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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.

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Special Number
IN
Commemoration
OF
Karl Liebknecht
AND
Rosa Luxemburg.

The Strike Prisoners are still Inside.

Make your M.L.A. Promise to Demand Their Release.

Pacifism in Power.

It is a refreshing change to get an avowed pacifist speech from a (prospective) British Premier, but it is not new, and though it is more sincere perhaps in Ramsay Macdonald's case, we must not forget that bourgeois pacifism is not only impracticable despite all its pious declarations (especially if it depends on the "League of Nations") but that a situation may well arise in the near future when it might become the duty of a working-class Government of Britain to defend the workers' revolution somewhere by force of arms. Indeed the working-class revolution is just what provides the "inflammable material" and the "embers" which Macdonald wants to "stamp out." With every hope of peace, therefore, we must neither rely too implicitly on the present British Labour Party to maintain it nor can we even desire that it be so committed to "peace" as to buy it even at the cost of a workers' defeat.

More "Native Bolshevism."

A mass meeting at Wynberg, Cape, held under the auspices of the Cape African National Congress, last week declared that "it is fully convinced of the intention of the Union Government to reduce the social, political and economic status of the aboriginal races to that of a slave, if not below, in the land of their forefathers"; that "the draft regulations under the Native Urban Areas Act are indeed a complete refutation of any lasting peace between the two races"; that "the Johannesburg-Pretoria Conference did not represent the majority opinion of the Cape native as does the Cape African National Congress"; and decided, after a careful survey of the successive legislative acts of the Government since 1913, to adopt the policy of passive resistance against the contemplated legislation making the pass laws applicable to the Cape. Copies of the resolution, with explanations, to be sent to, among others, the League of Nations.

Class War News Censorship.

With the suppression of the entire Communist activity in Germany, including its news service, we are approaching something like the same dearth of news as prevailed in the imperialist war. In those days we had to go to the "Cambridge Magazine" for anything but the dull British official war "bulletins." To-day, with the civil war cloud thickening, we get no direct news of it at all (e.g., of what is going on in Germany, though it would seem that numbers of workers are being shot down almost daily); from our own side because they are outlaws, from our enemies' because they have not the honesty to avow themselves as such and therefore to supply even their own "official" bulletins.

Fag Ends.

A necklace of pearls was recently sold in a London saleroom for £23,000.

* * *

Mrs. Dubb last week sold her bedroom stands for thirty bob in order to buy food for her children.

* * *

Furnished flats in the aristocratic quarters of London commanded a rental of four figures.

* * *

Not long ago the wife of an unemployed ex-Service man gave birth to a child in a stable.

* * *

More than half a million new houses are needed in England to-day.

* * *

Over one hundred thousand building operatives are unemployed.

* * *

Earl Nelson, descendant of Nelson of Trafalgar, draws a pension of £96 per week.

* * *

The Ministry of Pensions docked treatment allowances for ex-soldiers in an effort to economise.

* * *

The trifling sum of £80,000 is paid annually to ex-judges and ex-statesmen.

* * *

Old Dubb got the sack last week. He had been with the firm for forty-five years. He is fighting for an old-age pension.

* * *

Twenty-five per cent. of the workers' children die before they reach the age of five.

* * *

That's what the capitalists call "saving" the race!

—"The Unemployed Worker."

Labour Imperialism in Natal.

Since the reference on page 2 was written, we have the news that the measure for the disfranchisement of Indians has passed all stages in the Natal Provincial Council, and the most monstrous scandal of all about it is perhaps the fact that, as anticipated, it was voted for BY THE LABOUR MEMBERS. The excuse is made, no doubt, that Indian workers undercut European ones. Does disfranchising better that? Obviously it makes them deadlier competitors: and the real explanation is that your African white Labour Party, in the Union as in Kenya (not to say Britain), is largely a bourgeois affair after all—A PARTY TO THE VERY SUBJECTION AND EXPLOITATION OF HELOT RACES AGAINST WHOSE CONSEQUENT KILLING COMPETITION IT THEN DARES TO COMPLAIN! It has just made a pact with another slave owners' party to defeat the arch-slavers, cosmopolitan imperialists of the S.A.P.; but that done, the British and Dutch imperialists of the Pact will in their turn have to be strained off and a real working class party at last precipitated, adopting the only working class policy with such competitors, viz., to join them together, organise them to co-operate, draw them into the common movement against the exploiting class, and so at last secure a "civilised standard" for all—it is hopeless to think of being able to retain a civilised standard for one race and withhold it from another. Meanwhile, fie for shame, Natal "Labour"!

Berea Case: Scalp or Justice?

We have been asked by the Transvaal Native Congress, branch of the African National Congress, to publish the following resolution, which we are advised by the lawyer concerned is amply justified on legal grounds alone:—

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Transvaal Native Congress, held in Pretoria on 5th January, 1924, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"That the petition for the reprieve of death sentence passed on David Makinda in Johannesburg on the 7th ultimo, drawn up by Johannesburg Branch of the Transvaal Native Congress, receives the full support of the Executive and, further, that the authorities be communicated forthwith of this decision."

Benefits of Civilisation.

Mr. Ward Muir, in an article to the "World To-day" explains: "In spite of the advances in medicine, sanatoria, hospitals, 'nursing homes,' 'retreats,' and asylums are more and more crowded. Lunacy is increasing. Tuberculosis is increasing. It is significant that this increase is OBVIOUS ONLY AMONG THE 'CIVILISED RACES,' or those WHO HAVE COME INTO CONTACT WITH US. THERE ARE NO CASES OF CANCER AMONGST THE PRIMITIVE RACES."

German Famine Relief Committee.

A meeting of helpers in the house-to-house collection in aid of the above was held at the Grand Hotel, Plein Street, Johannesburg, on Monday, 7th inst., at 8 p.m. Mr. Pitman presided. It was decided to hold the first collection on Sunday, the 27th inst., and a sub-committee was appointed to carry out the general organisation.

Although quite a large number of willing helpers have already been enrolled many more are still required to ensure the success of the work undertaken, and the Committee urgently appeals to those willing to participate in the collection to get in touch with the secretary, P.O. Box 4949, Johannesburg, and to attend the rally at the Grand Hotel on Monday next, 15th inst., at 8 p.m.

A Letter from Australia.

By Comrade Fred Robertson.

It's just three months to-day since we landed in this patriotic hole. The workers are more wooden-headed-saluting-the-flag chumps than Johannesburg ever could be. Every Monday morning the State schools open proceedings by marching the scholars past and saluting the flag and singing "God Save the King." I am certain they will never learn—at least quick enough for my liking. We visited the War Museum in Melbourne at the Exhibition Buildings, and there we were beholding instruments of war in all its hideous forms—big guns, medium pieces of ordnance, tanks, rifles, masks and other horrors of manslaughter, and yet the workers believe it's still necessary to have war and kill each other. You will have noticed that the latest strike here was with the police. The outcome was rioting by the bad boys, who broke lots of glass and hooted the "Specials." All is not well with the striking police so far. The Government have dismissed 600 or more for breaking their oaths, can't be trusted in the future, nor can their word be taken in court after swearing on the Holy Bible, but even if they don't get back there are plenty of labouring jobs about as good as that they left offering for a living wage; and that's applicable to all wage slaves here. The best strike we had here is termed the "Go slow" policy and which I recommend to the unions of the world to adopt. A week of that policy took place lately on all the electric tram-cars in Melbourne, and whilst the men were drawing salary they were also winning the strike, and they have gained considerable points in dispute. They were all on the job but hours late at the termination of their shift. That's what is called solidarity. The management could not sack the lot so they had to grin and bear it. The employers must not look at the workmen here for fear they will go on strike. Three have taken place since our arrival. But the day is not far distant when the ruling class will tackle the tradesmen through their unions and smash the lot just like what friend Smuts did to the Johannesburg workers.

"Captain Levy."

In a certain London constituency much antipathy to Labour views was aroused by the legend of a "Captain Levy," alleged to be a predatory Jew who, at the instigation of the Labour Party, was ranging the country with very definite designs on the savings of individuals.

