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THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1926

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

Vol. VI

February 1926

Number 10

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“The proletariat needs the truth and there is nothing more harmful to its cause than plausible, high-sounding, commonplace falsehoods.”—(From Lenin’s reply to MacDonald, in August, 1919.)

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

Published by the Workers' Weekly Publishing Co.

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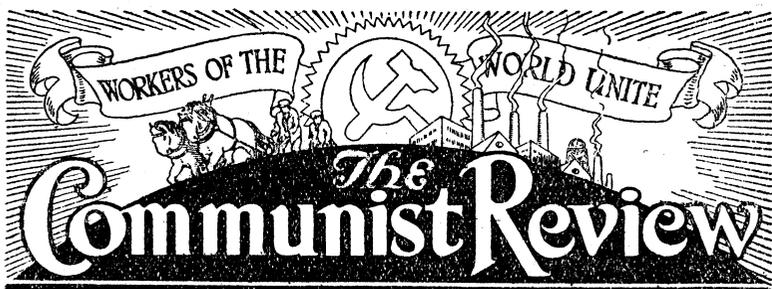
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Subscription Rates. HOME—Single copies, 6 months, 2s. 9d. postpaid. One year 5s. od. postpaid. ABROAD—Single copies, 6 mths. 2s. 9d. postpaid. One year 5s. od. postpaid.

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Business communications to Manager, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2

“The dictatorship of the proletariat, stripped of its Latin, scientific and historico-philosophical dress, and clothed in simple language, means that only a certain class, and that the industrial workers, especially the workers in large factories, is able to lead the general body of the exploited masses in the fight to end capitalist exploitation.”—(Lenin: “The Great Initiative.”)



THE EDITORIAL VIEW

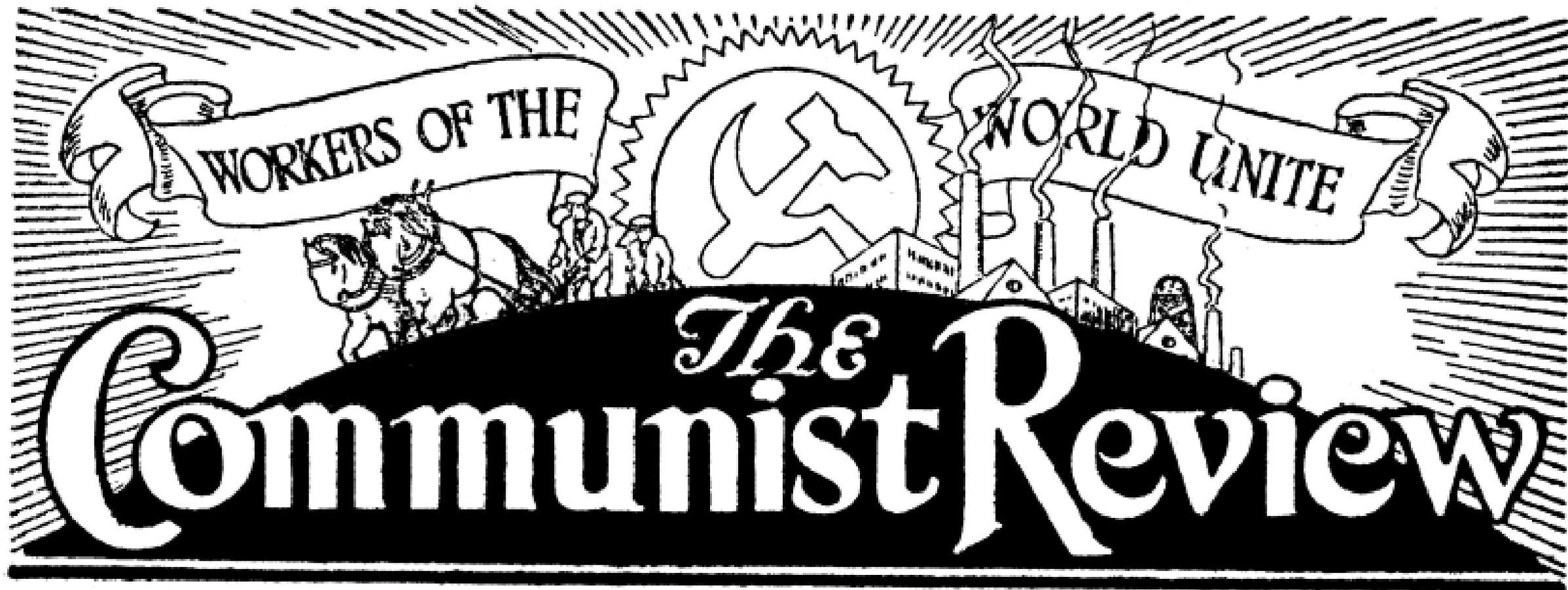
THE COMING INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE.

THE time is rapidly approaching when the courage and revolutionary fervour of every Party member will be tested. All the reserve forces of capitalism are being called up. The whole of the time covered by the truce and the subsidy in the mining industry has been utilised by the Government in perfecting its machinery of war. In the period of the decline of British capitalist production the most backward trade union becomes potentially a revolutionary battalion and every demand for higher wages **or even the maintenance of present standards**, poor as they are, becomes a revolutionary demand. And revolutionary issues must be fought to the bitter end. Capitalism has its back to the wall and will fight as wild beasts fight when cornered.

The workers will fight as **they** have never fought before, simply because they must. Millions of workers are realising the hopelessness of ever getting better times under capitalism. At a time when the productive forces have reached the highest efficiency capitalism can only provide the barest necessities for those in work, and for those who are unemployed no hope remains while capitalism continues to exist.

As the time of struggle approaches the real worth of individual leaders can be estimated more and more accurately. Inside the trade union movement and the Labour Party two tendencies are manifesting themselves. There are those whose working class instincts are strong enough to respond to the surging discontent of the workers and there are those who have lost all contact with the masses and who can be counted on to do everything possible to make a "peace" which would be disastrous to the morale of organised Labour. It must be insistently pointed out that the Right-wing defeatists do **not** represent working class interests but the interests of the enemies of the workers, the Empire and the capitalist State.

Already the defeatists have served the masters well by making breaches in the ranks of the workers. The National Union of



WORKERS OF THE

WORLD UNITE



The
Communist Review

Railwaymen has turned down the Alliance on the flimsiest of excuses and other unions are being trapped into separate negotiations with the employers at the same time as a ballot is being taken on the question of working class unity. We must oppose moves of this kind and fight for the success of the Alliance as an immediate step. But we must not forget that the Alliance is too limited to meet the need for real working class solidarity. **The Alliance is only one step towards the organisation of all the workers under the direction of the General Council.**

* * * * *

How are we to assist in bringing about this complete organisation under one central leadership? A clause in the main resolution passed at Scarborough gives an indication of what our first steps should be:

“Congress further considers that strong, well-organised shop committees are indispensable weapons in the struggle to force the capitalists to relinquish their grip on industry and, therefore, pledges itself to do all in its power to develop and strengthen workshop organisation.”

Here is a real revolutionary organisational task for our Factory Groups and a test of their efficiency. The Shop Steward and Workers' Committee Movements during the period of the war proved beyond doubt their value to the workers.

We are entering into a phase of social struggle which demands the resuscitation of a workers' committee movement. The rather vague designation “Shop Committees” really meant to cover that form of organisation which had its basis in the election of departmental committees in large factories. Each departmental or shop committee elected one or two of its members to sit on a works committee which was representative of all the departments in one factory. The works committee sent delegates to district or town committees representative of all the factories in a given area. During the war the Workers' Committees were mainly unofficial. In the post-war period conditions demand that the committees maintain close organisational relations with the general Labour movement. The Trades Union Congress resolution gives the necessary official backing which should bring with it the support of the affiliated unions and Trades Councils in all cases of victimisation of Shop Stewards carrying out their legitimate duties.

* * * * *

But to ensure the maximum of organisational efficiency in the short time at our disposal no formalism should stand in the way of the rapid mobilisation of our forces. The first thing necessary is factory committees elected by the workers. The Trades Councils should be approached with a view to affiliation, and inside the Trades Councils propaganda for complete solidarity irrespec-

tive of union head office policy should be carried on. Under the leadership of the Trades Councils local solidarity can be brought about and will ensure that no great amount of blacklegging will take place under cover of the ticket of a union standing outside of the fight.

Trades Councils should place themselves at the disposal of the central body directing the fight, whether that body be the Executive Committee of the Alliance or the General Council. Organisation around the Trades Councils should be the answer of the workers to defeatist leadership in the unions and the semi-legal and legal strike-breaking organisations of the State which already exist in every town.

These are big tasks, comrades, and they are only preparatory to the tasks of the actual fight—the tasks of inspiring and enthusing the workers to carry on. But it must not be forgotten that the extent of the victory will be largely determined by the amount of work put into the preliminary organisational campaign. A victory for the forces of the workers will hearten them for the final struggle which will bring in a comparatively short time the end of capitalist exploitation.

* * * * *

THE COAL COMMISSION.

THE report of the Coal Commission is not yet issued, but that its findings will not be effective in staving off a fight is evidenced by the extraordinary preparations the Government is making in anticipation of trouble.

We now know that the whole of the reserve forces of reaction are being mobilised. The strength of the police force is being rapidly increased in all industrial centres; volunteers are being enrolled in all the services essential to the comfort and well-being of the capitalists; the experts in the Civil Service have been allocated to key positions throughout the country; a census has been taken of all vehicles likely to be of use in transport; local authorities have prepared detailed information regarding local services; special Orders in Council are in readiness to enable the police, military and volunteer forces to deal with crowds, meetings, etc., and special protection is organised for postal, telegraphic and telephonic services. This huge apparatus is to be controlled by an "inner Cabinet" sitting continuously at Whitehall, while fourteen other Ministers have been given charge and full powers in the most important centres throughout the country. The reformists are about to get a practical lesson on the function of the capitalist State.

With brutal candour the coalowners have stated their case. There we see no signs of compromise. The workers' organisations are to be smashed; wages are to come down and rates to be settled on a district basis, thus destroying national solidarity;

hours are to be increased; certain pits are to be closed down. These "economies" are to enable the owners to dispense with the services of 100,000 men and even then the coal magnates will not be satisfied.

