act independently of their party. The party is good enough to be utilised for seizing power for them, and for working out general resolutions; but no man of character—and gentlemen of Mr. Snowden's kidney are of course men of character—will accept orders from the great masses of the workers.

A government composed of Snowdens will not touch other people's property, and if it is compelled to nationalise anything, it will pay for it.

To what extent it will be of greater advantage to the workers to pay the capitalist profits by means of self-taxation, instead of producing them for him immediately in the factory—on this point Mr. Snowden preserved silence. And as a final soothing word to the capitalists he told them that "so long as any imperialism exists whatever, the emancipation of India and other Colonies will not signify the securing of their liberty, but would deliver them into the hands of other great powers lusting for power." These Colonies therefore must remain in the hands of England. And only when they shall have learnt, under the rule of the English lords, how to make proper use of their liberty, will it be possible to emancipate them. All this was published, as mentioned above, in the periodical of the greatest imperialist robbers.

* * *

Mr. Snowden recently asked a question in the English Parliament. The reader will probably think that he asked the English Government when it is going to cease dropping bombs from aeroplanes on to the inhabitants of Mesopotamia and India, and when it is going to adopt other measures for teaching the Arabians and Hindus to make proper use of their liberty? But no, Mr. Snowden asked Lord Curzon whether this friend of suppressed peoples is aware that Georgia is living under a heavy yoke, that the church is being suppressed there, and what measures Lord Curzon intends to take to force the Soviet Government to cease from exercising this terror?

The renowned representative of Lord Curzon, Mr. MacNeill, known in world history by the fact that he wrote a book on the usefulness of suppressing the Irish, replied with tears in his eyes that he was in receipt of the same news as Mr. Snowden; he is only too well aware that the Soviet Government has compelled Georgia by force to enter the Soviet Union, but it is useless to combat the Soviet Gvoernment by means of notes, for the cat listens, but eats the mouse meanwhile. But so far as other and more energetic measures are concerned, these are not possible at the moment. Mr. Snowden then inquired of the representative of English imperialism whether the Government does not intend to demand the liberation of Georgia as a condition for the recognition of Soviet Russia? Mr. MacNeill answered amiably that he was fully in agreement with Mr. Snowden, but could enter into no pledges on this point.

The utter infamy of this question, in which Mr. Snowden, a member of the 2nd International, the comrade of our Menscheviks and social revolutionists, addresses a request to the wolves of imperialism to begin a war with Soviet Russia, was further accentuated by a question put to MacNeill by a Liberal member, Commander Kenworthy, who asked whether Mr. MacNeill was aware that the Red Army marched into Georgia to help the rebelling Georgian people, and that perfect calm now prevails in Georgia? MacNeill gave no reply to this question. Upon which Kenworthy placed the dot on the "i" by calling out: "I greet the new coalition: Snowden—MacNeill. Mr. Snowden, sit a little nearer to the Government benches." Mr. Snowden, incapable of any feeling of shame, did not even blush at this stinging lash from an honest bourgeois member.

* * *

When Mr. Snowden and his followers commenced their lamentations about Georgia, we assumed that they did so out of petty-bourgeois lack of comprehension of the position. Mr. Snowden has now proved that we were simple-minded infants to believe that such people were sincerely in error.

Mr. Snowden, who opposes the emancipation of India, in order that it may not fall into the hands of other imperialist powers, and who demands that Soviet Georgia should be left to emancipate itself unaided so that it may fall into the hands of English imperialism—for after Lausanne he is not so stupid as not to perceive that Georgia, were it not for the Soviet troops, would be dominated by the guns of the English warships—Mr. Snowden, who turns to Lord Curzon with complaints against the Soviet Government, has proved that he has only been anxious by these means to declare to the English bourgeoisie: Your Highness, I am only a flunkey, ready to perform any service, and when I come into office there will be no dirty work which I will not be ready to do in the interests of the English bourgeoisie.

First Mrs. Snowden introduces herself to the Russian workers, and now Mr. Snowden. We are grateful to him for his frank avowal of his standpoint. This will enable the Russian workers—and, it is to be hoped, all honest English workers as well—to perceive that we are right in designing people like Mr Snowden as infamous flunkeys of the bourgeoisie.

The Soviet and the Peasants.

(By D. Ivon Jones.)

How far is the principle of the Socialisation of the Land a real one; or how far has this principle been made merely nominal by the inveterate private property instincts of the peasants?

The Henry George theory of the Single Tax, which sought to prove that free land was the only remedy for social inequality, has been concretely disproved in Russia. The Russian peasantry has free land. But free land has not abolished classes within the peasantry, and a state of friction exists between the various strata of poor, middle and "kulak" peasants. The vital difference between them is not in the area of land they occupy, but in the movable capital, implements, horses and cattle which they own. The "horseless" peasantry is a term often used for the big mass of poorer peasants standing solidly behind the Soviets. Recently there was a congress of these propertyless peasants in the Ukraine organised by the Party.

