

Vol. IX. No. 413.

FRIDAY, APRIL 18, 1924.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

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Cheek.

Mrs. Jan Smuts-calls upon every woman in South Africa to do her/best for Smuts and the S.A.P. in the forthcoming election, and advises them to remember that "the vote of the humblest day labourer counts for as much as that of the highest in the land.

How really nice of her! After this who could resist voting into power the man who ruthlessly shot down hundreds of humble workers for the crime of refusing to bow the knee to the Chamber of Mines and threw thousands of others on to the streets for less and then offered them relief work at a few pence a day.

Equality.

There are in the S.A. Union sixty-three people each having annual incomes between £10,000 and £20,000, and nine have MORE than £20,000, so says the Official Year Book of the Union.

It does not tell us how many thousands are existing on the verge of starvation and existing under the most degrading couditions.

But as there can be no negative without a positive so it is inevitable that there cannot be a few rich without many being poor.

Easily Satisfied.

At the third annual Congress of the South African Association of Municipal Employees the chairman, Mr. Jse. Mackay, the Town Clerk of Germiston, referred to the Conciliation Bill as "a Charter of Liberty."

Mr. Mackay appears to be easily satis-

A glow of thankfulness must have suffused the hearts of the loyal Pretorians when on the occasion of the civic welcome to the latest of our kaleidoscopic collection of excellencies, her royal highness's husband said he was sure the Prince of Wales would not disappoint us but would come to South Africa as soon as the elections were over.

How perfectly lovely. And how the Pact, not to say packed, ladies will revel in anticipation of basking in the smiles of a real live heir-apparent.

duggernaut.

The train which conveyed the new Governor-General to Preteria smashed into a ganger's trolley at Rietfontein and killed the ganger.

It reads quite like the good old days when the ignorant and fanatical mob. hurled themselves under the wheels of Emperor's chariots in their frenzy of loyalty.

One wonders how much the unfortunate ganger's widow and children will receive in compensation from His Excellency or the Railway Administration.

MacDonald Assists German Shipowners.

It is not generally known that the strike of German seamen against their atrocious wages which took place in British ports was broken largely through the action of the British "Labour" Government.

MacDonald brought into force a wartime law, which had fallen into disuse, which forbids any German to land in England, and under this EXPELLED ALL THE GERMAN STRIKING SEAMEN FROM BRITAIN. This broke the strike and threw the German seamen on the tender mercies of MacDonald's Social-Democratic friends, Noske and Ebert, who allowed the shipowners to confiscate their pay and clothing and to place them on the black list.

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

Logic.

Tielman Roos asserts in a letter to the Press that General Smuts not only expects but also HOPES for defeat.

He further argues that Smuts is much more likely to profit by defeat.

Then it may be asked why spend so much money, time and energy to defeat shim?

Why not withdraw all the Labour and Nationalist candidates and give Smuts a walk over?

The plain man is finding it increasingly difficult to follow the political gymnastics of the opposition. He wants to blot out Smuts the butcher, but would like a bit more clarity from the various leaders of the Labour-Nationalist opposition.

His Master's Voice.

The leading bankers of Britain have indicated their wishes regarding the terms which should be imposed on the Russian Soviet Government before full recognition is given.

They are very interesting and, of course, Premier MacDonald will give them serious and probably favourable consideration.

If adopted in their entirely they would put an end to the Workers' State and make it a second China, a happy hunting ground for the British and other foreign capitalist exploiter.

We can, however, trust the representatives of the Russian workers' government to safeguard the liberties which the Russian workers have obtained with such colossal suffering and unexampled heroism.

Oil Again.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the South African Gold. Trust in London. Lord Harris alluded to the rich deposits of oil shale in Esthonia and gave some figures indicating their importance.

The passion for the independence of the Baltic provinces and the blood that was shed to wrench them from Soviet Russia is probably to be explained, as so many other obscure incidents in the great war and after, by the modern moloch Oil.

Six Years of the Red Army

(By L. Trotzky.)

periods. The first three years were years rial resources of town and country, to use of chaotic growth of the army, where the all the old stocks of the country and to solution of each new task called for the expose the mass of the workers to severe, creation of new regiments and divisions deprivations. The second three-year out of nothing. Those were three years of continuous struggles. The chain of small | Policy. The material means of the land wars became a great civil war, and in the course of this war the Revolution ensured its existence. The army was built up by the progressive worker who had mobilised the infantry, and in the same way the day the army must more than ever remain | This is the inevitable result of the antiartillery was created. The creation of the revolutionary cavalry was the most diffi cult task of all, because the homes of the old cavalry were the steppes which were inhabited by the richest of the peasants and Cossacks. The raising of the cavalry was the greatest achievement of the first period.