In order to still further reduce costs it is demanded that transport charges be reduced. To do this they propose a general reduction in the wages of railwaymen, dockers and vehicle drivers by 25 per cent. That is not all. Demands are being made that the workers in all "sheltered" industries should suffer reductions. An attack on builders, municipal employees, shop assistants, etc., is contemplated, on the ostensible grounds that higher wages in one industry create discontent in another. No section of the working class is to escape the general process of reduction in their standard of living.

* * * *

In face of this display of bourgeois solidarity what are the leaders of the trade unions doing? Here we see no signs of that audacity which marks real leadership. Petty "constitutional" points are preventing the rapid mobilisation of Labour. The spirit of **attack** is conspicuously absent and even the thought of active defence seems to terrify many of them. Rather pathetically, the representatives of the miners have put forward an alternative scheme for the re-organisation of the coal industry. Contemptuously, capitalism will reject it, although it provides ample scope for continued exploitation of the workers. The class struggle is a very real thing and any scheme which is based on anything other than a realisation of the struggle deserves to be treated with contempt. Every inch of the ground must be fought.

* * * *

In striking contrast to the timidity of the leaders is the programme formulated by the Communist miners:

- Membership of the Federation a condition of employment.
- Abolition of the present agreement.
- Wages on 1914 basis, plus 2s. Sankey Award, plus increases commensurate with increase in the Cost of Living.
- All future increases to be made on the Flat Rate basis.
- Guaranteed Weekly Wage.
- The reduction of the Underground working hours to six hours per day.
- A Five-day Week.
- One shift and one-fifth or 20 per cent. extra to be paid to all Afternoon and Night-shift Workers.
- Abolition of Double and Treble Shifts at the Coal Face.
- Compensation to be equal to pre-accident earnings, from first day of injury.
- Nationalisation of the Mining Industry, without Compensation, with Workers' Control.

This faces the realities of the situation in terms understandable by working miners and should be followed up by the formulation of such demands by workers in other industries as will serve as a means to rally all workers under one banner. It is not enough that we should defend. Defence of the present conditions

is a defence of the leadership which has led to the present appalling situation of the working class.

* * * *

MARX AND ENGELS—REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGISTS.

STUDENTS of Marxism cannot fail to be interested in the document which we print in this issue. It was written by Marx and Engels on behalf of the Central Committee of the League of Communists in 1850 for the guidance of its members in Germany. The Revolution of 1848 had been defeated owing to the treachery of the German bourgeoisie who were afraid of the political ascendancy of the workers. The translator in his introduction draws attention to the practical and theoretical significance of these three outstanding facts:

First: The systematic suppression by the official Socialist parties, pretending to be Marxist, of documents of the most vital importance in guiding the action of the workers in periods of revolution. It was no mere accident or coincidence that such important documents as Marx's "Critics of the Gotha Programme," Engels' letter to August Bebel on the State (which was suppressed for thirty-six years) and finally the document printed here were never given broad circulation. The official Socialist parties were willing to circulate only such writings of Marx and Engels as would not interfere with their opportunistic policies.

Second: In this document the probable role of the radical republicans and Social-Democrats in any revolution is forecast with unerring accuracy as witnessed by the part played by the Social-Democratic Parties in the Russian, German, Hungarian and Finnish Revolutions of 1917-1919. The predictions that the Social-Democrats would seek to bribe the workers with reform concessions and curb the proletarian revolution by disarming the workers, were borne out in the above-mentioned revolutions. The fact that they were made seventy years before their actual occurrence stamps Marxism as an accurate social science.

Third: Marx and Engels here call upon the German workers to create their own form of government based upon workers' clubs and societies, workers' executive committees and community councils, which should take over governmental functions during the revolutionary crisis, in opposition to the middle class democratic government. Here the idea of Soviets is seen in its embryo. The abuse heaped upon the Communists for recognising this principle can only be explained by the middle class illusions of these Social-Democrats.

It is precisely because we understand the role of the middle class "leaders" of Labour that the Communist Party is so insistent on cleansing the Labour Party of those unreliable elements who seek (hitherto with success) to hinder the development of Labour politics along revolutionary proletarian lines. This document accentuates—from the experiences of the past—the need for a strong Communist Party. It also explains exactly why the opportunists of the Labour movement are so anxious for the exclusion of the Communists: the Communist Party alone stands between the workers and betrayal.

* * * *

"FRONTOVIK."

In this issue we publish another revolutionary poem which has never before appeared in English. It was written by a soldier of the Red Army and reflects the simple faith and courageous enthusiasm of the rank and file Bolsheviki during the period of "Military Communism" when the Russian workers and peasants stood shoulder to shoulder in defence of the Revolution against all its enemies, from within and without. The homely phrasing and downright simplicity strike a true proletarian note which exemplifies the new spirit in literature to be expected after that great economic and social change which is called Revolution. "Frontovik" rings true because it is a poem by a worker for workers.



" . . . It is plain to Marxists that revolution is impossible without a **revolutionary situation**. . . .

"What are, as a rule, the symptoms of a revolutionary situation? We shall certainly be on the right track in pointing out three main symptoms: (1) A ruling class finds it impossible to retain its domination intact, due to its passing through a crisis which stimulates the oppressed classes to revolt against it rule. For revolution to break out it is not enough for those at the bottom to be no longer content to live as before, they must also see to it that it becomes impossible for those at the top to continue their old policy; (2) want and suffering is experienced by the oppressed class in a more intense degree than ordinarily; (3) the causes indicated compel increased activity amongst the masses. . . .

" . . . a revolution is not produced by every revolutionary situation; it is produced when, in addition to the objective changes enumerated above, certain subjective changes take place, viz., **when a revolutionary class shows ability to take revolutionary mass action sufficiently forceful to break, or at least to damage, the existing government. Even in times of crisis, governments do not 'tumble down of their own account' but require a force to overthrow them.**"—(Lenin: "The Collapse of the Second International.")

The Democratic Arcadia

Some Reflections on the Australian Labour Movement.

By P. R. S.

AUSTRALIANS believe that Australia is the most democratic country in the world. Objectively there is some truth in such a claim if it be phrased thus: that in Australia the working class movement has placed its trust in the methods of Social-Democracy more fully and for a longer period than has been the case in any other country. The Australian people know what Labour-in-politics means; of that there cannot be the slightest doubt. Earnest reformers of the Social-Democratic persuasion have asked for, **and been given**, every opportunity to emancipate the workers from capitalism and lead in the New Order gently by the hand. Ever since the '80's of last century there has been a strong and growing political Labour movement in the land of the Southern Cross. For considerable periods, moreover, Labour Governments have controlled the parliaments of the Commonwealth and of each of the six federated States. As long ago as 1904 the first Federal Labour ministry was formed. It was a Labour Prime Minister who declared, in 1914, that the Australian people would go into the Great War "to the last man and the last shilling." In Queensland, which is a shining example amongst the States, Labour has now been **continuously in office** for more than ten years.

All things considered, the "painless method" of constitutionally extracting surplus fat from the capitalists has been given a fair trial. The people have arisen in their might and have spoken with the voice of God. The unreasonable bullet has not been invoked, and the gradual ballot has given "All Power to the Politicians." The result of this experiment cannot fail to be of interest. It is, briefly, a demoralisation of the Australian working class movement; a widespread cynicism and disillusionment amongst the rank and file of the toilers; a nauseating degree of corruption and opportunism amongst the "Labour" professional politicians; finally, a political estrangement between the organised workers and the small farmers.

As for Socialism, it does not really come into the picture at all. All that can be said is that Labour rules the capitalist State, balances the budget, etc., as well as the avowed capitalist parties. In the shining example of Queensland it is a favourite boast of Labour politicians that "Capital is being attracted into

the State." The Public Debt (to London and Wall Street) is being dutifully increased.* Certain ameliorative measures have been given effect to, such as, for example, the State Insurance Scheme, which has reduced premiums to policy-holders; the extension of hospitals (from funds obtained by a State lottery); and so on. But as for the socialisation of industry, the break-up of the big pastoral holdings, or the control of primary and secondary production by the workers and farmers; as for the abolition of wage-slavery, tribute-paying, profiteering, and the exploitation of man by man—in all these respects Social-Democracy in Queensland has proved not merely a failure, but also a fiasco.

The Federal Elections.

Labour's defeat at the recent Commonwealth elections was the result, not of the strength of the forces arrayed on the "Nationalist" side, but of the intrinsic weakness and demoralisation of Labour, the latter result being directly due to the canker of opportunism. It has long been the complaint of the genuinely Socialist elements in the movement that the politicians (or "Pollies") were sapping the vitality of Labour by their shameless self-seeking. A most able and well-informed observer, § in recording the methods used by politicians to control conferences and mould policy in their own interests, aptly summarises the history of the Australian Labour Party as follows:

"Starting with a band of inspired Socialists, it degenerated into a vast machine for capturing political power, but did not know how to use that power when attained except for the profit of individuals."

This sad truth applies equally to large sections of the trade union movement. In particular the craft unions and the powerful Australian Workers' Union (nomadic Bush workers) are mainly under the control of parasitical opportunists of politico-democratic ideology. These unions are the main support of the Labour Party: hence automatically they function as stepping stones to political advancement for their officials, who maintain themselves in office in all the devious ways familiar to students of trade union bureaucracy.

An example of the boodle which accrues to such stalwarts occurred in Queensland at the height of the Federal election campaign. The Queensland Labour Government created by legislation a Board of Trade, and then calmly proceeded to elect as members the retiring State Premier (Gillies) and the Secretary of the Australian Workers' Union (Dunstan), each at a salary of £2,000 a year. Similar examples could be multiplied ad

* 58 per cent. during Labour's ten years of office.

§ V. G. Childe, formerly Secretary to a Labour Premier, in "How Labour Governs." (Labour Publishing Co.)

nauseam. Is it any wonder that the "old fighting spirit of the early days" has vanished from the Labour Movement? Is it any wonder that the electors of the Commonwealth have turned away in disgust from the sad spectacle of Social-Democracy at work?

