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The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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

No. 4, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG. P.O. Box 4179.

Vol. VIII. No. 391. FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE

Just Out!

The Internationale

Marching Song of the Workers' Revolution.

Words AND MUSIC arranged by D. IVON JONES and S. P. BUNTING.

Price 6d. (bundles of one dozen 4/6)

Many Workers are Saying—

That the strike of policemen in Melbourne indicates another breach in the citadel of Capitalism; and

* * *

That the bitterness displayed by them towards the scabs who were enrolled and the manner in which they attacked them should be borne in their minds when they are again asked to bludgeon their fellow-slaves in industry.

* * *

That if the Nationalist-Labour pact is so immoral as the "Sunday Times" attempts miserably to show, they would like to know why Smuts' toenadering with the Nationalists in 1920 was not similarly characterised by that most delectable paper.

* * *

That they are not in the least surprised at what is termed the "growing impertinence" of the natives because the worm always turns.

* * *

That by keeping the natives of this country in the state of degraded servitude which they at present occupy, and by encouraging the white workers to do likewise, the ruling class is deliberately courting trouble; and

* * *

That the attempts to push the responsibility for what is coming on to the Communist Party will deceive no one who has the least grain of intelligence.

* * *

That while the "Daily Mail" keeps on talking about the "Maintenance of a White South Africa," South Africa is becoming steadily black; and

* * *

That the only way to stop the rot is for both black and white to present a united front to the capitalist oligarchs who, not content with keeping the Kaffir at the mealie-pap level, aim at getting the white man there too.

* * *

That the united front indicated will be to the benefit of both black and white alike, as the white man will be enabled to maintain his standard and the black man to raise his.

* * *

That the question every white worker ought to ask himself is this: "Is it preferable to assist in raising the native nearer my level, or rather that I should sink to his?"

* * *

That the spectacle of Ramsay McDonald fawning on Smuts is revolting, and incidentally illustrates why the British Labour Party have throughout been so "sticky" on the subject of the Class War victims of the Rand, and so ready to assure the imperialists that the Empire will be quite safe under "Labour" rule.

* * *

That a proposal has been made to form Bantu Boy Scouts, and they wonder why it has occasioned no scream from Levy and Chilvers.

* * *

That that little report about the Durban railway men, discontented at the 2/6 a day cut in their wages, having hit upon the brainwave of "joining a union," and selecting, curious to relate, the "S.A.I.F. One Big Union" against unnamed rivals, is a little too naive and artless to have emanated even from the Dubbs concerned.

* * *

That they will be lucky if the choice proves less unfortunate than that of Portia's unsuccessful suitors.

* * *

That if the Governor-General is right in comparing education to beer, they wonder which he will himself confess to having had, much or little of it?

* * *

That Johannesburg must be aspiring to be a Home of Lost Causes when it still observes "Two minutes for remembrance" on Armistice Day, what time the Heart of the Empire itself has not the nerve this year to celebrate the end and the beginning respectively of the two most bloody, disastrous and discredited epochs of our time—the War and the "Peace."

Strike Prisoners' Release.

A Mayor's public meeting will be held this day week, Friday, November 16, at 8 p.m., at the Municipal Buildings, Brakpan, in support of the agitation for the release of the nine remaining strike prisoners, an amnesty for any others still possibly liable to prosecution, and the withdrawal of the Chamber of Mines black list. Speakers: R. B. Waterston, M.L.A., R. V. Acton, M.P.C., Councillor J. Price, R. Tennent (S.A.E.D. and F.A.), and A. C. Fordham (chairman of the Committee). Workers, roll up!

Harrison for Hanover Street.

The So-called Indian Question.

NOTES ON THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

Capt. Bruce, Premier of Australia, with the obvious approval of all concerned, has finally turned down Imperial Federation or an Imperial Parliament. That form of "British connection" may be considered done for.

* * *

But then, we are told, the British Commonwealth of Nations remains; and we find Col. Creswell, like the British Labour Party, still using this phrase to salve consciences for still worshipping at the Empire shrine. Unfortunately, Smuts has blown the gaff on this stunt too. There is no British Commonwealth of Nations, except in the sense mentioned in Palme Dutt's article in this issue, of a community of garrisons over subject peoples. In blurting out the truth that this is what Empire means, he has the advantage over Labourites, or Indian imperialists like Sapru, who befog their brains with the attempt to reconcile that essential fact of imperialism with a notion that the Empire peoples can be at once exploitees and "equals," otherwise the Empire is "menaced" (as of course it is, but equally whether they are equals or exploitees!).

* * *

Smuts further declares that even such a "garrison" Empire can't accommodate Indians in its South African section; and he artlessly proposes segregation of them all to British Guiana—a scheme only a little more childishly naive than our old friend native segregation (and what would the Natal farmers and planters say?)

Any way, unless non-Europeans are disfranchised, he says, "the whole position for which we have striven for two centuries will be surrendered." In other words, what "we" have been striving for is simply to "keep the nigger (or Indian) in his place," that is, exploit him. The whites must not be swamped by the blacks; oh no! But the blacks must be swamped by the whites; otherwise what's the Empire for?

And yet it is apparently not a case of civilisation against barbarism; for in the case of Kenya at least he, with the quick-change disingenuousness characteristic of all these village attorneys, complains that "a few whites are pitted against the mighty Empire of India . . . a much older, more powerful civilisation!"; although in the same sentence he is back again on their cheap competition and lower standard.

* * *

There is no solution under capitalism for the Empire question, for the Indian question, for the native question; for these are only questions of how to keep the helots down so as to exploit them the better; and keeping people down is no "solution." There is no possibility even of a "British garrison" commonwealth persisting under capitalism, for the garrison itself eventually becomes exploited and rebellious.

Smuts brazenly exposes the only view, the parochial view of white South Africa perhaps, but at bottom the fundamental view of Imperialism, for although it seems more obvious in a country where white bosses and black helots jostle together, yet it must equally apply to an Empire which also embraces in itself white bosses and black helots.

All the bourgeoisie know the true position; but in Europe they can look the other way, whereas in South Africa you can't help facing it. (Exactly the same spirit is expressed by the G.S.W. soldier, Leutwein, quoted with approval by a professional reformer, Mrs. Hoernle, that "a knowledge of the natives is necessary if the white race is to REMAIN MASTER.")

Finally, the position is clearer in Africa than in India, because among the natives of Africa there is not even a native bourgeoisie to buy over; the identity of the class and race struggle is much more nearly complete.

* * *

For what, after all, is the interest of blacks as blacks that will "swamp the whites"? Only their interest as dispossessed exploitees under capitalism; and hence too it is only the whites as capitalists, and not all the whites, that will be swamped.

Imperialism offers insoluble problem after insoluble problem; "and yet not three insolubles, but only one insoluble"—the reconciliation of capitalist and working classes.

Meanwhile note that Smuts, besides "settling" nothing, has succeeded only in accentuating pre-existing controversies, both as regards Germany and as regards India.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

(By R. Page Arnot in the "Labour Monthly.")

THE PASSING OF WHITE EMPIRE.

In 1917, in the emotions of the Imperial Conference, the idea of Empire Federation began to take concrete shape. Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues began to see visions of the British Empire becoming a self-contained unitary State. The dream of Empire got hold on them. The end of the war brought as sudden a change; and the years that follow are the story of the fading of their dream. The vision of a seated Britannia with all her daughter nations growing about her, growing bulkier every year, has proved to be Mr. Kipling's dream. It was a pretty picture only, embodying the old folks' idea of what family life should be. It has NO RELATION TO REALITIES, at any rate in the second decade of the twentieth century. Even Joseph Chamberlain, who might have been the Bismarck of the British Empire, came half a century too late. THE DREAM OF A WHITE EMPIRE IS GONE FOR EVER. The cold realities are showing themselves more and more clearly: and the Dominions of the twentieth century are seen to be GOING THEIR OWN WAY AS DID THE AMERICAN COLONIES 150 YEARS AGO.

BUYING THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE.

A different, but equally serious, indeed, far more serious, problem faced them—how to allay the growing consciousness and unrest of the four hundred million human beings who were usually lumped together as "the coloured races of the Empire." Again the war had made a profound change. Policies that had previously been discussed in a dilettante fashion suddenly became a pressing necessity. If the system of exploitation was to be maintained over these four hundred millions, a quarter of the population of the whole earth, it was necessary to find within each subject race some class or section which IN RETURN FOR SPECIAL PRIVILEGES would be ready to support the continuance of British rule. In effect this meant an ALLIANCE WITH THE NATIVE BOURGEOISIE wherever that bourgeoisie was sufficiently developed. Accordingly, in 1917 the promise was made to India for a measure of self-government; and by the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme the promise was made into a reality for a small section of the peoples of Hindustan. The Indian bourgeoisie were taken into partnership, and it was proudly said that India had started on the road to self-government. To Egypt, to Palestine, to the Mandatory States of Mesopotamia and Greater Arabia the same principle was applied.