It sounds incredible, but I was myself challenged as to the motives and character of "Captain Levy," and had the greatest difficulty in assuring my interrogator that there was "no sich person."

—Labour News Service.

Mr. John Lomax, M.P.C., repudiates the suggestion that he in any way inspired or even favoured the prosecution of one of our Cape comrades for "selling" "Internationals" on Sundays, or was a party to any malevolent attacks on the Cape Communists appearing in the "Outlook." We are glad to know that this is so, and regret if we were misinformed on the matter.

Our American comrades have launched the first English Communist daily in the world—"The Daily Worker." We hope before long to receive exchange copies and judge of its merits for ourselves.

The average man, says a statistician, lives thirty years longer than he did in 1800.

We Communists don't want to be thought boastful, but frankly—

Hasn't the average man something to live for now?

The Solution of the Native Problem.

(By C. F. Glass.)

On mounting the platform of the Communist Party at the foot of Adderley Street, Capetown, last Sunday, after an absence from the Cape of nearly two years, the most pleasing (and outstanding, by contrast with the Transvaal), though by no means new, fact which drew my attention was the presence of a goodly number of native and coloured workers clustered round to listen to the message that is disseminated there each week. The spectacle of the police "moving on" any native or coloured workers who stop to listen at Communist meetings, a sight familiar to us Johannesburgers, is almost entirely absent in Cape Town.

The inroads which the coloured and native workers have made in the industrial and commercial occupations of the Cape, a large number of which (as in the Transvaal till quite recently) were some time ago almost exclusively filled by whites, are reflected in the relatively greater civil liberties which they enjoy, including the liberty to imbibe the "pernicious" doctrines of Communism.

Vestiges of the "colour bar" still persist, indeed, despite the fact that it has been rendered obsolete and foolish by economic development. It continues to exist merely as a social convention. In the main, however, the materialist conception of history formulated by Marx, the fact that the political and social superstructure of society closely conforms to and is determined by the economic substructure, is seen in its workings. The social advancement of the Cape coloured and Native workers has followed their advancement in the economic field, though perhaps more slowly and painfully. They possess the vote, are free to ride in trams or trains, to stroll on the sidewalks and in the parks, and to be supplied with intoxicants, etc. The remaining vestiges of colour prejudice are fast disappearing, being swept away by the swirling tide of economic progress. In the labour movement, both industrial and political, the advance towards a complete mutual understanding and sympathy between white, native and coloured, towards a spirit of class solidarity irrespective of race or colour, is very rapid. Non-European workers are co-equal members of Trade Unions, etc.; not that anti-colour prejudice has been less pronounced in the sphere of working-class activity here than, for instance, in the Transvaal, but because here the inroads of coloured and native workers into commerce and industry have reached a more advanced stage. The white workers have long since perceived the suicidal futility of attempting to stand alone.

This development of the working-class movement in the Cape indicates the line of development which is bound to follow in the very near future in every part of South Africa and in the Transvaal in particular. The problem of breaking down racial prejudice between the workers has appeared to us (and still does to a very large extent) a very troublous one. But if we examine carefully the progress in that direction which has taken place in the Cape, taking it, as I think we may, as the general basis and line of advance which will be followed in other parts of South Africa, we need have no fears for the future; for the inexorable law of economic progress largely solves the racial question as it affects the working-class movement, and gives us a firm basis on which to continue and consummate the welding together of all sections of the proletariat into a united fighting force.

The immediate effect of the scrapping of the "colour bar" in the Transvaal was an increase in the bitterness of the white workers against the blacks—an inevitable reaction. In course of time, however, this reaction will veer round. As in the Cape, so in the Transvaal the constant increasing contact in industry that will take place between white and black in the future will result in breaking down the mutual prejudice and a spirit of class solidarity will gradually be evolved. For the class struggle in modern society over-rides all frontiers and boundaries, batters down any prejudices that may exist between worker and worker, and binds in a common band the toilers of all lands of all colours, races and creeds.

The white workers, if they are wise, will turn their immediate attention to the task of assisting in the organisation and education of their fellow-workers with the darker skins. There are at present growing indications of a desire to do this. The white workers are beginning at last to realise that such a step is their only hope of survival.

But it would be well to bear in mind that there can be no permanent solution of this question under Capitalism. At least, the white worker can only hope to narrow the gulf between himself and the native or coloured worker. By assisting native progress, thereby reducing the cut-throat competition for jobs, he will perhaps be able to ensure his own survival. But for a lasting betterment in his condition the only course open to him is to overthrow the present system which pits worker against worker in a futile struggle and which keeps them all in a state of servitude.

What if the whites fail or refuse to see the necessity of co-operation with the blacks? Who will suffer the consequences of such blindness? Certainly not the blacks—not for very long at any rate. The native and coloured peoples to-day form the bulk of our population and also the bulk of the workers in our industries. They are learning the value of organisation. As ever greater numbers of them come into contact with industry so will they progress in other directions. They are rapidly becoming proletarianised, and not for long will they be content to be subjected and oppressed socially. They will in course of time acquire the class-conscious proletarian outlook—the Communist outlook. They are the main body of the force which in time will sweep Capitalism from the face of South Africa.

The ruling class know this, as witness their fearful outbursts when any suggestion of organising the natives is mooted. Surely, then, the white workers should understand in which direction their salvation lies! If they do not awake to a realisation of it soon they will be quickly swamped and submerged. In fact by their continued hostility towards native workers, they can be compared to Nero, who fiddled while Rome was burning.

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Five Years Ago.

THE LAST HOURS OF KARL LIEBKNECHT AND ROSA LUXEMBURG.

On Wednesday, January 15th, 1919, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered. The Burgerwehr (civil guard) of Wilmersdorf, a suburb of Berlin, raided the illegal dwelling of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and arrested and took them both to the Eden Hotel in Berlin, the Staff Headquarters of the Gardeschuetzen Division.

The murderers get to work. Their enemies are in their power. Liebknecht the Jew. Liebknecht the Spartacist, Liebknecht the agitator and rebel, the man without a country, the man who wants to level everything, the man who wants to nationalise women, the man who wants to abolish money. He, Liebknecht, is in their power.

Rosa Luxemburg is in their power. Rosa Luxemburg, the Polish Jewess, Rosa Luxemburg, the Spartacist, the agitator, the rebel, Rosa Luxemburg, Red Rosa, bloody Rosa. Rosa Luxemburg is in their power.

And the imperialist officers of the German Republic rub their hands. All is well for the murderers.

"The swine! He'll not reach Moabit (the prison) alive." "Nor Rosa."

Lt. Jaeger Runge hits Liebknecht, who sits in the automobile, twice on the head from behind with a rifle butt. He also hits Rosa Luxemburg over the head. She falls. Runge hits a second time and leaves her for dead. The automobile drives away into the night with Liebknecht, NOT in the direction of Moabit, but into the Tiergarten (a large well-wooded park in the centre of Berlin). It stops in a dark side avenue. The half-senseless man is told that the motor has broken down and is asked if he can walk. Armed soldiers bunch around him and he is led deeper into the dark wood. Then he is struck down—a shot—and somewhere in the night the wood groans.

Liebknecht is delivered to a first-aid station as an "unknown man found dead" by Lieutenant Liepmann.

Rosa Luxemburg has been dragged senseless into another car. Ober-lieutenant Vogel sits at the side of the blood-soaked woman. A man strikes her again on the head with the butt-end of a pistol. Ober-lieutenant Vogel puts his pistol to her head and blows her brains out with a bullet. They drive to the Landwehr canal and throw her dead body over the bridge into its dark waters.

The murderers make their report. "Liebknecht shot whilst attempting to escape." They write further, "Rosa Luxemburg lynched by an infuriated crowd."

The murderers arrange a drinking bout at the Eden Hotel. Their photographs are taken. They smile. They rub their hands. They are immune, no one dare touch them. All is well for murderers.