While the Soviet Government has to allow the conditions causing this economic struggle (free trade and exchange, even the right of the "kulaks" to hire labour, etc.), in order to develop production, at the same time it takes part in this struggle on the side of the poorer peasants by mobilising them into political activity, urging them on by propaganda and stimulative legislation to stand up, organise, co-operate, unite against the same "kulak" class which the Soviet must perforce allow to exist by the very character of the money system.

And what is the grand weapon at the command of the poorer peasantry in this struggle? The Social ownership of land. And the struggle leads directly towards the social use of land as its inevitable solution. The hope of the poorer peasants is in communal production. And for this the whole machinery of the Government, its finances, banks, co-operatives, organisers, are at their disposal, as soon as they can muster up sufficient spirit of organisation and co-operation to break with their old individualistic form of production and march forward.

ONLY THE PROLETARIAT CAN FREE THE LAND.

But free land is a mere day-dream without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In a government of bankers or even in a government of peasants, "free land" can only mean freedom to sell to the highest bidder or mortgage up to the biggest moneylender.

Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire" describes how the peasantry of France had been wholly mortgaged up to Paris finance, and therefore did what Paris finance bade them to, namely, to vote the third Napoleon into power.

Encompassed by capitalist states, it is clear that the peasant can only remain a free peasant by leaning upon the proletariat, by supporting a regime which denies the very principle of peasant economy and all private property economy for its basis. The Land Code lays it down clearly for peasants and "nepmen" alike to understand that no one can sell, give, mortgage, or bequeath land, and that all such acts are not only void but punishable.

Neither can any peasant having right to land as a member of a village community waive such right in anyone's favour for any valuable consideration whatsoever.

The new bourgeoisie would like to get its roots into the land as the one grand immovable security. In every transaction between him and the peasant involving the need for credit, the nepman is brought up against the Social Ownership of land. No People's Court would recognise a bond on the land. Rather it would punish the bondholder. And there is a mass of young peasants and poor peasants too interested in their common right to the land to allow such a deal to go through unchallenged. Thus the New Economic Policy has strengthened the principle of the Social Ownership of land.

But the peasant's need for credit must be met. And the proletarian government is itself stepping into the place of the moneylender by the formation of Peasant Credit Banks with capital running into millions of gold roubles, in which the state institutions are the largest shareholders, drawing in also a certain amount of shares from the savings of the peasants and the "nepmen," who in this and other ways are made to feed the State Bank of the Soviet with their surpluses.

The Proletarian State, which enforces the principle of the Social Ownership of land, standing on the side of the youth, and furnishing financial credit so sorely needed by the peasant, will sooner or later impose its whole morality upon the life of the Russian peasantry. "The ruling ideas of any age," said Marx, "are only the ideas of the ruling class." And the Soviet rouble, although the emblem, "workers of the world unite," owing to the exigencies of trade agreements, no longer appears upon it, must inevitably be a powerful factor in spreading the Soviet ideal. The great ferment of change among the peasantry has undoubtedly begun.

The Scrapping of the Colour Bar.

THE END OF AN IMPERFECT DAY.

The "colour bar" has been declared ultra vires (that trusty "friend in need" of bourgeois law) because it "discriminates unfairly between classes." So tamely and unceremoniously does this historic landmark in the history of the Transvaal disappear from the scene, as compared with the "revolution" over the abrogation of a mere "status quo," that Labour politicians now fall over each other in their eagerness to tell the "Star" that they always knew it was bound to go; in short, that Bill Andrews was right when he wrote last year that the strike, regarded merely as an effort to retain it, was doomed to failure.

WHO KILLED THE COLOUR BAR?

Well, at any rate it should be clear to everyone now that it is not "Communism" that is responsible for scrapping it. We may be sure that the Magistrate concerned was well advised, and that (in spite of all last year's protestations of "no intention of interfering with the colour bar") the legal position, so far as he correctly put it, had long been known to the Chamber of Mines also, and held in reserve for a suitable occasion. The white mine workers having been defeated by force on a smaller issue last year, it was only a matter of choosing a period of extra depression for pressing the main point without further bloodshed (unless indeed the appeal should be successful); and the depression itself may have been artificially accentuated so as to weaken resistance. This legal decision is no accident; it crowns a capitalist policy which dates from before the Boer war. Nothing now blocks the way of ruthless exploitation irrespective of colour—the real "unfairness between classes."

THE IMMEDIATE EFFECT.

The effects are already being felt on a wide scale. On the mines, white men are already being sacked and re-engaged at a greatly reduced wage. In the shops, native learners are being introduced though the work does not warrant it; they are obviously destined, when they have mastered the trade, to replace white mechanics. White engine drivers, specially affected by the Court's decision, are preparing to be superseded by coloured or native drivers, as in the Congo. The position of the white worker is more precarious than ever; the ranks of the white unemployed (in this country the more hopelessly so because they cannot fall back on work reserved for natives) will be more numerous and desperate than ever. And meanwhile, THE GENERAL AND AVERAGE POSITION OF THE NATIVE WORKER WILL NOT BE IN THE LEAST IMPROVED, indeed we know that among non-European workers the same process is going on, the coloured being ousted by the black, and the South African black by the cheaper black from Eastern or Central Africa. The whole policy of the dominant section of the South African capitalist class is just this quest for cheap labour, stimulated by taxes and bombs; and although the shopkeeping bourgeoisie does not like losing its white customers, it has always yielded to the mining houses, and will be invited to console itself with "Kaffir trade."