THE PASSING OF COLOURED EMPIRE.

Unfortunately, these measures will only afford temporary relief. The same processes that called into being a more or less developed native bourgeoisie with growing nationalist consciousness are developing A CONSCIOUSNESS OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION AMONGST THE NATIVE PROLETARIAT AND THE MASSES OF PEASANTS, nor can their discontent be allayed in the same manner. For them there is no way out but a COMPLETE END TO THE SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION.

Throughout the whole of the Crown Colonies and in all dominions except Australia and Canada, Empire is maintained on a basis of coloured labour. It is significant that when the schemes of emigration were being discussed that resulted in the Empire Settlement Act of 1923, South Africa made it clear that they had no use for further white labour and could not therefore be a party to the emigration schemes. There is thus being prepared for the future the most embittered form of human strife—A CLASS WAR WHICH IS ALSO A RACIAL REVOLT. Nothing can stop this, certainly not the granting of privileges to limited sections of the native populations; THE BLACK LABOUR EMPIRE IS A CONTRADICTION FOR WHICH THEY CAN FIND NO SOLUTION SAVE DISSOLUTION. The case of Kenya land, on which there was so little discussion in the public Press, is of the same order of historic importance as the attempt of Lord North to impose taxes on the American colonists. The expedients of the British bourgeoisie to maintain their political domination over coloured labour are doomed to failure no less surely than their dream of white empire.

THE PASSING OF ECONOMIC EMPIRE UNITY.

If then it is realised in governing-class circles that the British Empire politically has become as RAM-

(Continued at foot of next column.)

Transvaal Provincial Elections.

We go to press before the final results appear, but notice that the "Daily Mail" interprets the partial verdict so far delivered as a disappointment and a condemnation of the Government on economic matters, instead of the pell-mell vote against the Pact on which all the papers had been concentrating their arts. For once we agree with the "Mail"; the majority of the voters have but one burning conviction to record, their detestation of Smuts and his party and all they represent. Whether the parties of the pact can do better for them is a question which they correctly feel to be secondary. Probably there is at least a better chance from them than from the S.A.P. to whom the "Mail" now looks, for the first time apparently (no doubt owing to the sobering effect of the present election), for an "economic reform" policy! At any rate kill the devil you know first, and see about killing some more after that.

The Moscow Soviet for the German Proletariat.

On August 28th a joint session was held in Moscow of the local Soviet with the Trade Unions and the representatives of the Red Army.

The following resolution was passed:—

The Moscow Soviet reminds the workers and Red Guards of Moscow and the proletariat and peasantry of the whole of Russia, what enormous sacrifices the German workers incurred during the struggle against an Entente intervention in Soviet Russia. The German workers refused to let through the weapons which the Polish junkers had intended to use for their war against Soviet Russia. The German workers, although themselves starving, organised collections for the support of the starving workers and peasants of Russia. The time has now come when Soviet Russia, having won the victory over famine, and being now in a position to reconstitute her political economy, must help the German workers in their arduous fight.

In view of the lock-outs instituted by the German capitalists for the purpose of provoking bloody conflicts with the working masses, the Moscow Soviet calls upon all workers and Red Soldiers of Moscow and of the whole of Russia to organise collections for the protection of the German workers from the threatened starvation. The Moscow Soviet calls upon the workers of all countries to hold themselves in readiness to strain every effort to prevent the Entente powers from interfering in German affairs.

The victory of the White counter-revolution in Germany, and the subjugation of Germany by the bayonets of the Entente, would signify a gigantic danger for the Union of Soviet Republics. After having subjugated Germany, the Entente would convert it into a military base for the preparation of a fresh invasion into Soviet Russia, for the purpose of imposing cruel taxation on the peasantry, in order that the debts incurred by the Tsar and the bourgeoisie be paid wth interest. The Moscow Soviet calls upon the Soviet Government, and upon all the workers of Russia, to hold themselves in readiness to strengthen the defensive forces of the country, that the Soviet republics may be guarded from the fresh cruel massacres which, in their madness, are being prepared by the militarists and capitalists.

Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!

Hands off proletarian Germany!

Long live the armed defensive forces of the workers and peasants of Russia, the guarantee of the world's peace!

SHACKLE A STATE as the dominions that owed allegiance to the House of Habsburg, to what means will they turn? The way of salvation for the British Empire is to be sought in economic arrangements; and it is these arrangements that will be the subjects of the separate Economic Conference.

But the dream of the Empire as a self-contained economic whole is also doomed to fail; and every attempt to make it a reality by feverish exports of capital merely shatters the fabric of the dream. The development of Empire resources may proceed apace; capital will be exported from Britain to aid that development; but the capital investments will not only be—or even mainly—in primary producers' industries. The capital exported from Britain will be used to build up in the Empire the manufacturing centres that will soon be free from even a shadow of dependence on British manufactures. If London will not float the loans and capital issues, New York will. Therefore THE VERY STEPS THAT ARE BEING NOW TAKEN TO BIND TOGETHER THE EMPIRE WILL RESULT IN ITS FINAL DISINTEGRATION AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT. (At present, as has been pointed out elsewhere, the most favourable form of British trade with the colonies is the export of machinery of production—in other words, the weapons of its own undoing.—Ed.)

THE INTERNATIONAL.
Official Organ of
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(S.A. Section of the Communist International).
(Secretary-Editor, S. P. Bunting.)
Annual Subscription, 10/-; Half-yearly, 5s.
Bundle Orders of One Dozen and over: 2s. per dozen.
Crossed P.O.'s will not be accepted. Cheques should include commission.
Party Offices:
Nos. 4 & 6, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG.

Vol. VIII. FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1923. No. 391.

Chances of German Revolution.

(By Karl Radek.)

Messrs. Ludendorff and Hitler proclaim a struggle for power as preparatory to the struggle against the Entente. But all this is only empty clatter of which nothing more would be heard once these elements succeeded in seizing the reins of government; for Ludendorff, the leader of the nationalist movement, and Hitler to an even greater extent, are MERE MARIONETTES PULLED BY THE WIRES MANIPULATED BY THE COAL AND IRON KINGS, AND OF THE GERMAN BREAD PROFITEERS. Even if they succeeded in seizing power a thousand times over, they would be powerless. In war, it is the man who turns out the grenades in the munition factory, who stands behind the machine gun in the field that plays the decisive role, and this man's actions are determined by that which he feels—if he is convinced that he is fighting for his own interests, or if he is serving the interests of others. The German people needs to overcome its inner disunity if it is to succeed in its struggle against dismemberment and division at the hands of the external enemy. CAN THIS DISUNITY BE OVERCOME UNDER A CAPITALIST SYSTEM? It is nonsense to assume, even for an instant, that it can. With Germany impoverished as she is, capitalism implies the necessity of unheard-of misery for the broadest masses, in order that a small group of capitalists can gain profits. Is this a basis upon which we can unite fifteen million proletarians and nine million pauperised, hungry petty bourgeoisie with the factory owners, bankers, big tradesmen, and junkers? The very putting of the question involves its denial. The majority of the German people can only unite on the basis of THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WANT AND MISERY, and even more on the basis of THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OUTRAGEOUS SOCIAL INJUSTICE, against the parasites battening on the body of Germany.

"But what can the German people accomplish by an uprising? They are surrounded by enemies; they are disarmed." A PEOPLE OF SEVENTY MILLIONS CANNOT BE EXTERMINATED if the great masses are inspired by the will to defence. France has armies enough to enable her to occupy Germany, but France has neither the means to feed Germany nor the means to maintain herself should she seek to solve the unsolvable; the suppression of seventy million human beings. This is the best chance of the German revolution; the hopeless prospects of French policy.

The Anglo-French antagonism is an important factor for the German war of emancipation, but only on one condition—that the German people itself is a factor of power.

As for the fraternal feelings of Russia towards the German people, they are solely the expression of RECIPROCAL INTERESTS. The Communist Party of Russia has declared in its public proclamation to the masses of Germany and Russia that, however much it may have striven to keep peace, and however much it may strive in the future to keep it, it is none the less fully determined NOT TO PERMIT A GERMAN REVOLUTION TO BE THROTTLED BY THE ENTENTE, and that it will fight on the side of the German people SHOULD THE LATTER FREELY RESOLVE TO TAKE THIS GREAT STEP.

