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A New Year Resolution.

To begin 1924 by subscribing to "The International."

The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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

Vol. VIII. No. 398. FRIDAY, JANUARY 4, 1924. PRICE THREEPENCE.

Another One: To maintain during 1924 a monthly donation to the C.P. Press Fund.

Whistling in the Dark.

While the others are making holiday on New Year's Day the luckless office boy of the "Daily Mail" is condemned to write the leading article. Choosing his congenial topic, Bolshevism, he does it manfully.

Lenin, we learn (on the authority of Mr. Urquhart, by the way, who wants a little matter of £55,000,000 off Moscow), the greatest of Marxists, "has long since realised the fallacy of Marxism," and "would have publicly denounced it had he not been laid low by illness." "The struggle between Capitalism and Communism has been decided; . . . defeat has been administered to the forces of Marxian Socialism." "The rights of men as individuals to enjoy the fruits of their own industry and ability competitively are being recognised"; and "trade relations with Russia will be re-established on a purely capitalist basis in 1924," "which means a reversion to the pre-war system of Czarist capitalism," that apple of capitalism's eye, where in the towns once dwelt "great Czarist populations" (what exactly is a Czarist population?) "and where splendid architectural piles reflected the soul of a simple sentient people" (how touching! We suppose the piles have all fallen down since, else what do they reflect now?) And all that remains is for the Soviet Government, or the Comintern (the same thing, for all Chilvers knows) "to blind the 200,000 rank and file of the Third Internationale" (meaning, it seems, the Russian C.P.) to the real significance of the "dramatic capitulation to capitalism" by "covering it under fine Marxian phrases." How easily these Marxians can be duped—and this despite years of public discussion throughout Russia and the world on the "New Economic Policy," for it is this that all the pother is about!

And what is this stupid "blunder on the part of the author of Das Kapital" which is now so "tragically" shown up? "Marxism presupposes the existence of industrial mass-altruism," whereas "Capitalism believes that men will work hardest for themselves, under the stimulus of competition . . . in the certainty of ultimate reward." "Factory hands will not work at full pressure for a communal standard wage."

We don't see any good reason why they should work at over-high pressure for any wage, and least of all for a boss' profit; and we must ask the "Mail" to tell us the difference between a "communal standard wage" and the wage being paid by private employers in Russia. We do not know ourselves, but fancy the former is the best.

But is there not a "Marxist" ring about even these phrases? Why, the whole case against capitalism is just that under it the working class cannot "work for itself" but only for a master's profit; and that so far from finding any "stimulus" in THE ONLY "COMPETITION" IT KNOWS, THAT OF SCAB OR CHEAPER LABOUR ROBBING A MAN OF HIS JOB (e.g., in this country), it is only dispirited AND CONVERTED TO "BOLSHEVISM" thereby. Obviously it is more "stimulating" to work for yourselves than for your bosses. There is no "altruism" about the Co-operative Commonwealth unless you like to say that mass altruism and mass egotism coincide. It is under capitalism that the worker has to give away to others "the fruits of his own industry and ability"; IT IS UNDER COMMUNISM THAT HE ENJOYS THEM. As for trade relations, the Soviet Federation's interest, whole or partial, in all foreign trade and most home trade makes such a difference that it is beside the point to talk of "a purely capitalist basis."

But of course we all know that Communism is still far off in Russia, for it is a world system, and you cannot have a Communist country with the rest of the world—on which every country depends—capitalist. But once more, "things" in Russia are far better for the working man than in many capitalist countries, and are getting better to the other countries' worse. Why, every day's news includes harrowing descriptions of poverty in various bourgeois countries, where no doubt the parsons are still busy assuring the people of "the certainty of ultimate reward."

Finally, if Russia is now practically "normal," why make such a fuss and outcry against her, as the "Mail" in particular is always doing? If "Marxism" is played out, why outlaw it as in Germany? **IF COMMUNISM IS NO MORE, WHY IS THE WHOLE CAPITALIST WORLD ARMED, AND STILL ARMING, AGAINST IT? Why are they so afraid of Soviet Russia unless it is that she still holds them down within, and leads the movement to put them down elsewhere, and is getting so stable and so strong that SHE LOOKS LIKE WINNING?**

Labour Conferences.

The Labour Party Conference has met. Col. Creswell has delivered his stock speech on the "doctrine" of making this a country fit for "British" heroes, or otherwise for "cheap uncivilised" labourers. Mr. Barlow, though still crying "scissors," has joined the chorus of praise of the pact after all, and it has been ratified unanimously, while the Communist affiliation was rejected—and certainly we should have been surprised to see it accepted "in that galley." A resolution for the release of the strike prisoners (including a regrettable dash of cringing) was passed, and will WE HOPE BE FORWARDED TO, among others, THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY which, despite recent correspondence with the S.A.L.P., has never yet withdrawn from its sour demeanour on last year's Rand strike. A few anti-Asiatic and anti-native sentiments were expressed but nothing came of them. Mr. Creswell as usual, in his well known liberal or rather pre-Victorian periods, denied in effect the class struggle and indeed the working class movement as a class movement. An invitation to a British Empire Labour Conference was accepted, more especially as "some of the party would probably be going to the Wembley Exhibition anyway," and so would do as delegates! So much, up to the time of writing, for the S.A.L.P. Conference.

A few days later a native labour conference, called by the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, is to meet at East London. We do not think the I.C.U. has the 100,000 members attributed to it in one of the daily papers, but we should be surprised if it did not already contain far more members than the S.A.L.P. YET NOT EVEN FRATERNAL GREETINGS WILL PASS between these two S.A. Labour Conferences.

The S.A.L.P. looks for its colleagues rather to the other Labour parties of the British Empire. Not a very inspiring crowd, we fancy, these colonial Labourites, and, being all "British," liable to be somewhat too much alike, ALL BRED ON THE SAME SOURCE OF DOPE, to teach each other much. Besides, the "Empire" is in itself a false link; it is a capitalist, not a working class, unity. Even the Congress of the Second International which Mr. Creswell was to have attended in 1914 would have shown a wider horizon.

The value of working class conferences is greatest when, as at Moscow, they comprise representatives of THE MOST WIDELY DIFFERING SECTIONS of the working class, differing not only in geographical position but in race, colour, creed and conditions of capitalist exploitation. At such gatherings indeed every delegate's horizon becomes widened—A NECESSARY CONDITION OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY.

It is noticeable that, up to date at least, no reference has been made (except a belittling one from Mr. Creswell) at the S.A.L.P. Conference to international conditions, to the position of Russia or in Germany, for instance, nor again to the position of the workers in other "cheap, uncivilised labour" countries, although with all the stress laid on this class of labour, one would have expected it. But the S.A.L.P. attitude to non-European labour is almost like that of the capitalist to all labour—that it consists not of men but of "hands," or "hordes," or an impersonal mass of thew and sinew and labour power quite OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT!

On its side, the I.C.U. Conference will treat European Labour in much the same distant, if not hostile, way. We are strangers, we heave bricks at each other.

Surely the Empire Labour Conference most useful, most instructive, most horizon-widening for such a group as the S.A.L.P., is not just a pow-wow of British white Second Internationalists (if indeed the bulk of the delegates will ever have heard of any Labour International except probably the "Third") but a conference such as the "Workers' Herald" very properly proposes in its stead (see p. 2, column 2), OF ALL ELEMENTS OF THE TOILING MASSES EXPLOITED UNDER THE DEAR OLD BRITISH FLAG. The British Labour Conference will be useful to the extent that it is really comprehensive of all those toiling masses of the Empire.

After all (and we admit the same reproach ourselves, as a Communist Party) who are white delegates or white parties to attend an International Conference as representatives of the South African proletariat! Admitting the present difficulty of native workers sending a true representative to such a conference, the least a white delegate can do is to be so well acquainted with the aspirations of the native workers as to be qualified to speak in their name, and not as one of those who tell you "I have known the natives all my life, I have lived in their midst," etc., but who has known them only as their boss!