QUIXOTIC "REMEDIES."

What is to be done? That is the question. White workers to plug every "nigger" in the eye? A race war between whites and blacks? What then? If the whites win, the only result would be the more complete enslavement of the blacks, and consequently a deadlier competition from them than ever. Wait for Hertzog to come into power? A step in the right direction, but the need for a Nationalist victory is not due to any benefit it can directly confer, but mainly to its effect on world imperialism as represented by Smuts. World imperialism is based on cheap native labour, and must be shaken; but a South African Nationalist Government will not of itself relieve the situation in the least; on the contrary, its big farming and financial supporters will never allow any effective interference with a "cheapest labour" policy. "Preserve all skilled and semi-skilled work for Europeans"? "Prohibit the importation of cheap labour"? Bell the cat! The capitalist class are in power, and the white workers are not numerous enough ever to vote them out of power. And besides being thus too patently Utopian to waste time upon, the support of a reactionary policy condemning non-Europeans to a perpetual menial status can only assist capitalism. "Segregation"? More fanciful and suicidal still.

UNITED ACTION THE ONLY WAY.

White workers (and black no less) must realise their class position. We are in the thick of a ruthless class war in which the capitalists have so far been successful against both white and black workers because the workers have failed to grasp the class nature of the fight and have refused to take up the only appropriate class plan of campaign for winning it. The Communist Party, whose teachings regarding the imperialist war are now generally recognised, sneakingly if not openly, to have been perfectly correct, have also all these years, amid abuse from masters and white workers alike, and amid apathy on the part of black workers also, alone pointed out the only logical and reasonable way of salvation in this matter of cheap labour. OUR TRUE ENEMY IS NOT THE EXPLOITED, ENSLAVED, BLACK WORKER HIMSELF, BUT THE EXPLOITING, ENSLAVING CAPITALIST CLASS OF THE WHOLE WORLD; and THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOUR, WORLD-WIDE, without regard to differences of race, civilisation, rate of wages or anything else, is THE ONLY WEAPON to beat him with. One of the weaknesses of Craft Unionism has been that it is based on equality of wage, whereas in fact the working class as a whole, the only power strong enough to overcome modern capitalism, is divided by the widest wage inequalities. Are we to wait for equality before we can co-operate? An even more Utopian absurdity than the rest! The question is far bigger than a mere Trade Union dispute about rates. We must enlist the whole of the workers AS THEY ARE, WITH ALL THEIR IMPERFECTIONS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF CLASS UNCONSCIOUSNESS, LOW SCALE OF LIFE, LACK OF AMBITION TO RISE, SLAVISH CONTENTMENT WITH MEALIE PAP, ETC. All these are not exceptional circumstances, but PERFECTLY NORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT looked at as a whole, and therefore not "insuperable objections" to co-operation but rather all the more reasons for it.

THE FALSE TRAIL—

Last year's fight for a "White South Africa" as such tended to mean only an attempt to perpetuate the amphibious position of white workers in South Africa, half slaves, half bosses—SLAVES TO THE BOSS BUT BOSSES TO THE SLAVES—which has proved their weakness if not their undoing in recent times; and which on the other hand has strengthened the position of a master class which could always bank on setting its two sections of slaves at each other's throats and so robbing them of all fighting power against their common enemy. This has been the traditional outlook of the white workers. It is sedulously inculcated in white schools, capitalist-managed institutions, blinding young men and girls to their true class position by pretending that it is that of a "ruling and imperial race," obedient indeed to those "in authority," but regarding the black people, including the black workers, as proteges perhaps, but scarcely worthy to be regarded as fellow-men, still less fellow-workers. Such a psychology is AT COMPLETE VARIANCE WITH THE ACTUAL FACT, viz., that cheap black labour has become a formidable competitor of white on a world scale, until in "unskilled" work as it is called the rates of wages of the two races are already almost equalised in this country, indeed MANY A WHITE MAN TO-DAY EARNS LESS THAN MANY A BLACK. But instead of joint effort for betterment resulting from this equalisation, the sense of resentment against a "scab," intensified by race prejudice, has reached a pitch of violent hatred. A similar hatred, breathing fire and slaughter, has arisen especially among white miners, not because their wage has precisely sunk to "Kaffir level," but (what is nearly the same thing) because more and more of their work has been given to natives, leaving more and more of them stranded, with all the reserve of "general worker" occupations monopolised by natives. And the passing of the "colour bar" will accelerate this deadly process.

AND THE TRUE.

Last year's strike, however, has also had quite another result—a growing realisation that this race hatred LEADS TO NOTHING BUT FURTHER DISASTER TO THE WHITES, and that colour prejudice only masks the fact that THIS CHEAPENING PROCESS IS THE NORMAL PROCESS OF CAPITALISM EVEN IN WHITE COUNTRIES; or rather, that in such countries too it is markedly assisted by the resort to the cheap labour of non-European countries.