The fourth foreign political condition for the victory of the German revolution is its political effect in the world. The Entente will hate it, but WILL FEAR IT MORE than it fears present-day Germany. It would be foolish to over-estimate the powers of the Communist Parties at the present time. The French C.P. is weak, at this moment it cannot prevent war. But the Communist movement has greatly increased in strength in Poland during recent years. In Czecho-Slovakia the majority of the proletariat is already supporting the C.P. And the German revolution need not only calculate on the forces already existing, but with those WHICH IT ITSELF WILL LET LOOSE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. The German struggle for emancipation, which will be bound up with the cause of the emancipation of the German workers, small holders, intellegentsia, and petty bourgeoisie, and not with the cause of the restoration of the Hohenzollerns, or with the despotic rule of Stinnes, WILL AWAKEN MIGHTY ECHOES ALL OVER THE WORLD. No people makes a revolution out of sympathy for another. Revolution is not a proclamation of sympathy, it is a life and death struggle. But in a number of countries events are ripening for revolution, and in others even the sympathy of the masses of the people for Germany will play an important part, for the Governments are compelled to reckon with their difficulties to-day, and internal difficulties may develop into revolutions by to-morrow.

The Duke and the Dubb.

"Not long ago," said Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., "I was in Desborough, a little manufacturing town, near which lived the Duke of Buccleuch, and on the day I was there the Duke passed through in his Rolls-Royce, with two servants in livery decorated with plenty of brass buttons.

"A workman on the square observed, 'Doesn't he look fine? Isn't it a fine turnout?'

"Later on I passed through after him in a £150 Ford, and the same workman was heard to say: 'Look at him, a Labour man, living on the backs of the working class!'"

The "Mine Worker" and the Yellow Press.

Another Trade Union journal has made its bow—the "Mine Worker," and its modest first issue is a sign that the S.A.M.W.U. is by no means a back number. It loses no time in tackling the grotesque "Sunday Times" stuff about "Black Trade Unionism."

"Miners must all know," says its leading article, "that this subject has been discussed for years, even in the Council meetings of the late S.A.I.F., and the S.A.M.W.U. delegates were always against. Many letters have been addressed to the miners in past years asking for this to be done. . . . With regard to coloured men and Trades Unions surely it is well known that most Unions have coloured members who possess exactly the same rights as the Europeans. At the Durban Congress in 1918 coloured men were not only represented but coloured delegates were sent there, and the S.A.M.W.U. declined to sit if even one coloured delegate was present. . . .

"The Central District can see what is going on much better than men at the ends of the Reef, and are alive to the fact that roughly 4,000 miners have no jobs, that a very large number of coloured men are doing the work that was formerly done by members of this Union for a few shillings a day, and, lastly, that when the 10.5 to 1 ratio arrangement comes to an end in March next year if the mines raise the ratio to 12.1 it will mean another 3,000 men are out of a job and looking for relief work. Probably you think you won't be one of the 3,000 but you'll find it too late if you 'wait and see.'

"The Crown Mines manager was prosecuted for putting a native on driving the underground haulage loco. and the Magistrate discharged him on the grounds that the regulations were against the law of the Union. That matter is not yet finished by either the employers or the workers, but in the meantime it follows your boss boy can get a blasting ticket as easily as you can and is then competent to carry the keys of the gelatine box and to charge up. 'Alles zal recht kom' is a good motto, but it means nothing standing alone, for things don't come right of themselves. You've got to do your part. If the natives and coloured men get more and more of your jobs you can bet your life they will then have a Union of their own—they have one now—which will not only be used as a machine to fight the boss, but to fight you too. You have been told time and again you must either organise yourselves in your own defence or else organise those who are now competing with you for wages on which you cannot live. Men unite for their own benefit and they get every other man into their union, again for their own benefit and incidentally his. Unions such as the B.W.I.U. and Typos did not take in the coloured man for his benefit but for their own, as they could see if they did not help the coloured man to get equal wages they would later on get down to the lower wages.

"The S.A.M.W.U. has no connection with the Communist Party, and we do not know a single member of the Union who belongs to it" [Oh, come!—Ed.]; "further, to our knowledge the Communist Party has never made any attempt to interfere either with the work or policy of the S.A.M.W.U. If everyone minded his own business as closely as they mind theirs it would be better all round."

We hardly dare wish our contemporary a useful career, or those neurotics, Levy and Chilvers, will discover yet another case of "sinister permeation from Moscow," and inflict yet more of their spasms on their long-suffering readers.

The Hush-hush Empire.

Imperialism (which still unites the British and the S.A. Labour Party with the bourgeoisie while German Social Democracy has, however tardily, at last broken with its bourgeoisie) is based on the exploitation of coloured labour, which displaces white labour and itself also becomes restive. This is nothing to be proud of. And as a matter of fact the bourgeoisie does not like those who are continually calling attention to the facts. Hush them up, that is its policy. Don't speak of the Kaffirs, for instance, as exploited workers, people to be organised against their exploiters; when you are not calling them d—d niggers, call them our children, our wards, our proteges, and when we rob and kick and shoot and bomb these children of ours, look the other way and praise us for being just, firm, and fatherly. And when imperialism, as of its nature it must, all over the world, results in the disappearance of white standards and the decline of the white working class, don't blurt it out; say it's because the whites are lazy, or, better still, say it's the Bolsheviks who are "setting black against white." Nevertheless, let the slogan of a "White South Africa" be used with discretion, on occasion, although capitalism itself makes it an impossibility even if otherwise it were possible; and although the Chamber of Mines is sacking whites every day, and that is the normal course of imperialism; in case of awkward questions, say it's the 1922 strike that has done that, or say that more black labour on the mines will bring us nearer to "White South Africa," says any damned thing so long as you conceal the fact that it is the bosses and their system that deliberately and normally make it impossible for white workers to maintain their standards in South Africa—so long as you hide the fact that Communism, the only force which will knock out capitalism, can alone provide the conditions under which all men, white included, can flourish and be free.

Imperialism being robbery and crime, its propaganda must necessarily consist of concealment, lying, deception and dodging the public eye. It is a sinister, insidious, underground enemy that must be sought out and exposed, and those who from Labour platforms to-day still dare to defend the politics of Empire must be regarded as traitors to the working class and humanity. It is not enough to abjure the vulgar boastings of flagwaggers; it is necessary to dissolve the Empire itself in order to free both the Empire's slaves from slavery and the workers of the enslaving race from the taint of being accessories to the enslavement. All of which applies equally to the British, the French, the Belgian, Spanish, Dutch, and all other Empires resting on the servile labour of a "subject race."

"Soviet Russia: God Bless Her!"

A TOAST FOR HER SIXTH ANNIVERSARY, 7th NOVEMBER, 1923.

The only Johannesburg demonstration in celebration of the Soviet Republics' Sixth Birthday was the Workers' Social and Rally held in the Selborne Hall on Wednesday evening. One cannot help contrasting the scene in Moscow on the same day, if it was anything like last year, when the entire working population of the city was organised in a gigantic procession for which hundreds of thousands set out before daylight and returned long after dark after twelve hours waiting their turn in the freezing streets, ALL FOR THE ONE PRECIOUS PRIVILEGE OF SALUTING THE RED FLAG, with all it meant to them, and joining in the mighty cheer that continued for hours for the new life that had dawned for the Russian people alone, as yet, of all the nations of the earth. What Imperial triumph ever equalled that mighty paean of a whole people?

THE GRIM REALITY.

Yet our humble anniversary festival too may serve to remind us of the grandeur and certainty and reality of the working-class cause. The actual achievement of Russia acts as a reveille rousing us from the dreamy self-satisfaction of a conventicle sect of unrealists bookishly "believing in Socialism," perhaps, but without the imagination to FEEL the working and oppressed masses and races of the world, in whose name we presume to speak, ACTUALLY ADVANCING TOWARDS ITS LIVE REALISATION. Russia makes us pull ourselves together, question ourselves, do we realise what we preach, do we mean it, ARE WE NOT PERHAPS OURSELVES EVEN A LITTLE SCARED of the rough, uncouth, ruthless march of the iron battalions of the proletariat which will dislodge many of us from a still comparatively privileged personal position? Russia compels us to acknowledge that the way of the revolution must be stormy, even cruel, like the breaking of our drought, and that parlour socialism will leave its votaries overwhelmed by the great push. What frightful violence and agony did not the Russian masses have to pass through to reach even their present position, and their days of stress are not over, they may have to face as much again! And now the second stage of the world revolution, the burning point of the battle to-day, centres in Germany. HORRORS AND SAVAGERIES ON A BARBAROUS SCALE ARE IN STORE for the German working class too. Whether they win quickly or are temporarily subdued, Gethesmane and Golgotha must almost inevitably precede their resurrection, and not for them alone—half Europe will be joined in the upheaval. Such is the terrible price of liberty, hard for us to realise at a mere social evening!