The war against Poland struck the balance of the first three years and rewere revealed, revolutionary courage, unexampled enthusiasm and great capabiliinsufficient preparation, weaknesses of resistance. The army advanced irresistibly but when it came to the retreat, there was also no stopping it. The first three years left us a legacy of material disintegration and exhaustion, a great experience in war, and many thousands of new commanders up out of the earth during the civil war and who brought courage, initiative and moral and political authority with them into the army. The result of the Polish war dealt the army and especially the class of young commanders and commissaries a tion. severe blow. This severe pang, however, soon passed over into a striving after knowledge.

the reduction and reorganisation of the army. The task was to adapt the army to the material resources of the country, but at the same time to the international situation. But the international cituation has changed and the material resources are difficult to estimate. That was the reason for the frequent reductions and reorganisations, and each one of these forms a large and difficult chapter in the inner life of the army. Alongside of a consistent reorganisation, the army was reduced to onefifth. At the same time the military schools have brought up and educated the young generation, and the military academies make it possible for the veteran commanders of the civil war to think over the experience that has been gathered and to compile it systematically. Like its younger brother organisation, the Red Navy, the Red Army was always the reflection of the inner force and the methods of the revolution in its composition, its organisation, in its tasks and difficulties and in its spirit. The army was and remains the armed alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of tried Communist fighters.

The first three-year period was that of the so-called war Communism. We were

The six years of the existence of the Red | compelled to defend the interests of the Army are divided into two almost equal Republic, to lay hands upon all the mate- the non-European peoples of South Africa. period coincides with the New Economic are being gradually restored. City and country are once more coming into economic life, but at the same time the Kulak (the rich peasant) is appearing in the country and the bourgeois in the city. To- treasurer, and J. A. la Guma secretary. the bourgeois have anything to do. The white people of South Africa. state of the workers and peasants tolerates them in the realm of business, but allows segregation of Indians and natives and in them no political rights and, still less, no weapons in their hands. That is the most important command that we take with us into the third period.

The international situation in which we But the fact alone that the bourgeois gov- livelihood in danger." ernments, and only a part of them at that, | The truest friends of South Africans, the Socialist Fatherland needs them as easy prey to the sharks of capitalism. heretofore for its independence and evolu-

we are now entering, is the raising of the if they would not be permanently enslaved level of the general and special education and their children after them. The second three-year period began with of the army and navy. This general task falls into a number of partial tasks beginning with the most primitive demands of cleanliness and the giving up of coarse language and swearing, right up to education in the spirit of international solidarity.

> If the most difficult task of the first three-year period was the creation of a revolutionary cavalry, we now find that the questions of aviation and chemistry form the central point of military development. The second period placed these questions in the foreground, and the third period must bring their solution. creation of the cavalry demanded from us that the workers should leave the factory and take to the saddle. The creation of an air fleet and the perfection of war chemistry demand that the worker shall remain at his bench and push forward the development of war and other industries. Upon that is dependent the fate of all arms and all branches of land, naval and aerial warfare. The weapons of defence will be perfected by industry.

Also now, as in the whole of the past period, the needs and interests of the Red Army will always be brought into har-

(Continued at foot of next column.)

Non-Europeans Congress.

It is reported that a United Non-European Congress has been successfully inaugurated for the purpose of proteoting and furthering the educational, commercial, political and industrial interests of

The following organisations have affiliated:—African People's Organisation, Cape British Indian Council, African National Congress, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, South African Inter-Racial Association, and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union.

S. Reagon has been elected president, A. Ismail vice-president, M. de Vries

the armed alliance of the worker and pea- | Asiatic and anti-native policy of the Govsant, with which neither the Kulak nor ernment and of a large proportion of the

> relation to the former of repatriation, they are building up a sea of trouble for the younger generations of South Africans.