Industrialists versus Politicians.

One result of the sickening opportunism and febrility of the political Labour movement has been the development of a syndicalist outlook amongst the militant sections of the organised workers, and a consequent antagonism, which contains all the elements of a serious split, between the political and industrial wings. Thus (again taking the example of Queensland) on the very eve of the Federal elections the railway workers, who are organised industrially, came out on strike against their employers, the State Labour Government, to secure the restoration of a 5 per cent. wage cut which had been made five years before "in the interests of economy." Labour Cabinet Ministers were, of course, resentful at this "inopportune" action and they showed their resentment on the hustings. At the same time the Shipping Strike was being denounced all over the Commonwealth by Labour politicians in terms almost identical with those used by Bruce's party.

The result, as far as the elections were concerned, was a wide breach in the United Front. Labour politicians of the Theodore type repudiated the strikers and spent their oratorical energy in misrepresentation of Walsh and other trade union leaders, denouncing them as "Moscow agents," "instigators of discord," etc., in the most approved reactionary style. This kind of thing has been going on for years, and the result of it has been the growth of a strong anti-political tendency amongst certain union groups, which issues in a philosophy of pure Syndicalism, relying on "direct action" (chiefly by means of strikes) to improve the conditions of the workers. The industrialists make no secret of their hostility towards the politicians, whose rascality and weakness they are constantly exposing to the masses. So far so good. The industrialist group is strong and effectively wages the class struggle on behalf of the section of the workers which it represents; yet its development, excusable though it may have been, has tended to split the Labour Movement and, what is worse, has intensified the estrangement between the workers and small farmers.

Position of the Farmers.

The direct class antagonists of the small farmers are the city middlemen and the imperialist investors and bankers, who batten upon primary producers. Hence in the past the small farmers.

have been inclined to look to the Labour Party for protection. At the same time there has never been much loving kindness between the farmers and the organised wage earners; the farmers begrudging, for example, high rates of pay on the railways which raised freights on their produce. Moreover, the farmers, even the smallest, are to some extent employers of labour and consequently no lovers of trade unionism. They have, therefore, wavered between faith in the political Labour Party and hostility to the unions. At the present moment it would seem that they are definitely estranged from the Labour movement (1) by the failure of the Labour Party to deal with the middlemen; (2) by the insurgence of industrial Direct Action (e.g., railway and shipping strikes) which interferes with the marketing of their produce.

At the height of the Federal election campaign, bands of farmers "invaded" the seaports of Bowen and Gladstone in Queensland and openly engaged in strike-breaking, even going so far as rioting and the man-handling of strikers. This was done more or less with the connivance of the State Labour Government, which, for reasons explained above, was out of sympathy with the strikers, yet dared not go too far for fear of completely alienating the rank and file of the workers. The opportunists' life is a hard one at times, as the Labour politicians found to their cost on this occasion. Their attitude disgusted the organised workers, many of whom voted Nationalist rather than "yellow," and it failed to impress the farmers, who gave their support at the polls to the Nationalists, because Bruce promised to deal with the "fomenters of discord" by the drastic method of deportation. This analysis fully explains the Labour debacle at the polls. Gone are the high hopes of the early days. Gone is the sturdy enthusiasm which swept Labour into office time after time. In its place are the ashes of cynicism, a disillusionment and apathy towards Socialism widespread amongst the masses. Such is the stage which has been reached on the path of Social-Democracy in Australia.

The Communist Party.

One of the most hopeful results of the Federal elections is the consternation which has appeared in the Labour movement. From all sides comes a demand that there should be a process of general stocktaking and "cleansing." Even the politicians and officials are genuinely alarmed at the formidable prospects of a long sojourn in the wilderness and from them has come the first move. They are determined that, cost what it may, the Communists shall be expelled, lock, stock and barrel, from the Labour movement. As they control the machine, we may expect some initial "successes" in this direction.

The tactic will not succeed. It will soon be discovered that the expulsion of the Communists does not solve the whole

problem. In the first place it will not affect the growing rank-and-file demand for another kind of "cleansing," i.e., a removal of the hoodlars, grafters and temporisers; and in the second place it will not affect the critical syndicalist T.U. elements who do not belong to the Communist Party. In any case the Communist Party of Australia can be relied upon to play its part systematically in the process of re-invigorating the Labour and Socialist movement.

A steady development of the Party's influence may be expected amongst the industrial sections; and this cannot come too soon, for the result of a too narrow syndicalist policy will be a permanent estrangement of interests between the workers and farmers. This is the real danger-point; and it is the tremendous task of the Leninist Party in Australia to reconcile the organised workers and small farmers and to weld them solidly together for the common struggle against capitalism, remembering that otherwise Socialism is impossible in a country predominantly rural. The Labour Party has proved that it cannot undertake this task. It has been given exactly enough rope to hang itself with. Now is the time to rally the masses to the slogan of the **Australian Workers' and Farmers' Socialist Republic**. Only the clear line of the revolutionary party can overcome the cynicism and apathy which is a legacy of discredited Social-Democracy.



“ the fundamental duty of all Socialists is to point out to the workers the presence of a revolutionary situation, to explain its nature, and to awaken by insistent propaganda the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat. Nor do we stop short at theorising, but advocate and help the workers to take up revolutionary action, building up for that purpose an organisation corresponding to the needs of the time.”—(Lenin: “The Collapse of the Second International.”)

The End of Compromise

By R. W. ROBSON.

DURING the past few years the working class has suffered much and learned much. One illusion after another has been shattered and as a result there has been a continuous development of class consciousness and understanding. This could not be otherwise in a period of capitalist decline such as was entered into at the close of the war. The Labour Party, manœuvred into office at a time most convenient to the bourgeoisie, with no previous experience of government, with a leadership devoid of class consciousness and, therefore, without a clear policy, was plastic material in the hands of the real shapers of Empire policy.

Right from the beginning of Labour's term of office, the diplomacy of MacDonald was a source of uneasiness amongst the rank and file, but probably the support of the Labour Government to the Dawes Plan, with its far-reaching consequences, has done more than anything else to crystallise in the minds of the rank and file the necessity for controlling the Labour Party's policy.

This was natural. The reaction in British industry, followed by short time, unemployment, wage cuts and longer hours, cut directly into the well-being of the working class. The Communist Party and Minority Movement hammered in the truth. And if anything more had been needed to complete the disillusionment, the capitalist offensive against the miners supplied it.

Scarborough and Liverpool.

The Trades Union Congress decisions at Scarborough made plain the strength of the urge from below. In view of the attack of the employers it would have been strange indeed had those decisions been less indicative of unrest. The great advance in class consciousness registered at Scarborough came as a shock to the employers and instructions were issued to the Press to concentrate its attention on intimidating the political leaders of the working class.

In this they succeeded beyond all expectation. The decisions arrived at in Liverpool were just as "Right-wing," just as removed from the actualities of the struggle as Scarborough was a response, to some extent, to the demand of the workers for a lead.

Many of the workers have found it difficult to understand this difference between the expressed policies of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party. But the explanation is not far

to seek. The Right-wing bureaucracy fears the growing revolutionary feeling among the mass of the workers just as much as do the capitalists—and for the same reasons.

Just as the Right-wing, led by MacDonald, played at “statesmanship” in the Labour Government, pushed through the Dawes Plan, threatened the dockers with the Emergency Powers Act and generally played the game of parliamentary “ins” and “outs” after the manner of capitalists parties, so the Right-wing at Liverpool played its part in an attempt to stem the growing revolutionising of the masses.

A “Labour” Lead to Reaction.

Therefore, Liverpool initiated the policy of attacking and isolating the Communists—a policy so eagerly seized upon and followed up by the Tory Government. The Empire—a name that had began to stink in the nostrils of the workers—had to be re-designated “Commonwealth of Nations.” The Dawes Plan and its results were passed over in silence. With an eye on the middle class electorate the Capital Levy was dropped. Only the Communists challenged a discussion on the “mistakes” of the Labour Government. The Labour Party was to be transformed into a defence corps for declining capitalism. Everything that could be thought of was used to divert the workers’ activities into the safe channels of “constitutional” and parliamentary action.

Capitalism was not slow in following up its success at Liverpool. Quite openly the preparation for crushing the working class was carried on by the Government. The Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies received its official blessing. In order to be prepared for a strike of transport workers an official census was taken of all vehicles likely to be of use and the owners were warned of the Government’s intention to take over control if the need arose. Local authorities were asked to prepare strike-breaking machinery in their areas, and, significantly enough, the Communist Party leaders were imprisoned. The Coal Inquiry has shown that the employers are eager for a fight and show an arrogance and confidence which implies contempt for the ability of the workers to resist successfully.

Shock Absorbers.

True to its role of shock absorber the I.L.P. has seized on this situation to issue another programme which manages very cleverly to articulate the desires of the masses whilst carefully refraining from contributing anything likely to arouse a fighting

spirit. The launching of this programme at the present time can only be meant to draw away the attention of the workers from the realities and the urgency of the situation, and thereby scotch the tendency towards Left-wing organisation inside the Labour Party. Other elements, equally, if not more, dangerous, are doing their worst to prevent Left-wing unity by carrying on the Liverpool policy of exclusion of the Communists inside the Left-wing movement. In spite of the fact that the Left-wing at Liverpool was impotent because it was unorganised, these splitters continue to rake up excuses for preventing a real expression of Left-wing solidarity.

The Way to Win.

These feeble efforts to prevent the growth of an organised Left-wing with a fighting Socialist policy will fail. The British working class is becoming revolutionary precisely because conditions impel it to see in nothing short of the destruction of capitalism any way out. The Left-wing may be hesitant and timid to the extent that it is as yet confused in outlook, but knowledge, strength and solidarity will be attained in the development of the struggle. And the Communist Party knows that experience gained in actual conflict, knowledge derived from the necessity of facing living issues, and strength developed in actual conflict will produce a working class which will in time see in the programme of the Communist Party the only way leading to emancipation.