ALMOST TOO LATE TO MEND.

Now that the colour bar may be considered as gone, the air is at any rate the clearer to enable a correct view to be taken. IT IS GONE AS BETWEEN EXPLOITERS AND EXPLOITEES; THE EXPLOITEES MUST CONSIDER IT AS GONE BETWEEN THEMSELVES; for however much "social" colour bars will persist, they do not relieve the economic position in the slightest, rather they aggravate it. The policy of DRAWING THE "LOWEST," NON-EUROPEAN, MASSES OF THE WORLD'S WORKERS INTO THE CLASS STRUGGLE of which they are among the chief victims, in order to overthrow the exploiting class to whose profits they are among the heaviest contributors, has in this country been neglected until it might seem almost too late to switch over to it now. The difficulties in the way have thereby become greater. The capitalist class has not been idle meantime; it has, through its churches and otherwise, SECURED A VERY STRONG HOLD OVER THE MINDS OF THE NATIVE WHILE THE WHITE WORKERS HAVE IGNORED HIM. But if we are convinced of our duty, we must be bold to carry it out through no matter what prolonged difficulties and despite no matter what heartbreaking initial failures.

ARE WE READY?

As a matter of fact, WORLD CONDITIONS ARE ALL IN OUR FAVOUR. Capitalism, with all its apparent local triumphs, is a self-confessed failure to-day. Its crisis thickens. The working class is called upon to take over. But the question is: ARE WE READY? Can we ever be ready until we are solid and united as a class? Insufficient solidarity of labour enabled the warmonger to triumph in 1914-18; insufficient solidarity of labour as between both whites and whites and whites and blacks lost the strike last year. Then let the white workers resolve to break the ice and to confer with those they have to their cost despised in the past, with a view to making common cause with them to BREAK THOSE WHO HAVE BROKEN THE COLOUR BAR, and in the first instance to insist THAT THE COLOUR BAR BE ALSO ABOLISHED AS REGARDS PAY—that this "unfair discrimination between classes" be declared "ultra vires," in other words, that a standard wage be paid irrespective of colour. Get the cheap labourers with you, instead of leaving them tools of the other side, and getting them with you, learn also to welcome that trump bogy of the capitalist-minded worker, the removal of the voting colour bar also, by SECURING THE NATIVE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' VOTE ON THE PROLETARIAN SIDE.

NOT MUTUAL EXCLUSIVENESS BUT—

Politicians will continue to fool us with schemes for "legislative protection against undercutting by workers of a lower scale of life"; but as we see, these have been tried and found wanting or been abrogated. Where protection for European child workers, for instance, has been established by law, the result has been the replacement of European child labour by non-European; and so it must be, in the long run, with all these "protection" schemes. Besides, THE WORKING CLASS POLITICAL POWER NECESSARY TO SECURE THAT PROTECTION AGAINST THE WISHES OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS (as it obviously is now) WOULD SUFFICE TO SECURE SOMETHING MUCH BIGGER, the entire goal we aim at, the socialisation of capitalist property, THE EXPULSION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, altogether, and the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth under working-class control.

MUTUAL SUPPORT.

THE WHITE AND BLACK WORKERS MUST COME TOGETHER FOR COMMON ACTION: there is no other way. Excuses and obstacles can be conjured up galore; blind passion may storm and rage; tomatoes and brickbats may fly; but we challenge anyone to put up a logical argument against it. Lying down can end only in worse degradation; fighting capitalism with the forces of white labour only can never win out, it has failed again and again. NOT BARBED WIRE FENCES BETWEEN WORKERS, BUT AN ALLIANCE, far more natural and well founded than that between workers and Nationalist landowners. We preach no lowering to Kaffir standards; that, like miscegenation and rape, is being brought to pass by the class now in power, and can hardly be abated this side of the revolution. But just because THE REVOLUTION IS THE ONLY WAY OUT OF THIS AS OF EVERY OTHER WORKING CLASS DEGRADATION TO-DAY, THE ONLY WAY TO WIN EVEN A SHILLING RISE or prevent even a shilling drop, the white workers must rise to the occasion, take the big view, marshal all their class forces, and with their united front deal to the accursed tyrants the knock-out blow that will free humanity from exploitation for ever.

An Extinct Species?

It was that sad and tragic thing,
The Tory working man;
He feared his boss, he cheered the king,
He lived upon the plan
Of cringing in the meanest way
To those that had the cash to pay.

His spirit won the high esteem
Of those the free man loathes.
He filled their autocratic dream;
They gave him cast-off clothes
And sent him charitable doles
To make him faithful at the polls.

He begged a little now and then,
At times perhaps he stole;
The full contempt of other men
Could never touch his soul
Because he went to church to pray
He might keep lowly and obey.

And then they set him in a case
Of glass, for all to see
The kind of shape and sort of face
That went with such as he;
For men were lifted with the pride
Of Labour's rights no more denied.

Through the museum, to and fro
They went to gently scan
This symbol of the long ago,
The Tory working-man.
He stood behind his shining glass
And watched the bright procession pass.