Obviously and naturally when one secmeet the sixth year of the Red Army has tion of the population organises with the vealed both the strong and the weak sides altered to our advantage. One bourgeois avowed object of preventing the enjoyment of the Red Army of that time. There state after another is recognising us de jure of certain rights which another section has or is preparing to do so, that is, to recog- been accustomed to regard as theirs, the nise that our existence is based upon a threatened section will organise in selfties for endurance, but at the same time legal foundation. The Red Army takes | defence. The more violent the expressions cognisance of this. Under the leadership of feeling and the more unjust the proorganisation and insufficient powers of of the Communist Party, the Red Army posals from the one side, the more mililearned a long time ago that revolution tant will become the attitude of those who is the most legal basis of a workers' state. | see their rights and their very means of

have required six years to "recognise" European or otherwise, are those who our existence, is the best proof of the hos- maintain that the division of the populaand military commissaries who had sprung | tility which surrounds us, the first worker | tion on racial lines is a crime and plays and peasant state of the world. The Red into the hands of the exploiting classes Army and the Red Navy thus enter the here and in Europe, and leaves the workthird period with the deep conviction that ers, European and non-European alike, ans

It cannot too often be repeated that the workers must organise along industrial The chief task of the period upon which lines irrespective of creed, craft or colour,

> The only alternative is the Ku Klux Klan and its complement on the other

mony with the necessities and tasks of the Soviet nation. During the past years, the land has finally taken the form of a Union of National Socialist Republics. The Red Army consists of the peoples of different nationalities, and is called upon to defend the frontiers within which neighbouring peoples, for the first time in the history of humanity, live together without hostility and without having any grudge against each other, and have bound themselves together into an indestructbile alliance of nationalities. Already in the first months of the Soviet power, the teacher and intellectual creator of the revolution and of its child the Red Rrmy, used to cite as an example, that a Finnish greybeard had related that since the revolution be no longer teared armed men. Let this example remain for the future the command of Hyitch to the army and the navy. Workers, and oppressed and enslaved peoples, no matter of what nation, in West or East need never fear the Red Army. Its weapons are directed only against the exploiter and the oppressor.

All Bections.

welcome and luncheon in honour of their the charmed circle yelept "the com-Excellencies at the Town Hall, at which munity." some 700 guests representing ALL SEC-TIONS OF THE COMMUNITY will be present."--"Rand Daily Mail."

And further down we read what is meant by "alksections." Here they are: Members of the Chambers of Mines and Commerce, the Stock Exchange and the leading commercial and professional houses of Johannesburg.

munity" of which we hear so much from idlers, the exploited and the exploiters, but ing capitalist society itself. time to time, and particularly when a at the same time they are extremely strike is on. The welfare of the com- frightened at the effect it would have on all-Russian exhibition was in progress. munity, the opinion of the community, their comfort if the mass of the workers Without the gigantic resources of the etc., etc.

blurted out so-plainly in the capitalist public or private, politician or trade union from the earth on the banks of the Mos-Press that the phrases, the community, the public, and the nation, only mean the clear to those who trust him and whose tramway lines, railway sidings, bridges, exploiting others.

kinds, still less the unemployed and the | who enjoy all. If he does not and prates of | Soviet Republics which stretches from the down-and-out, form no part of "the com- community interests, reconciliation be- Pacific to the Baltic and from the Arctic munity." The railway and tramway men, tween workers and capitalists, mutual Ocean to the Black and Caspian Sea were the clerks, typists, shop assistants, are not | interests of employers and employed, he | methodically displayed. considered as being within that magic is either knave or fool, or both. circle. No invitations to them. If the | The class struggle is a real and monrank and file of the military and police take any part in the function it will be OUTSIDE the gilded portals of the Town by the destruction of all exploiting classes. Hall banqueting room. They are not members of "the community" any more than the tens of thousands of native work- communal interest is balderdash. There ers on the mines and in the towns. They can be no community of interest between are outsiders, pariahs.

ers have, of course, known this long ago, who guzzle and gorge in the sight of but now it is announced by no less an authority than the "Rand Daily Mail" that all the USEFUL people in Johannesburg who carry on from day to day the whole process of production and distribu- "THE COMMUNITY."

of the workers it will not be so easy to gull | those responsible for the show. them into action or inaction lest "the community' should suffer.

This cant phrase which unfortunately is only too often an the lips of the workers' lown leaders, is but a smoke screen behind which is hid the fact that the possessing it will be an exhibition not of orderly coclasses fully recognise the inherent These, then, constitute "the com- antagonism between the workers and the replica in miniature of the disease afflictfound it out.

leader is just this: Does he strive to make | cow river as if by magic. New roads, parasitic section of society which lives by interests he is expected to serve, that there gardens, pavilions, river landing stages, is a fundamental antagonism between the and a vast collection of the products and Miners, mechanics, labourers of all interests of those who produce all and those industries of the great Union of Socialist