The Johannesburg Y.C.L. has arranged the following programme in connection with Liebknecht-Luxemburg day and the days immediately preceding it:—

Saturday, January 12:
MASS MEETING: At Lewis and Hill's Corner, Jeppes, 8 p.m.

Sunday, January 13:
PROCESSION WITH BANNERS. Leaves Jeppes at 2 p.m. Proceeds through Fairview, Troyeville, Bertrams, Doornfontein, Joubert Park, Hospital Hill, Braamfontein, Vrededorp, Fordsburg, and will end at the Town Hall, Johannesburg.
MASS MEETING. On the Town Hall steps at 8 p.m.

Tuesday, January 15 (Liebknecht Day):
INDOOR MEETING. At 4, Trades Hall, Rissik Street, at 8 p.m. A lecture will be given on "Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and the working class movement." There will also be recitations and music. All welcome! Seats free.

The Defence (of the Boss) Force.

The "Mail's" military correspondent, in his anxiety to reconcile the wage slave to his extra role of military slave, deals with his apprehension that the boss may sack him by way of discountenancing his absence on training. It would be an advantage to be rid of such a boss, says the correspondent; but as a matter of fact wise bosses favour the force.

"Nor is it surprising. The big manufacturer and employers of labour are not born fools. They quite realise that until humanity becomes perfect there is a chance of war, and a military defence force IS PURELY A MATTER OF INSURANCE. The LOAN of half-a-dozen or a dozen youngsters from the firm is a species of PREMIUM, a premium, moreover, which pays an immediate BONUS, it might be said, in the increased EFFICIENCY of their work."

This makes it quite clear that the "born fools" in the picture are—not the bosses at any rate! Also that "defence of the realm" means defence of the boss and his property.

How Crawford Was Received by Salt River Workers.

When Archibald Crawford succeeds in getting a hearing from the workers in any part of the country (hostile though in almost every instance those workers are) he booms and boosts the fact both in the "Star" and his "Weekly Herald" as a "triumph" for his precious "Industrial Union" and his "negotiation-conciliation" policy. When, on the other hand, the workers he attempts to address are openly hostile and refuse him a hearing he either says nothing at all about it or else satisfies himself by dubbing them "hooligans."

I visited Salt River works last week and conversed with a number of men from the different shops. Crawford, it seems, is about as "popular" there as a glass of milk at a Masonic banquet. He and Ricketts, his faithful lieutenant, got the management to let the men out half an hour before time for the purpose of addressing them on the triumph achieved in getting their wages cut by 2/- a day (how much is Crawford beloved by all sections of the employing class!).

Crawford and Ricketts mounted a truck in one of the yards, but evidently the railway workers at Salt River are so blind and stupid that they could not see the advantages of the 2/- cut and were in any case not prepared to hear them expounded by Archie. The assembled crowd, particularly the men from the boilermakers' shop, were angry and enraged and would not let Archie speak. They became very menacing. Finally, Archie had, literally, to clear for his life. He narrowly escaped a severe manhandling and a violent ducking by a fire-hose with a high pressure that was being brought into play, and he has been warned that if he values his life he should not enter the works again. Archie has said that the Salt River workers are hooligans because of the hostile reception they gave him. Well—he may thank his lucky stars he was not in Russia, where his kind are dealt with far more drastically.

C. F. GLASS.

"Free Education": for Whom?

The evasiveness of S.A.L.P. "principles" was well illustrated at its conference, where the leaders were nicely caught with a question whether their "free secondary education for all" applied to natives, or, as it might have been more appropriately put, to "ALL WORKERS." The Labour Party has always ignored the native workers, and in drawing up its programme has clearly left them entirely out of consideration. The question thus took them entirely by surprise; and when Col. Creswell in reply complained that "they were always STARTING HARES at the Conference—the clause had been in their programme for years and years," and wriggled out with a pious statement that "we should help the natives as far as our resources allow" we can hear the sigh of relief among all the delegates that in this way some excuse had been found for passing to the "next business," for none of them dared tackle the subject.

It will not do to say, with the educational wiseacres, that after all education "does more harm than good," "higher education unfits our youth for actual conditions," etc. If that applies to the black, it applies to the white perhaps more, for the future of the white worker is becoming more precarious. And if capitalist education is largely pernicious, as it is, perhaps the less of it the better, and only just enough of it should be taken to enable the scholar to read and write so that he can then be reached by proletarian education. From which it would follow that the money now spent on free secondary education for whites would be BETTER SPENT ON FREE PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR BLACKS, fitting them better to take part in the Labour Movement—THE SUCCESS OF WHICH, and not the creation of a lot of intellectual parasites, WILL HAVE TO BE MADE THE BE ALL AND END ALL of South African Labour policy.

"LABOUR" SUPPORTS HELOTAGE—FOR OTHERS.

The S.A.L.P. programme also contains what can only be called anti-Asiatic provisions, and it is reported that a bill in the Natal Provincial Council to disfranchise Indians in municipal elections by providing that only parliamentary voters may vote "will be passed without amendment"—i.e., the Labour members will support it. Admitted, the majority of Natal workers are voteless as it is; still, HOW IN THE NAME OF LABOUR can the S.A.L.P. face the world Labour movement with such a policy of helotage?

Our Navy.

The "Cape Argus" offers, as a new attraction, prizes for brief sketches sent in by their readers and called "What I saw" or "What I heard" as the case may be "In Adderley Street."

As the following incident which I saw and heard would not suit their policy, I thought it might serve in "The International" as a straw to show which way the wind blows. Walking along the Capetown Pier yesterday behind three of "our" British sailors, who had to all appearances been indulging pretty freely, we saw one of them lurch forward to pick up a paper flag, probably dropped by a reveller the night before, and as he staggered along waving it, he sang in perfect tune "We'll keep the Red Flag flying here"! If a drunken man's speech is a sober man's mind the Navy is getting on, and we may hope soon to be able to write OUR Navy without inverted commas.

A. E. HARRISON.

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

More Brass Check.

Last week we quoted the "Workers' Herald's" denial of the story about "black Bolshevists" visiting Lovedale and Fort Hare, and "two blacks recently arrived from Russia" addressing meetings of natives and coloured folk in Capetown.

This story has gone the rounds of the South African press, with IDENTICAL EMBELLISHMENTS in every case, for example: "Whether they went there as agents of Tom Mann remains to be seen. Communists are very clever propagandists. . . The principles they enunciated have been vigorously challenged by a moderate section of the coloured community led by one Nyombolo," etc., etc.

All this is now again artlessly quoted by the "Mail" as a "significant announcement" by "Die Boere Koerant," the official organ of the Transvaal Agricultural Society, in its issue of the 2nd inst.; and, says the "Mail," "'Die Boere Koerant,' which is published in Pretoria, quotes the native paper 'Izwilama Afrika' in support of its statements."

But as a matter of fact, the disseminator of the "statements" is not just "Izwilama Afrika" (the organ, we believe, of "one Nyombolo") at all, but THE TRANSVAAL CHAMBER OF MINES, of Box 1162, 'phone 4164, and appropriate telegraphic address. The Chamber's "news" service consists of bulletins periodically "released" to all "approved" newspapers in South Africa (we hasten to state that the "International" does not receive them) and possibly overseas also. (It will be remembered that the Chamber of Mines Recruiting Department is also responsible for the "native" paper "Umteteli Wa Bantu," the self-styled "mouthpiece of the Native Peoples"; and it might turn out that there is SOMETHING IN COMMON EVEN BETWEEN THE CHAMBER AND "IZWILAMA AFRIKA.")

The bulletin in question is as follows:—

"FOR FAVOUR OF PUBLICATION.

"Please address all Enquiries to "The South African Industrial News Service," P.O. Box 1162, Johannesburg.

"The Editor of the News Service will be glad to forward more detailed information regarding the items contained on this News Sheet should you desire it.

"Telegraphic Address: "Bullion," Telephone No. 4164.