He thought that they were lords and dukes,
Judged by the way they dressed,
By their high words and fearless looks;
And in his servile breast
Arose a great desire to crawl
And duly cringe before them all.

[illegible] he wore his forelock out
[illegible] pulling at it when
[illegible] passed about,
[illegible]
[illegible]

W.

What is Brewing in Germany?

(By A. Thalheimer.)

"We are dancing on a volcano, and we are faced by a revolution, if we cannot . . . reconcile the antagonisms."

These words were spoken some days ago by Mr. Stresemann, leader of the German People's Party, in an address to the central committee of this party.

ARMED FIGHT IMMINENT.

Everyone in Germany feels that we are on the eve of a decisive combat between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Everyone knows that the leaders of the Fascist movement in Germany are feverishly arming for the civil war against the working class. Everyone knows that Ludendorff and Hitler are heading this movement, that numerous officers of the national defence army are closely allied with them and are co-operating with them in preparing to deliver the stroke. The plans formed by the various Fascist elements, and the time chosen for action, have been changed frequently. But there are innumerable reports, mutually confirming one another, which go to show that the moment is really imminent. The lines of procedure are also clearly laid down. The Fascist plans calculate on the impending inevitable defeat of the German bourgeoisie at the hands of Poincare and the other imperialist robbers. They are taking advantage of the cowardly behaviour of Cuno's government, and the failure of the other bourgeois parties and of the social democrats to make good in the national struggle of self-defence. They rely upon the discontent of the starving petty bourgeoisie and intelligenzia, who sympathised with social democracy and socialism in the first phase of the German revolution, and are now severely disappointed. They utilise the hopelessness of broad strata of the working class, rendered indifferent or despairing by the continued treachery of the social democrats. And for what purpose do they want to utilise all this? For the purpose of waging war on the working class under cover of national defence against the Ruhr invasion and the shameful treachery of the Versailles treaty, and for the purpose of establishing the dictatorship of Fascism. This dictatorship is to carry out the programme of the great industrialists: to shatter the labour organisations, to sweep away every barrier to capitalist exploitation, to establish the ten hour working day, and to transfer all state undertakings into the hands of private capital.

politically and organisationally, for the struggle. The fight will find the Party at its post.

Perhaps the proclamation of the Rhenish republic, which is being feverishly prepared by the hirelings of Poincare, despite all denials, will set the avalanche rolling. Perhaps some other event.

STATE SUPPORT FOR FASCISTS.

Nobody can be any longer deceived as to the seriousness of the position. The Fascisti, by themselves, would be insignificant. But they have military support in the national defence army. All sections of the bourgeoisie are ready to bow to them; for all are aware that once the struggle breaks out, it is a question of the dictatorship of Fascism or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Social democracy as a party is not feared. It is incapable of fight. Its leaders will either make a cowardly retreat or submit.

THE ONLY SALVATION.

The sole real power which, at the head of the proletarian masses, can and will take up the fight against them, is the Communist Party.

Our Party is putting forth the utmost energy to render the working class capable of battle and victory. During recent weeks and months it has gained great sympathy and confidence, and won many readers and members. The Party, down to the last member, is filled with the determination to meet the Fascist "coup" with the utmost force and determination. It is carrying on a broad mass propaganda, in order to prepare the workers, employees, and lower officials for determined defence against the Fascisti, and to neutralise or partially win over the petty bourgeoisie.

The struggle will be severe. It will decide the fate of the European labour movement for the next few years.

WHAT FRENCH WORKERS CAN DO.

The decision will also be of the greatest import-

(Continued at foot of column 4.)

ance for the French working class.

The French working class can alleviate the struggle of the German working class, if it will take up with redoubled energy the fight against the annexation plans of Poincare, and against the plans of the Comite des Forges for the plundering of the German working class; if it will increase its propaganda among the occupation army and its work of enlightenment among the peasantry.

The Communist Party of Germany has just issued an appeal to the Party, giving exact instructions politically and organisationally, for the struggle. The fight will find the Party at its post.

The Life of the Workers.

F. J. Rawlings writes to the "South African Review":—

I have been working at the Milner Relief Works, Capetown, for over 12 months and during that time I have done my utmost to get a job somewhere. I would willingly take a wage of £2 or 30s. per week. My age is against me (66), but I am in good health and can do a good day's work with any man. I am getting 3s. per day; 18s. per week (6 days); this works out at 2s. 7d. per day (for 7 days). I have to pay, out of that, 7s. 6d. per week rent—1s. 1d. per day—which leaves me with 1s. 6d. per day to live on, find boots and clothes. I am expected to do the same amount of work as the men receiving 6s. per day. There are clerks and overseers getting their 10s. per day. Surely if the Council can pay these men the higher wages (and I do not grudge them) they can manage to give more to the single men. Some of the men have pensions and others have grown-up children who go to work. I have nothing but my bare 2s. 7d. per day.

I should like some Town Councillor (for a test for six months) to try and work for 2s. 7d. per day, and find food, clothes, boots, etc. I am urgently in need of the latter.