> strous fact, and must of necessity go on until classes in an economic sense disappear

master and slave, between the robber and Communists and other thoughtful work- the robbed, and so we hope that the snobs Royalty may not choke with the food pro-1 vided by the sweat, blood, and misery of The Lord-High-Commissioner-to-the-Genthe great mass who are not included in

The United Front.

movement it is interesting to notice that | candidates strenuously, on the ground that | at a "mass meeting" held in Kenilworth its only objects are "(a) lust for power Hall, Johannesburg, on Monday, the without any policy whatsoever; (b) an speakers included Colonel Stallard, South | anti-native and anti-coloured programme, African Party, Major Hunt, M.I.A., In- with a view to disfranchising non-Eurodependent, and H. W. Sampson, M.L.A., peans in the Cape; and (c) to reduce non-Latiour.

the meeting was "Segregation is useless. Repatriation is what is required."

least some of its most prominent members, his presence at the meeting is significant. seem to favour the most reactionary policy If he did, however, denounce the with things that matter. Otherwise poliin respect of the non-European popula- | "Pact," we are of opinion that he is mis- | tical Labour becomes a laughing stock. tion, whilst in the Cape Colony we find a taken in his tactics. totally different attitude.

beek, is reported by Reuter to have ad-sympathy with working-class aspirations, dressed a meeting of native voters at but the only alternative at this election Ndabeni, when the meeting unanimously seems to be to vote for Smuts and the adopted a long resolution viewing with Chamber of Mines. great alarm the "amalgamation of the One has to choose the least of two evils, men are pasture for the rich. . . . A poor Nationalist and Labour parties, whose and on this occasion at least it would man speaketh, and they say, What is this? policies have been as different from one appear to be the Hertzog-Creswell com- And if he stumble, they will help to overanother as the North is from the South bination.

In connection with the local anti-Asiatic | Pole," and resolving to oppose the "Pact", European workers in this country to a The motto on the handbills convening state tantamount to economic strangula-meeting was "Segregation is useless tion."

We are, of course, unable to say whether i On the Rand the Labour Party, or at Mr. Pearce supported this resolution, but

It is, of course, quite obvious that the Mr. Charles Pearce, M.L.A. for Lies-|leading members of the "Pact" have no

Two Exhibitions.

A CONTRAST.

The Empire Exhibition in preparation "This afternoon there is to be the civic I tion of the necessities of life, are outside at Wembley, London, has been confronted with one long series of disputes, strikes and delays owing to the antagonism be-When this lesson sinks home to the mass | tween the workers employed there and

> The latest reports quite clearly indicate a hopeless state of chaos, muddle and confusion. The grounds a quagmire, buildlings without electric light owing to the backwardness of the central installation and the certainty that on the opening day

operation for a common purpose but a

In Moscow about this time last year an British Empire, with little experience of Seldom do we find the undoubted fact | The test of the honesty of any man, such undertakings, an exhibition rose

There were no strikes there. The men in thousands volunteered to work night and day towards the end in order that they might be ready on time and demonstrate their loyalty to their country.

The contrast is significant and is an Meanwhile all talk of community or indication of the wonders that will be accomplished by Labour when it is free and works not from compulsion but for an ideal.

Baubles.

eral-Assembly-of-the-Church-of-Scotland.

This is not a bad title for James Brown, M.P., ex-Ayrshire miners' agent.

Thè Labour Press Service chuckles over the fact that Mrs. Brown must be addressed as Your Grace and that Mr. and Mrs. B. take precedence over every duke. earl or other titled personage in Scotland, that he lives in Holyrood Palace, and on his state journey to the Assembly is escorted by a troop of cavalry and is given on his arrival a Royal Salute of 21 guns.

We laugh at the yellow and other buttons of the Chinese mandarins. But then they have been brought up to reverence them for thousands of years.

What is a Labour M.P. doing with cavalry escorts and royal salutes, to say nothing of living in a stuffy palace?

Our modern revolutionaries lack the honesty and courage of a Cromwell.

Away with such baubles and get to work

Ancient Wisdom.

What peace is there between the hyena and the dog; and what peace between the rich man and the poor? Wild asses are the prey of lions in the wilderness so poor throw him.—Ecclesiasticus.

THE INTERNATIONAL, Official Organ of THE COMMUNIST PARTY (S.A. Section of the Communist International).

(Secretary-Editor,, W. H. Andrews.) Annual Subscription, 10/-; half-yearly, 5/-/ Bundle Orders of One Dozen and over: 2/- per dozen. Party Offices:

Nos. 4 & 6, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG.