If only in order to rectify this anomaly it is imperative that organised labour of all races should get better acquainted WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. AN ALL-IN SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR CONFERENCE is becoming a pressing need in this country. We have before called on the S.A.L.P. to use what prestige it has in assisting towards the realisation of such a conference, and we do so again. The Nats can hardly object after the recent D.R.C.-cum-native conference. Such an all-in conference should also stress the participation of working class women and girls and youths—elements not yet trained to political or industrial class action.

Labour Party, Trade Unions, Native Congress, Native Unions, coloured organisations, come, who will make a move towards the holding of THE FIRST REAL LABOUR CONFERENCE IN AFRICA? Is it as usual to be left to the Communists?

British Press Inventions.

"The Riga correspondent of 'The Times' has our gratitude," states "The Tablet." Certainly there is no more engagingly assiduous picker up of unconsidered trifles. Echoed tamely by Reuter's Riga correspondent (Reuter has a correspondent in Moscow, but apparently he is not to be trusted to supply news about Russia) he reports at length in the issue of November 26 the invasion of Catholic nunneries, the arrest of ten nuns and thirteen priests, and the "unspeakable sufferings of Monsignor Cieplak in a cell 6ft. by 8ft." Four days later he announces that "numerous adherents of the Patriarch Tikhon have been arrested," and that "arrests and executions continue to increase in various parts of the country." These stories have been lapped up as greedily by provincial newspapers as the recent tale of the anonymous Scandinavian traveller who gave an account of the unveiling of a statue to Judas Iscariot in a market town near Kazan.

It is only necessary to point out that:—

(1) No nun has been arrested;

(2) All nunneries have been left entirely at peace (several have voluntarily transformed themselves into working communities);

(3) Cieplak enjoys excellent conditions in prison, and has made no complaint either to the administration or to visitors;

(4) No supporters of Tikhon have been arrested; Tikhon himself is displaying complete loyalty to the Soviet Government, and calls upon his adherents to recognise its authority.

* * *

Reports of the massing of Bolshevik legions on the frontiers having fallen flat, "The Times" and the "Daily Mail" have brought to light (from Riga) a proposal made by Trotzky to the Union Central Executive Committee that "a real fighting navy should be created with all possible expedition" to protect the shores of the U.S.S.R. against the British, the Norwegians, and the Japanese. The correspondents recollected in time that Trotzky was not present at the C.E.C.; this proposal, therefore, was presented "through Skliansky."

Skliansky himself, however, states that "no reports or new programmes for the strengthening of the Russian Fleet were sent in by Trotzky, directly or indirectly. The only increase in the size of our fleet which we anticipate is the return of our warships carried off by White rebels with the aid and cognisance of the Western powers."

* * *

The fact that Trotzky caught a chill at the beginning of November provided the Exchange Agency with a story that a number of men attempted to kill his chauffeur on November 6,

> "with the intention that one of the attackers should take the chauffeur's place the next day when Trotzky proceeded to the Red garrison parade, and endeavour to assassinate Trotzky en route."

This incident, naturally, "completely unnerved Trotzky, who has since been confined to his bed." This story supplants the earlier and cruder tale that Trotzky had been wounded in the head.

Its author, who lives in Helsingfors, and its populariser, who lives in Copenhagen, neglected to notice that Trotzky's illness did not even interfere with his work, and that he is now in perfect health.—"Russian Information and Review."

The Life of the Workers.

HELOTS AND GENTS IN COURT.

"No colour bar in the Cape," indeed? Go to Caledon Street and see the coloured and natives herded behind a wooden barrier like sheep in a pen. When charged they have to go into the dock, whereas a European is allowed to stand at the side. And see how they are treated by a "discriminating" Court.

Evidently the authorities are getting short of funds. The beak hands out fines of 10s. as fast as the Crown witnesses can be called, and every constable proves worthy of his hire.

A coloured man comes into the dock for being drunk. Obviously he has not a cent to call his own. Fined 10s.

A native appears, scarcely a rag on his back. Fined 7s. 6d. or seven days.

A petty bourgeois with spats, etc., charged with putting his feet on a railway carriage seat. Received a gracious smile from the magistrate and a fine of 2s. 6d. without any alternative (whereas the native without money is given the "option"—what hypocrisy!)

Next a native girl, summoned for theft, she having purloined numerous articles of clothing from a lady with whom she was employed. The lady and her whole family of petty bourgeois boarding-house keepers turn up in force against this propertyless "felon." In evidence the lady states she paid the girl 10s. per month. "She was training the girl" (no doubt to manage on nothing per month). The conscientious magistrate, thinking gaol would be just as much home as with the lady, gives the girl three months' imprisonment with hard labour.

Now Then, Creswell!

Says Reuter: "A number of men occupying responsible posts in the Empire have notified the Foreign, Colonial and India Offices of their intention to resign if a Socialist Government comes into power."

The capitalist class intends to boycott the coming Labour Government (so it says); but it will go further than mere boycotting. All political struggles are struggles for power: not for mere voting power, but for that kind of power which rests ultimately on force. Let the Labourites be ever so "constitutional," they will soon learn that the other side does not care any more for "democracy" when it goes against it, than it does for any of the other shibboleths which it uses from time to time.

The Unemployed Man.

"The most dramatic of poets cannot imagine, even afar off, what such a man thinks and feels, especially if his temperament be nervous and forboding. How foreign, hard, repellent, are the streets in which he is a stranger, alone amidst a crowd of people all intent upon their own occupation, whilst he has none! . . . He lingers aimlessly about, and presently the great tide turns outwards and flows towards the suburbs. Every vehicle is crowded with happy folk who have earned their living and are going home. He has earned nothing. . . . How humiliating are the repulses which he encounters! Most employers to whom a request is made for something to do prefer to treat it as a petition for alms and answer accordingly. . . . Talk about the atrocities of the Revolution! All the atrocities of the democracy heaped together ever since the world began would not equal the atrocities perpetrated in a week upon the poor, simply because they are poor; and the marvel rather is not that there is every now and then a September massacre at which the world shrieks but that such horrors are so infrequent. Again, LET NO MAN JUDGE COMMUNIST OR ANARCHIST TILL HE HAS ASKED LEAVE TO WORK and a 'Damn you' has rung in his ears.—Mark Rutherford, in "The Revolution in Tanner's Lane."

The Conciliation Board election results, as well as the S.A.M.W.U. election of officials, show a conventional fidelity to the existing officials, one noteworthy exception being the turning down of A. Crawford from member to mere alternate.

* * *

The British Communist vote has increased 45 per cent. from 52,819 in 1922 to 76,741 in 1923. Wherever the Communists recontested a seat as such they increased their vote.

* * *

GERMAN FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE.

All willing to assist in a house-to-house collection in Johannesburg in aid of this fund will please attend at the Grand Hotel, Plein Street, on Monday next, January 7th, at 8 p.m. Bring your friends.

THE INTERNATIONAL.
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Some New Year Slogans.

(Being a leaflet issued by the C.P. Johannesburg Branch.)

TO THE WORKERS OF THE RAND!

Another year has gone past and still nine of your fellow-workers remain in Pretoria Gaol.

By your demonstration in November, 1922, you saved these men from death. If you had acted sooner you might have saved Stassen, Harris, Hull and Long also. It is only your indifference now that keeps the nine in prison.

IT LIES IN YOUR POWER TO GET THEM OUT.

You are outside; they are in; they fought for you; they are suffering there; you must fight for them.

Your representatives in Capetown have not done their duty in the past. Let them not fail again in the coming session. If they wish, the Labour and Nationalist members can make such a noise in the House of Assembly that Jan Smuts would be only too pleased to release the strikers. Perhaps Colonel Creswell is too "respectable" to kick up a row about anything! We hope not.

But you must not leave this matter to the M.L.A.'s and Provincial Councillors. You must act at once and strongly; and by YOUR action you will force THEM to act.

Those of you who were in gaol and have been released—you swore last August that you would not rest till the other nine came out. It is up to you to make good this vow.