"These items are circulated by the South African Industrial News Service, which is an information office established with a view to the dissemination of accurate and reliable information regarding Industrial Matters, and particularly in regard to questions affecting Labour conditions. The service is conducted by the Transvaal Gold Mining Industry.

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"NATIVE BOLSHEVISTS VISIT LOVEDALE.

"MOSCOW BLACKS AT CAPETOWN.

"A SINISTER CAMPAIGN.

"The fact that a serious attempt is being made to inculcate the principles of Bolshevism among the Natives of South Africa, is sometimes doubted by whites living away from the main centres of activity.

"That the menace is real is instanced by the fact that the native paper 'Izwi-Lama Afrika' publishes the following under date November 13th:—

"'From an authoritative source we have it that certain black Bolshevists visited Lovedale and Fort Hare a few days ago. Whether they went there as agents of "Comrade" Tom Mann, the Bolshevist, or to plan another upheaval, remains to be seen. Communists are very clever propagandists, and as Lenin says, "The time has come for a revolution." Only two years ago, owing to the red flag, that institution experienced an unfortunate upheaval.'

"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 folk in Capetown.

"The principles they enunciated have been vigorously challenged by a moderate section of the coloured community, led by one Nyombolo, but it is undeniable that not only have they obtained converts to their views, but that either they or their agents are touring the Cape Province, as a preliminary, possibly, to stumping the country."

Any reader who is curious on the subject should apply to the Editor of the News Service for "more detailed," "accurate and reliable information" as invited. We can tell him in advance, however, that we know nothing of "two blacks recently arrived from Russia," and we should probably know if there were any "sich persons," while the allusion to Tom Mann, who presided at the I.C.U. Conference last January, may indicate a visit to Lovedale by some member of that Union (to which, by the way, "Izwilama Afrika" seems very hostile); but we fear its members would be the first to repudiate the title of "Bolshevist."

However, after all, "'tis untrue, 'tis pity, and pity 'tis, 'tis untrue."

Anyhow, the ruling class always has the TWO STRINGS TO ITS BOW, FORCE AS WELL AS FRAUD. According to the "military correspondent" of the "Rand Daily Mail," the registration returns for the Defence Force are

> "more satisfactory than ever, when something of the official uneasiness with regard to the spread of Bolshevist tendencies in outlying native districts is understood, not that they are really nervous (the existence of our splendidly equipped and manned Air Force is sufficient to upset any sudden movement), but, very rightly, they would prefer not to have to envisage the possibility of any movement at all."

So even if the bulletin is true, Fat still sleeps comfy o' nights, and will continue to do so until someone like the S.A.M.W.U. or I.C.U. or S.A.N.N.C., or all of them together, take steps to disturb him.

Open Letter to British Labour Party

(Published by the National Administrative Council of Unemployed, Great Britain.)

We write this on the eve of the poll. It is impossible to foretell the result, but we hope, with you, for a Labour victory.

The whole strength of our organisation has been thrown into the fight to secure this end. No other body has worked more determinedly or enthusiastically than the N.U.W.C.M. All other activities have been set aside, all differences shelved, in order to concentrate on securing the return of a Labour Government.

OUR STAND FOR A UNITED FRONT.

Our object in doing so has been clearly stated. It is not because we endorse your programme; we have examined it and found it hopelessly inadequate. It is not because we believe a Labour Government will solve the unemployed problem: we are under no illusion on that score. It is because we realise the vital need for WORKING CLASS UNITY to defeat the united forces of reaction.

WE FOUGHT ALONE.

We have existed as an organisation for three years. We were compelled to so organise BECAUSE OF YOUR INDIFFERENCE to our needs. For three years we have fought the battle of the unemployed alone. We have received little or no assistance from you as a National Party or from the trade unions as national bodies. We have been treated as outcasts, as objects of charity, and even when we requested permission to state our case at Labour Conference, we have been heard merely ON SUFFERANCE.

AND ACHIEVED SUCCESSES.

We have been forced to fight unaided, and despite that have achieved some measure of success. The condition of the unemployed to-day, bad as it is, is infinitely better than it would have been had our organisation not been in existence. We have done more. We have RAISED THE STATUS OF THE UNEMPLOYED and swung them INTO LINE WITH OTHER SECTIONS OF THE WORKERS in their struggle. We have striven to prevent blacklegging and have done our utmost to PREVENT THE UNEMPLOYED BEING USED TO WORSEN THE CONDITIONS of those in employment.

WE NOW DEMAND SUPPORT.

But we have now reached a stage when we must have the full co-operation of the employed workers. The problem of unemployment has now become so acute that you yourselves have been compelled to make it as you say "THE SUPREME ISSUE of the election." It is a problem FOR THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS, not merely for the unemployed. On its solution THE FATE OF THE WORKING CLASS depends.

YOUR PROPOSALS NO SOLUTION.

We do not think you can solve the problem on your programme. We see little material difference between your proposals and those of the capitalist parties. You propose schemes for afforestation, transport development, land reclamation, etc. So do the Liberal and Conservative Parties. The difference is only one of degree. You propose to spend more money, that is all. And at the best these are not proposals to abolish unemployment. They are merely relief schemes and leave the root of the problem untouched.

So with the Capital Levy. You propose to use it to reduce the National Debt. National Debt, forsooth! IT IS NOT OUR DEBT. We did not borrow the money. It was borrowed from the Employers by the Employers' Governments TO FINANCE THE WORK OF THE EMPLOYERS. Why should a Labour Party trouble about the National Debt, EXCEPT TO REPUDIATE IT?

CONFISCATE THE LOT.

A capital levy by all means. But if you are going to solve the problem of unemployment the levy will have to be made big enough to include ALL THE CAPITAL IN THE COUNTRY. And that is the root of the problem.

If you are going to abolish unemployment, if you are going to provide decent conditions for the workers, then you will have to go much further than you propose. You will require to confiscate THE LAND, THE MACHINERY AND ALL THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. You will require to get rid of Capitalism, lock, stock and barrel. You will require to set up a REAL WORKERS' GOVERNMENT—a government which will not hesitate to establish a dictatorship of the working-class.

Are you prepared to do this? We of the unemployed have long recognised that this is the only solution. We are prepared to back you in this to the full, if you are prepared to lead. We demand that you do lead; if not, then we demand that you clear out of the road and make way for those who can and will.

—"The Unemployed Worker."

"Order is Established in Berlin."

The Last Article Written by Rosa Luxemburg (Murdered 15th January, 1919.)

The following is the last article of Rosa Luxemburg written the day before her brutal murder and published in the "Rote Fahne" on the actual day of the crime.

"Order is established in Warsaw," reported Minister Sebastiani in 1831 to the Paris Chamber when, after the terrible storming of the suburb of Praga and the taking of Warsaw, the soldier gangs of Paskievitsch commenced their hangmen's work amongst the rebels.

"Order is established in Berlin!" triumphantly announces Ebert, announces Noske, announce the officers of the "victorious troops" to whom the Berlin petty bourgeois mob waved their handkerchiefs and hurrahed! The glory and honour of the German arms are saved before the world! The defeated of Flanders and the Argonne have re-established their reputation by their GLORIOUS VICTORY—OVER THE THREE HUNDRED SPARTACISTS at the "Vorwaerts" building. The days of the first glorious invasion of Belgium by German troops, the days of General von Emmich, the conqueror of Luttich, pale into insignificance before the deeds of Reinhard and his comrades in the streets of Berlin. The massacre of the delegates sent out to negotiate the surrender of the "Vorwaerts," the delegates who were beaten unrecognisable with rifle butts by the soldiers of the government so that the identification of the bodies was impossible; the prisoners who were put against a wall and murdered in such a manner that skulls were smashed and brains scattered—who would remember, in the face of such glorious deeds, the shameful defeats before the French, the English, and the Americans? "Spartacus" is the enemy, and Berlin is the place where our officers know how to fight; and Noske, the "worker," is the general who knows how to succeed where Ludendorff has failed.

BOURGEOIS PROWESS.