Vol. IX. FRI., APRIL 18, 1924. No. 413

"Pact" Campaign Opens.

The conveners of the meeting at the Town Hall, Johannesburg, on Saturday' last are to be congratulated on the response made to their invitation.

The great hall was packed before the speeches were in English, a great concession from the Dutch-speaking section of | the "Pact."

It cannot be said that the address was very inspiring either in matter or manner. Possibly the circumstances are somewhat. novel and the speakers, both Nationalist! themselves to the new political atmosphere. State railways, harbours and postal facilities repudiated by Creswell altogether. tainly felt that the chief effort of the The constant harping on segregation of

There was one marked omission from the speeches of the evening. No reference was made to the events of 1922 and the aftermath. Whether Colonel Creswell recognises it or not, his presence in Parliament! as member for Stamford Hill is entirely | P due to the revulsion of feeling against the mailed fist methods of Smuts and the Corner House, and the success of the oppesition' at the bye-elections since the strike and the anticipated victory in the general election to take place next month | is, more than to any other cause, due to the resentment at the brutality of the Government in dealing with the mine workers during the strike of 1921-22.

The whole benefit of this feeling is ex-

fighting, the agony of the wounded, the Roos-and Colonel Creswell said on the to hear ignorant politicians and would-be prisoners and the slow torture of their same occasion that "they" (the Labour statesmen spreading themselves and playwives and children, the brutal murders of Party) "realised that their views on the ing on the ignorance and prejudice of their the Hanekom brothers and others, the measures that came before the House were audiences on the subject of Asiatic menace. hanging of Stassen, Hull, Lewis and Long, very much the same—is therefore self-conthe long and weary periods of imprison- fessed a political arrangement which will

This is at present the only available | This must mean that the workers' wel-

But let the candidates who hope to profit by this feeling and to float into the and a little amelioration there without incomparative comfort and well-being of a juring the big interests it will be done, but seat in the Legislative Assembly not forget any material improvement in the condition why they are being sent there, and let and status of the workers MUST of necesthem, if they can, refrain from going out sity be at the expense of the privileged of their way at every opportunity to dissociate themselves from the men who made! possible their present strong position.

It sits ill on Creswell, Tielman Roos and others to be constantly girding at Bol-1' sheviks, Communists and Socialists who have and are still prepared to undertake the election campaign that a much clearer the unpleasant pioneering work and even exposition of what the Pact means to the dangerous duties which bring about situa- workers will be given by its exponents tions out of which political capital can be than was the case at Saturday night's made by the opponents of the S.A.P., and meeting. political power gained by them.

opening hour, 8 o'clock, and the speakers hand that feeds them," i.e., the ordinary they want a government which will make | speakers should refrain from "biting the ernment merely to a new set of masters; were cheered enthusiastically as they mine and other worker, but that they impossible a repetition of the series of entered the hall and again when they rose should actively assist those who are even bloody massacres followed by wholesale

We want to hear more emphatic pro- Smute administration infamous. e nouncements on the question of releasing The Labour-Nationalist pact have a the strike prisoners still in jail, and on chance to satisfy that want. Mere resuch burning questions from the workers' pudiation of so-called Bolshevism on the Colonel Creswell was the first speaker point of view as work or maintenance for one hand and Republicanism on the other called upon by Chairman Briggs, and he the unemployed and workmen's compensa- in order to gull the electors is not going spoke for about three-quarters of an hour. tion, the legal eight-hour day, old-age pen- to get us very far.

A State bank is quite a good idea pro-

speakers was devoted to AVOIDING cer- natives as a solution of unemployment and " tain subjects rather than putting forward poverty only indicates the abysmal ignora plain, easily understandable programme. ance or cunning dishonesty of the speak-

> ployed in Britain and millions in Germany. Australia and Canada and other capitalist countries have their unemployed problem. Will Mr. Tielman Roos explain why there is perhaps MORE unemployment in countries which have no "native!

We are for supporting all the anti- a first-class row. Smuts candidates, but we are not going to . be a party to the policy of throwing dust! into the eyes of the workers during this! election any more than at other times.

The problem of unemployment is insoluble under capitalist society. Tielman Roos! has expressly stated that "not a single " man who owned shares in this country mighty United States has been unable to pected to go to the Labour-Nationalist need fear for a moment that his shares solve the Asiatic immigration problem parties and their candidates. The heroic were going back one penny on account of which the segregation and repatriation stand made by the workers on the mines the advent to power of the National and fanatics think can be disposed of by a few fices of the trade unions whose funds were that "he could give the assurance that the Parliament. swallowed up and their numbers seriously CHAMBER OF MINES WOULD BE | Gigantic world forces have been set in reduced as a result of the grim struggle, PROTECTED in a proper way in the motion through the policy of European

ment, all will be distilled during the elce- carry on the Government of South Africa owned Labour Press in South Africa. Send

means of protest, and we shall do all in fare will hold only a secondary position. our power to induce our readers and sup- If such is not the case we shall be glad to have the words above quoted explained.