EX-TRADE UNIONISTS! Get back to your unions! You know that if the unions were as strong as they were in 1920, Jan Smuts would not dare to keep the men in prison.

RAILWAYMEN! Back up the NURAHS. Don't let Crawford and Hoy get the better of you.

MINERS! Get the natives into your union. This is the only way to beat the Chamber and give the natives a square deal also.

YOUNG WORKERS AND APPRENTICES! Begin to take an interest in politics. You'll find yourselves in the soup if you don't. Back up the Y.C.L.; it is fighting for you.

ALL OF YOU! Join the Communist Party. It is the only FIGHTING working class party in South Africa. Read the "INTERNATIONAL"—it has not ceased publication for eight years and is as good as ever.

WAKE UP! ORGANISE!

GET THE MEN OUT OF PRISON!

JOIN IN EVERY MOVE, WHETHER INDUSTRIAL OR POLITICAL, TO STRENGTHEN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES AND SMASH THE SMUTS' GOVERNMENT!

PREPARE TO GIVE THE PRINCE OF WALES A WARM RECEPTION!

DON'T DESPAIR—WE ARE GOING TO WIN YET!

Let these be your slogans for the New Year.

Diamond Cuts Diamond.

It was unfortunate for Mr. Urquhart, the representative of English capitalists or bondholders having former interests in Russia, that at the time when he was proclaiming, in an interview with the local press (for he is touring South Africa) that the peasants were "dissatisfied with the Government," that "Marxism" had "proved fallacious," and that a return to capitalism and pre-revolution Russia—a paradise for the working man according to him—was imminent, another "leading Russian mining expert and politician" now proceeding to the Belgian Congo, told the "Sunday Times" that the Bolshevists get their greatest support from the peasants, that the Soviet Government was permanent (though with "Communism giving slowly away to Socialism"—as to that, read Lenin's "State and Revolution"), and also that "while in Russia the economic situation is improving, Poland is on the down grade, and the resurrection of the Polish State was one of the greatest blunders committed at Versailles."

Incidentally, Mr. Urquhart reveals that the Tory British Government, on behalf of course of the interests he represents, had been trying to get the Soviet Government to agree to be liable for damage to foreign capital caused by its own acts (no doubt against compensation for damage to Russia's property caused by the British Government), but that even this very modest concession might be "delayed" by the Lib-Lab success. Evidently Mr. Urquhart is doubtful about the soundness of Gen. Smuts' contention that a new Government is bound by the policy of its predecessor.

The surrender of Mr. Marits follows so closely on his recantation of rebellion and laudation of the blessings of British imperialism that he will surely be justified in expecting very lenient treatment at the hands of the authorities in consideration of his great value to them as an anti-[illegible]. "Ons Vaderland" [illegible] at the situation.

Come Out of the Kitchen!

A CALL TO WOMEN OF THE WORKING CLASS.

When you grow weary of planning your weekly budget and you find that the two ends obstinately refuse to meet, has it ever occurred to you that you are attacking your problem at the wrong end? Who and what decides the amount of money you have to keep your house on? Why have some so much and you so little? Who fixed the cost of living scale of wages we hear so much about nowadays? Was it people who lived on that scale themselves, and were you ever consulted as to what you considered a sufficient sum to live on and get the best out of life?

No! That scale was fixed by the employing class, and given to the working class much as one tosses a bone to a dog after one has picked the meat off it for oneself. The idea of living on it themselves would make them smile.

HAVE YOU EVER LIVED!

Or have you dragged out a miserable existence trying continually to make ends meet? You pride yourselves on making one shilling go as far as two, when it would be much better to demand that two be given you. When you substitute margarine for butter, and cheap adulterated foods for good wholesome ones, you are undermining the health of your family and yourself, and injuring the whole of your class by reducing the standard of living. The official cost of living figures on which your wages and your husband's are based are the minimum amount which will keep you efficient wage slaves.

Individually you can do very little. But you do not suffer individually. When one working woman feels the pinch she can be sure that thousands of others are in the same plight. Why not get together and talk about your position?

Poverty is only shameful when it is meekly borne, and your misery is due not to mismanagement in your own household, but to your carelessness and indifference towards those forces outside your homes that plunder and rob the class to which you belong.

Why sit wringing helpless hands when the measure of your misery is not ordained in heaven, but meted out to you by an insane system of society? In this system a comparatively small class own the means of production and distribution, e.g., raw materials, factories, railways, ships, etc., and use these to produce goods for profit and not for the benefit and use of the community.

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

This cannot go on for ever. For the sake of yourselves and your children you must make a bold stand now. No woman would go on plodding calmly about her housework if she saw her child in danger of being run over in the street. And yet to-day your children are in direr peril than death—they are facing a world which offers them neither food, shelter, nor clothing.

Come out of the kitchen and take your place by the side of the rest of your class! You have a part to play in the political struggle. You cannot afford to stay in the background on the old plea that politics have nothing to do with you. Your whole future comfort and well being, and that of your children, depends on the part you play to-day. The capitalist class, i.e., the possessing class, have shown themselves unequal to the task of solving the problems of unemployment, housing, and better conditions.

Join the Communist Party!

—"Workers' Weekly."

The Empire Labour Conference.

The "Workers' Herald," organ of the I.C.U. (native), Capetown, says:—

"An Empire Labour Conference, the first of its kind, is reported to meet in London some time next year. Admittedly, this is a very good beginning, and all who are concerned in the Labour Movement must wish the promoters of this idea every success. To render this proposed Conference an unqualified success and dignity, we trust that the subject races of the Empire, who comprise the major portion of the producers in India, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, will be invited to send their own representatives as well. We would not hesitate to suggest that as far as South Africa is concerned the promoters of this Empire Labour Conference should do all in their power to invite a delegation from organised black labour, who must place the suffering of their people before a representative assembly of the producers within the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations. With misunderstanding of race questions which is rampant in the so-called Empire, white Labour leaders should just as well take this opportunity to discuss this thorny question with the members of the subject races with a view to explore a way out to solve it."

To which we say, hear, hear: and we would recommend all Native labour organisations, as well as the S.A. Native National Congress, to take the initiative by calling on not only the promoters of the Empire Labour Conference, but the white South African Labour Parties and Trade Unions to meet them in joint conference.

African Journalist Conference.

The "Workers' Herald" says:—

We welcome whole-heartedly the suggestion made by our Johannesburg contemporary, "Abantu-Batho," that with a view to present a united front in matters pertaining to the welfare of the African race, instead of the present lack of general policy of African newspapers which is responsible for vulgar wrangling to the benefit of the enemy, it is advisable to convene a Conference of the African Press. We trust that the "Abantu-Batho" will push the matter forward and give a definite lead in the matter.

(Again we say, Hear, hear.—Ed.)

"RED REVOLT."

(On October 23, an armed insurrection broke out in Hamburg. A relatively small number of insurgent workers occupied the police stations in the outer districts during the night, and disarmed the constabulary. This action was followed by several days of street fighting, the Government sending not only police to quell the rising, but also soldiers and marines. The insurgents were finally obliged to give way before these greater numbers, in particular because of the fact that they remained isolated from the masses of the working population.)

The following are some extracts from a report written by the well-known American lady journalist Anna Louise Strong for the American newspaper "The New Republic," in which she describes her impressions as an eye-witness of the occurrences in Hamburg.

A number of party and trade union employes sat cheerfully over their beer in the guest room of the Hamburg (Yellow) Trade Union Buildings, and on being questioned replied with obvious satisfaction:

"Everything is cleaned up again. The Communist criminals are either shot or taken prisoner, except the leaders. These appear to have escaped again . . . the cowards! But the Communists are always like that. This time, however, they are thoroughly beaten. There will be no more nonsense now."

"In reply to my question as to what prospects the people had of better times and better food supplies," proceeds Miss Strong, "I was told that great hopes were placed on the rentenmark, which would bring stable currency, and on America, which would supply Germany with wheat on two years' credit 'to prevent Bolshevism.' Besides this, the Versailles Treaty must be set aside . . . These are precisely the same hopes which have been pursued in vain for years . . ."