Who does not remember at this time the victory madness of the "law and order" gang in Paris, the bacchanal of the bourgeoisie over the bodies of the fighters of the Commune, the same bourgeoisie who had just previously miserably capitulated before the Prussians, surrendered their capital city to the foreign foe and themselves fled LIKE THE COWARDS THEY WERE? But against the half-starved and badly armed proletariat of Paris, against their defenceless wives and children—how did the manly courage of the sons of the bourgeoisie, of the "golden youth," of the officers recover itself! How did the bravery of the sons of Mars, which had so drooped before the external enemy, recover itself in bestial atrocities on the unarmed, on the prisoners, on the dead!

"Order is established in Warsaw!" "Order is established in Paris!" "Order is established in Berlin!" So run the reports of the defenders of "order" every half century from the one centre of the world historical fight to the other. And the joyous "victors" do not understand that an "order" which requires periodical and bloody massacres for its maintenance INEVITABLY APPROACHES ITS HISTORICAL FATE—COLLAPSE. What was the last "Spartacus Week" in Berlin, what were its causes, what does it teach us? In the middle of the fight, in the middle of the victory howl of the counter-revolution, the revolutionary proletariat must draw up a reckoning of the happenings, must calculate events on the grand historical scale. The revolution has no time to lose, it still thunders on—over still open graves, over "victories" and "defeats" towards its final end. To follow its directing lines, its path, consciously is the first task in the fight for international socialism. . . .

AN IMMATURE REVOLUTION.

Was a final victory of the proletariat in this battle, was an overthrow of the Ebert-Scheidemanns and an establishment of the socialist dictatorship to be expected? Absolutely not, when one carefully considers all the factors which decide the problem. The weak spot of the revolutionary movement in this time—the POLITICAL IMMATURITY OF THE MASS OF THE SOLDIERS who allowed themselves to be misused by their officers for counter-revolutionary action against the people—is alone a proof that a lasting victory for the revolution in this conflict is impossible. The immaturity of the soldiers was merely a symptom of the GENERAL IMMATURITY OF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION.

ECONOMIC STRUGGLE UNDEVELOPED.

The countryside, from which is drawn a great percentage of the soldiers, is now as before hardly touched by the revolution. Berlin is still as good as isolated from the rest of the country. It is true that in the provinces the revolutionary centres—the Rhineland, the north coast, Braunschweig, Saxony, Wurttemberg—are heart and soul with the Berlin proletariat. But uniformity of action would have rendered the attack of the Berlin working class and their ability to strike incomparably more effective. Furthermore, the deeper reason for the political unpreparedness of the revolution, THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE, the actual volcanic source which continually feeds the revolutionary class struggles, is yet in its opening stages.

A PROVOKED CONFLICT.

One could not have expected a lasting victory at this time. Then was the struggle of the last week a "mistake"? Yes, if it were an intentional advance or a so-called "Putsch." What was, however, the commencement of the last fighting week? As in all previous cases, as on the 6th of December, as on the 24th of December, it was a BRUTAL PROVOCATION ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT. Like the bloodbath given to the unarmed demonstration in the Chausseestrasse, like the massacre of the sailors, so this time, an attempt against the Berlin Police Headquarters was the reason for all subsequent events. THE REVOLUTION DOES NOT OPERATE FREELY, IN AN UNHINDERED SPACE, ACCORDING TO A CAREFULLY WORKED OUT STRATEGICAL PLAN. The enemy also have initiative in the matter, usually much more than the revolutionists themselves.

Confronted with the fact of the insolent provocation of the Ebert-Scheidemanns, the revolutionary working class was forced to take up arms. The HONOUR OF THE REVOLUTION DEMANDED the immediate repulse of the attack with all energy, otherwise the counter-revolution would have been encouraged to further attacks, and the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat, and the moral credit of the German revolution in the International, shaken.

The immediate opposition came spontaneously and with such natural energy from the Berlin masses that from the first the moral victory lay with the "streets."

A TRIAL OF STRENGTH.

It is an axiom of the revolution never to remain in inactivity after the first successful step. The best manifestation of power is a heavy blow. This elementary rule of struggle dominates especially every step of the revolution. It is natural, and is proof of the healthy instincts and of the fresh power of the Berlin proletariat, that it did not content itself with the reinstatement of Eichhorn, but that it spontaneously occupied the most powerful posts of the counter-revolution—the bourgeois press buildings, the buildings of the semi-official news service and the "Vorwaerts" building. All these measures resulted from the instinctive knowledge of the workers that the counter-revolution WOULD NOT REMAIN INACTIVE UNDER ITS DEFEAT BUT WOULD FORCE A GENERAL TRIAL OF STRENGTH.

DOWN THE GOVERNMENT!

Here we stand before one of the great historical laws of the revolution, against which all the pedantic clevernesses of the little "revolutionists" of the Independent Social-Democratic Party, who in each fight merely search for pretexts to retreat, are wrecked. Immediately the basic problem of the revolution is defined—and in this revolution it is THE OVERTHROW OF THE EBERT-SCHEIDEMANN GOVERNMENT AS THE FIRST HINDRANCE FOR THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM—it confronts us again and again in all its actuality in every single episode of the fight, be the revolution never so unready for its solution, be the situation never so unripe. "Down with the Ebert-Scheidemanns!"—this slogan confronts us in every revolutionary crisis as the only exhaustive formula in all partial conflicts, and through its own inner objective logic, whether one will or not, it FORCES EVERY EPISODE OF THE FIGHT TO ITS UTMOST POINT.

"WE FALL TO RISE."

This contradiction between the sharpening of the task and the lack of the preliminary conditions for its solution in the opening phases of the revolutionary development has this result, that the partial struggles of the revolution formally end with defeats. THE REVOLUTION IS THE ONLY FORM OF WAR—THIS IS ITS SPECIAL AXIOM—IN WHICH THE FINAL VICTORY CAN ONLY BE PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF DEFEATS.

What does the whole history of modern revolution and of socialism show? The first outbreaks of the class struggle in Europe—how did they end? The revolt of the Lyons silk weavers ended in a heavy defeat. The Chartist movement in England ended in a defeat. The revolt of the Paris proletariat in June, 1848, ended with a crushing defeat. The Paris Commune of 1971 ended in a terrible defeat. The whole path of socialism, as far as revolutionary fights are concerned, is paved with defeats.

And yet this same history leads inevitably, step by step, to the final end! Where should we be to-day without these "DEFEATS" FROM WHICH WE HAVE DRAWN OUR HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE, KNOWLEDGE, POWER, IDEALISM? To-day, when we are near the final struggle of the proletarian class wars, we base ourselves on these defeats, with none of which we can dispense; each one is a part of our strength and understanding.

THE PARLIAMENTARY CONTRAST.

With the revolutionary struggle it is exactly contrary to parliamentary struggle. We had in Germany, through four decades of parliamentary action, gone from victory to victory, and in the great historical trial of August 4th, 1914, the result was AN ANNIHILATING MORAL AND POLITICAL DEFEAT, an unheard-of collapse, an unparalleled bankruptcy. The revolution has brought us till now only defeats; but these inevitable defeats accumulate GUARANTEE ON GUARANTEE FOR A FUTURE VICTORY.

OBJECTIVE OR SUBJECTIVE DEFEAT?

Of course it all depends under what circumstances the defeats have been suffered, whether they resulted from the pressure of the advancing masses against the limits of immature historical preliminary conditions, or whether the defeats of the revolutionary actions were caused through half-heartedness, indecision or internal weaknesses.

Classic examples for both cases are on the one hand the French February Revolution and on the other the German March Revolution. The heroic action of the Paris proletariat in 1848 has become A LIVING SOURCE OF CLASS ENERGY for the whole international proletariat. The poverty of the German March Revolution has DRAGGED UPON THE WHOLE MODERN REVOLUTION LIKE A MANACLE. It has affected the history of the official German social-democracy right down to the present dramatic crisis.

BOTH!