If the worker can be given a sop here and exploiting class.

The Pact cannot have it both ways; it must stand for the exploited producing classes, both town and country, or for big landowning and financial interests.

It is to be hoped that in the course of

The workers of South Africa will not But it is not enough that the Pact be satisfied to hand over the reins of govnow suffering from the vengeance of the imprisonment and execution and black-Labour and Nationalist supporters were Chamber of Mines and General Smuts. | listing of workers which have made the

The Pact is taunted with being a flagless | vided the state is a workers' state; other- | three-flag party. The Union Jack and the wise it will be as little value as a solution | Republican flag are kept in the meantime and Labour, find it difficult to adjust of the economic problems facing us as are out of sight, and the International red flag

We warn him that although he repudilates the doctrines on which the Labour Party was built, there are thousands of voters who do not agree with him, and ers who use these proposals as arguments. the reckoning will come sooner or later. although he may succeed in gaining office

Japan and

The decision of the United States Con-| problem " than there is in South Africa? | excepting diplomats, etc., looks like raising

It will probably be smoothed over by mutual concessions, but the fact that the Japanese Government has talked about l''grave conclusions' is significant.

Our anti-Asiatic fanatics in South Africa might do well to observe that even the

capitalism forcing its methods and ideas Nothing can be plainer than these on the teeming millions of the East, and The blood of the hundreds killed in the words. The pact as interpreted by Mr. it would be laughable were it not so tragic

tion into votes against Smuts and, of on lines satisfactory to the Chamber of your printing there. 'Phone 3561, corner Maclaren and Fox Streets, Johannesburg.

A Voice from the Grave.

It is the fashion in ultra-respectable Labour circles to apologise for and even condemn strikes and strikers.

Here is what Jim Connolly said of the Dublin strikers of 1913, who held out for six months against almost overwhelming odds. He describes how the history of the working class will tell the story of the heroic Dublin workers:—

"It will tell of how like an inspiration there came to the Irish women and girls the thought that no free nation could be reared which tolerated the enslavement of its daughters to the worst forms of wageslavery, and how, in the glow of that inspiration, they arose from their seats in the workshop and factory and went out to suffer and struggle along with the men. It will tell of the general labourers, the men upon whose crushed lives are built the fair fabric of civilisation, from whose squalid tenements the sweet smelling flowers of capitalist culture derive their aroma, by whose horny hands and mangled bodies are brought the ease and safety of a class that despises them, by whose ignorance their masters purchase their knowledge. It will tell how the labourers dared to straighten their bared backs, and, looking in the faces of their rulers, dared to express the will to be free. And it will tell how that spectacle of the slave of the underworld, looking his masters in the face without terror, and fearlessly proclaiming the kinship and union of all with each and each with all, how that specscorned."

THE WAR.

said:--

"Civilisation is being destroyed before our eyes; the results of generations of propaganda and patient heroic plodding and unselfish sacrifices are being blown into annihilation from a hundred cannon mouths; thousands of comrades with whose souls we have lived in fraternal communion are about to be done to death; they, whose one hope it was to be spared to cooperate in building the perfect society of the future, are being driven to fratricidal slaughter in shambles where that hope will be buried under a sea of blood...

"I make no war on patriotism; never have done. But against the patriotism of capitalism—of the patriotism which makes the interest of the capitalist class the supreme test of duty—I place the patriotism of the working class, the patriotism which judges every public act by its effect upon the fortunes of those who toil. . . Therefore, the stronger I am in my affection for national tradition, literature, language and sympathies, the more firmly rooted I am in my oppression to that capitalist class which its soulless lust for power and gold would brade the nations as in a motar.

"Reasoning from such premises, there fore, this war appears to me as the most. fearful crime of the centuries. In it the working class are to be sacrificed that a small clique of rulers and armament makers may sate their lust for power and

(Continued at foot of next column.)

OUT-HERODING HEROD.

"TIMES" PRAISES MACDONALD.