A dock worker with whom the correspondent spoke the next day at breakfast expressed himself as follows:—

"All over?—no damned fear. NOT UNTIL WE HAVE GOT SOMETHING TO EAT."—"Then the workers have not lost their courage?"—"We must not lose our courage. If we do, we shall be beaten down and crushed to below the level of African negro slaves. . . ."

THE CRIME OF HUNGER.

A reporter of the "Echo" gave the following information: "The first cases brought before the emergency tribunal related to the looting of food. A youth of 19 years, out of work and starving, was arrested during a hunger revolt because he had half a loaf of bread under his arm, which he said he had picked up in the street. He was given a year's imprisonment. A barber, who had sent his landlady's daughter to buy bread for him in the morning, but had not been able to obtain any on account of the bakers' shops being cleared out for fear of pillage, passed across a square on his way to dinner, and picked up a loaf of bread lying on the pavement, where it had been thrown by plunderers. He too received a year's imprisonment. The special tribunal declared his case to be much worse than the other, for though he had acted without premeditation, still he had not been driven to the act by actual want, as he had work. . . . He was able to prove that he had only earned 10 milliard the week before . . . 10 milliards—15 to 20 cents for a week's work!"

SOME FAMILIAR TOUCHES.

The "reds" had no foreign weapons, in spite of all assertions to the contrary.

The Security Police searched all the houses and dragged the men out of their beds. They were frightfully ill-treated on the way to the police station, so that even bourgeois gentlemen were indignant. The whole neighbourhood is enraged, everybody hates the Government.

As every number of the Social Democrat "Hamburg Echo" is full of denunciations of the "cowardly Communist leaders" who prepare putsches and then get away safely, the correspondent asked the women their opinion about this. But none of them had anything against the Communists; all their indignation was directed against the Government.

"Yes indeed, it is true that many workers are leaving the Social Democratic Party," said a worker's wife. "I have left it too, and I left my trade union yesterday. I told the gentlemen that I had enough of it. I do not belong to any party now. I am a party for myself. But in spite of that I should like to see a Soviet Germany. I am in favour of anybody, be he Communist or Nationalist, who will only send these wretched bureaucrats to the devil."

Polish Strikers Shot.

REVOLUTION CHECKED BY SOCIALIST TRAITORS.

The workers of Poland during the whole of the autumn have been stirring, moving, struggling to get rid of their exploiters. Their movement culmated in huge strikes and in the Cracow revolt.

The miners, textile workers, railwaymen, and postal workers were all on strike, at one time or another, against wage cuts and Government oppression. The railways were militarised by the Government, the railwaymen "called up" into the army, and courts-martial established which shot strikers. A general strike was called in the great industrial centres of Upper Silesia, Galicia, and Warsaw.

These strikes were repressed by armed force—with the help of the Polish Socialist Party and the Trade Union leaders.

Finally, the strikers in Cracow, Tarnov, and Borislav appealed to the peasant soldiers sent against them not to shoot, and the peasants gave up their rifles! Yet even here, when the workers were in effective power in these three great towns, the Polish Socialist Party leaders managed to keep them from consolidating their position, and in the end handed them over to the Government divided and beaten.

Red Flag for Indian Workers.

During the recent journey of Comrade Shapurji Saklatwala, ex-M.P., to Russia, much interest was evinced by the workers and peasants of the first Soviet Socialist Republic at the advent of a representative of the Indian working class, for it was as such, and not as a member of the British Parliament, that Comrade Saklatwala was welcomed to Russia.

His short visit was made the occasion for numerous ceremonies of greeting, such as the Russian workers and peasants delight to give to their guests. Among others, the most significant was the presentation to Comrade Saklatwala, by the Moscow Soviet, of a Red banner, on which was inscribed: "To the workers and peasants in India, from their Russian brothers."

We hope that this tribute of international solidarity, presented to the Indian working class and poor peasantry through the agency of Comrade Saklatwala, will reach those for whom it was intended, and will help to create a bond of understanding and sympathy between the revolutionary masses of these two great countries.

—"The Vanguard."

Lifelike.

Here is a Birkenhead student's description of how international trade is carried on:—A Brazilian village buys Lancashire cotton, or soap made in Port Sunlight, because it is selling coffee to a German town which buys it because it is selling telephone instruments to a Danish Co-operative Society, which buys them because it is selling butter to Birkenhead boilermakers engaged in building ships for carrying Indian jute used in packing Tchecko-Slovakian sugar bought by a Liverpool jam factory making jam sold to dockers' wives for the purpose of giving dry bread a peaceful passage.

War on German Communists.

RUTHLESS SUPPRESSION.

The full force of Fascist dictatorship has now been turned against the German Communist Party.

The offices of the "Rote Fahne," the Communist Party headquarters, the Berlin Federation Headquarters, the offices of the Communist Party Library, and of the Young Communist Organisation, have all been forcibly seized, and shut down by the order of the military dictator, General von Seeckt.

Communist local organisations in Berlin have suffered the same fate. Throughout Germany printing presses and local headquarters of the Communist Party have been occupied by the police, and seals placed on the doors. To-day not a single Communist paper is appearing legally.

A ruthless endeavour is to be made to suppress the whole organisation of the German Communist Party. The order of General Seeckt declares its entire property confiscated, its badges and flags proscribed, and heavy punishment for anyone who gives the party money or rooms or any kind of assistance.

This new attempt to destroy the resistance of the workers has been made under the cloak of an attack on both the right and left. A pretence has been made of forbidding also the National Socialists—the Hitler Party—and the German National Freedom Party.

That this is nothing more than a sham is proved by the fact that the Fascist headquarters, which were seized by the police, were RETURNED TO THEIR OCCUPANTS THE VERY NEXT DAY.

The "Vorwaerts," however, the organ of the Social Democrats, whose treachery has made the present Fascist terrorism possible, continues its campaign against the Communists.

The Communists continue to win increasing support among the masses. This was shown, for instance, at the recent elections in Bremen where they gained 12 seats at the expense of the Social Democrats.

A party of half a million, like the German Communist Party, cannot be crushed out of existence at a word. The period of constitutional struggle is now over, the period of open civil war begins. It is important to notice that it is the capitalist forces who, as always, have provoked the fight.

The "Dundee Advertiser" solemnly relates the hunt for souvenirs during the Prince of Wales's visit. "One gentleman is hugely delighted with his find. He secured the end of a cigarette which the Prince of Wales had smoked:—

A little bit of orange peel,
The end of a cigar:
When trod on by a princely heel,
How beautiful they are!

—Charles Stuart Calverley, in "Cherrystones."

The most elementary tasks of a workers' government must consist in arming the proletariat, in disarming the bourgeois counter-revolutionary organisations, in introducing control of production, in putting the chief burden of taxation on the shoulders of the rich and in breaking down the resistance of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. —From a resolution of the 4th C.I. Congress, November, 1922.

The Counter-Revolution in Europe.

(By G. A. Hutt, in the "Labour Monthly.")

With the collapse of capitalist economy after the imperialist war, it seemed that the forces of the working-class revolution would sweep Europe. But the working class as a whole was unready and imperialism had bitten too deeply into the ideological fabric of the old Labour and Social Democratic Parties. They sabotaged the struggle for power, and turned to coalition with the bourgeoisie in order to achieve "reconstruction"—of capitalism.

REACTION'S TRIUMPHS.

The White Terror triumphed early in Finland and Hungary. In Germany the Social Democrats took the lead in the suppression of the revolting workers. Fascism has risen to power in Italy, in Bulgaria, in Spain. The Fascist National Democrats are now the most influential political group in Poland and dominate the Government. In Austria the forces of reactionary clericalism are in power. The rising workers' revolution in Germany has led to a close military alliance between the Poincare Government and Czecho-Slovakia.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN GERMANY.

As the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution in Germany reaches its moment of extremist tension the counter-revolution in Europe has either won, or is in process of winning, all the strategic positions surrounding Germany. German Fascism, centred in Bavaria, is in relations with its brethren in Austria, in Poland, in Hungary. French, British, and American imperialisms are in varying degrees lending their moral and financial support to the growing counter-revolution throughout Europe.