The real guarantee of the success of the Left-wing movement is the need for a working class programme and working class politics. Naturally and inevitably out of the needs of the situation, the Left-wing is taking shape. The day for compromise and class co-operation is nearing its close. The building up of the Left-wing movement is the reply to Liverpool and a challenge to the class collaborationist outlook of the Right-wing leaders. An **organised** Left-wing alone can end the liberalising policy of the Right-wing. Instinctively the rank and file have chosen the correct path. The Right-wing disruptionists must go.

“To class-conscious workers, Socialism is a serious conviction and not a cloak to cover up conciliatory middle class aspirations or opposition to the Government along Nationalist lines.”—(Lenin: “The Collapse of the Second International.”)

The Struggle for Supremacy in the Pacific

By J. D. McDOUGALL.

A grim reminder of the gradual ripening of the next great conflict in the world's history is given by the following information which appeared recently in the press:

"In their article on 'Comparative Naval Strength' the editor points out that there is no indication that any Power is embarking upon more than a replacement programme in cruisers; but whereas the British, American, French and Italian proposals will only partially make good the losses due to obsolescence, **the Japanese naval authorities are apparently replacing ship for ship and, therefore, Japanese cruiser strength in future years will be increased considerably in proportion to the strength of other Powers.**" (Review of "Brassey's Annual," in the "Glasgow Herald," 7th December, 1925.)

"Corresponding particulars are given of the great submarines which are being built in America and in Japan, and it is noted that the Japanese "Kaigun" type are designed for the double run across the Pacific without re-fuelling—a distance of 16,000 miles—and that the American 'V4' are capable, in like manner, of crossing the Atlantic and returning. **Evidently, therefore, these two great powers are keeping each other very carefully in mind in the design of their respective submarine craft.**" (Review of Jane's "Fighting Ships" in the "Glasgow Herald," 7th December, 1925.)

Everything indicates that the Pacific is soon to be the scene of a terrible conflict. This great waste of waters, the vast extent of which will be appreciated when we remember that the fast mail steamers plying between Yokohama and Vancouver take a fortnight to sail across it, is on the eve of becoming the theatre of the greatest naval war that the world has ever seen.

The Rise of Japan as a Great Power.

Japan first emerged into modern history in the sixteenth century, when she was discovered by the Portuguese. For three hundred years Japan's contact with the outer world was limited to a severely restricted intercourse for trade purposes, first with the Portuguese and then with the Dutch. When Commodore Perry's squadron from the United States broke down this policy of exclusion and forced an entrance into Japan for Western trade in 1853, the country was living under social and political conditions strongly reminiscent of Europe during the Middle Ages. For ten years after, Japan was in a condition of anarchy, during the reign of which the ferment of Western ideas was perpetually at work. At length in 1867, a combination of some of the leading military clans effected the restoration of the Mikado to power. This was

a crucial moment in the birth of modern Japan. The warrior caste, the "Samurai," with an amazing perspicuity, saw by the experiences of China that Japan could only preserve her independence by remodelling her military system along modern lines.

Japan, of course, could not arm effectively against Europe without the aid of machine production. So from the seventies onward we witness a progressive transformation of her methods of production. The ancient, self-sufficing agriculture gives place to grain-growing for the market. The guild, with its exquisite handicraft products, is swept away by the advance of the steam-driven factory and its flood of cheap and standardised goods. Railways, roads and telegraphs are laid down and the country begins to be bound into an economic unity. Ports are constructed and lines of steamers link up Japan with the rest of the globe. But the Japanese were not long in learning that their island home was largely deficient in the essential raw materials of capitalist industry such as coal, iron, cotton, oil and rice, the food of the masses. They, therefore, began to look abroad for the means of satisfying their wants. Facing them on the Asiatic mainland was the Chinese Empire, densely populated and of vast extent, but at the same time so retrograde as to fall an easy prey to the first filibuster armed with European weapons, who coveted her natural wealth.

When the inevitable clash with Russia came in 1904-5, Japan was victorious. The spoils of war consisted of Korea, Southern Manchuria, the Liao-tung Peninsula and Port Arthur. In her new possessions Japan pursued a policy of the narrowest monopoly and especially in Korea used methods of the most brutal kind to crush the national aspirations of the inhabitants. By 1907 Japan's trade had trebled in value, reaching the figure of 927,000,000 yen.*

But imperialistic wars had failed to solve the problem of emigration. Japan is very thickly populated, her area of 148,756 square miles contains 55,961,140 people, or 375 to the square mile. This is about equal to the density in Britain. With the exception, however, of the island of Java and Central China, the coasts of the Pacific are but thinly populated. South of Japan lie the Philippine Islands, with a density of 87 to the square mile, the East Indian Archipelago, consisting of innumerable islands even more thinly populated than the Philippines, and still further south the island continent of Australia with its scanty population of six millions. On the western seaboard of America there is ample room for millions of additional settlers. The stream of Japanese emigration, therefore, began to flow eastward in 1900 to

* The value of the yen is about 2s. 0½d.

California and Canada. This influx of yellow-skinned workers who were ready to accept very low wages, aroused great feeling among the white inhabitants. Their hostility to the Japanese was intensified by long-standing race prejudice. In 1905 the "Asiatics Exclusion League" was formed in California and through the agitation which it conducted in 1908 the children of Japanese immigrants were excluded from the public schools. That same year a "Gentlemanly Understanding" was arrived at between Japan and the United States, according to which, in order to prevent fresh race-discriminatory legislation being passed, Japan should voluntarily restrict labour emigration to America. Canada and Australia have followed the example of the United States in excluding the Japanese. So Japan's excess population, being incapable of going north and being hemmed in both east and west, must go south. The annual increase of population in Japan is 700,000 and in seventy years Japan's census will show more than 100,000,000 people. To the south, stretching along the coast of the Pacific and towards Australia, are great chains of rice-growing islands eminently suited for settlement by the agricultural masses of Japan. These islands are inhabited to the extent of 90 per cent. by Malays whose political combinations are so unstable that they would be able to offer little resistance to a process of "Japanisation." The path to the south, however, is barred by the United States.

American Imperialism.

America has not only come into conflict with Japan over the question of immigration, but also on that of who is to dominate the Chinese market. An outlet for her goods in China is already a vital necessity for the United States. Some figures given by Golovin substantiate this view :

Share of America in the Imports into China.

1918	...	...	...	...	...	13 per cent.
1919	...	...	...	...	...	16 per cent.
1920	...	...	...	...	...	20 per cent.

So that America's share of the market is growing while that of Japan is shrinking. American capitalism would be quite content to dominate China by means of loans and indirect methods of control. This is the method she applies with brilliant success on the American continent. She knows that on the purely economic plane of finance, production and trade, no country in the world is fit to compete with her to-day. Hence her demand for the policy of "Open Door" in China. This is the real reason for her assistance to Chinese education and her comparative consideration for Chinese interests in all the international disputes over that unfortunate country. Japan's brutal egoism is detested by all the living elements of the Chinese people. It is, notwithstanding,

absurd to attempt as Bertrand Russell does in his book "The Problem of China," to explain Japan's policy as being due to something peculiar in the racial character of the Japanese. Japan's need is desperate. She has embarked upon a career as a Great Power and can only continue on condition that she obtains control of the coal and iron of China. As Golovin remarks: "Japan's dependence on the imports of iron is the Achilles heel of her military power." Moreover, the crude form taken by her imperialism is due to the fact that her ruling class is an antiquated fossil product of feudalism. Her junker caste of militarists and bureaucrats is as stupid in its dealings with the Chinese and in its attempts at enforced "Japanisation" of the Koreans, as the Prussian agrarians were in their methods of "Germanising" the Poles of Posen. This class is totally incapable of conceiving a policy on modern lines for its country and, therefore, Japan is confronted with the dilemma, as Radek says, either of forcibly overthrowing the present ruling caste, or of driving straight towards a great war in which it is likely to suffer all the horrors and penalties of defeat.

China—the Prize of the Victor.

Foreign Powers find it easy to swindle China out of valuable concessions for railway building, etc., and when they so desire to involve China in protracted civil wars which weaken her and facilitate her exploitation. China is rich in all the things that the heart of capitalist man can desire—coal, iron, cotton, oil, wheat, timber, water-power—and above all, she contains abundant supplies of cheap labour power. There she lies, totally defenceless, a rich feast to ravish the souls of the pack of wolves who govern Japan, her only protection arising from the mutual jealousies of her present or prospective exploiters. The civil war now raging represents a preliminary encounter on Chinese soil of the competitors for hegemony in China, the leaders being supported respectively by America and Japan.

By repeated assaults, from the Opium Wars of the 'forties to the Boxer War of 1900, the Western Powers have compelled China to open about fifty of her ports to foreign trade. In these Treaty ports, foreigners have secured all kinds of extra-territorial rights and serious encroachments have taken place upon China's sovereignty. Under various treaties the amount of the customs duties is fixed, thus depriving the Chinese of all financial flexibility. But the great Shanghai strike and the widespread movement against foreign domination, the progress of the Canton Republic, the students' agitation and the diplomatic support of Soviet Russia have forced the Powers to meet the Chinese Government in a Conference in Peking, where the present situation might easily force them to make at least temporary concessions on the

customs question and the matter of foreign courts on Chinese soil. At the same time the changing fortunes of the various parties in the civil war and the diplomatic manœuvring of the Great Powers must not be allowed to obscure the fact that China's fate will in all likelihood be settled by the outcome of a struggle between America and Japan.

The possibility that the Chinese nation will have gathered its forces and made such progress in Western methods as to be able to become the arbiter of its own destiny before the great conflict in the Pacific occurs seems rather remote. The actual alternatives confronting China to-day are her being dragooned into industrialism by Japan with the same heavy hand as she has applied in Korea, or an advance into capitalism as a result of the more peaceful methods of American financial penetration.

The Twenty-one Points.