The tone adopted towards the Soviet | pacifist and socialist, but that it will be Delegates in London by Ramsay Mac-| shown to him that to start off on long and Donald, in his welcoming address, is not | delicate negotiations by insulting the likely to enhance his reputation among other party is not the best way to arrive the workers. Of course it is gratifying to at a mutually satisfactory arrangement behis capitalist masters, who, howover, would | tween two great peoples. be far too diplomatic to use such language | MacDonald, like a huckster in the on a similar occasion.

two, and particularly since taking office, | peated, and no other seller had such attrachas repudiated almost every point in the tive wares. I.L.P. programme, had the effrontery to This from a Labour Premier who has tacitly accuse the Russian representatives | climbed to office and power by waving the of being a pack of liars whose mere pro- | red flag of international workers' solidarity mises could not be respected.

the phrase, "The people of this country who try to over-reach one another, using would require more on this head than the lives of millions of toilers as pawns in formal undertakings," when referring to the game.

congratulations to Kemel Pasha and other capitalist Press comments. The newsbourgeois rulers on their victory over the papers generally congratulate the Premier workers.

passages in MacDonald's speech have been | MacDonald has made the best of an excarefully extracted and cabled by the capi- tremely unpleasant situation and ENtalist Press, but bearing in mind his mailed | COURAGED NO ILLUSIONS." fist message to the Indian nationalists and | The "Daily Express" says "the speech his well-known hatred of everything ... is worthy of the chief spokesman of savouring of working-class control, there is the Empire." unfortunately little room for doubt that the cabled summary correctly sums up his attitude.

tacle caught the imagination of all unsel- Rakovsky is in marked contrast to the mines, factories and fields, must curse fish souls, so that the skilled artisan took | sneering, bullying and insulting tone of | when they see their trust once more mishis place also in the place of conflict and | the British Labour Premier's remarks, and | placed and their hopes dashed to the danger, and the men and women of genius, | possibly it will be found before the nego- | ground. the artisan and the literati hastened to tiations are completed that not only are Praise from such quarters is the most honour and serve those humble workers | the Russian representatives much more | terrible indictment that can be brought whom all had hitherto despised and courteous gentlemen than the erstwhile against the British Labour Government.

market place, declared that if his terms This man who during the past year or were not accepted they would not be re-

and who has denounced in season and out What other meaning can be read into of season the sordid greed of capitalists

Communist propaganda.

That MacDonald is playing the capital-How different are MacDonald's honied ists' game well is indicated by the British on his "firm vet tactful speech."

It is probable that the most offensive! The "Times" considers that "Mr.

How MacDonald's heart must glow with spride at praise from such quarters, and how the millions of half-starved and over-The reply of the Soviet representative driven toilers, men and women in the

Writing on August 15th on the war, he Policeman under Platform.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, the British Home Secretary, in reply to a question by | Assembly, Minister for Railways Jagger Geo. Lansbury, said that 'the Commun- said that Mr. Pilkington, Secretary of the ist Party was not illegal, but the policy of Railway Board, had been retired before he certain leaders IF CARRIED OUT would reached the pensionable age on a pension

practice has been adopted by "Labour" Minister of hiding policemen immediately given an important position under the platform at Communist Party in the South African Party. meetings.

Hurrah for liberty. Whoop it up for good old British fairplay.

A Near Thing.

The Mauretania, which left Southamp. ton with scabs on board to get repaired at | And now he smokes and drinks at ease, Cherbourg, seems to have had a rough passage.

In tow of five Dutch tugs she took 56 hours to cross the Channel, and the cost of the whole business to the shipowners will So on the railways find a post, where cause a smile on many a dock worker in Southampton who is heroically fighting on an empty stomach for a living wage for himself and family.

their greed for wealth. Nations are to be obliterated, progress stopped, and international hatreds erected into deities to be worshipped."

"James Connolly: His Life and Writings," by Desmond Ryan. Labour Publishing Co. 2s. 6d.

Take My Tip.

In answer to questions in the House of involve breaches of the law." of £475 18s. per annum on the ground This was given as the reason why the that he was redundant. Another man was this appointed in his place, and Pilkington was

> If you desire a handsome screw, both easy and abundant,

> With nothing furthermore to do, just make yourself "redundant."

> My good friend "Pill," the "king" of "tcn," loves gold and ease abundant; And so, without a thought of wrong, he

made himself "redundant"; cigars and wines abundant,

With nothin' doin', plenteous fees, since

he became "redundant."

sterling gold's abundant, And Jagger makes a generous host, and

make yourself redundant. What fool work work for four and six

while pensions are abundant, And jokers winning all the tricks who

merely "grow redundant"? You'll save the country some, you bet, while taxes thrive abundant,

If in this "Jagger" scheme you get, and learn to "grow redundant."