THE OBSCURE OBVERSE.

The progress and fortunes of the proletarian revolution in Europe are relatively well known. But the other side of the barricade is shrouded in darkness and not a little mystery. However, it is possible to construct, from occasional hints and references in the bourgeois Press, something of a picture of the actual state of the European counter-revolution to-day. This article will attempt briefly the task of constructing this picture, of drawing together, from the tangled web of revolution and counter-revolution in Europe to-day, the threads of counter-revolution.

THE "GREAT GREEN PLAN."

In the first place there is the question of the associations between the Bavarian reactionaries and their political confreres in Austria, Hungary, and Poland. The "Manchester Guardian" published at the end of October certain details of secret negotiations between Bavarian and Polish reactionaries. These negotiations were directed to securing Polish support for Bavarian separatism. In return for this support, Poland would receive East Prussia. The scheme thus broached received, from its association with agrarian reaction, the name of the "Great Green Plan." Its inspiration, too, was largely clerical; and it is therefore not surprising that the "Christian Socialist" (i.e., reactionary clerical) Government of Austria has also become involved. In fact, a union between reactionary Austria and reactionary Bavaria—seceding from the German Reich—has now become an integral part of the scheme.

FOREIGN SUPPORT.

It is interesting to note that one of the chief Polish promoters of the "Great Green Plan" appears to be none other than the notorious Monsignor Cieplak (though this is not finally certain), over whose "persecution" some time ago by the Soviet Government certain leaders of the British Labour Party waxed indignant. The "Manchester Guardian" further reports that the scheme is receiving financial assistance from influential American sources: while it is evident that such a scheme would win the active countenance and support of French reaction.

"TO DEFEAT 'MARXISM.'"

There has been close contact all through between the Bavarian Fascists under Hitler and the Austrian "Haken Kreuzler," and also between Hitler's forces and the Hungarian Nationalists under Gombos. The intimate nature of the Hitler-Gombos alliance received spectacular illustration a few days ago in the proposed Hungarian Fascist coup d'etat, which was to be undertaken at the end of November with Bavarian aid. A secret military agreement, signed by plenipotentiaries on behalf of the Bavarian and Hungarian Fascist organisations, has been discovered. The aim of the alliance is clear. As the Balkans correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" wrote:—

> The Gombos Government, which was to have been set up with Bavarian help, would have joined Bavarian reaction to defeat "Marxism" in Central Europe.

In Poland, the move to the Right in the last few months has been notable. It has evoked comment from "The Times," which observed recently:—

> This swing to the Right has been very self-conscious. It was made to the accompaniment of loud applause from the rank and file and the Government Press, which interpreted it as part of a great wave of reaction against Socialism which was sweeping over Europe.

FASCIST FRIENDS OF BRITAIN.

Czecho-Slovakia, too, has its Fascists. Under the leadership of Dr. Kramarcz they were already reported as strong enough to be planning for a coup d'etat in July last. Kramarcz, in the words of the "Daily Herald":—

> claims to have the support of 85 per cent. of the officers of the army, of a majority of the State officials, of the big Zivnostenska Bank, of the landowners, of a great part of the "Sokols" (the athletic clubs, which have played such a big part in Czech politics).

It was further reported that Kramarcz was very hopeful of British support—including financial support. The reason for this is clear. The Czecho-Slovakian Fascists are anti-French, and therefore useful pawns for the British imperialist bourgeoisie in its struggle with French imperialism.

AGAINST THE PROLETARIAT.

At present Czecho-Slovakia is making the best of both worlds by signing treaties with both Powers. With a large army and a budget deficit, Czecho-Slovakia has just signed a military and political treaty of alliance with France. The outward and formal sign of the alliance was the visit of President Masaryk, full of years and learning, to Paris. Significantly enough, the Paris Press compared his visit with that of the Tsar Nicholas II. years ago. The political calibre of Dr. Masaryk may be best judged from his oracular remark:

> Now that Germany is surrendering unconditionally to France . . . the course of European reconstruction has advanced a further step.

This military alliance, as "The Times" points out, is quite incompatible with the hitherto pacific policy of Czecho-Slovakia. It is, in short, more than a defensive alliance. Against whom, then, is it directed? The answer is supplied in a report from the Prague correspondent of the "Daily Herald." After pointing out that the officially proclaimed policy of Czecho-Slovakia towards civil war in Germany is one of complete neutrality—except that Czecho-Slovakia would take the necessary steps to "protect her frontier"—he says:—

> I gain a definite impression that Czecho-Slovakia would not abide by such a passive policy were France to demand the active intervention of Prague. It would not be the first occasion on which "incidents on the frontier" have been artificially evoked with a view to justifying interference. Czecho-Slovakia's intervention would be far more probable in case of a proletarian dictatorship in Germany than in the event of a dictatorship of the Right.

AGAINST RUSSIA.

The counter-revolutionary ring is completed by Finland, since 1918 a classic country of the White Terror. To Finland may now be added Sweden, where lately Hederstierna, Foreign Minister in the Conservative Government, openly advocated a military alliance of the two countries. This alliance was to be frankly counter-revolutionary, in that it was directed against Russia.

On the outskirts of the counter-revolution come Fascist Bulgaria, Roumania, where Fascism is increasing in strength, and Yugo-Slavia, where fierce repression of all working-class activity has long been the order of the day.

FRENCH GOLD.

So far as the relation of **Entente imperialism** to the European counter-revolution **is concerned**, the outstanding role of French imperialism has long been a matter of common knowledge. Poland and the Little Entente—Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia and Roumania—are notoriously French proteges. In the course of the present year credits to the tune of some 800 million francs have been granted by France to Poland, Roumania, and Yugo-Slavia. "The Times" says:—

> It is understood that these credits have not taken the form of cash payments, but that they are being used for the purchase of war material belonging to the French Government or manufactured in France.

Reports are now current that the new French budget will contain an item of one and a half milliard francs, for a loan to the Little Entente. Other large sums are mentioned as intended for Austria and Hungary. The Paris correspondent of the "Chicago Tribune" wrote:—

> The loan to Hungary will enable that country to improve and enlarge the mammoth Skoda ammunition works . . . making the plant bigger than Krupps during the war.

He points out that Schneider-Creusot secured control of Skoda after the war, and continues:—

> Consummation of the scheme will give France control over all the munitions industries among its little allies.

The recent Franco-Polish oil convention, with its "extravagant privileges" for French capitalists, has been one further illustration of the dominating power possessed by French imperialism in Eastern and Central Europe.

BRITAIN AND AMERICA IN IT.

However, it is totally false to omit any consideration of the relations of British or American imperialism with European reaction, as liberal and pacifist writers on foreign affairs in this country are so accustomed to do.

British imperialism was mainly responsible, acting through the League of Nations, for the capitalist "reconstruction" of Austria, which has proved such an enormous boon for the Austrian reactionaries. It is also angling for the lead in a similar "reconstruction" of White Hungary. It has floated loans to Czecho-Slovakia. It is credited with a far from unimportant part in the Bulgarian Fascist coup. It has, as pointed out earlier in this article, relations with Czecho-Slovakian Fascism. Vickers control the Rsista armament works in Roumania. Great interest has lately been manifested in Poland, not only by financial experts like Mr. Hilton Young, but by certain big industrialists of the calibre of Mr. W. L. Hichens, of Cammell Laird.

Finally, that certain forces in American imperialism have their fingers in the pie of European counter-revolution may be seen from the recent Finnish loan, which was eagerly taken up by Wall Street. It should not be forgotten, either, that Hitler is commonly reputed to receive considerable financial assistance from American sources.

THE GATHERING NIGHT.

This, then, is the picture. Throughout Europe the counter-revolution is either the wielder of State power or has a large and increasing voice in the control of that power. Further, through its associations with the great imperialist groups, the counter-revolution in Europe appears as part of a world-historical process, the process of capitalist decline. As night falls on capitalism, the gathering forces of the world revolution are faced by the world counter-revolution.