When the Great War came in 1914, Japan took part in it in a very half-hearted fashion. The few thousand casualties she suffered at the taking of Kiao-chow formed practically her total losses during the whole course of the war. With a cold and calculating egoism, Japan got ready to make the most of the opportunities afforded her by the internecine strife in Europe. She manufactured munitions for the Allies, receiving orders from them to the value of 1,000,000,000 yen (according to Golovin). During the four years of the war three milliards of yen were invested in Japanese industry. Japanese manufacturers began to fill the gaps in many Eastern and British Colonial markets left by the concentration of industry in England and Germany upon production for war purposes. The tonnage of Japan's merchant marine increased from 1,500,000 tons to 3,000,000 tons. An uninterrupted stream of gold flowed into Japan and her gold reserve was multiplied fivefold. Speculation flourished; the profits of shipping and other companies were colossal; thousands of millionaires were created. It was under the influence of the optimism induced by economic prosperity of this kind as well as by the spectacle of the mutual embarrassments of its European rivals, that Japan ventured upon the boldest and stupidest stroke in its whole history. Early in 1915 she presented a series of demands to China known as the Twenty-one Points.

The acceptance of these demands meant that China would simply be turned into a Japanese colony. China was in no condition to resist and had perforce to sign a treaty granting the demands on May 9th, 1915. When the Allies learned of the Japanese claims upon China they were thunderstruck. But having their hands full in Europe there was little chance of their making any impression on the "realpolitiker" in Japan. The Allies, therefore, simply acquiesced in the action of Japan. The

Japanese activities in China were acknowledged in the Peace Treaty, but for this reason the American Senate, in spite of the appeals of Woodrow Wilson, refused to ratify the Treaty and from this time began the campaign of American diplomacy for the encircling and isolating of Japan and for the destruction of her dominant position in the Far East.

The Washington Conference.

Emerging exhausted from the war, Britain could not face a new race of armaments. On the other hand, America had done well out of the struggle and being now the wealthiest country in the world could with ease proceed to carry out the construction programme authorised in 1916, which by 1926 would give her a fleet stronger than the British. But America's purpose was the diplomatic isolation of Japan. Therefore, she addressed herself to Britain and offered—on condition that the Anglo-Japanese alliance was broken off—to restrict her navy to a strength equal to that of Britain. Britain had no choice. So that when the Washington Conference on disarmament was held in 1922, Britain became a party to the Four-Power Pact under which, while the strength of the British fleet is in the ratio of 5-5 to the American, the strength of the Japanese fleet to each of the other two is only 3-5. The restriction of armaments was not really accomplished. For while up-to-date expert opinion considers the battleship and cruiser of less importance in modern warfare than the submarine and aeroplane, the limitation of the numbers of the former while leaving the building of the latter unrestricted, cannot be looked on as calculated to prevent future wars. A great parade was made at Washington of doing justice to China. Temporarily at least Japan had to retreat from many of the positions which she had seized in China; she had even to promise to evacuate Shantung. But nothing was really settled at Washington. The burning question of race equality and Japanese emigration was not even discussed. Little was accomplished in the way of limitation of armaments, which had not been already accomplished by the mere lapse of time. Japan had to retreat, to bide her time. The earthquake, which followed a year or two later, may, by the destruction it caused and the hole it has made in the finances of Japan, have delayed the declaration of war by a few years. But that war will occur in the Pacific soon there can be little doubt.

(Next month we publish a concluding and illuminating article on the Political Groupings in the Struggle for Supremacy in the Pacific. No student of international politics can afford to miss the opportunity of grasping the fundamentals of a situation which is pregnant with such far-reaching consequences to the world revolution.—Editor.)

“Frontovik”

(A LAD AT THE FRONT.)

By S. SVETAYEFF.

When you think of it
Your heart smoulders. . .

Your dusty eye squinted
Along the gun-barrel—
How many hot corners!
How many great deeds!

* * * *

No one cared much
For Kerensky's revolt;

But when Krasnoff came up
To the soldier-boys' Petersburg—
Red and hungry
Soldier-boys' "Pieter"—
We arose as one man
And could not be conquered:
—Petersburg for the Bolsheviks!

It was Lenin . . . the little
Wrinkle-eyed brother,
Who turned on the Clear Truth
Into our noddles.
I remember the meeting—
It reeked of Dark Plug—
It was then that I joined
With the Communists.

Rags . . .
In rags lousy
And shirts stained with blood,
We came out against Kaledin
On the fields,
On the Steppes
And on the bridges. . . .

Junkers we stuck
 On the point of our bayonets
 To teach 'em a lesson
 —Damn 'em and blast 'em!
 And then the Boss Farmers
 Came up with Denikin,
 The Kulaks
 And Koltchak:
 Everywhere enemies. . . .
 We rubbed up their bristles—

So hot that the maxim-guns
 Are not yet cooled.
 Revolt . . .
 Against crop-taxes
 —That's why the Communists
 Had their guts ripped.

Our job we did cleanly
 With rifles,
 Machine-guns
 And no hanky-panky.
 Long will the Kulaks
 Remember the Chekists
 And Nineteen-nineteen.

A long time they'll quake
 At the thought of the shooting
 By the Red Guard detachments . . .
 Long will their little souls
 Tremble within them,
 And their greasy fat jaws
 Will shiver and shake.

Here we are now,
 With bayonets glittering
 Rushing on happily
 Quite uncomplaining
 On the side of the Bolsheviks
 And the Third
 International.

Here we are now,
 Straight out of the fire,
 One with the heart of the millions . . .
 An order is given—
 We saddle our horses
 And follow
 Our fearless Budenny.

No matter if now
 We are barefoot and naked.
 What does it matter
 If we have no grub?
 The Red Army
 And Sailors
 Are building the brotherhood
 Of all tribes and lingos.

To the thick-skinned and fat we shout:
"Give up your boodle!"
 Or else the Revolt
 Of the whole of the World
 Will sweep you away
 With a bayonet-broom.

Spit, little Maxim! O spit, little Maxim!
 Well, comrade, let's eat our last crust!
 —Now, listen, Old World:
 We are not just for
 Petersburg, Moscow and Kharkov—
 We are for
 London,
 Paris,
 New York

Now, come on, you lads,
 You, too, ought to think
 On whom you will turn your attention!
 In the World we shall be
 A great Regiment
 Guarding
 The Bolshevik gate-posts.

. . . . It was Lenin: the little
 Wrinkle-eyed brother,
 Who turned on the Clear Truth
 Into our noddles
 I remember the meeting—
 It reeked of Dark Plug—
 It was then that I joined
 With the Communists.

March, 1850

THE REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS.

Address of the Central Committee of the League of Communists to Its Members in Germany. Supplement to the Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels.

Translated by M. HELLER.

BROTHERS—IN the two revolutionary years of 1848-49, the League of Communists has stood the test in dual fashion—once through the fact that its members everywhere had taken hold of the movement energetically, and had stood foremost in the ranks of the only decisive revolutionary class, the proletariat, in the publication of the press, on the barricades and on the battlefields. The League had further proved its worth, because its comprehension of the movement, as it was laid down in the circular letter sent out by the Congress and the Central Committee containing the Communist Manifesto of 1847, had proved to be the only correct one in that the expectations expressed in that official document had been completely fulfilled and that its conception of present-day social conditions (which previously had been only secretly advocated by the League) is now on the lips of the nations and is openly preached on the public squares. At the same time the previously strong organisation of the League has been seriously shattered. A large part of the membership, which had directly participated in the revolutionary movement, believed that the necessity for secret societies was over and that public activities alone were sufficient. The individual circles and (fellowship) societies permitted their connections with the Central Committee to slacken, and gradually broke off altogether.

While the Democratic Party, the party of the petty bourgeois, organised itself more and more in Germany, the workers' party lost its only strong footing and remained organised at the most in a few localities for local purposes only, and was, therefore, completely subordinated in the general movement to the rule and guidance of the petty-bourgeois Democrats. An end must now be made to these conditions and the independent activity of the workers **must be re-established**. The Central Committee realised this necessity, and, therefore, sent an emissary, Joseph Moll, to Germany in the winter of 1848-49 for the purpose of re-organising

the League. This mission of Moll's did not accomplish any lasting results, partly because the German workers at that time had not had enough experience and partly because the insurrection of last May interrupted the carrying out of this mission. Moll himself took up arms, entered the army of Baden-Pfalz and fell on the 19th of July in the battle of the Murg. The League sustained a loss of one of its oldest, most active and trustworthy members, who had participated in all party congresses and Central Committee meetings and had previously carried out a series of secret missions with great success. After the defeat of the revolutionary parties of Germany and France in 1849, practically all the members of the Central Committee, supplied with new revolutionary energy, reassembled again in London and urged on the re-organisation of the League with renewed zeal.

This re-organisation can only succeed through an emissary and the Central Committee especially considers it of the highest importance that the emissary should leave at this moment when a new revolution is approaching, when the workers' party must be as well organised as possible and must appear in the arena as united and as independent as possible if it is not to be exploited and taken in tow by the bourgeoisie.

Brothers! We told you as early as 1848, that the German Liberal bourgeoisie would soon come into power and would immediately turn its newly-achieved power against the workers. You have seen how this prophecy was fulfilled. In reality it was the bourgeoisie who, after the March movement of 1848, took possession of the State power and used this power to throw back the workers, its recent allies, into their former oppressed position. Could not the bourgeoisie accomplish this suppression of the workers without allying itself with the feudal party, which had been swept aside in March, without finally abandoning the government again to this party of feudal absolutism? If this had not been done it would now have already been possible for the revolutionary movement to pass into a so-called peaceful development. For, had they not, on account of the financial embarrassment of the government, permanently assured themselves of such conditions which would permit the mastery of the government to slip again into their hands and thus safeguard all their interests? The bourgeoisie would have had more than one opportunity, in order to safeguard its own rule, to make itself hated by the use of forcible measures against the people since all these repressive measures have already been used by the feudal counter-revolution. However, the development of the revolution will not take this peaceful course. On the contrary, the revolution, which the bourgeois rule will accelerate, is imminently before us, whether it be through a new independent rising of the French proletariat, or through the invasion of the Holy Alliance against the "revolution-

ary rabble." And the role, this traitorous role, which the German Liberal bourgeoisie of 1848 played against the people will be taken over by the democratic petty bourgeoisie who, as an opposition party, will take the same position in the approaching revolution, as did the Liberal bourgeoisie of 1848. This Democratic Party which is far more dangerous to the workers than the Liberals were previously, is composed of three elements:

1. Of the most progressive parts of the great bourgeoisie, who have as their aim the immediate and complete overthrow of feudalism and absolutism. This faction is represented by the late Berliner Vereinbaren—the tax-objectors.
2. Out of the most democratic constitutional petty bourgeoisie whose principal purpose during the recent movement was the establishment of a more or less democratic United States of Germany as striven for by its representatives in the left faction of the Frankfort Assembly, later in the Stuttgart Assembly, and in the campaign for the Federal Constitution.
3. Out of the republican petty bourgeoisie, whose ideal is a German federated republic, after the manner of Switzerland, and who now call themselves "Red" and "Social-Democratic," because they cherish the pious wish to abolish the pressure of the large bourgeoisie against the petty bourgeoisie. The representatives of this faction were the members of the Democratic Congress and Committee, the directors of the Democratic societies and the editors of the Democratic newspapers.