Senator Brookhart, U.S.A., after a visit to Russia, has made a report to Secretary Hughes in which he recommends official recognition of Soviet Russia by America on the ground that at present the Soviet Government is "the most stable Government in Europe."

"Wait and See."

(By J.M.G.)

The frantic efforts of the Capitalist class to solve the problem of chaos would be laughable if it were not for the tragedy of the suffering of the millions of unemployed. All sorts of fantastic schemes are proposed to save the system to the capitalist class. The "great" Keynes, writing in the "Manchester Guardian," is trotting out the Malthusian theory as a cure all for the ills of society. These so-called great men in their efforts to save the system for their economic masters are making themselves too ridiculous for words. First one panacea is hailed by the press as the one and only solution; then after being boosted for a few days it is dropped, and another of the great intellectuals has a brain wave and gives it to the world with all assurance that this and this only, put into operation, will end the present chaos and enable the system to proceed smoothly, incidentally of course enabling the financial and industrial class to continue their exploitation of the masses.

OUT OF JOINT.

These cure-alls appear almost weekly. None of them will fit into the scheme of capitalistic society. They are out of joint with a form of society that is rapidly hastening to dissolution.

It has always been known to the student of human societies of the past that all forms of society that have failed to feed the masses have passed away. Our present form of society has never wholly given the assurance of life to all its members, and to-day it is less able than ever to do so, having reached a point in its development where it is utterly impossible to continue.

To those ignorant of social science, and the know-all surface-skimmers, such a statement may appear a fallacy. "Tut-tut," they exclaim, "we have had crises before and recovered, and what is to prevent a recovery again?" The leading writer in the "Daily Tail" says it is "only a passing phase." The great men of the "Slimes" tell us to wait and see. The "Star Howler" assures us that trade is on the eve of revival, and if the unemployed have a little patience everything will be lovely. In any case wait and see.

GIVING THEMSELVES AWAY.

Advice such as is given by these sycophants should be carefully analysed. Occasionally, banking upon the short memories of their readers, they sell the pass by publishing matter in contradiction to all they have written, and opposed to the many lies published by them in the past.

The majority of the human race take the line of least resistance. Too lazy mentally to do their own thinking, they accept as authorities the utterances of these paid hirelings. Yet their mental kinks must be extraordinary if they are able to reconcile all the lies and contradictions published by the capitalist press as to the present economic chaos and the way to recovery.

Thus in opposition to the dope of the recovery of the system to what is called normal, "The Times" published an article a short time ago on the economic situation in England, which admitted that there was no hope of the industries giving full employment to the same number of persons as had before been employed in them. Again we have the President of the British Board of Trade stating in Parliament that there was no hope for a recovery until a world settlement was obtained. The Federation of British Industries have also issued a statement on the breakdown of trade and take a very gloomy view of the situation.

NO HOPE UNDER CAPITALISM.

The proof of the pudding is the eating of it, and a careful survey of the world situation shows that a solution of the problem within capitalistic lines is impossible. If a solution could be got it would have been discovered long since and put into operation. The failure to do so shows the futility of all efforts on the part of the capitalist class. This being so, it behoves the working class to make an effort to straighten out their mental kinks and clearly understand there is no hope for them under capitalism. Their salvation resting with themselves, circumstances will force this upon them and compel them to act for humanity as a whole, overthrowing the present system and establishing a more equitable one based upon co-operation.

MICAWBERISM OR "BOLSHEVISM."

The dope of wait and see is gradually going flat. One million and a half unemployed in Britain have been waiting for years expecting something to turn up. They are as far off a solution of their misery as ever. Their waiting has meant semi-starvation for themselves and their families. Yet many are still hoping, still nursing the delusion that the system will get a move on and give them the measly existence they have been used to in the past.

The majority of those in employment are but one degree better off than those wholly unemployed. With the cost of living 78 per cent. above pre-war prices and wages only very slightly in advance of those received prior to the war, it can be seen that their lot is not to be envied. No form of society has ever passed away until circumstances are created that force action by the class historically destined to take control. The transition period is operating to-day. All the forces are gradually developing that will dissolve present-day society. And they will compel the working class in spite of themselves to take control and act as gravediggers to capitalistic society.

Those (German Social Democrats) who in the war became "patriots" out of fear of the strength of the German bourgeoisie, and who represented the imperialist robbery as defence of the Fatherland, now call into question any real fight for the national rights of the German people, describing this as [illegible]! This time they are actuated by fear of the Entente. The junk-patriots of yesterday have [illegible] into the junk anti-patriots of to-day.—Karl [illegible].

Trade Unionism Going Left.

A REPORT TO THE ENLARGED E.C.C.I.

(By A. Lozovsky.)

The Hamburg Congress had not yet ended before the International Congress of Transport Workers clearly demonstrated the change of outlook that had been taking place amongst the reformists themselves.