How does the defeat of "Spartacus Week" appear in the light of the above historic problem? Did it result from the pressure of the advancing masses against the limits of the immature situation or did it arise from the weaknesses and half-heartedness of the action?

BOTH! The double character of this fight, the contradiction between the powerful and determined offensive attitude of the Berlin masses and the indecision, hesitation and half-heartedness of the Berlin leaders are the special characteristics of this episode.

The leaders have failed. But LEADERS CAN AND MUST BE NEWLY CREATED OUT OF THE MASSES and by the masses. The masses are the deciding factor, they are the rock on which the final victory of the revolution is based. The masses were on the heights, they have forged this "defeat" as a link in the chain of those defeats that are the pride and the strength of international socialism. And therefore the future victory will spring from this "defeat."

"Order is established in Berlin!" You fools! Your "order" is built on sand! To-morrow the revolution will arise again majestic and to your terror announce with a voice of thunder:—

I WAS, I AM, I SHALL BE!

An 'African Labour Federation.'

Among the agenda of the "First African Labour Congress," as the "Workers' Herald" calls it, being the fourth annual conference of the "I.C.U." (Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa), we notice the following:—

"10. Developing the I.C.U. into an African Labour Federation.

"15. To consider the advisability of having representatives on Provincial and Municipal Governments in the Cape Province on behalf of the African Workers.

"17. Congress to appoint delegate, whose name to be submitted to the Union Government, to press for delegation at the International Labour Conference."

There are even more important tasks than these to be tackled by any bona fide native organisation in South Africa; for instance, the organisation of the native workers in the big industries, on the lines of industry; and again, the establishment of contact with any similar organisation in other parts of the African continent, and for that matter in America and other parts of the world, if such can be found; and again, the education of the South African native workers in the past and present history and meaning of the Labour movement all over the world; and finally the linking up of the native labour organisations with the European, both locally and internationally.

We are without information as to whether the I.C.U. is a fit and proper body to attempt these tasks. But we certainly know of no other body at present available. The S.A. Native National Congress, which might have functioned, is at present dominated by instruments, conscious or unconscious, direct or indirect, of the ruling class which, while the white workers have remained indifferent and contemptuous, has been sleeplessly busy, through missionaries or otherwise, corrupting the intelligence, and allegiance to his people's interest, of one native "leader" after another.

(What could be more unnatural, in passing, than for Mr. Sol Plaatje, returned from a world tour and expected to figure as a leader of the blacks to emancipation, to go out of his way at one of the first appearances here to repudiate with indignation the very idea of a reprieve for his fellow-countryman sentenced to death in connection with the Berea case?)

As a result, the co-operation of all sections of the South African working class "irrespective of colour," which we hold vital to the ultimate success of the Labour movement in South Africa, is becoming daily and hourly more difficult.

How Sandringham House was Saved.

Bit by bit we get the real story of the war. A correspondent sends us the following illuminating excerpt from Colonel Rawlinson's book, "The Defence of London, 1915-1918." The Colonel was instructed to defend Sandringham House from Zeppelin attacks:—

The assumption was that the enemy was searching for Sandringham House, where Queen Alexandra was in residence. Accordingly, a defence system was established, consisting of two guns and a searchlight, so placed "as not only to give no indication of the actual position of the house, but also if possible to lead the enemy to conclude that the special point the guns were there to defend was situated in quite another direction." The guns and searchlight were, therefore, placed to form a triangle. Sandringham House was outside the triangle, but a village was within the triangle. The supposition was that "the enemy would conclude that the house was probably within the triangle. . . . It was interesting to note that our assumption as to the enemy's probable line of thought proved perfectly correct. For when, later on, a Zeppelin did attack and the light was switched on and both guns came into action, the enemy assumed confidently that his objective lay within the triangle formed by the guns and searchlight, and no bombs were therefore dropped in the immediate vicinity of the house. The village, however, which lay some little distance away within the triangle formed by the guns and searchlight, suffered considerably." Five bombs were dropped. "These seriously damaged a group of cottages and their occupants. The cottages in the dark were doubtless mistaken by the enemy for Sandringham House."

Only a village! Only men and women and babies of the working class in the village! But the mansion of a great lady, with £70,000 a year from the taxes, was saved! —"Forward."

Scabbing Prohibited.

(By Wal Hannington, National Organiser N.U.W.C.M., in "The International Seafarer.")

What is the National Unemployment Workers' Committee Movement? This is a question which many English-speaking persons living outside Great Britain may ask. It can be termed a new appendage to the working class movement of Great Britain, as an organisation which to-day is playing a very important role in all industrial disputes.

It arose from the abnormal conditions of unemployment that commenced in England in 1920 and which still show no sign of abating.

When the Movement first started it consisted of a mass of local organisations having no connecting link with each other, based upon charity-mongering and having no idea of policy or objectives.

A few comrades in the revolutionary movement realised that there were wonderful potentialities about the movement if only it could be educated to drop the charity-mongering and agree to the construction of a real class-conscious organisation with its district, divisional, and national connections.

First a London District Council of Unemployed was formed, and from here the seeds for a national movement were sown which bore fruit in 1921 when the first National Conference of delegates from unemployed committees throughout Britain was held in April at the International Socialist Club, London.

For three days the delegates hammered out a revolutionary policy for the unemployed organisation. Among other aims they put forward a slogan of "Work or Full Maintenance at Trade Union Rates," and with this slogan the unemployed rose as one body, marching in thousands to the Guardians in every locality demanding the "Right to the Work or the Right to Live." Out of sheer fear, the local authorities began paying unprecedented scales of relief to the unemployed.

Since that time the movement has made great strides forward, and as a result of persistent revolutionary propaganda, carried on through regular meetings and the distribution of literature amongst the unemployed, the Movement has engaged in many new phases of activity besides the demand for full maintenance.

I will here only mention one, which I think will be of interest to the Seamen; that is the great part played by the organised unemployed, to-day, in all industrial disputes.

When any section of workers are engaged in a dispute with the employers, whether on strike or locked-out, we have the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement coming into the struggle and providing mass pickets for the strikers. Although in our "land fit for heroes to live in" mass picketing is illegal, nevertheless the unemployed have not hesitated to take it up wholeheartedly, much to the consternation of the boss class, and for this activity the movement has rightly earned for itself the label of Blackleg-proof.

When we think of this and reflect upon what used to be in previous periods of slump and trade depression, when the unemployed were extensively used as a threat by the employers to the detriment of their fellow-men, we must frankly admit the organising of the unemployed has not been in vain.

Apart from the knowledge of industrial history, bitter experience itself has shown the worker how in the old periods of unemployment the boss always successfully played upon the poverty, demoralisation and misery of the unemployed, using it as a lever with which to reduce the standard of living of the whole working-class.

Of course we cannot deny that this still continues to an extent. But during the last 18 months, where the Trade Unions have made a stand and have suffered defeat, it has certainly not been due to scabbing by the unemployed; on the contrary the organised unemployed have become a powerful factor on the side of the workers, much to the displeasure of the boss and the fear of any spineless cuss who felt tempted to scab on his mates.

The attempts of the employing class to use the army of surplus labour as a weapon against the employed, is not only confined to the workers on shore, but is equally applicable to the men of the sea. Therefore to the organised seamen we willingly extend the right hand of comradeship and pledge curselves to assist you to the utmost of our power when you are engaged in a struggle with the Shipping Companies, whose shareholders and directors wax fat on the profits extracted from the toil of you who risk your lives on the ocean.

We know only too well that our organisation is not yet perfect, but we hope, with the support of our fellow-trade unionists, to do much more than we have already done.

Unemployment we know to be an inevitable product of Capitalism. But the advent of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement opens a new page in working-class history, giving hope and encouragement to the workers in their daily struggles for existence: struggles which we know will continue until the workers on land and sea, irrespective of creed, colour, sex or nationality, rise in their might, as the Russian workers have done, and march forward over the putrid corpse of capitalism, towards the goal of working-class emancipation into the new social era that shall be based upon the common ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution, in the interests of the toiling masses.