All these factions call themselves after their defeat "Republicans" or "Reds," just as the republican petty bourgeoisie in Frankfort now call themselves "Socialists," but whereas in Wurtemberg, Bavaria, etc., they still find the opportunity to accomplish their purposes by constitutional means, they take advantage of this opportunity to stow away their old phrases, and prove that in practice they have not changed in the slightest. It further stands to reason that the altered name of this party does not change their relationship to the workers in the slightest degree, but it simply proves that when they form a united front against the bourgeoisie and feudal absolutism they are compelled to lean on the proletariat for aid.

The petty bourgeois Democratic Party in Germany is very powerful; it includes not only the great majority of the middle class population of the cities—the small industrial merchants and the guild masters, it also includes the peasantry and the land proletariat in its following, so long as the latter has not yet found a support in the independent proletariat of the cities.

The circumstances, in which the revolutionary workers' party finds itself, make it go hand-in-hand with the petty bourgeois

Democratic Party against the faction which it proposes to overthrow, but the party of the workers assumes the attitude of opposition in all matters where the petty bourgeoisie wishes to secure its own position. The democratic petty bourgeoisie, which is far from desiring to revolutionise the whole of society for the proletariat, strives for a change in social conditions whereby the present society will be made as bearable and as comfortable as possible for itself. It, therefore, desires above all to decrease the governmental expenditure through restriction on the bureaucracy and the imposition of the principal taxes on the large landowners and bourgeoisie. It further demands the removal of the pressure of large capital upon small capital through the establishment of public credit institutions and the passage of laws against usurers through which it will be possible to obtain loans for itself and for the peasantry on more favourable terms than from the capitalists. It further desires the establishment of bourgeois property relationship on the land through the complete abolition of feudalism. In order to carry all this through it requires a democratic, that is, a constitutional republican government which would give it and its allies, the peasantry, the majority, and a democratic municipal system of Government which would place in their hands direct control over municipal property and over a series of political functions (political offices) which are now exercised by the bureaucrats.

The rule of capital and its quick growth would be further counteracted by them partly through the restriction of the right of inheritance and partly by the assumption of as many public works by the State as possible. As far as the workers are concerned, it remains definite that they are to remain in the same position as heretofore, only the democratic petty bourgeoisie desires to secure for the workers a better wage and a more secure existence; it hopes to achieve this purpose through temporary employment of workers by the State and through welfare measures. In short it hopes to bribe the workers more or less through indirect alms, and to break their revolutionary energy by momentarily rendering their condition bearable. The demands of the petty bourgeois democracy, herein included, are not made simultaneously by all its factions, but in their collectivity they hang suspended in the air as the established goal of a few of its adherents. These demands can in no way satisfy the party of the proletariat.

While the democratic petty bourgeoisie wishes to bring the revolution to as swift a conclusion as possible through the carrying out at the most of the above-mentioned demands, it is in our interest and it is our task to make the revolution permanent until all propertied classes are more or less dispossessed, the governmental power acquired by the proletariat and the association of proletarians, achieved not only in one country, but in all import-

ant countries of the world, thus ending the competition of the proletariat in these countries. And we must keep this revolution going permanently until the most important productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletariat. With us it cannot be a mere matter of a change in the form of private property, but of destroying it as an institution; not in hushing up class antagonisms but in abolishing all classes; not in the improvement of present-day society but in the foundation of a new society. There is no doubt whatsoever that the petty bourgeois democracy will for the moment acquire the preponderating influence during the development of the revolution in Germany. The question therefore arises, what should be the attitude of the proletariat and especially the League of Communists towards the petty bourgeois democracy—

(1) During the continuation of the present relations when the petty bourgeois Democrats are still oppressed?

(2) In the coming revolutionary struggle, during which the petty bourgeois Democrats will obtain the preponderance of power?

(3) After the struggle during the period when the petty bourgeois Democrats will exercise their preponderance of power over the classes that have just been overthrown and over the proletariat?

First: At the moment when the democratic petty bourgeoisie are everywhere oppressed, they in general preach unity and reconciliation with the proletariat; they try to tie its hands and strive to create a great opposition party that will include all shades of opinion in the democratic party, which means that they strive to entangle the workers in a party organisation in which the general Social-Democratic phrases predominate and behind which their special class interests are hidden. But the definite demands of the proletariat must, of course, not be brought forward for the sake of peace and tranquillity. Such a unity would only accrue to their advantage entirely and to the disadvantage of the proletariat. The proletariat would lose its whole independent position bought at such a steep price and would sink down again to be an appendage of the official bourgeois democracy. This unity must be rejected in a most decisive manner. Instead of letting themselves down to the bourgeois Democrats to serve them as a sort of applauding choir, the workers (and above all the League) must work for the establishment of an independent secret and open organisation of the worker's party by the side with the official Democrats, and make every community a centre and a nucleus of workers' societies, in which the position and interests of the proletariat should be discussed independently of bourgeois influences. How earnest the bourgeois Democrats are in the desire for an alliance can be seen

from the example of the Breslau Democrats who in their organ "Neuen Oder Zeitung" attack the independently organised workers, whom they call "Socialists," in the most rabid manner. In the case where a struggle against a common enemy exists a special kind of alliance is unnecessary. As soon as it becomes necessary to fight such an enemy directly, the interests of both parties fall together for the moment and this momentary connection will be established in the future as it has been done previously. It is understood that in the coming bloody conflicts, as in all the previous ones, it will be the workers principally who will achieve victory by their courage, decisiveness and self-sacrifice. As before, the petty bourgeoisie, en masse, will again hesitate to enter this struggle, keeping themselves inactive and undecided as long as possible, and then as soon as victory has been decided they will endeavour to annex it for themselves. They will call upon the workers to keep the peace and return to their work in order to avoid the so-called excesses and then proceed to cut the workers off from the fruits of victory. It does not lie in the power of the workers to prevent the petty bourgeoisie from doing this, but it does lie in their power to make it as difficult as possible to use their power against the armed proletariat, and to dictate such conditions to them, that the rule of the bourgeois Democrats will beforehand carry within itself the germ of its own destruction, so that their displacement later by the rule of the proletariat will be made considerably easier. During the conflict and immediately after the struggle, the workers must counteract, above all things and in so far as it is at all possible, the bourgeois instigations to rebellion by forcing the Democrats to carry out themselves their present terroristic phrases. They must strive that the immediate revolutionary excitement manifesting itself is not suppressed again soon after the victory. On the contrary they must support it as long as possible. Far from coming out against the so-called excesses (the examples of the people's revenge against hated individuals or public buildings which are bound up with hated reminiscences) it is necessary not merely to tolerate these examples, but it will be necessary for you to take them over under your own guidance. During the struggle and after the struggle, the workers at every opportunity must put up their own demands in contradistinction to the demands put forward by the bourgeois Democrats. They must demand guarantees for the workers as soon as the bourgeois Democrats get ready to take over the government into their own hands. In case of necessity, they must obtain these guarantees by force and especially see to it that the new rulers should obligate themselves to as many concessions and pledges as possible. The surest way is to force them to compromise themselves. They must check as far as possible all manifestations of intoxication for the victory and enthusiasm for the new state of affairs which set in after every victorious street battle,

and must express candidly their lack of confidence in the new government in every way through a cold-blooded analysis of the new state of affairs. They must simultaneously erect their own revolutionary workers' government hard by the new official government whether it be in the form of executive committees, community councils, workers' clubs or workers' committees, so that the bourgeoisie democratic government should not only immediately lose its restraint over the workers, but on the contrary they must at once see themselves watched over and threatened by an authority behind which stand the mass of the workers. In a word: from the first moment of the victory and after it, the distrust of the workers must not be directed any more against the conquered reactionary party, but against their previous ally, the petty bourgeois Democrats, who desire to exploit the common victory for themselves.

Second: But in order to be able to energetically and threateningly oppose this party, whose treason to the workers will start from the very first hour of the victory, the workers must be armed and organised. The arming of the whole proletariat with flint muskets, guns, cannon and munitions must be carried through immediately, and the revival of the old Citizens' Guard, directed against the workers, must be opposed. However, where it is not possible to carry through this latter objective, the workers must attempt to organise themselves independently as proletarian guards with their own chiefs and a general staff elected by themselves and to place themselves not under the orders of the existing State power, but under the revolutionary community-councils, organised through the efforts of the workers. Where workers are employed in State accounting work they must organise and arm themselves into a special corps with a self-elected chief or as a part of the proletarian guard. The workers must not permit their arms and munitions to be taken out of their hands under any pretext; every attempt to disarm the proletariat must be frustrated by force if necessary. The destruction of the influence of the bourgeois Democrats upon the workers, immediate, independent and armed organisations of the workers, the creation of conditions that will be as burdensome and as compromising as possible for the bourgeois democracy, whose momentary rule will be inevitable; these are the principal points which the proletariat and also the League must keep in mind during the approaching uprising.

Third: As soon as the new government has established itself, the struggle against the workers will begin. In order that the workers should be able to oppose the democratic petty bourgeoisie with force, it is necessary above all that they should be independently organised in clubs and centralised. The Central Committee of the League will come to Germany as quickly as possible,

soon after the overthrow of the present government, and will immediately convene a congress and lay before it the necessary proposals for the centralisation of the workers' clubs, under a directorship functioning from the central point of the movement. The quick organisation of provincial connections of the workers' clubs is one of the most important points in the strengthening and development of the workers' party. The immediate consequences of the overthrow of the existing government will be the election of a national representative body. The proletariat must here take care of the following:

1. Not to permit any large number of workers to be excluded from voting under any kind of pretext through the chicanery of the local authorities and government commissioners.