If it is true that our tactic of the United Front has made access to the mass organisations possible, it follows that every Communist Party must apply and develop this tactic. The Congress of Transport Workers has already given a practical programme of action for the United Front. It decided to create an international committee of transport workers to fight against Fascism and war and to create commissions at the ports, at the frontier stations, and on the main railways, to control the movement of raw material. It also decided to summon an international congress of transport workers in which all the trade unions concerned should participate. We thus see that the creation of the United Front is the first step leading to the reconstruction of the Trade Union Movement.

When the reformist leaders enter into negotiations with us on the question of a United Front, they impose on us conditions which we cannot accept, notably the demand for the cessation of our polemical attacks—as if we make them for pleasure. In certain Communist circles the idea is prevalent that the United Front is equivalent to an armistice with the reformists. Nothing could be more incorrect. It is only an armistice for the purpose of action and when the reformists really serve the cause of the proletariat.

The Transport Workers' Congress showed how an agreement between the revolutionaries and the left wing of Amsterdam was possible. The agreement was reached upon the following programme:—

BASIS OF A UNITED FRONT.

1. The defence of Soviet Russia as the centre of the proletarian resistance to world reaction.

2. The fight against the danger of war by means of mass action.

3. The creation of an International Committee of Action consisting of equal representation from both sides, to conduct action and propaganda against war and Fascism.

4. The permanent control of transport of raw material.

5. The summoning of a World Congress of Transport Workers for the purpose of re-establishing national and international unity.

6. The joint defence of the Transport Workers of all countries who have suffered from Fascism. A common fund for giving assistance in such cases.

7. A joint appeal from the International Federation of Transport Workers and the Russian Trade Unions to the railwaymen and seamen of all countries.

8. An incessant propaganda against Fascism as the weapon of the bourgeois class.

9. Utilisation of the parliamentary platform against Fascism.

10. Armed resistance to Fascism.

11. The supervision of the movements of Fascisti.

12. Contact and collaboration with all workers' organisations interested in this matter.

13. Educational work among Transport Workers to counteract reactionary influences.

14. Recognition of the necessity for re-establishing Trade Union unity. An appeal to all international and national organisations inviting them to follow the example of the Transport Workers.

15. Recognition of the principle that joint action is impossible except on the basis of the class war.

ORGANISATION.

The factory councils are at one and the same time a product and a weapon of revolution. They grow with revolution and fade when the revolution slackens. In the period of intense mass activity which is about to commence, an energetic campaign must be carried on in the Factory Councils, or to create Factory Councils where they do not exist. Certain militants wish to replace the Trade Union by the Factory Council. We, on the contrary, think that the Factory Council will be the basis of the Trade Union. That has been the experience of the Russian Revolution.

The fundamental principle of the Trade Union Movement is organisation on the basis of class and not on the basis of the nation. We are resolutely opposed to all divisions of the trade unions on a national basis, more so than on a political basis. This gives rise to certain real difficulties.

Our Parties and Trade Unions have done too little for the Trade Union Movement in the Colonies. While the British Trade Unions and the Labour Party are cleverly instituting themselves into India in order to govern, our British Communist Party is doing nothing of the kind. It is, however, certain that we shall not be victorious before having to appeal to the activity and the initiative of the British workers.

COMMUNISE THE UNIONS!

The R.I.L.U. has become a great force. It must, however, be recognised that the successes obtained by the Communist Parties in the Trade Union Movement are far from corresponding with the reality of forces within the working class. It may be said in general that the Communist Parties are not sufficiently active inside the Trade Union Movement. Every Communist should understand that our most important and immediate task is to conquer the Trade Unions.

The prospects are excellent. The failure of the reformist Internationals has caused the International working class movements to gravitate towards the Communist International and the R.I.L.U. Many years will not pass before the reformists are dislodged from all their positions. What is necessary is work, work, work!

Shows and Hostels.

Comrade Andrews writes a few days before the opening of the Moscow exhibition:

"The show will be a great affair. A large area has been covered with fine buildings substantially built, some of wood, others iron and brick. It will serve for many years as a place for shows and exhibitions of various kinds. A fine wooden arched bridge has been thrown across the road and connects the two sections of the grounds. There are two model Russian villages, one as they are and another as they ought to be built, which will give the thousands of peasants who will visit the exhibition an object lesson in how to do it.

"I was through one of the factory hospitals the other day. It was wonderfully clean, well organised and as far as I could see efficient. There was a sick ward, an accident ward, a maternity ward with a special ward for the infants of lying-in mothers. Near by was a club house which was formerly one of the houses of the boss—more a mansion than a house; and another very imposing house is for those children of the factory women who are too young to be left at home or sent to school."

Who Breaks Up the Family?

No one need be unemployed, says the "great statesman"; but his officials say, "Yes, if a man abandons his family, leaving his children in towns to earn wages (assuming that they are of an age to do so and can themselves get work), and taking his wife to live with him in a tent on relief works, he need not be unemployed indeed; but who would not rather stop in town, live on his children's earnings, if any, and take his chance of an odd job?"

"The development of modern industry," says the Communist Manifesto, "tears asunder all family ties for the proletarians and transforms their children into mere commodities and instruments of labour."