Natives and "Bolshevism."

A NATIVE VIEW.

At a mass meeting under the auspices of the Capetown Parent Body of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa at Capetown on Sunday, December 9th last, the General Secretary, Mr. Clements Kadalie, who selected for his subject "Victory in sight," stated: "I accept on behalf of my colleagues the challenge issued by the enemies of the I.C.U., who are misleading the workers when they insist that we are the emissaries of the Bolshevists, which is far from the truth, for the very purpose to exploit their own and to serve their bosses. We answer the challenge by the fact that from all parts of the country, in spite of this diabolic misrepresentation, branches of the organisation are being opened."

And in a leading article, the "Workers' Herald," the I.C.U. organ, addressing the capitalist press, says:—

"The African Native of to-day is a new man and is therefore quite different from his forefathers whom the white man found here some two hundred years ago, and whom you duped. We would like to remind the white capitalistic press, that although you profess to have studied thoroughly, through your own experts, the African Native, you have arrived most hopelessly at a very poor conclusion of this most romantic man ever created by God. You keep on making noise in your press about Bolshevism as a dangerous doctrine, frightening the African Native. You will soon find that the so-called illiterate masses will jump in, simply for the sake of curiosity to see for themselves. The African Native has been a law-abiding person from time immemorial. No African leader will join any political movement purporting to upset any Constitution. It is not an easy matter to sway an African audience. In no time in the history of the African people of this vast Continent it is recorded of rebellion against any constituted authority, whereas we read of Cromwellian revolution in Great Britain, the formation of Republican France, and secession from Great Britain by the American Colonies in 1776. Give us what we desire, economic freedom, we must have a say in the affairs of our country, and for God's sake do not make Bolshevism as an excuse.

"Workers of this land," proceeds the article, "how long shall you halt between two ways? Your bosses have a very nice time of your labour. It is cheap and abundant. Through it it was possible to build these great cities in South Africa. You were forced to dig the earth, you brought from hell gold, diamonds, copper and coal, some piled in the Bank of England, diamonds being demonstrated throughout civilised Europe and America. Your wives and children, yourselves included, are continually sweating making the white man and woman's life so easy, practically living in a paradise, while you are condemned to live in hell. The reason why the white man's press is against the I.C.U. to-day is because we have directed you to eat that forbidden fruit in the centre of the garden. We believe that our race is just as good as any other race, if only given the same opportunity, since we were all made in the likeness of the Creator. We have never cringed to any white politician, rather we have followed our own convictions, and it is also anticipated that this journal will face strong opposition from these exploiters of the race, since we dare to call a spade a spade.

"Whatever the path may be, the forthcoming I.C.U. Congress, to open at East London as from January 17th, 1924, must determine to establish a formidable Labour Organisation, through which the African worker shall more and more win a real emancipation for himself and take his rightful place in the ranks of those who do the world's useful work."

Soviet Russia and Poland.

POLISH IMPERIALISTS SEEK TO CUT OFF GERMANY.

For the last two months and more, since the struggle of the German workers passed into its period of intense crisis, the diplomatic activities of the Russian Workers' Republic have been directed to securing unrestricted transit for Russian grain through Poland and the Border States, to the starving masses of Germany.

Comrade Kopp has been in charge, on behalf of the Soviet Union, of the negotiations with Poland. It was first reported that these negotiations were proceeding most amicably. Strangely enough, the White Polish Government was simply falling over itself in its eagerness to oblige Soviet Russia. The reason for this is clear. The great strikes in Poland, and the growing mass unrest that lay behind them, had created an internal situation of the utmost gravity for the Polish Government.

Now that the strikes have been bloodily suppressed, the Polish Government has curtly refused the demands of the Soviet Government. It is reported that negotiations have been broken off.

The Value of a "Red Label."

Mr. Crawford the other day sneered at the Russian workers for being content with "poverty under a red label." Surely his uncharity might begin at home. How well we know those penniless patriots who support the Post Office building daily without a sixpence for a meal but fulminate against those who threaten "our" Empire and will burst their ragged trousers chasing through the streets for a sight or a smell of the Prince of Wales—content with "poverty under the Union Jack." The Russian worker is still poor, though nothing like so poor as his fellow-worker in many capitalist ridden countries; but this "red label" means not only freedom from capitalist exploitation (for it is only a very small percentage of the Russian workers that are exploited for capitalist profit, and the foreign concessions in particular, when all is said and done, were described by Lenin as a mere fleabite); it means control by his own class, trade unions and Government, it means reconstruction of his—yes, his—country in the supreme interest of the producing class; it means freedom from victimisation and suppression; and it means further that he is able, with every possible facility from his own Government, to devote his national energies to the advancement of the cause not only of his fellow-countrymen but of his fellow-workers throughout the world, for that, no less, is the cause championed by his Government. Some label that, after all!

WHAT ABOUT RENEWING YOUR SUB. TO THE "INTERNATIONAL"!

Bombs in Footballs.

Another scare went West the other day when a cablegram reporting the discovery in Spain and Portugal of a revolutionary plot disguised as a football match was corrected the very next day by another, "semi-official," telling us that it was only a football match after all, and even if some of the players did "hold pronounced views," what of it? But let us carry the war into the other camp. The "Sokols" or gymnastic clubs of Hungary are notoriously counter-revolutionary political organisations. The Scouts and similar organisations are undoubtedly expected to operate against the workers' interest in times of strike. The "Most Noble Order of Crusaders," like our "Grand Order of Sons of South Africa" exists admittedly "to counteract the spread of Communistic propaganda" and the like. For that matter, what about the churches? Under the guise of "social service," are they not in effect among the most efficient instruments of service to the possessing class? Our enemies will have to explain a lot of their own before they can criticise the Workers' Sporting Associations.

The Cape Province Women's Nationalist Party is "out to fight capitalism and militarism." Good. But will they stick to this even in their dealings with native people, or will they, towards natives, find themselves after all playing the part of "capitalists and militarists"?

WHY NOT GIVE YOUR PRINTING ORDERS TO THE I.S.L. PRESS!

"The Awakening East."

The worst that could be said against the alleged anarchist who had a shot at the Japanese Prince Regent is that he was "interested in Communism." But there are apparently others in a like predicament; the Japanese Minister for Home Affairs himself is "friendly to Socialism" and Soviet Russia, and not only his but even the Premier's house is guarded against "anti-Socialist outbreaks." Coupled with this is the news of the resignation of the entire Japanese Government. It looks like a crisis of a more up-to-date kind than we have been accustomed to expect in Japan, and no doubt there are Fascists busy there too.

In India too the National Congress, like the S.A. Native National Congress at Bloemfontein the other day, advocates a Republic, and even the Saprus and Sastris are already too old-fashioned for it. Things is looking up; but in these countries not Fascism so much as good British corruption will be, and is being, relied upon to do the needful for imperialism.

Mr. Crawford twits the mine mechanics with having pleaded to the Conciliation Board that a rise of wages to them need not involve a rise to other trades. But does not Mr. Crawford himself warn the railway artisans to keep off the N.U.R.A.H.S. lest they lose their wage advantage over other railway workers? If a privilege over other workers is to be fought for at all, how do the two cases differ?

A "Fallacy."

The South African News Service of Johannesburg, a service conducted by the Transvaal Gold Mining Industry, released news to the daily press of the Union in such headlines: "Native Bolshevists visit Lovedale; Moscow Blacks at Capetown; A Sinister Campaign"; and quotes "Izwi-Lama Afrika" ("African Voice"). In its memorandum dated December 1st last it definitely states: "The fact is noted as curious that at the time of this visitation, two Blacks recently arrived from Russia, were addressing considerable meetings of Native and Coloured folks in Capetown." What a damnable fallacy!

—"The Workers' Herald."

"The Native Problem": Twaddle or Clarity?

The Crux of South African Labour Policy.

One of the subjects announced for discussion at the S.A. Labour Party Conference is the "colour bar," alias "the native problem."

"Thought Compelling" Banalities.