THE LEADER OF THE WORLD.

We must forget neither the tribulations nor the triumphs. We have become so accustomed to the Russian advance that we are apt to minimise its result no less than its awful cost. Yet contrast the Workers' revolution and Republic with its rivals and enemies. The League of Nations, for instance—a despised outcast which even General Smuts, one of its chief sponsors, has now cynically discarded! The Second International and Amsterdam Federation—lifeless nonentities to-day by the side of the Communist International and Red International of Labour Unions, whose clear vision and definite class policy are rapidly coming to COMMAND THE WORLD SITUATION! The world boycot: of Russia—and to-day Moscow is sought out, like Sadko in the Russian opera, by merchants from all over the globe. The Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries and anarchists, once the most formidable internal danger threatening the Soviet regime—where are they to-day? Why, there is no longer any opposition worth the name in the whole of the Soviet Union; THEY ARE ALL CONVERTED. "'Look at Russia,' said her enemies until quite recently; to-day they dare not ask you to look at Russia, the favourable contrast with their own ghastly mess elsewhere is too stunning. And if Russia's military strength is not such as to overwhelm the Western armies, yet her PRESTIGE AMONG THE OPPRESSED of every country is such that every capitalist Government trembles to lift a finger against her lest the fate of the Tsar befal it—and given time to put the position clearly to all the world, now befogged with the confusion of capitalist rivalries, she bids fair to-day to call out the same proletarian strength that frustrated war against herself in 1920, in order to enforce a policy of "Hands off Workers' Germany." In this time of breathless expectancy, of terrible apprehension, in this world crisis when we are all called upon to combine the strategic foresight of the field-marshal with the sacrificial devotion of the common soldier, it is Russia alone that seems to grasp the situation. The full value, for instance, of the Comintern slogan of the "United Front" of all the workers against the common menace is being vindicated to the letter in Germany, especially in view of the weakness resulting from Social Democratic enmity, now gradually being made up for by the retirement at last of the Social Democrats from the Coalition Government and their consequent closer approach to the Communists. In a word, Soviet Russia is the one PILLAR OF HOPE FOR THE WORLD, leading and encouraging nine-tenths of the people of the earth to battle for their emancipation from the yoke of the other tenth.

WHAT IS RUSSIA TO US?

Are they ready to follow? Are WE ready? CAN WE RISE TO THE OCCASION? Or do we still tremble at a sneer from Langley Levy, and respect the bosses' frown more than the example and appeal of the nation that has learnt to do without bosses? Again, is Soviet Russia still a strange outlandish alien to us, or is she OUR OWN REAL HOME COUNTRY, nearer and more lovable to every worker than the place where he may happen to have been born? No worker who has once tasted the air of that land of Labour in Power can ever again look on Russia as foreign; rather ALL OTHER COUNTRIES BECOME FOREIGN AND DISTASTEFUL BY CONTRAST, and all loyalty is transferred to the Soviet flag, so much so that whereas the power of other countries excites fear or jealousy, the growth of the Workers' Republic and the Red Army is hailed by the workers in every country of the world as a blessing. What is more, Russia, from being the most backward, has now become for us THE MOST ADVANCED, THE MOST MODERN of countries, continually putting us to shame for our lack of imagination, of generosity, of solidarity, of REAL APPRECIATION OF THE WORKING CLASS and its movement. She is the torch in our darkness; she gives life to our dead apathy and compels us to emulate her realism. She, the hope of the oppressed peoples of the Orient, bids us Communists of South Africa rise to our mission in this classic wrestling-ground of colonial imperialism and proletarian, especially non-European, revolt—forces which still strive for supremacy even within our own labour movement. Russia's example proves how, with the capitalists dislodged, national and racial gulfs, however wide, are easily bridged, or rather, are found not really to matter; for REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA TYPIFIES, ABOVE ALL, that hope of the world, the SOLIDARITY OF LABOUR. And while on the first of May we foregather perhaps rather in a pre-revolutionary as well as Utopian spirit, at this November festival we think not of the dead past or unborn future but of the realist present, how it grew out of the past and how the future is growing out of the present. We are nerved to face the grim ordeal before us by the example of those that have gone before, the knowledge that they have won through, and will come back to help us win through. Soviet Russia represents for us not a completed event in history, but a living, growing power marching as our vanguard and keeping in constant touch with us; no longer a far-off fairy tale, but a living body like ourselves, grappling with problems some of which we ourselves know too, and ever ready to throw its whole strength into our fight. At the same time she is CONTINUALLY ADVANCING FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH, and with a rapidity and permanance, considering the advance subjectively as well as objectively, unattainable by a capitalist country. The achievement of Soviet Russia becomes GREATER EACH YEAR OF HER PERSISTENCE AND EXPANSION. What further lengths of progress will she not have to record when another six years have passed by!

And so, here's to the great champion of the oppressed and LEADER OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT OF THE WORLD. SOVIET RUSSIA: GOD BLESS HER!

A World Class War "Prisoners' Aid" Society.

The "International Red Aid" appeals to all militant workers in every land at this Anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, to direct their thoughts upon the fate of those who are suffering at the hands of bourgeois gaolers for their services to the revolution; not as a matter of sympathy alone, but with a view to linking up in one international organisation the practical material and financial efforts being made both to alleviate their lot in prison and to support their dependents deprived of their support. The idea of replacing the isolated efforts of each country on behalf of its own comrades by such a system of mutual aid is a grand one, and its adoption is in itself a great lesson learnt in international class solidarity. We have here a Strike Prisoners' Release Committee, concerned for the moment with securing the release of the nine still in gaol and an amnesty for any others that might otherwise still be liable to prosecution in connection with last year's strike. Why should not this Committee affiliate with the International body, and, after accomplishing its immediate object, continue its efforts on behalf of the far more numerous class war prisoners in the far more cruel dungeons of Europe, of whose tortures, especially in Poland, Roumania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, and now Fascist Germany, the most harrowing accounts are reaching us? Next week, on the 16th inst., we shall have the anniversary of the hanging of Long, Hull and Lewis. Their fate excited the most profound indignation, and their singing of the "Red Flag" at the scaffold aroused the utmost admiration, throughout the ranks of European Labour. Let us emulate our European comrades in cultivating an appreciation of the like sacrifices borne in other countries—and act accordingly.

Colonies Mean Reformism.

"We are experiencing," says Lenin in his 1915 work, "Imperialism as the last stage of capitalism," "a period of colonial world policy, which is closely bound up with the latest phase of capitalist development, the phase of finance capital."

Imperialism by its colonial policy prepares the crisis which can bring about its own destruction—War. Imperialism would certainly be destroyed by this crisis, and thrown by the proletariat into the grave which it has dug for itself, were it not that the effects of its actions spread like a cancerous ulcer, and paralyse the revolutionary energies of the working class. Lenin shows COLONIAL EXPLOITATION TO BE AT THE ROOT OF OPPORTUNISM AND REFORMISM, and quotes in this regard the letter sent by Engels to Kautsky on December 12th, 1882:

"You ask me what the English workers think of colonial policy. Precisely the same as they think about politics in general. No real labour party exists here. Here there are only radical conservatives and liberals, and the workers quietly enjoy with these the colonial monopoly and the goods monopoly possessed by England. What is the result of this? (1) The proletarian parties in England become bourgeois. (2) A section of this proletariat is likely to permit itself to be led by elements corrupted or at least paid by the bourgeoisie."

Boss: What do you mean by talking like that? Are you the boss around here?

Worker: No, I'm not the boss.

Boss: Well, if you're not the boss, don't talk like a damn fool.

—H. Zam in the New York "Yowl."

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

(By R. Palme Dutt in the "Labour Monthly.")

"LABOUR" IMPERIALISM.

Socialist propaganda in Britain is still almost exclusively national in character ("Britain for the British") with an added dose of "internationalism" as a kind of preventive against war, and is thus wholly unsuited to modern conditions. The Empire is still the unspoken premise of all British Labour and trade union politics. Modern capitalism as a conflict of world systems, the displacement of white labour by Asiatic and African, the shifting of the basis of world capitalism and the de-nationalisation of capital, all these fall outside the prim suburban photo-frame of "Labour and the New Social Order." The Empire is still blissfully accepted; all that is attacked is a mysterious state of mind called "the Imperialist complex" existing as a bee in the bonnet of certain professors and others who call out for a higher birth rate, larger armies and navies, etc. "Imperialism," declares the sapient leader-writer of the "Daily Herald," "seems to be a kind of lunacy." The "British people," however, intend to have nothing to do with it: they "wil not be treated as pawns for crazy Imperialists." The windmill "Imperialism" having been thus successfully disposed of, the British Empire is of course cheerfully accepted.