Man Does Not Live by Politics Alone.

(By L. Trotzky.)

[The ideas in this article have, in the capitalist press, been distorted into a show of identity with the capitalist commonplaces of "produce more," "work harder," etc. The difference in the effect of these slogans when applied for the benefit of capitalist bosses and for that of a workers' state is obvious. Conf. Trotzky's advice is applicable, of course, primarily to Russia at present.—Ed.]

We have got to soak ourselves thoroughly in this simple idea—"man does not live by politics alone"—and never forget it in our propaganda, written or spoken. Formerly, things were different. The history of our Party before the revolution was one of revolutionary politics. Its literature, its organisation—the whole of the Party in fact—was political in the most direct, immediate, and narrow sense of the word. Now that we have conquered power and gripped it firmly by civil war, our fundamental duties are changed; they are to be found within the boundaries of economic and cultural construction; they have become complicated, fragmentary, and scattered, and, in some ways, more "prosaic."

THE GAINS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Actually, what is it that the working class has gained by its previous struggles?

(1) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat (exercised by the Workers' and Peasants' State and directed by the Communist Party).

(2) The Red Army, the material support of this dictatorship.

(3) Nationalisation of the most important instruments of production, without which the dictatorship of the proletariat would be a meaningless formula.

(4) Monopoly of Foreign Trade, the necessary condition for Socialist construction in a country encircled by capitalist States.

OUR NEW TASK.

What then is our present task? What ought we to learn first? What should our aims be?

We have got to learn to work well, punctually, neatly, economically. We need culture in work, culture in life, culture in our habits.

Of this change in the orientation of our attention and our efforts Lenin has written in an article on "Co-operation":

> I would be prepared to say that we should lay all emphasis on cultural work if we were not compelled to fight for our international position. Putting that aside for the moment, and limiting ourselves to internal economic relations, we can truly say that we now emphasise mainly work that may be described as cultural.

The most important factor in our international situation is the defence of our State: that is, above all, the Red Army. But here again nine-tenths of our task is cultural: we have to raise the culture of the army, assure its education, teach it to use notebooks, textbooks, and maps, and to develop the habits of cleanliness, punctuality, exactitude, attention, and vigilance.

POLITICS AND POLITICS.

When Lenin says that our present tasks lie more in the region of culture than in that of politics, it is necessary, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, to pause a moment and consider these terms. In a certain sense politics dominate everything. Even Lenin's advice—to transfer our attention from politics to culture—is political advice. When a Workers' Party decides, in one country or another, that it is necessary to put forward in the forefront of its programme demands which are economic and not political, even this decision is political in character. It is quite obvious that THE WORD "POLITICS" IS USED HERE IN TWO DIFFERENT SENSES: first in the wide sense of dialectical materialism, embracing the totality of all the ideas, methods, and dominant systems that give direction to the activities of a community in all the spheres of social life; and then in a narrow and special sense, as applied to one definite side of the activities of a society, closely bound up with the fight for power and contrasting with economic and cultural work, etc.

The Communist organisation is a political party in the historical or philosophical sense of the word. The other parties are above all political in that they concern themselves with the (lesser) "politics." It is only after long years of socialist work, crowned by success, within Russia, and of complete security in foreign affairs, that a Party like ours will be able, little by little, to divest itself of its shape as a party, TO DISSOLVE ITSELF IN THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

HITS AND MISSES OF BOURGEOIS TRADITION.

One might say that the greater the history of a country, the greater is that of its working class, the richer it is in memories, traditions, habits, old groupings of forces—and THE MORE DIFFICULT IT IS TO FORM FROM IT A REVOLUTIONARY UNITY.

Our Russian proletariat has little history or tradition behind it and this certainly facilitated its preparation for revolution in the Red October. But the same fact has since hindered its work of economic construction. Most of our workers lack the simplest habits and abilities of culture (the power to read, to write, to keep healthy, to be punctual). The European worker has had a long time in which to acquire these habits in bourgeois society; that is why the higher grades of European Labour hold so tightly to the bourgeois order, to democracy, to the capitalist free Press, and other benefits of this sort. Our backward Russian bourgeoisie has scarcely given anything of this sort to the workers; that is why the Russian proletariat has more easily broken with the bourgeoisie and overthrown it. But for the same reason it is forced for the most part to win and accumulate only now (i.e., on the basis of the workers' Socialist State) the simplest habits of culture.

SOVIET CULTURE IS DIRECTLY SOCIALIST.

The revolutionary armour covering our new society—the dictatorship, the Red Army, nationalisation, and the foreign trade monopoly—GIVES AN OBJECTIVELY SOCIALIST CHARACTER TO ALL DELIBERATE AND CONSCIENTIOUS EFFORTS IN ECONOMICS OR CULTURE. In bourgeois society the worker was always enriching the bourgeoisie without intending to and without thinking of it—enriching the more as he worked harder! In the Soviet State, the good, conscientious worker, even without thinking of it (if he is non-party or non-political), is doing Socialist work as he increases the resources of the working class.

THE "NON-POLITICAL WORKER."

How can this be achieved? It is difficult to get in touch with this type of workman along the lines of pure politics. He has heard all we have to say. He is not interested. He thinks in terms of his work-place and he is not too pleased with all that is happening at present at his work-place in the shop, in the factory, in the Trust.

The political philosophy of this productive worker may be expressed—although it is only rarely that he himself gives it expression—in formulae of this sort:—

"The revolution, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, that is all clear and definite; we do not need the bourgeoisie or their agents the Mensheviks. The liberty of the Press is not of much importance. All this is not the point. But how are we going to get on with production? You, the Communists, have set yourselves out to direct it. Your aims, your projects, are good, excellent, we know; it is not worth while repeating all this to us. We have heard you before on this; we agree, we support you—but how are you going to get there in practice? We put up with the crimes of the bourgeoisie and we can well be patient with the mistakes of the revolution. But not patient for ever, all the same . . ."

We cannot approach this worker on the political side, or at least we cannot in that way touch him very profoundly, but we can and we must reach him through production itself and through technical skill.

SOCIALIST TECHNIQUE.

(After a sketch of the sort of technical manuals required for the Soviet skilled worker, Com. Trotzky proceeds:)

A diversity of methods can and should be employed to win the non-political producers. We need scientific and technical periodicals, and special ones for each industry, issued weekly or monthly; we need scientific and technical societies designed to attract the worker of whom we are speaking. A good half of our trade union press ought to be intended for him. But the most convincing political argument in the eyes of the class of worker we are trying to get hold of will be furnished by every practical success in production, by every real improvement in the conditions of the factory and workshop, and by every deliberate effort made by the Party in this direction.

THE EFFICIENCY OF YOUTH.

This orientation towards the sound workman does not clash with another of the foremost tasks of our Party: to win over the younger generation of workers. For the younger generation is growing up on the basis that our solution of the main problems gives to it. The younger generation ought before all to be a generation of sound workers, highly skilled and keen on their work. It ought to grow up in the knowledge that its productive labour is also a work of Socialism. For this reason the orientation of our efforts towards the sound, skilful, and conscientious worker is also the direction we must take in educating the youth of the working class. Without it the advance towards Socialism will be impossible.

Light on the Melbourne Police Strike.

This strike resulted in defeat. About 600 men have been dismissed from the Force, and what is worse the Government have passed a most tyrannous Act by means of which demonstrations by strikers can be suppressed. Mr. A. W. Foster, who is described as the most "efficient legal watchdog" for the toilers of Melbourne, has issued words of grave warning with regard to the Public Safety Preservation Act passed by the Victorian Parliament. The real motive of this Act, he said, was to enable the Cabinet to deal with industrial unrest. This was made sufficiently clear when the Trades Hall Disputes Committee proposed to call a conference of the key industries, whereupon the Chief Secretary (Dr. Argyle) stated that the ample powers under the Act would be used to deal with ANY THREAT OF INDUSTRIAL ACTION. "We may take it," says Mr. Foster, "that in all future industrial disputes, where men are driven to fight for betterment of their conditions, the whole force of the State and the power to make whatever laws it likes will be vested in the Cabinet, which consists of the Governor and at least two Ministers, and this will mean, in effect, a sub-committee of the Employers' Federation—at all events, so long as the present Ministry is in power"; and he adds: "But the Public Safety Preservation Act does much more than this; it places power to make laws almost unlimitedly in the Cabinet's hands, and Parliament could be quite easily ignored altogether."