It is ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL FOR THE FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA at any rate, not to say the whole world, that all workers, black and white, should THINK CLEARLY on this subject, on working class lines, instead of just reeling off the jumble of confused and banal shibboleths and slogans which really conceal, and at the same time help to maintain, the bourgeois, exploiter's point of view. Many of these shibboleths and slogans are quite as current among natives—educated in bourgeois mission schools to accept their lot as divinely ordained and satisfactory; and to smother their natural sense of injustice—as among whites; but from a "Labour leader" like Mr. Arthur G. Barlow, M.L.A. for Bloemfontein, we are entitled to expect something better than what the "Friend" calls his "thought-compelling address on the native question" to the Westdene Citizens' Association a couple of weeks ago, and what the chairman called "views probably a quarter of a century ahead of his contemporaries'," so much so, it seems, that at question time he is said to have "caused everyone to think so profoundly that it was IMPOSSIBLE TO FRAME A QUESTION"!

"Equality of Opportunity."

Yes, let us admit that Mr. Barlow does not just voice the "view" of "contemporaries" like those who knocked a Johannesburg shopkeeper senseless last week for intervening on behalf of a native they were kicking to the ground; or those who froth at the mouth against the very notion of a reprieve, based on defects in the Crown case, for a native sentenced to death for rape, and even lay in wait for him outside the court to attack him in case he should be acquitted; or those low flunkey-minded types, common in the police for instance, both black and white—SEE HOW THE BLACK POLICE TREAT THEIR COMPATRIOTS AT MARSHALL SQUARE—who habitually manhandle a native as such, apparently just to reassure themselves that they are still the "superiors" of somebody; or generally the hooligan instincts of the white mob, relied on in all emergencies and FREQUENTLY CALLED INTO PLAY BY THE RULING CLASS, which with a bloodlust and mad ferocity QUITE AS SAVAGE AND BARBAROUS AS THAT ASCRIBED TO "NATIVE HORDES" THEMSELVES will on the slightest excuse plunge into a native pogrom or military massacre. We doubt indeed if even Mr. Barlow could long withstand such a "native rising" cry as successfully deterred the Johannesburg Municipal Soviet of 1919 from persevering in its task, or contributed significantly to the defeat of the strike of March, 1922; but anyway he affects a higher tone. "The only solution" he concludes "is development side by side . . . the native MUST HAVE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY."

The Equality of Lamb and Lion.

A dear old clap-trap phrase to start with; and let us see what he really means by it. "Are the white men going to govern or are the coloured?" he asks; "are we going to hold this country for the Nordic races and Christianity, or will we have to throw up the sponge and get out?"—and he leaves no doubt which he favours. "He who toils possesses," he says, but "we shall have to be careful that the black man" (who he admits is the chief toiler) "does NOT possess the country in the end." He speaks of the educated native who "works on the side of revolution to oust the white man," and instances Sol Plaatje, of all people, who "instructs his people in scientific agriculture so that they may gain back the land and by peaceful penetration and competition push out the white man." Dreadful! He speaks of the black man holding, by his vote, "the balance of political power," and, if industrially organised, "controlling the balance of power between capital and labour, and both these parties would have to truckle to him"; that is THE DANGER, he says, and the Communists, for organising the natives (we wish they were), are "the most DANGEROUS people the country can hold." "Raise the test for the vote, that is the only way to CONTROL THE NATIVE." "The country can only remain white so long as the white man keeps control of the Government AND THE RIFLE."

Commonplaces as Texts.

So much for his "equality of opportunity," which turns out to be a canting phrase to screen, if unconsciously, CALCULATED SUPPRESSION AND BLATANT INJUSTICE, INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM THE PASSIONS OF THE POGROMISTS. But we are not concerned with Mr. Barlow's consistency or honesty, but with a clear understanding on this matter; and as Mr. Barlow voices very typical commonplaces, we can usefully take him as a text.

The "Native Problem."

The "native problem" is really a bourgeois phrase, meaning the problem of how best to ensure the continued exploitation of the natives. It has no sense in the mouth of the working class, except in the sense of how to secure, in the face of great inequalities and estrangements, the common action of white with native workers for their common interests. The majority of both white and black workers have as yet not grasped the fundamental difference or rather contradiction of these two senses.

No "National Unity."

The basis of the deception is the same as that of the Labour warmongers. The "unity of the nation against the common foe" was the phrase they mouthed, though THE WHOLE BASIS OF THEIR PARTY'S EXISTENCE was the fundamental and unblinkable fact of the class struggle in every nation. They pretended that patriotism swallowed up class when, as events have proved, it was only a screen behind which TO TIGHTEN THE CHAINS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS. NOT VERTICALLY, according to your state or flag, we always showed in reply, BUT HORIZONTALLY, according to your identification with the owning and ruling or the propertiless and exploited class, was mankind divided and united, and while "unity" of capitalists and workers in a given country was essentially a lie, the unity of the workers of all lands was essentially true even across the trenches, even though under their masters' dope or compulsion they tore each other to pieces.

No "Racial Unity."

It is the same with this matter of black and white in South Africa or rather in the whole world. There is no unity of all whites, and there is no unity of all blacks. Each race contains its exploiting and its exploited class (yes, even the black race contains both, and certainly many of the leaders are nothing but tools of the exploiting class) and WE HAVE ONLY TO LOOK AT OUR RAND HISTORY OF 1922 AND 1923 TO SEE WHAT RUBBISH IT IS to talk of the united interest of the "white race" as such. What is put forward as the "white" interest is only the (white) capitalist interest. The relegation, at the bidding of this interest, of more and more thousands of whites, not being of the capitalist class, to "Kaffir level," proves if nothing else did that there is no community of interest between whites and whites but only between exploited and exploited, of whatever colour. Anyone who, like Mr. Barlow, propounds the contrary is only playing the game of the bourgeoisie and betraying the cause of the working class.

The "Swamping" Fallacy.

Hence (and indeed even if we ignore class divisions), it is fatuous to talk of "the blacks," as a whole, "swamping" "the whites," as a whole. Not only do the "whites as a whole" REPRESENT NOTHING AGAINST WHICH TO UNITE, on the contrary they consist of elements for ever mutually warring on the fundamentals of life; but the blacks as a whole have no basis of unity, NOTHING ON WHICH TO UNITE, themselves; and in fact they are hopelessly divided by language, by tribe, by degree of education and, among the political and industrial leaders, according to whether they are really serving the interest of their own people or are bribed or cajoled to play the game (like the black policeman again) of the Government and exploiting class. "See how these natives love one another." It is true that a certain "race consciousness" among all African natives, involving hostility to whites, is arising; but its value may be tested by the fact that it is CHIEFLY BOOSTED AND CONSIDERABLY ENCOURAGED BY THE RULING CLASS (or its tools or organs) which, while confident of military ability to suppress any united black movement, leaves no stone unturned TO PREVENT WORKING CLASS CO-OPERATION OF WHITE AND BLACK. It is also true that under capitalism national minorities are often subjected to oppression; but for the whites of South Africa to make their own flesh creep at the prospect of being oppressed by natives is altogether too remote! To-day, at any rate, the black races, by the million, are tools in the hands of the capitalist class, which HAS MADE A STUDY OF THE ART OF MANIPULATING THEM while THE WORKING CLASS HAS REMAINED BLIND AND IDLE in the matter. For Mr. Barlow to praise Smuts for trying "to release Europe from the stranglehold of the black man" (presumably the black troops conscripted by French militarism, although no such objection is ever raised to British Indian troops!) is a distortion too grotesque to be even "thought-compelling."

The One and Only Unity.

There is ONLY ONE UNIFIER IN THE WHOLE OF HUMAN SOCIETY, the common interest of the working class. In so far as the natives, who are supposed to be threatening to "swamp" the whites, are not pursuing this single ideal, they will continue to be split into a hundred warring and mutually neutralising camps. In so far as they do pursue the working class interest, the white workers will have nothing to fear but on the contrary EVERYTHING TO GAIN by their co-operation against the exploiting whites, the capitalists and big landlords (including a few blacks) whose cause Mr. Barlow, the Labour leader and ex-objector to a pact with Nationalist Junkers, is really espousing by his jeremiads, but whom the white working class itself, no less than the black, must nevertheless unflinchingly overthrow.