EMPIRE=EXPLOITATION.

What is the British Empire? The British Empire may be defined as the expansion of the first great capitalist State into the non-capitalist world. This condition explains its scattered and unscientific character. It is not the natural association of some large unit, such as the United States, Russia, or Central Europe. It is as haphazard as the pluckings of the ripest fruit in an orchard by the first invader. Britain was the first State to reach that strength of capitalist economy at home to carry through a successful colonial policy, as against France, Spain, or Holland—that is, the DOMINATION OF TERRITORIES ALL OVER THE WORLD FOR TRADE, TRIBUTE, AND MONOPOLIES. The success of this early colonial policy made possible the vast development of British manufactures which established Britain as the classic country of industrial capitalism and so brought it first in the field again for the new imperialism of our day—the imperialism of direct FINANCE-CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION WHICH HAS ADDED THE REMAINING THREAT TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

NO OTHER LINK.

What, then, is the British Empire? It is conquered territory added to the estates of the British bourgeoisie for the purpose of larger scale exploitation. IT IS THUS A GREAT PLANTATION OF PURE CAPITALIST SLAVERY. It has NO OTHER LINK—racial, religious, geographical, or sentimental—SAVE THE SINGLE LINK OF CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION. Therefore it has no future save for and within capitalist exploitation. Capitalist Germany may become Workers' Germany, a living section of the Workers' International. But the capitalist British Empire can become nothing but the capitalist British Empire, since ITS ONLY LIBERATION IS ITS DISSOLUTION.

EMPIRE "FREEDOM."

Around this slave-plantation is endeavoured to be woven the myth of "free association" in order to conceal its artificial character. So legends of free settlers, pioneers, explorers are made to replace the records of freebooting, piracy, slave-trading, plunder, penal settlements, extermination of natives, etc., which have accompanied the extension of capitalist rule. The British Empire, WHERE SEVEN IN EIGHT ARE SUBJECT TO AUTOCRATIC RULE, is held up as the palladium of liberty! Even, so great are the concessions which the bourgeoisie are prepared to make in this present hour of difficulty, they are prepared to call the Empire a "Commonwealth"—a step that has proved highly successful and popular in Labour circles.

WHITE GARRISONS.

What is the "Commonwealth"? THE COMMONWEALTH IS THE ASSOCIATION OF GARRISONS OF THE EMPIRE AROUND THEIR MASTERS, THE BRITISH BOURGEOISIE—garrisons a little restive and discontented, inclined to bargain increasingly and insist on their rights, sometimes even toying with the thought of starting on their own or (as with Canada) taking service under a new master, but essentially recognising their identity of interests with their masters so long as these have the cash and the power. Into this circle of White garrisons are being also introduced tentatively, and in the face of considerable distrust and prejudice, the representatives of the rising bourgeoisie of India, who, it is hoped, will help to buttress the weakening White garrison in the Indian treasure-house of exploitation.

"DOMINION LABOUR.

Because these privileged garrisons consist of both colonial BOURGEOISIE AND WHITE WORKERS, these two elements, however divided between themselves, are at present UNITED AGAINST THE VAST MASS OF COLOURED WORKERS AND DISPOSSESSED RACES who form the basis of pure exploitation in the Empire. Hence arises the peculiar character of "Dominion Labour," even when most "advanced," in its demands for its own members, its isolation from the international movement, its imperial solidarity, its UNITY WITH CAPITALISM in all national issues, its citizen-militarism, its bitter opposition to all outside the privileged ranks, and even readiness (as in South Africa) to blackleg on the coloured workers when these are striking to improve their conditions. It is THE GARRISON OUTLOOK, POLITICALLY TERMED THE IMPERIAL OUTLOOK.

"PALACE SLAVES."

The outlook of Dominion Labour and, in its own way, of British Labour is "middle class" in the sense of not realising the necessity of ranging itself either with the international bourgeoisie or with the international proletariat, but regarding itself as holding some peculiar position of immunity or "freedom" and sharing with the bourgeoisie a tutelary "guardianship" of the "subject," "native," or "non-adult" races. The realisation of the falsity of this position, and that the interests of the white workers are not identical with those of the bourgeoisie, is THE FIRST STEP TO THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION.

There are no "free" and "subject" races in the Empire. This is the fundamental fact that cannot be too often proclaimed. There are only jailers and jailed. There are only PALACE SLAVES AND PLANTATION SLAVES. And the palace slaves play unconsciously into their masters' hands by looking down upon the plantation slaves as inferior beings, and discuss gravely in their masters' language whether it is "safe" to give to them the "freedom" that they, the palace slaves, enjoy. That is the epitome of the Empire and of the situation of the British workers in the International.

ECONOMIC UNITY=COMPULSORY EMIGRATION, LOWER LIVING, WAR.

It is rapidly clear that Empire unification cannot be achieved simply in political terms, as was hoped in the days of the war and just after.

In the face of all existing facts the conception of the Empire as an "economic unit" gains ground, and the increasing prevalence of this ARTIFICIAL AND ESSENTIALLY MILITARIST CONCEPTION strikingly reveals the decaying forces and desperate straits of capitalist production.

The new plans of the imperialists mean in brief three things for the working class.

First, they mean what is euphemistically described as "Scientific Distribution of Surplus Population"—or, in other words, COMPULSORY EMIGRATION of the proletariat according to the needs of the moment of capital. This proposal can only be accomplished in the most barbarous form of the planting of slave-colonies after the fashion of the eighteenth century, since all voluntary forms are impracticable, as has been abundantly revealed by the failure of the Empire Settlement Act, which in fourteen months of its operation has only been able to spend one-twentieth of the funds with which it was provided and settle 32,000 persons. The fate of the unhappy wanderers, dumped as unwanted from home, has been vividly revealed in the fortunes of the harvesters in Canada and the homeless immigrants in Australia.

Second, the plans of the imperialists mean a system of preference, rebates, special freights, credits, subsidies, guaranteed purchases and prices, or whatever other method and juggling may be adopted to establish in fact a protectionist system of the Empire. The Colonial representatives have all made abundantly clear that on no other basis can business be done. The establishment of such a system, with the inevitable raising of prices and creation of monopolies it will involve, will BREAK DOWN ALL POSSIBILITY OF THE MAINTENANCE, FAR LESS RECOVERY, OF WORKING-CLASS STANDARDS, and will grind out a temporary and artificial imperial reconstruction from the UNLIMITED EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKERS. The final and inevitable outcome of such a development, of which signs are already not lacking, would be the establishment of some kind of tariff on food (perhaps in the form of control of foreign purchases and a guaranteed price within the Empire) which would mean the final subjection of the industrial workers.

Third, the establishment of such a system, although under the peaceful and benevolent guise of free trade within the Empire, being in fact an exclusive system of so large a part of the earth's surface AGAINST the world outside, would inevitably mean the bitter hostility and combination of the world powers outside, and in consequence a period of heavy militarist rivalry leading up to a culminating WAR which would wipe out every gain that could be accomplished by the intensive economic development of the Empire.

FASCISM OR INTERNATIONAL, WHICH?

To fight these dangers will need the most vigorous rallying of every effective force of the working-class movement. It is no good endeavouring to fight them on the old liberal formula of free trade. Free trade is out of date in its old liberal laisser-faire sense and has ceased to hold. It held against the new imperialist attack in the decade before the war because it was maintained by the combination of the industrial workers and the older capitalist interests of textiles and shipping. Both these holds are weakening to-day. The Bradford resolution on a tariff has revealed the weakening hold in textiles. The Glasgow revolt against free trade has revealed the weakening hold in Labour. TARIFF REFORM AND THE EMPIRE IS THE BRITISH FORM OF FASCISM, the British form of winning over the workers to capitalist leadership by APPEARING TO OFFER THEM SOME PROSPECT OF SOLID ADVANTAGE AND DEVELOPMENT.

Against these it is necessary to set a positive alternative, and not the negative grounds of free trade and national self-government. The new tendencies that are showing themselves are a symptom of the fact that the national basis has broken down, and that a wider than national economic organisation is already essential in the present conditions of production. BUT THE EMPIRE IS ONLY THE EXTENSION OF ALL THE OLD NATIONALIST EVILS ON TO A LARGER SCALE. The only practical alternative now that meets the actual needs of present-day production is the Workers' International, the World Union of Soviet Republics for the world organisation of production.