2. The workers' candidates, who should consist as far as possible of members of the League, should be put up in opposition to those of the petty bourgeois Democratic candidates. The election of our candidates is to be striven for by all possible means. Even in those localities where there is no prospect of carrying them through the workers must put up their own candidates in order to preserve their own independence, in order to be able to calculate their own forces and in order to bring their revolutionary attitude and party standpoint before the public mind. They must not permit themselves to be corrupted by the phrases of the Democrats, as for example, that the Democratic party will be split because of the independent action of the workers, and that it will make possible the victory of the reaction. When such phrases are used, the final result is that the proletariat will always be swindled. The progress which the proletarian party must make through such independent appearance is infinitely more important than the disadvantage accruing from the presence of several reactionaries in the representative body. If the proletarian democracy comes out in the very beginning with determination and with terroristic acts against the reaction the influence of the reaction at the elections will moreover be destroyed in advance.

The first point at which the bourgeois Democrats will come into conflict with the workers will be on the question of the abolition of feudalism. As in the first French Revolution the petty bourgeois will give the feudal lands freely to the peasantry, that means that it will permit the land proletariat to remain in the same position as heretofore, as they desire a petty bourgeois peasant class which will go through the same cycle of impoverishment and indebtedness with which the French peasantry is now afflicted.

In the interest of the proletariat the workers must come out in opposition to this plan. They must demand that the confiscated

feudal property should be converted into State farms to be used as labour colonies, which the land proletariat should exploit with all the advantages of large-scale farming, and through which the principle of collective property should immediately achieve a strong basis in the midst of the weakening bourgeois property relationships. The workers must combine with the land proletariat just as the Democrats combine with the peasantry. The Democrats will further work either for the establishment of a federated republic or in case they are not in a position to avoid the establishment of the republic one and indivisible, will seek to paralyse the central government by demanding the utmost autonomy and independence for the municipalities and provinces. In opposition to this plan the workers must strive not only for the establishment of the German republic one and indivisible, but also for the most decisive centralisation of force in the hands of the State. They must not permit themselves to be fooled by the Democrats' talk of freedom for the local communities, self-government, etc. In a country like Germany where there are so many of the remains of feudalism to be abolished, where so many local and provincial individualisms must be broken up, it must under no circumstances be tolerated that every village, city and province should become a hindrance to revolutionary activity, which can only be developed to its full power from one central point. It must not be tolerated that the present conditions should be re-enacted whereby the Germans must fight separately in every city and province for the same amount of progress.

As in France in 1793 the execution of the strictest form of centralisation is to-day the task of the genuine revolutionary party.

We have seen how the Democrats may be expected to come into power at the next revolutionary movement, how they will be compelled to propose more or less Socialistic measures. It will be asked what measures should the workers propose in contrast. In the beginning of the movement, the workers will naturally not be able to propose any direct Communist measures, however they can—

(1) Compel the Democrats to encroach as far as possible upon the existing system of society in order to interfere with its regular development and thus make them compromise their own position, thus to force as many of the productive forces, transportation, means, factories, railroads, as possible to be concentrated into the hands of the State.

(2) They must drive the proposals of the Democrats, which in any case are not revolutionary but reformistic, to the extreme and transform these proposals into direct attacks upon private

property; as for example, if the petty bourgeoisie propose to buy out the railroads and factories, then the workers must demand that the railroads and factories, since they are the property of the reactionaries, must simply be confiscated by the State without compensation. If the democrats propose proportional taxes they must demand the progressive (income) taxes; if the Democrats themselves bring forward a proposal for a moderate progressive (income) tax, then the workers must insist on a tax, the rates of which to be so steep that large capital would soon go to smash as a result; if the Democrats demand the regulation of the State debt, the workers must insist upon its repudiation (State bankruptcy). The demands of the workers, therefore, will everywhere depend on the concessions and measures advanced by the Democrats.

Even if the German workers will not be able to come to power and carry through their class interests, then they have the certainty this time that the first act of this approaching revolutionary drama will be simultaneous with the direct victory of their own class in France and will be very much expedited by it.

But they will accomplish the greatest part of their final victory for themselves through self-enlightenment as to their class interests, by taking their own independent party attitude as early as possible, and by not permitting themselves to be fooled as to the necessity for the independent organisation of the party by the proletariat by the hypocritical phrases of the democratic petty bourgeoisie. Their battlecry must always be, "The Permanent Revolution!"



"On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it we are lost, because we are no longer Socialists. The strength and power of Socialism rests in the fact that we are leading a class struggle."—(William Liebknecht.)

France's "Ticky Ulster"

By ADAM CARDON.

THE most important fact about the French financial crisis is not its permanence, but its unreality. It is an artificial crisis, created by the politicians and the bankers. At first sight the figures seem formidable indeed. The total debt of the French Government is no less than 300,000,000,000 francs. Of this sum roughly 150,000,000,000 francs represent the Rente—the consolidated debt; 50,000,000,000 are owed to the Banque de France and other big financial houses; while the remaining 100,000,000,000 represent short term loans and bonds, repayable in varying periods, ranging from a month to ten years.

Now that all sounds very formidable. But these francs are paper francs; and the sterling rate of exchange is round about 130 to £1.

The total internal indebtedness, therefore, works out at only about £2,300,000,000. The external debt I leave aside for the moment, since neither interest nor sinking fund is being paid upon it. The effective British debt is over three times as great—£7,708,000,000. The expenditure last year on debt services was roughly £140,000,000. The British expenditure on debt services was £350,000,000.

It is fairly clear that a not very considerable effort would enable the French Government not only to meet without difficulty the service and its internal debt, but also to make adequate provision for the service and its £1,500,000,000 or so of external debt—a provision which should cost something over £70,000,000 a year.

But no French Government since the war has shown any sign of determination to meet its obligations. The country is not hard pressed economically. It is flourishing. It is not over-taxed. It is, by post-war standards, grotesquely undertaxed. But it will not balance its budget. It leaves itself year after year with budgetary deficits which at present amount to about £30,000,000. This without reckoning in the anticipated Dawes receipts of some £50,000,000.

Why then does France which could with ease balance her budget, deliberately abstain from doing so? The failure exposes her Ministry of Finance to all the troublesome business of arrang-

ing stop-gap devices—short loans, currency inflations and so on—to meet day to day expenditure. It makes her currency the most unstable in the world. It produces a series of political crises. Its disadvantages are obvious. What are the advantages?

The first leaps to the eye. Yet it is never spoken of in polite society. France is determined not to commit what every French politician regards as the imbecile folly of Mr. Baldwin. She is determined not to pay her war debts in full, or anything like in full. In plain language she is out to bilk her creditors. And every practitioner of that gentle art who has ever hounded a County Court judge knows the first rule of his profession is to sham shabby. Enter the Court in a fur coat, with a Rolls Royce waiting at the door, and you will pay 20 shillings in the pound. But put on a "ticky ulster and a broken billycock 'at," and you'll likely enough get off with five shillings on easy terms.

France's budget deficit is precisely her ticky ulster. It is uncomfortable to wear. But it is worth a lot to her. She will walk shabbily in the face of the world until she has persuaded the Treasuries of London and Washington that she really can't pay more than a very little. M. Caillaux went to both with his hat in his hands and tears in his eyes, appealing to the so famous generosity of the Anglo-Saxons, pleading that only the cancellation of the greater part of the debt would allow France to live.

But not all his tears could lure the hard-faced men of Washington to cancel half a dime. They smilingly replied that France's economic situation was so assured that within a few years she would be able to pay in full.

M. Caillaux had had better, though only slightly better, luck in London. Elaborately displaying the ulster and the broken hat, he had offered—as the utmost effort of which a penurious country was capable—payments equivalent to six and eightpence in the pound. Treasury officials, not over impressed by this shabby gentility were ready, for the sake of a settlement, to compound at thirteen and fourpence in the pound—represented by annual payments of £20,000,000 as against M. Caillaux's proposed £10,000,000.

But there were political influences at work. The Foreign Office, with its eyes on Russia and on Mosul, was pressing for easy terms in return for diplomatic support. M. Caillaux played skilfully on Tory fears of Bolshevism. It was not without effect. Much to the annoyance of the hard-headed men of the Treasury, the Cabinet offered a ten shillings in the pound settlement—annuities of £12,500,000. Further, in the face of tax-paying opinion, it dared not go.

M. Caillaux, making the best of a bad job, took the offer home with him. And that was the end of the matter. France has no intention of paying anything like half her debts. The most M. Caillaux would go to the month after in America was £8,000,000 a year to meet a claim for £26,000,000—again the six and eightpenny feature. The Americans, as I have said, peremptorily told him that if that was his idea of an offer he had better go home.

So M. Caillaux, baffled in the role of persuasive and impetuous debtor, went home and struck a new attitude, declaring that he had refused to sign a bond which would place France in chains. The thought that the bonds had all been signed long ago and that he had only been asked to honour them, might have spared the gesture had it occurred to anybody.

The ticky ulster had failed of its purpose. But now that it was time to take it off, it proved to be turned into a Nessus' shirt, clinging obstinately to the skin. The financial crisis developed a will to live. It had become a vested interest.

Years of financial slackness had produced a distinct reluctance to accept new taxes, or even to pay the old ones. The French had said, for the benefit of their creditors, that every day and in every way their Exchequer was more and more broke. The Coué incantation began to work. The fictitious crisis began to assume reality. For the Chamber, motived either by political intrigues or sectional interests, or just plain human unwillingness to pay up, opposed any and every plan for balancing the budget. It transferred the principle of creditor-bilking from abroad to at home. It would not hear of new taxes, it would not hear of increasing old taxes, it would not hear of inflation, it would not hear of a capital levy.