The Weaker Brethren: Enlist or Fight Them?

Such is the broad answer to all this talk of "the blacks governing the whites," which is put about by the white propertied class, playing upon the groundless fears and prejudices of the white worker, IN THEIR OWN EXCLUSIVE INTEREST. It is true that wage and other inequalities under capitalist exploitation make co-operation difficult. Well, the only policy during the course of the general working class struggle for emancipation, is the same all over the world: organise the unorganised, the cheap and undercutting worker, so as to equalise his demands with those of the organised. "Let the native compete with you" (the white), says Mr. Barlow very airily, "on an equal footing, instead of undercutting you." Certainly, but it is just Mr. Barlow who, belying his "equal opportunity" stunt, preaches everything tending to an unequal footing and denounces Communism and everything else tending to "equality of opportunity."

"White vs. Black" Spells White Decay.

But the working class MUST NOT, JUST BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF ITS TASK, RELAPSE INTO THIS INTERESTED BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY of "white versus black"—as unfortunately many still do, on the black side (where native "leaders" tumble over themselves to attend capitalist-promoted Joint Councils—hostile to a Berea reprieve agitation, by the way—and Dutch Reformed Conferences, but denounce any rapprochement with their white fellow-workers) no less than on the white. Not only is there, as we have shown, neither white unity nor black unity, but even if there were, their conflict would be insoluble, it could lead nowhere, or rather, it LEADS ONLY TO THE FURTHER ENSLAVEMENT OF THE MASSES OF BOTH RACES and in particular to the decay of the white working class. "100,000 natives are industrially organised in the I.C.U., therefore the white worker is doomed unless the colour bar is maintained," said a capitalist paper in effect the other day. WHAT IS THIS FOR AN ARGUMENT? Obviously the danger to the white worker is the competition of the UNORGANISED blacks, intensified by their exclusion from land, schools, votes and a good standard of wages; whereas the I.C.U. presumably, and the organisation of black labour generally to raise its standard and to gain those other "equal opportunities" and thus mitigate the competition, is just what alone will tend to rescue the white masses, not from "extinction" (that is another false cry, for the great mass of them cannot and do not disappear or "get out," they have to remain in the country) but from what they are really undergoing—pauperisation and degradation.

Unite to Fight the Real Enemy.

White workers, insist on clear thinking on this subject. You cannot at the same time adopt the bourgeois ideology on it, and save yourselves. "White civilisation" in the sense of WHITE DOMINATION means WHITE RUINATION so far as you are concerned. It is suicidal. The Director of Census makes no bones about it; your only salvation, he says, is to "work for less," i.e., at Kaffir wages, as many of you are already driven to do, which means, to quote Mr. Barlow's phrase, "letting the white man go to the devil." No, the only way out is the common struggle of all the underpaid for better pay, i.e., to come down to tin tacks, the destruction of capitalism which (AND NOT THE CHEAP BLACK) IS THE REAL ENEMY. A small minority, such as the white workers are by themselves, are powerless to accomplish this. ONLY THE WHOLE MIGHT OF ALL THE WORKERS can prevail against the "temporal power" of the bourgeoisie, as some of the S.A.M.W.U. have already realised. Still less is it of any use appealing, with the "Guardian," to Smuts (!) to "reverse the coloured labour policy." Only the utmost working class clarity offers a solution; and until it is generally attained, the Labour movement will CONTINUE ITS FOOTLING COURSE YEAR AFTER YEAR AND MAKE NO REAL PROGRESS either as a South African movement or as a part of the world movement for the emancipation of Labour and the establishment of a real all-round and all-in "civilisation."

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

CAPETOWN BRANCH.

Comrade Harrison, charged with selling an "International" contrary to the Sunday Observance Act (it sounds like one of those mock "Courts of Justice" on board ship) was found guilty last Friday and fined £1. The case was a clear frame-up, and of course the C.I.D. evidence of a "sale," (they actually swore that the chairman of the meeting announced that the paper WAS for sale!) in the circumstances described in last week's Cape Notes, was accepted as correct. Pier concert programmes are sold on Sundays but no one is prosecuted for that; but then they are not Communist programmes . . .

The Branch lectures have been well maintained, and for the benefit of readers elsewhere a retrospect of the current series may be given; they are hld on Thursday at 145, Long Street:—

Dec. 13, W. Green: How the workers are robbed.

Dec. 20, M. Lopes: Communism and the future of Europe.

Dec. 27, S. Buirski: Communism and the National Question:

Jan. 3, J. Nuthall: The future of Trade Unionism.

Jan. 10, H. Pereira: Communism and Prohibition.

The Branch also holds at the same place a choir practice on Mondays at 7.30, a branch meeting on Tuesdays at 8, a Social and Dance on Fridays, and an open-air meeting at the bottom of Adderley Street on Sunday evening. A Communist Sunday School is also announced.

We are not letting the grass grow in Capetown.

* * *

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

There will be a general meeting on Wednesday, January 9, at 8 p.m. This will be preceded by a Branch Executive meeting at 7 p.m.

YOUNG COMMUNIST NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG.

The next quarterly general meeting of the Johannesburg Y.C.L. will be held at 4, Trades Hall, on Tuesday, January 8, at 8 p.m. All members please roll up.

Y.W.S.A.

The Boxing Section will meet at 18a, Lovers' Walk, Fordsburg, this Sunday, January 6, at 10 a.m. All interested are welcome.

Poverty.

In monarchical countries there is poverty. But Monarchy is not the root cause of poverty, for in Republics there is poverty.

* * *

In Protectionist countries there is poverty, but Protection is not the root cause of poverty, for in Free Trade Britain there is poverty.

* * *

In non-Christian countries there is poverty, but "heathendom" is not the root cause of poverty, for in Christian countries there is poverty.

* * *

In Roman Catholic countries there is poverty, but Roman Catholicism is not the root cause of poverty, for in Protestant countries there is poverty.

* * *

When Tories are in power there is poverty, but Toryism is not the root cause of poverty, for when Liberals are in power there is poverty.

* * *

BUT, WHEREVER CAPITALISM IS IN POWER—WHETHER THE STATE BE A MONARCHY OR A REPUBLIC, WHETHER THE RULING FAITH BE CHRISTIAN OR PAGAN, CATHOLIC OR PROTESTANT, WHETHER TORIES ARE IN THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT OR LIBERALS—THERE IS POVERTY. CAPITALISM IS THE CAUSE OF POVERTY.

GET RID OF CAPITALISM.

—T.D. in "Forward."

No. 28 now ready:

The Communist International Magazine (Articles by Zinoviev, Palme Dutt, Souvarine, etc.)	1 0
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Pamphlets by Lenin, Bucharin, Losovsky, etc., etc.

JUST ARRIVED.

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Herman Cahn— Collapse of Capitalism	3 6
Capital Levy	11 0
J. Clunie— First Principles of Working Class Education	8 0

Y.C.I. LITERATURE.

"From Isolation to the Masses"—An Analytical Study of Organisation, by Richard Gyptner. Price 6d

"The Child of the Worker"—A Collection of Facts and the Remedy. Price 6d.

"Manual for Leaders of Children's Groups"—by Edith Hoernle. Price 6d.

Both obtainable from the Y.C.L., P.O. Box 2569, Johannesburg.

Notice is hereby given that the General Dealer's, Butcher's and Kaffir Eating House Business carried on by Joseph Sack on Stand No. 18, Benoni Farm, has been transferred to Luwes Suskin as from the 1st of January, 1924.

4/11/18. (Sgd.) J. SACK.

WHAT ABOUT RENEWING YOUR SUB. TO THE "INTERNATIONAL"?

This paper will be posted FOR FOUR WEEKS ONLY (a) to subscribers whose subscriptions have expired from date of expiry; (b) to persons recommended as likely subscribers.

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