We have reached a stage when THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO THE EMPIRE IS THE INTERNATIONAL, and we have got to show that the International is the only alternative to the Empire. We have got to show that the Empire is a slave-compound, leading nowhere, and with destruction and war as its outcome. And we have got to show that the International is the real path of the British workers as of the Colonial workers in the Empire, united in revolt and in the common struggle of mastering the conditions of production, and united with all the other workers of the world in the future reign of free humanity.

Strike Strategy.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions issues the following appeal to the organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U.:—

The question of strike strategy, which forms an inseparable part of the universal class struggle, has never yet been placed, so far as we know, on the agenda of a national or international congress.

In this respect, as in many others, the working class has lagged behind the bourgeoisie. . . . Every country possesses an extensive war literature, war schools and academies, where the most thorough examination is given to everything which may serve to throw fresh light on the forms, methods, and accompanying phenomena of military conflicts. What have we to show in respect of study expended on the strike movement? Practically nothing!

Yet was the strike of 1,200,000 English miners, which shook the mighty British Empire to its foundations, of less importance from the standpoint of historical evolution than the battle of Sedan? Is the strike struggle which swept over the whole world from 1919 to 1920, and which awakened millions of workers, not worthy of being studied down to the last detail? . . .

And our class strategy is much more difficult than military strategy. In war there are definitely outlined firing lines—fronts. We all know where the enemy is. In class warfare the case is very different. We have first to convert millions of proletarians to a realisation THAT A CLASS FRONT EXISTS AT ALL. Millions of workers, organised in the reformist unions, are still obeying the commands of their headquarters, although these include many conscious and unconscious agents of the bourgeoisie. If the adherents of the R.I.L.U. in every country would devote greater attention than heretofore to strikes and to the causes of the outbreaks of strikes, to the forms and character assumed by the NEGOTIATIONS, to the activities of auxiliary organisations during the strike struggle, the nature of the COLLISIONS with the authorities, the methods of combatting BLACKLEGGING, the role played by the bourgeois PRESS during the conflicts, the MORAL mobilisation of the strikers, further, the role played by the members of the strikers' FAMILIES in diminishing the energy of the strike, the activity of the PICKETS, the effects of BOYCOTTS and spontaneous SABOTAGE, the CORRUPTION of the leaders, the forms of organisation adopted by the employers' unions and the nature of their resistance to the workers, etc.—if accurate data were collected, sifted, and studied on all these points, we should be in possession of an inexhaustible mine of information for the internationalisation of our tactics, and could render the results of our experiences accessible to all

An International Appeal from the C.I. and R.I.L.U. Executives.

The situation in Germany is approaching a climax; and unless all signs are false, revolution is the goal.

The German proletariat will in these struggles not only be faced by the armed forces of the German bourgeoisie. There is also the menacing danger that, in the moment when the latter attack it, when it finds itself in the decisive struggle with the capitalists, the bourgeoisie of the Entente and their vassals will forget their hostility to the German bourgeoisie and hasten to its aid. There is the danger that France, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia will attempt to occupy Germany in order to subjugate the working class and to conclude a definite pact with the German bourgeoisie over the bodies of the German proletariat. There is the danger that British Imperialism and the vassals of the Entente will attempt by blockade to prevent the import of foodstuffs into Germany.

Comrades, Workers of the whole World, we appeal to you to hold out your hands to protect the German proletariat. In mass meetings everywhere draw the attention of the international proletariat to the situation in Germany, above all collect money to support strikers, now beaten to the ground, to support the Press and the fighting organisations of the German proletariat. Demonstrate in the streets with the slogans: "Peace with the German working class! Hands off Workers' Germany! Withdraw the armies of occupation from the Rhineland, the Saar, and the Ruhr!" Explain to the soldiers of France, Belgium, and Great Britain that they only strengthen their own exploiters when they allow themselves to be used as the executioners of the German proletariat.

To the revolutionary workers and Communists of France, Belgium, Great Britain, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia falls the historic task of imposing an impassable barrier between their capitalists and the German proletariat. To the workers of countries with a high valuta falls the duty of making the greatest efforts for the material support of their comrades in Germany.

Reuter's South African Cable Agency to Jannie Smuts:—

"And when I told them how wonderful you were
They wouldn't believe me."

—After the "S.A. Review."

The Communist Party has cabled a message of greeting to Comrade Lenin, on behalf of the Union of Soviet Republics, on the occasion of the Sixth Anniversary of the Workers' Republic. In its turn it has received a card of good wishes from Comrade Tom Mann.

"You Scratch My Back and—"

Professor Hoernle delivered a lecture entitled "The Democracy of the Press" before the Johannesburg Branch of the W.E.A. last week. Most of the lecture consisted of a jumble of pious platitudes such as, for instance: "The people get the Press they deserve." At the wind-up, however, he treated his hearers to the following: "It is too naive a view to regard the modern Press as being inspired and infused by a capitalistic policy. Whatever interest any newspaper is taken to serve, that interest has to take its chance from day to day with other problems, and is always subsidiary to the business of selling news."

The above is a complete misstatement of the actual facts. For anyone who knows anything about the modern Press knows that in many instances newspapers are run specifically for the purpose of furthering the interests of particular capitalist groups. This is well illustrated by the following statement made on behalf of the Official Receiver in connection with the compulsory liquidation of the Globe Newspaper Co., Ltd., in 1921:—

> "The company was registered in June, 1920, to acquire the 'Globe.' It was promoted by a London Bank to use the paper as an advertising medium for industrial concerns in which the bank was interested." ("Times," July 28th, 1921.)

In a booklet, "The Press," published by the Labour Research Department, the following passage occurs: "Some newspapers have been developed to yield a direct profit; others have been developed in order to yield a profit indirectly, by functioning as publicity mediums for various capitalist interests; others again are acquired simply in order to give political power to a particular capitalist group and its parliamentary proteges." To quote again from the same booklet: "It was the constant boast of the 'Daily Mail' that it was politically independent. It had, in fact, a much larger mission than the pulling of party wires; its concern was the systematic diversion of the minds of the workers from their growing realisation of economic and industrial conditions. Every device of journalism, from the dazzling contemplation of 'The power, the supremacy, and the greatness of the British Empire' to the encouragement of popular interest in the best bunch of sweet peas (for which a prize of £1,000 was offered) contributed to this end." And so both classes of journals are engaged directly in anti-working-class activities, this being their essential function.

In the discharge of that function the Press has no regard for truth or honesty. The "news" which it sells, and which Professor Hoernle evidently regards as being a correct presentation of daily happenings, is incontinently "cooked" where such news has any bearing on the struggle between Capital and Labour. There is no need to labour this point or to bring any evidence in support of our contention, although evidence can be brought in abundance. Editors of Capitalist journals should know most about the question, and it will suffice to give the words of John Swinton, a late editor of the "New York Tribune," who, in answering the toast: "An Independent Press," at a banquet of his fellow-editors, said:

> "There is no such thing in America as an independent press, unless it is in the country towns. You know it and I know it. There is not one of you who dares to write his honest opinions, and if you did you know beforehand that it would never appear in print.
>
> "I am paid one hundred and fifty dollars a week for keeping my honest opinions out of the paper I am connected with—others of you are paid similar salaries for similar things—and any of you who would be so foolish as to write his honest opinions would be out on the streets looking for a job.
>
> "The business of the New York journalist is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon, and to sell his race and his country for his daily bread.
>
> "You know this and I know it, and what folly is this to be toasting an 'Independent Press.'
>
> "We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are the jumping-jacks; they pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are all the property of other men. WE ARE INTELLECTUAL PROSTITUTES."

This has been said by "one of them." The words ring with sincerity and truth, and Professor Hoernle, who is an intellectual prostitute (perhaps unconsciously) in another of Fat's brothels, the university, would do well to ponder over them. The fact that capitalist-owned journals print "news," apart from serving the interests of the particular owners, argues nothing here, since the total number of all capitalist papers, each one serving, perhaps, different special capitalist interests, together serve the interests of the whole capitalist class. And even the news, apart from the propaganda in support of the particular interests of its owners, printed by any one of the capitalist newspapers is (where necessary), in John Swinton's words, perverted—to serve Fat's interests; it is lying news.

John Swinton spoke of the American Press. But what he said is true of any country where capitalism reigns supreme. For if American capitalism requires a prostitute Press so does British, French, German, Italian or any other capitalism. Surely Professor Hoernle should know this! If he does not he is grossly and blindly ignorant; if he does he is a knave to talk such twaddle as he did before the W.E.A. In all probability it is a case of one intellectual prostitute scratching the back of another intellectual prostitute. The bosses' Press cracks up the bosses' education and educators, the condition being reciprocation. Professor Hoernle has reciprocated.