M. Caillaux fell. M. Painlevé rose and fell. M. Doumer is on his feet as I write, but none too steadily.

Yet I do not anticipate that the crisis will last much longer, or that France is on the edge of a crash that may bring either revolution or a dictatorship of the Right.

Politicians are by nature cowardly, and having run the country to the very verge of a crisis they would probably recoil in a panic, and, having rejected every project of taxation, will in a fit of nerves accept any project which a ministry driven to firmness, peremptorily presents to them.

“The working class have no country. What they have not got you cannot take from them.”—(Karl Marx.)

How to Produce Factory Papers

By JOHN McLAUCHLAN.

THE re-organisation of the Communist Party on the basis of factory groups raises the question of what are the best methods of rallying the workers to the Party. In this connection probably the most important immediate task is the production of a factory paper. Through the factory paper the group can carry its propaganda to the most backward workers; and the paper connects the Party with the masses, operating as a force in their midst. The workers begin to feel the existence of a group striving to direct them in their daily struggle. The special characteristic of a factory paper is that it is produced by workers for workers, showing complete understanding of the outlook of those employed in the factory and, therefore, sensitive to every move that takes place.

Composition of the Factory Paper.

The title is very important. It should be appropriate to the factory itself. The heading should be bold enough to lend an appearance of permanence and solidity to the paper. If artistic embellishment is wanted the drawing should be carefully done. Too much detail is to be avoided and too much space should not be used. The fact that the paper is a Communist Party Factory Group organ should be stated under the title. Date and number of issue should be given.

The editorials require great consideration and care in their composition. In a first issue the need for the paper should be stated in such a way as to encourage the acceptance of the paper as the workers' own. For future issues the group should discuss the attitude of the workers toward the previous issues and what comments have been made on it. The points discussed should form the basis of the Editorial and should be signed by the Editor, an attractive "nom-de-plume" being adopted. If the Editorial Notes show signs of becoming popular, the editor should supply a short article to the "Workers' Weekly" and by advertising the article at the works many new readers could be won for the Party official organ.

In making up the paper double columns should be used, with

the exception of the editorial, which should extend across the whole of the page.

Short Articles.

In writing articles for the paper the group should remember the need for simple language. Too many expletives should be avoided; it is the very **occasional** expletive which is effective—and perhaps needless to say, when used should be clean. A dictatorial attitude to the workers should never be adopted. They like that as little as do the members of our groups. Expressions such as “Henry Dubbs” should not be used. Leave affectation of superiority to the Mensheviks—it is not in keeping with Bolshevism.

The main article should deal with the questions most vitally concerning your fellow workers. This is what will give a specifically factory character to the paper. In order to draw the workers into working class political life, endeavours should be made to link up workshop grievances with outstanding political questions, such as the Dawes Plan in relation to short time, unemployment and low wages. Only attack individuals if there is general resentment against such. Nothing antagonises the workers more than what might appear as an unjustifiable attack, particularly in unsigned articles.

Cartoons and Correspondence Columns.

Cartoons, if not given too much space, are splendid features if they convey in a clear way a message on a topical question. Great care should be taken in seeing that it reproduces well and in this connection it should be remembered that too great detail is to be avoided. Originality should be aimed at if any of the comrades have ability to draw moderately well. If such talent is not available particularly apt cartoons might be traced from other Party papers.

In “Answers to Correspondents” a means of introducing humour with a point to it is afforded. But a serious attempt should be made to get genuine letters from workers outside the group. It is not always possible to publish in full, but if edited and shortened the main points should be brought out. This is a valuable link between the paper and the workers and will ensure a steady circulation.

And it should never be forgotten that the paper should be the product of the combined efforts of the group, the members of which should meet and discuss its leading articles and general make-up. The local or district Factory Group Committees should have matter submitted to them for approval or otherwise. This

is particularly important when doubt exists on correct political lead.

Distribution and Finance.

The local Factory Group Committees should select comrades for distributing the paper at the factory gates. These comrades should, if possible, be unemployed members or working in some other industry so as to avoid victimisation. Contents bills should be displayed and pay-day chosen for special concentration of sellers at all works' entrances. When there are no contents bills the walls and pavements can be chalked.

The paper should not be given free. To do so is to add to the financial burden of the Local and cheapen it in the eyes of the workers. If the sales after a few issues do not cover the costs then there is something wrong with the paper. Strict account of all money received and expended should be kept and records of sales reported to the district Factory Groups Department.

Line of Development.

The group should be constantly on the alert to ascertain the effect the paper has produced. The articles spoken favourably of should be noted and particular attention given to any criticisms made. There should be no loose talk as to who is responsible for publication if victimisation is to be avoided. Members of factory groups should make themselves acquainted with the contents of as many Party publications as possible, remembering always that clarity of outlook is even more essential now that every Party is tackling publicity work. The Party publications should be advertised, particularly the "Workers' Weekly" and the "Review." And always remember that it is your duty to build up the Party membership. The speedy success of the working class in the struggle for emancipation depends largely on **your efforts here and now.**

"Socialists anticipate violence only because they know the evil nature of the beast they contend with."—(James Connolly: "Labour, Nationality and Religion.")

Labour Problems in South Africa

By DAVE RAMSAY.

ALL questions concerning the policy of Labour in the Union of South Africa are affected and complicated by the existence of a numerically predominant native and coloured population. The existence of this source of cheap labour power has been of great assistance to European capitalists in the development of South Africa's resources. Imported Indian labourers in Natal made the sugar industry a profitable undertaking, made tea planting a success, laid the railways and sank coal mines. The gold mines are dependent on an adequate supply of native labour; while throughout the Union the coloured worker of various races supplies the demand for cheap labour for not only unskilled but in many cases skilled work which brings him into competition with European artisans. Farm work is almost entirely done by natives under the supervision of white taskmasters.

The unskilled European worker is thus placed in a very unfortunate position. Competition with native labour keeps his wages down to a very low level. Tradition demands that he make a show of maintaining a higher standard of living than he can afford; the result is the creation of a social problem known as the "poor white," an outcast from his own race whose very presence is looked upon as an insult to the ruling caste. The advisability of the deportation of all "poor whites" to other colonies is now under serious consideration. At the same time new plans are being made for the importation of more cheap native labour from neighbouring Portuguese colonies. The vile conditions of labour create a shortage of unskilled men in the mines and a disproportion of unskilled and skilled labour is disorganising things so much that many white miners are being discharged—very soon to reach the level of the "poor whites" who are to be deported.

Naturally the natives are beginning to take an interest in social and political questions, and demands are being made for enfranchisement. Equal political rights would immediately put the natives in control and partial rights would still further stimulate native interest in political questions affecting their lives and lead to a demand for the extension of the franchise. This the white ruling class refuses to consider. It would be the beginning of the end of white rule.

The problem, however, has become a pressing one. The latest proposal is to segregate the native and coloured races by allotting certain territories to their use, permitting them to form and elect administrative councils of their own (with very limited powers to deal with questions affecting natives only) and giving them the "privilege" of electing a small number of **white** men to "represent" them in the Union Parliament. They would then, we are told, have a chance to develop their own culture in their own way. Labourers would be drafted into the industrial areas as required to meet the need for cheap labour. It is not said whether a regular "nigger" hunting season would be proclaimed.

The growth of population among the natives is also a very big problem. If this goes on there will arise the necessity of allocating more and more territory to the natives—unless it is proposed to restrict them to the original lands allocated and allow the population to be regulated by the survival of the fittest in a land too small to meet the needs of a growing community.

Such are the problems of capitalist imperialism in South Africa: now let us consider the attitude of the white workers in this matter.

Attitude of the White Workers.

Ever since the days of Karl Marx, Labour and Socialist leaders and speakers have rendered lip service to the necessity of organising the workers of the world into an International of Labour without distinction of race, colour or creed. In actual practice, however, the duty of assisting the workers in the more backward countries has been tacitly ignored. The heroes of the Second International find it inconvenient to organise the workers of the subject races and at the same time take over the responsibility of running the governments of their respective countries for the bourgeoisie. "Continu-

ity of policy" cannot be squared with a policy of enlightening slaves and organising them for war on their imperialist masters. The colonial workers, therefore, must be sacrificed for the political advancement of Labour opportunists.

Old settlers in South Africa have all the traditional contempt for the natives engendered by generations of domination. This contempt is mixed by fear that any encouragement given to the natives will eventually end in South Africa becoming a Black Republic wherein Europeans will be classed as foreigners, and economic and political advantages will be a thing of the past. Many perfectly good trade unionists go out there with notions of racial equality, but the atmosphere of white superiority is too much for their vaguely held convictions to withstand. Their racial vanity is appealed to by the imperialist propagandists of the press and platform. The backwardness of the natives is pointed out as evidence of their inherent inferiority. They know too little to understand the real causes of that backwardness. The immigrant worker joins the ranks of those who oppose unity with the native labourer and lines up with the imperialists in "keeping the nigger in his place."

The trade unions of South Africa are against the inclusion of coloured workers and the South African Labour Party takes the same stand. It is difficult and sometimes positively dangerous to advocate that natives be admitted to the ranks of the trade unions, in spite of the obvious fact that as things are the bosses can and do use them as blacklegs in times of dispute. There is no colour line where profits are concerned; dividends produced by native labour are just as welcome as dividends produced by white labour. The process of wage reduction is bound to go on so long as this policy of exclusion remains. On this question the fault lies entirely with the white worker; the natives would gladly organise if only they had the chance.

The Communist Party of South Africa is the only party which has the courage to advocate the unity of black and white on the basis of the class struggle, keeping, as all sections of the Communist International always do, their working class outlook on all questions bearing on the problem of how to defeat capitalism. We recognise the difficulties of our comrades and know how hard it is to build a large party in face of the opposition of official Labour to an all-inclusive workers' federation, but we also know that time is on our

side and that sooner or later the white worker will realise that he is merely carrying out the policy of the master who oppresses him while getting his help to oppress the native. The united front against capitalism involves a united front of workers of all races against imperialism. Contact with capitalism in any of its phases contaminates the workers' forces, breaks its morale and brings defeat where victory would otherwise be possible.

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Printed by CENTROPRESS, LTD. (T.U. throughout), 68 & 70 Lant St.,
Borough, London, S.E.1.