In spite of the hostile attitude usually manifested by the defenders of "law and order" to strikers in time of industrial ferment, the Trade Unionists of Victoria chivalrously championed their cause, and this with no pledge or even suggestion of their political support, despite all insinuations to the contrary. The Labour Party as a party had nothing whatever to expect or hope for by their action, especially as the police force from its very constitution is non-union.

The scab police organised by the Government in place of the dismissed strikers will be a serious menace. "The power to do ill-deeds often makes ill-deeds done." The position of the police is a privileged one, and consequently gives them unique opportunities for committing crimes. Under the present system their word is taken before that of any ordinary civilian; and their facilities for levying blackmail and taking bribes are unrivalled. A serious danger exists that the new force will include a large number of thieves, blackmailers, and other dangerous characters. It is therefore not surprising to learn that the business community have pleaded for the reinstatement of the strikers. But the Government no doubt thinks it has secured a fine force of "Black and Tans" who will emulate the brutality of the Fascists in their dealing with militant industrialism in Italy.

One ugly aspect of the disturbances is the revelation of the extent to which crime flourishes in the Underworld of Melbourne. Our predatory civilisation favours this order of things, and perhaps the worst criminal of all is the slum landlord who lets his miserable hovels for exorbitant rentals—in which are herded three or four families and eight or more persons in a room. This type of criminal does more harm to the community and commits more murders than any criminal who perished on a scaffold. In these foetid alleys, in these festering hovels, where even decency is impossible, vice and crime are naturally fostered. Mothers are compelled to bring up children in the same houses with prostitutes. The children through poverty sell papers on the streets. They pass their time in the company of thieves and pickpockets and thus corruption flourishes like a poisonous fungus on the rottenness of our system. Under the new system in which we Communists believe, children will be cleared from the streets and the whole community will assist the parents to keep them from moral danger. Slums will disappear, decent homes be built, and the houses of the idle rich utilised for the homeless people. Railways will convey the workers into the purer air of the suburbs, and every skilled social worker will direct his energy to cleaning up the Augean stable which poisons life at its source.

Once more, "defeats" like the one in Melbourne only serve to whet the appetite of the working class, "baffled to fight better," for the New Age which Government forces everywhere are striving to postpone.

C.B.

Oh, you blind leaders who seek to convert the world by laboured disputations! Step out of the way or the world must fling you aside. Give us the Young. Give us the Young and we will create a new mind and a new earth in a single generation. —Sir Benjamin Kidd, in "The Science of Power."

* * *

Official figures show that since 1921, 7,500,000 wage-earners in Britain suffered wage cuts amounting in all to some £10,500,000 a week.

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.

Notice is hereby given that the General Dealer's and Tea Room business carried on by Solomon Sachs on Stand No. 191, Ferreiras, Johannesburg, has been transferred to Mohamed Sali as from the 1st of January, 1924.

All previous notices concerning the transfer of the above-named business appearing in this paper during December, 1923, are cancelled.

S. SACHS.

11/18/25.

Notice is Hereby Given that the Partnership between Samuel Jammy and Hilda Grolman, trading as S. Jammy and Co. on Stand 306, Brakpan, has been dissolved as from the 1st January, 1924. The business will be carried on in future by the said Samuel Jammy under the same style.

J. BACHARACH,

11/18/25 Agent for S. Jammy and Co.

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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Communist Party Notes.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

A special meeting is being called for next Wednesday, January 16, to consider the following matters:—

(1) Enrolment of helpers for the house-to-house collection for the German Famine Relief to be held on January 27.

(2) To make arrangements for the distribution of a leaflet in working class districts dealing with some important matters which will have to be considered by the workers in the course of the next few months.

All comrades are urged to make a special effort to attend. Here is some work to be done: we want you to do it.

E. R. ROUX, Secretary.

YOUNG COMMUNIST NOTES.

THE "YOUNG WORKER."

We wish to announce the publication this week of the "Young Worker," monthly bulletin of the Y.C.L. Our official organ hitherto has been the "Young Communist," a roneo'd publication. The change of name coincides with the change to printed form.

Although the paper is very small indeed—a sort of "glorified leaflet"—this is an important step forward. The bulletin will help to consolidate the work of the League and considerably increase its field for propaganda.

* * *

LIEBKNECHT DAY.

THE Y.C.L. APPEALS TO ALL MEMBERS, SYMPATHISERS AND HANGERS-ON OF THE PARTY, IN PARTICULAR, AND TO THE ADULT WORKERS IN GENERAL, TO SUPPORT THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ASSASSINATION OF KARL LIEBKNECHT AND ROSA LUXEMBURG BY THE GERMAN SOCIAL TRAITORS FIVE YEARS AGO.

A special pamphlet is being published by the Young Communist International in connection with Liebknecht Day. This unfortunately will not reach us in time (probably due to delays in publishing caused by the suppression of the young communist printing works in Berlin). A number of extracts have been forwarded to us and some of these appear in this issue of the "International." An announcement will be made in this column as soon as the pamphlets arrive.

* * *

JOIN THE Y.C.L.

In connection with Liebknecht Day a special "push" is being made to increase the membership of the youth section. All young workers between the ages of 15 and 25 are called upon to come forward and join up. Turn up any Tuesday night at 4, Trades Hall, or write to P.O. Box 7599, Johannesburg.

The Empty Dice Box.

The recent General Election is a signal that Britain is entering on a period of recurrent political crises. The Baldwin Government would not have plunged into a General Election unless it were compelled. No one likes General Elections, least of all a Government newly entered on power with a secure majority and years of life before it. Nor did that compulsion come from their followers, who were as much disconcerted and annoyed as any. It did not come from any powerful wave of feeling or sudden discontent in the country. Therefore the compulsion came solely from events, and nothing else. It was the bare force of events that drove the Government and their supporters and opponents, all equally against their will, into a sudden dissolution. The Baldwin Government was helpless before events and did not know what to do. It had tried its hand with France and had only made public its impotence. It looked at home and saw only the menace of the fourth winter of unemployment refusing to be exorcised. A miserable still-born infant of a proposal to spend a doubtful fifty millions on unemployment was brought forward and met with universal derision. The Baldwin Government gave up the insoluble puzzle and seized on the first pretext to dissolve.

Surrender in so few months is a very striking symptom of the helplessness of post-war British capitalism. It is impossible to treat the tariff issue as the serious occasion of the dissolution. The tariff issue was taken up with such complete confusion, vagueness, and half-heartedness, and only so slowly elaborated into any kind of form at all, as to suggest strongly that it came second in the order of thought and was left to be worked out later. Had the only object been import duties on manufactured articles, the Safeguarding of Industries Act was available and could easily have been adapted. Indeed it has been justly said that Britain was already Protectionist in practice and Free Trade in theory, and the only change proposed was that she should become Protectionist in theory and in practice as before. Hardly was the tariff proposal made than its own sponsors began to whittle it down and step away from the issues raised. Thus every indication reveals that what was being sought was not so much a tariff as a change—some change, any change. And here comes the most striking fact of all. For when all the forces of British capitalism are pushing towards a change in one form or another, the only actual forms of that change presented are, on the one hand, the resurrection of an antique fetish in a mangled condition and, on the other, the hoary form of Asquith rising from the sleep of the dead. These, then, are all the changes that capitalism has left to ring. Back to the old statesmen under whom the present crisis took shape and who have no remedies to cure it. Feverishly the dice-box is shaken again and again at ever shorter intervals for a fresh throw. In vain: from the dice-box of capitalism there are no more dice to fall. —"The Labour Monthly."