C.F.G.

Fundamental Questions of Revolution.

(By L. Trotzky.)

The petty bourgeois parties, thrown out of their course by the revolution, have lost all interest in the theoretical treatment of the main questions of revolution. What is left of these parties exists on insinuations, slanders, petty trickery, mean flunkeyisms, and alms.

This does not by any means signify that in the field of theory we Communists can continue to live on the interest from former capital. On the contrary, THE THEORETICAL TREATMENT OF QUESTIONS OF REVOLUTION (not only of its methods) IS AT THE PRESENT TIME MORE URGENT AND NECESSARY FOR US THAN EVER. No epoch in the past is to be compared in complexity with that in which we are now living. The immediate revolutionary prospects opened out before us in the years 1918-1920 have withdrawn into the distance, the struggle among the great social forces has assumed a tedious character, while at the same time the underground activity does not cease for a moment, and threatens unceasingly now with military, now with class, and now with national explosions. Thorough theoretical work in the sphere of revolutionary thought, for the clarification and valuation of THE INNER FORCES OF THE WORLD-HISTORICAL PROCESS and its not infrequently contradictory tendencies, before all guarantees the fundamental and active self-maintenance of the Communist Party, and constitutes a pledge for its victory.

The tactics of the united front and of struggles for transitional demands, now being pursued by the Communist International, is the necessary policy for the Communist parties of the bourgeois states in the present preparatory stage. But we must not close our eyes to the fact that this policy undoubtedly involves the danger of deteriorating into futility, and even of leading to the complete degeneration of the Communist parties, if the preparatory stage is drawn out too long, and if the daily work performed by the western parties is not RENDERED FRUITFUL BY THAT ACTIVE THEORETICAL THOUGHT which comprehends to their fullest extent the dynamics of the historical forces. SHORT-SIGHTED PRACTICALNESS at one pole, and propagandist activity SKIMMING OVER THE SURFACE OF EVERY QUESTION at the other—these are the two incontestable dangers, or the two polar forms of expression of one and the same danger, facing us on our by no means easy path.

The synthetic grasp of the situation, on the basis of the materialist and far-reaching analysis of its fundamental elements, is the essence of Marxism (the greatest weight being laid on the side of historical prevision) and of Leninism (the greatest weight being laid on the side of activist conclusions). The peculiarities of the one or the other do not arise from difference of method, but from the difference of the epochs. LENINISM CAN BE DEFINED AS MARXISM TRANSLATED INTO THE LANGUAGE OF THE EPOCH OF THE IMPERIALIST DISSOLUTION OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE OF SOCIETY. (Lenin as the theoretician invariably generalised that which Lenin the politician performed.)

Capitalist society lies in its death agony. But this agony has assumed a protracted character corresponding to the enormous vitality of the dying organism. We have seen how a relative "tranquilisation" set in after the desperate post-war convulsions, how something like equilibrium established itself among the vital functions of the capitalist organism, how in a certain sense the revolutionary prospects have paled and receded, how the bourgeoisie has become filled with arrogance and has set up the DICTATORSHIP OF A FOOL on its weakest, the Apennine, territory. Measured by the standards of historical prediction, a fool remains—a fool. But for the present revolutionary struggle, A FOOL ARMED WITH THE APPARATUS OF AN IMPERIALIST STATE IS—A GREAT POLITICAL FACTOR. History is concentrating all the multifarious means and methods common to the decaying exploiting class into this brief period—ranging from the bloody dictatorship of imperialism to the fool's mask of a harlequin and a charlatan. Our times are pregnant with surprises; a bloody threat may always end in a jester's quip, but THE JESTS OF THE IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE ARE ALWAYS PREGNANT WITH BLOODY CRIME.

The present epoch, dragging along its protracted course, bears within it the possibility of abrupt accelerations of speed and mighty convulsions. Our sober and cautiously meditative policy must therefore retain the CAPACITY FOR SUDDEN ADAPTATIONS of front. If it cannot do this, a fresh wave of revolution may surprise the Communist Party and throw it off its balance. But this would almost certainly involve a fresh defeat for revolution. Thorough theoretical work in the party, COMBINING YESTERDAY WITH TO-DAY, is the necessary prerequisite for the retention by the party of its capability for sudden adaptation.

ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC QUESTIONS! This is what the present period requires of the thinkers of the party, and requires it in all seriousness. For whilst much can be grasped instinctively and on the wing in pure politics, economics are much more difficult in this respect; here it is necessary to accord earnest and conscientious work to studying the facts in their quantitative and qualitative relations.

One of the greatest and best of our party traditions is that it possesses an unsurpassable capacity for MANOEUVRE, and regards RETREAT OR ADVANCE AS LINKS IN THE CHAIN OF ONE AND THE SAME PROJECT. An abrupt adaptation demands a great exertion of thought and of will; the necessity for the adaptation must be recognised, the wish to execute it must be there, and—it must be carried out. Narrow practicalness and hollow propaganda are here alike incompetent: both of these types are prone to impotence, to dispiritedness, and to panic at moments demanding special concentration of consciousness and will.

Printed by the I.S.L. Press, 54, Fox Street, Marshall Square, and published by the Communist Party of South Africa, No. 4, Trades Hall, Rissik Street

The March of the Labour Movement.

By Karl Marx.

Being portion of the inaugural address of the International Workingmen's Association delivered to the public meeting in the St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London, on 28th September, 1864, at which the Association was founded.

The defeat of the working class of the continent in 1848, in some part aided by the diplomacy of the English Government, which then as to-day acted in fraternal solidarity with the St. Petersburg cabinet, soon communicated its contagious effect to the English side of the Channel. While the defeat of their brothers on the continent discouraged the English workers and weakened their faith in their own power, it restored once more the somewhat shaken self-confidence of the landlords and money lords. With shameless effrontery, these withdrew concessions that had already been publicly announced. The discovery of new gold fields led to a tremendous emigration, which left behind in the ranks of the British proletariat a gap that could not be filled. Others of their former most energetic members allowed themselves to be corrupted by the bait of temporary better employment and higher wages, and "took existing conditions into account" in their activities. All attempts to restore or to reorganise the Chartist movement, completely failed; the organs of the working class in the press one after another went under for want of support from the masses, and the English working class appeared in fact as never before to be completely content with the position of political nullity into which they had fallen. If there had been before no community of action between the workers of Great Britain and those of the European mainland, there was now at any rate a community of defeat.

And still the period since the revolution of 1848 is not without its bright side. Here we will reflect upon two great events. After a thirty years' struggle, conducted with the most admirable persistency, the English working class were able by taking advantage of a momentary split between the landlords and the money lords, to get the Ten Hours Bill passed into law. The great physical, moral and spiritual benefits that the factory workers have received from this measure, of which one can find proof by consulting the half-yearly reports of the factory inspectors, are now recognised on all hands. The most of the continental Governments find themselves compelled to introduce the English Factory Acts in a more or less modified form, and the English Parliament itself is forced every year to expand their sphere of influence. However, putting aside the practical importance of these measures for the regulation of labour, their remarkable success has another still higher meaning. The bourgeoisie, through the medium of Dr. Ure, Prof. Senior and other wise men, had advanced the statement in their best known scientific organs, and had proved it to their own complete satisfaction, that every legal limitation of the working time of English industries would sound its death-knell, and that it could only exist vampire-like by sucking human blood and especially the blood of children. In olden times child murder was a secret rite of the religion of Moloch, which was only practised perhaps once a year on the occasion of great festivals, and above all Moloch had no express preference for the children of the poor.

This struggle over the legal limitation of the working day raged all the more violently, the more it, apart from checking the greed of the individual employer, actually intervened in the great antagonism between the blind rule of THE LAW OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND, THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE BOURGEOISIE, AND THE PRINCIPLE OF THE SOCIAL REGULATION OF PRODUCTION, THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE WORKING CLASS. And for that reason the Ten Hours Act was not merely a great political advance, it was at the same time the victory of a principle. For the first time in the clear light of day the political economy of the bourgeoisie suffered defeat at the hands of the political economy of the working class.

Yet a still greater victory of the political economy of labour over the political economy of capital stands before our eyes. We speak of the co-operative movement, especially of the co-operative factories which some audacious "hands" without any other assistance have established. The value of these great social experiments can hardly be estimated highly enough. Through deeds and not by arguments these workers have proved that PRODUCTION ON A LARGE SCALE AND IN HARMONY WITH THE PROGRESS OF MODERN SCIENCE CAN BE CARRIED ON WITHOUT THE EXISTENCE OF A RULING CLASS, who employ a class of "hands"; that to realise the fruits of industry, IT IS NOT NECESSARY THAT THE MEANS OF LABOUR SHOULD BE MONOPOLISED AS A MEANS OF DOMINATING THE WORKERS AND EXPLOITING THEM; that, just like slavery and serfdom, so also wage labour is only a transitory, subordinate social form, which is destined to vanish before ASSOCIATED LABOUR, which will accomplish its work with willing hand, vigorous mind and cheerful heart.