Socialism was never merely a fight for a piece of bread for the industrial workers. It has always tried to be a burning torch showing the way for all sufferers. . . . The Communist Party must be capable of awakening in the petty bourgeois masses the great and holy faith in the possibility of overcoming misery, of awakening the conviction that petty bourgeoisie and working class in co-operation are able to overcome misery and to create the foundations for a new life.—Karl Radek.

How about renewing your sub. to the "International"?

The Super-£

One of the interesting things here (writes Comrade Andrews from Moscow) is the "chervovetz," the Russian gold backed pound note. It constantly rises in value and stands now at 1,200 roubles—a little over a week ago I bought some at the state bank for 1,000 roubles. It stands above pound sterling, and is quoted on the London market. This should interest the bourgeoisie.

NOTICE OF SURRENDER.

NOTICE is hereby given that Application will be made to the Supreme Court of South Africa, Witwatersrand Local Division, on the 4th day of October, 1923, at 10 o'clock or so soon thereafter as counsel can be heard for the Surrender of the ESTATE of SAUL HARRY JACOBSON, Kaffir Eating House Keeper of PROSPECT TOWNSHIP, JOHANNESBURG, as Insolvent, and that his schedules will lie for inspection at the Office of the MASTER of the SUPREME COURT, at PRETORIA, and at the MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE, JOHANNESBURG, for a period of Fourteen (14) days from the 15th day of SEPTEMBER to the 30th day of SEPTEMBER, 1923.

Dated at JOHANNESBURG this 11th day of SEPTEMBER, 1923.

EPHRAIM GLUCKMANN,
Applicant's Attorney.
38/40, Asher's Buildings,
Joubert Street,
Johannesburg.

AMENDED NOTICE OF ASSIGNMENT.

Notice is hereby given that HYMAN SALKINDER, an hotel proprietor of Johannesburg, Transvaal, has made an assignment of his property in favour of JAMES THOMAS WINDRAM, of Johannesburg, in trust for the Creditors of the said Hyman Salkinder, if they accept same; and that the Schedules of the said Hyman Salkinder will lie for inspection, and the deed of assignment for inspection and signature by all the Creditors entitled to sign, at the Office of the Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria, and at the Office of the Magistrate for Johannesburg for a period of fourteen days from the 17th day of September, 1923.

It is further notified that if the said assignment be declined, application will be made to the Supreme Court of South Africa (Witwatersrand Local Division) at Johannesburg on Thursday, the 11th day of October, 1923, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, or so soon thereafter as Counsel can be heard, for the surrender of the Estate of the said Hyman Salkinder as insolvent.

Johannesburg this 10th day of September, 1923.

F. LOWENBERG,
Solicitor, etc.
Asher's Buildings, Johannesburg.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

OUR EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY.

The Eighth Anniversary was well celebrated last Saturday at Johannesburg in the form of a Social and Dance at the Selborne Hall. Comrade C. B. Tyler, back from a prolonged Pan-South African tour of B.W.I.U. branches, and now appointed General Secretary of the B.W.I.U., presided, and "well recalled the triumphs past" as well as the future tasks of our party. Our heartiest thanks are due to the artists, namely, The Balcony Trio, who played superbly, Misses Phyllis May and Amy Bottomley (exhibition dances), Messrs. A. W. Bottomley, Arthur Rhodes, and Max Horwitz. A feature of the evening was a display of Russian Peasant Handicraft goods, a number of which were sold on the spot; the rest will be shown for a few days at the Head Office, No. 4, Trades Hall, and include some very beautiful and characteristically Russian specimens of woodwork. It was also interesting to note a number of former members, who had deserted us when the first flush of the Russian revolution was over, now reappearing in Communist circles. Evidently the bourgeois world has disappointed them after all, and we shall look to these re-converts for additional stingo when they get going again: still more may be expected from those who, having once stoned Stephen, have since realised to which quarter the bombardment should really be directed.

* * *

A YOUNG COMMUNIST ON EDUCATION.

Comrade E. R. Roux, on behalf of the Young Communist League, gave evidence on Monday before the Education Commission. The Commission, he said, was ignoring so fundamental a matter as the education of natives, who constitute 80 per cent. of the population of South Africa. More education for the whites would not solve the present problem; and besides, the present system was fraught with Jingoism and the patriotic cry, and aimed at producing docile wage slaves. Children should be taught the position and aims of their class, or at least there should be excluded from their training that which tended to destroy the class consciousness of the workers. The Commission might well consider, too, the suggestion in the Communist Manifesto of "combination of education with material production" and also the Bolshevik experiments in combining town and country education and work.

* * *

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

The discussion nights for September will be on Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at No. 4, Trades Hall, as follows:—

19th.—E. R. Roux: Communist Tactics applied to South Africa.

26th.—W. Bloomberg: The Aims of the Social Revolution.

These gatherings are open to members AND THEIR FRIENDS, and have covered some exceedingly interesting and useful ground already, besides drawing out a number of new speakers and debaters. The opener is given 30 minutes, and the rest of the time is occupied with discussion.

Get the Wednesday evening habit!

Steps are being taken to organise a Communist Choir. Will singers please give their names in at No 4, Trades Hall, so as to enable the choir to get started without delay?

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