At the same time the experience of the period from 1848 to 1861 proves undoubtedly (what the most intelligent leaders of the working class in the years 1851 and 1852 had already thought of the cooperative movement in England) that however correct in principle and useful in practice co-operative labour is; still, while it is limited to the occasional experiments of narrow circles of isolated workers, it can never acquire the strength necessary to hold the geometrically progressive increase of monopoly in check, nor to free the masses, aye not even enough to lighten considerably the weight of their misery. Perhaps this is just the reason why some kinds of aristocrats, philanthropic fine talkers of the bourgeoisie, and even some of the cunning tradesmen of political economy, have suddenly turned round and are now in a disgusting fashion coquetting with this same co-operative system, which they formerly though vainly sought to kill in the germ by scoffing at it as a mere Utopia of dreamers or by damning it as a Socialist heresy. IN ORDER TO FREE THE WORKERS THE CO-OPERATIVE SYSTEM REQUIRES TO DEVELOP ON A NATIONAL SCALE and following from that must BE FURTHERED BY NATIONAL MEANS. For their part the lords of the land and the lords of capital will continue steadily to use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their monopoly.

Therefore to capture political power is now the great duty of the working class.

One element of success is possessed by the workers—their great numbers. But the mass can only bring their pressure to bear when an organisation has gathered them together and given them an intelligent lead. Former experience has shown how neglect of the bonds of brotherhood, which can unify and encourage the workers of the various lands in all their struggles for freedom to steadfastly stand by one another, leads to the punishment of the workers through the frustration of their unconnected attempts. Urged by the knowledge of this need, workers of various countries have on September 28, 1864, at a public meeting in the St. Martin's Hall, founded the International Association.

Still another principle inspires the assembly. Not the wisdom of the ruling class, but the heroic opposition of the English working class saved Western Europe from the disgrace of sending a military expedition for the perpetuation and extension of slavery on the other side of the ocean.

Experience has taught the working class that their duties consist in MASTERING THE SECRETS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, in keeping a watch upon the activities of their Governments, and when necessary, with all the power at their command, counteracting such activities. And when these designs of the ruling class have been brought to nought, the workers must come forward in a united fashion with the simultaneous demand that the simple laws of morality and justice which are considered right in the relations of private persons, shall be recognised as the supreme law governing the intercourse of nations. This struggle is embraced in the universal struggle for the emancipation of the working class

Communism in Dutch East Indies.

The Communist Party of Dutch India has now 32 sections, including those in Ternate, Borneo, Sumatra, and Celebes. The number of members will be about 50,000. Besides these, there are sections of the Sarakat Islam or "People's Party" working on the same lines as the Communists. The Communists have many newspapers at their disposal for written propaganda. The Central of the S.I., on the other hand, is so deficient in its financial administration that at present it has not a single newspaper at its disposal. It need not be said that under these circumstances the influence of the Communists increases rapidly, and that the government is employing every possible means to prevent this influence from spreading further.

The method most popular with the Government at present is the deportation and imprisonment of Communists. But as all the leading trade unions—above all the union of railway and tramway men—are under the direct leadership of the Communists, it is not so easy for the Government to exterminate Communism.

This may be once more observed in the case of the railwaymen's strike. The Government provoked this strike, at a moment most favourable to itself, by imprisoning Comrade Semaoen for organising a previous strike in the month of July, during the liveliest period of sugar transport. About 10,000 strikers were now discharged, and those who declared themselves in favour of the strike had to answer for this before a court of justice. The railwaymen were no longer permitted to visit the premises of the union. Many leaders of the Red S.I. were also imprisoned. Even the women of the S.I. were threatened with imprisonment if they did not cease their agitation.

When the sugar factories began to work, about a month after the outbreak of the strike, and transport increased rapidly, there were great difficulties experienced in the regulation of the railway traffic. The business people complained bitterly, and the bourgeois papers, which previously would not hear of conceding the strikers' terms, now demanded an examination of the working conditions obtaining among the railwaymen, and the reinstatement of the strikers. Many of the best engine drivers are among the strikers, and these have no intention of returning to work on the old terms. They insist on the fulfilment of their demands, and require as one point the release of those arrested.

The Government is in a difficult position. On one side there is capital, always ready for strong measures for the suppression and exploitation of the people; and on the other side the masses of workers and peasants rising in protest against the colonial system of exploitation.

Even the disagreement between the leaders of the S.I. and the Communists is of no use to the Government, for, as the reactionary Press admits, both parties are competing in a struggle against the constituted authorities, each striving to win the masses for itself.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

A fine audience filled the Selborne Hall on Wednesday to celebrate the Soviet anniversary, the best feature being the record preponderance of young people, who were evidently there not to dance, for they knew was to be no dancing, but to support the proletarian cause. That means that while some old limbs of the party tree may (though wrongly) consider themselves superfluous, the young shoots and sprigs are signs of more pushing, vigorous life, not just resting on the past but promising a career for the party in step with the advance of the rising generation. Comrade Harry Haynes presided, and the speakers and artists were as already named last week, plus others who, in this our "free" society, prefer to remain unnamed!

The hearty thanks of the Entertainment Committee, a delighted audience, and the Party as a whole, are due to the artists, all of whom gave their services.

As for the speeches, Comrade Haynes dwelt upon the historic past, Comrade Mason the militant present, and Comrade Roux the hope of the future. The "Mail" reported them tolerably, only the headlines ("Stirring up Trouble"), etc., showing the enemy handiwork.

Of course that Press would crab even the colossal demonstrations which were simultaneously proceeding in Moscow, far into the small hours. It was impossible, however, not to feel that contrast of atmosphere and think where the prospects of the working class would be to-day if the Russian revolution had failed or the Soviet Power been broken. We are liable to forget how much we owe, and how much we have left and habitually leave, to the courage and imagination of our Russian comrades.

It was impossible, too, to avoid musing on what Lenin would have said on entering our comfortable looking and well-dressed white assembly. Where are the submerged masses, black or white, of South Africa? he might have asked.

Again, the Chairman's story of how one of the first acts of the Russian revolutionary workers was to demand of the American Embassy the release of Tom Mooney recalled the great stress being laid by the Commintern, and especially by the Russian comrades, in connection with this anniversary, on the relief of Class War Prisoners all over the world, at a time when even respecting its own South African prisoners the working class still shows considerable complacency.

The gathering closed with three mighty cheers for the success of the German Revolution, for the Russian Republic, for the solidarity of the workers of the world.

* * *

Trade Unionists, and especially "Red" Trade Unionists, are invited to attend a meeting at No. 4, Trades Hall, on Sunday morning, November 25, at 10.30 a.m. to consider the following agenda:—

Formation of Trades and Labour Councils.
"Back to the Unions."
Trade Union Congress.
Present Position re organisation of non-European Workers.

* * *

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

The next discussion night will be Wednesday next, November 14, at No. 4, Trades Hall, at 8 p.m., when Comrade J. Neppe will open on "The Ants' Republic."

Particulars of fixtures on November 21 and 28 will be announced later.

Choir: more volunteers are wanted to make up a satisfactory "quorum."

* * *

We much regret to record the death of our good comrade G. Ogtrop, of Benoni, which occurred yesterday morning after a short illness. Our sympathy goes out to his bereaved family.

YOUNG COMMUNIST NOTES.

BENONI BRANCH.

A Social and Dance will be held on Wednesday, November 28, at 8 p.m., at the New Banqueting Hall, Municipal Buildings, Benoni. Tickets, 1/6, including refreshments.

COMRADES SAY:

If You Want a GOOD GENT'S SUIT, or LADIES' COSTUME,

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Comrade SAM BARLIN

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6, MORLEY HOUSE,

(First Floor), Cor. KERK & JOUBERT STREETS,
Place your Christmas order now—don't wait for the rush.

The General Dealer's Business of Grace Wilson Gourlay carried on at 80a, Commissioner Street, Boksburg, has been transferred to Arthur Board as from the 17th September, 1923.
26.2.9.

The General Dealer's Business carried on by Israel Barlin, trading as the "Wellworth Boot and Shoe Repairing Shop," has been removed from St. George's Buildings, 78a, Harrison Street, to 27a, Rockey Street, Bellevue, Johannesburg, from 1st November, 1923.
2/9/16.

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