TOM TIPSTER.

Instruments of Destiny.

perialism.

The main objective of the election is to attack and destroy this power, to deposeperhaps one day to impeach—the phrases but whose hands drip with the blood of hundreds and thousands of his THE FALL OF SMUTS AND HIS PARTY, NO MATTER WHAT ALTER- Nationalists have at any rate A SAVING type, his time is coming. NATIVE GOVERNMENT REPLACES THEM—that is the crux of the election. To achieve it will not only be a blow to the local ruling class but will help in no inconsiderable measure to unnerve the whole international gang of financiers, the chiefs of cosmopolitan capitalism, who still tyrannise over the lives of the inhabitants of five-sixths of the earth's surface.

History has designated the Nat-Lab pact to administer the blow, and incidentally the choice illustrates how imperfect may be the instruments of progress.

In the first place, let us never forget that the South African electorate excludes the great majority of the working and peasant class, although that is the class that produces the bulk of the profits and is thus the chief mainstay of capitalism. So much the greater condemnation of a Government which has aroused among this limited electorate, itself still largely handicapped by the same bourgeois outlook as the Government's, a detestation so intense that its defeat appears likely even without the aid of the proletarian mass, and at the hands of a coalition so incongruous as that of the Pact.

If, in the cause, supreme for the memt, of defeating the Smuts Government, we resolve, as we must, in every case to support the opposition, i.e., in most cases the Pact, candidate, and refuse to be | truck with the "d-d nigger." Well, we | a party to any splitting of the opposition offer our white fellow-workers A MOST vote, nevertheless in doing so we cannot be blind to the grave shortcomings of the opposition parties, nor should we entertain any false hopes of substantial im- ETRENGTHENING THE CAPITALIST provement should they attain office. That POSITION THAT COMPASSES IT. is not the point. It is not their policy or programme, but the S.A.P. Government's own enormities that will dig its grave; and it will not be long before the Pact in turn will dig a grave for itself and the working masses advance yet another stage nearer HISTORY MOVES FASTER AND MORE KALEIDOS-COPICALLY EVERY DAY TOWARDS THE COLLAPSE OF THE CAPITAL-IST SYSTEM, and to-day we are out not. merely to make propaganda, still less to enjoy office within the bourgeois machine, but to stimulate rapid changes in the existing order and towards the new society of Communism. We can thus afford to move "one step at a time" because we are now more confident than ever that it will quickly be followed by the next, bringing us daily nearer "the Great Red Dawn."

SPIRIT OF REVOLT against imperialpsychology in the Pact and modify that Party's escutcheon, its jingo bourgeois-"patriotic" record during the war.

The main weakness of both Pact parties, however, is their impotence in face of the very problem to which they rightly give foremost prominence—the declining position of the white workers and bywoners of South Africa. They sincerely bemoan this decline, they declare truly enough that the S.A.P. regime has hastened it, they pro- from the contest. mise to remedy it, but they refuse to face the only real remedy. The quest for cheap labour which is behind it all is not a local problem only, it is of the very core of capi- BUT HAVE WE RECEIVED YOUR talism THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, SUBSCRIPTION LATELY? and will be stopped not by idle prattle of "segregation"—fancy a million and a the 120 million blacks of Africa!—but only | human self-respect. by a world-wide defeat of the capitalist class. And the only means to that defeat is the SOLIDARITY OF LABOUR—all labour, including of course the cheap labour in question itself. It is absolutely essential to draw the cheap labourer and poor peasants of the world to the side of the world Labour movement. But apparently the Pact parties would sooner see the white man go to perdition than have any ATTITUDE IS SIMPLY HASTENING THEIR OWN DOWNFALL AND

sacred institution of "private property." entirely guiltless of "Bolshevism"!

They talk of national unity, which ment both at home and abroad. to-day is used chiefly to cut across the only | "God moves in a mysterious way unity that can function in the coming struggle for human emancipation—class unity; they fail to admit that a defeat of EXPLOITERS OF THEIR OWN In such a sense then all workers of town | NATIONALITY no less, perhaps more, and country should support, with however | than against the foreigner. They talk of wry a face, the Pact candidate in this elect Inational self-respect, and ignore that to MUNIST PARTY. tion. The Labour Party may be a party gain it the masses of all nations and races with no real Labour basis, with no clear must combine to abolish class rule, i.e., race recognition of the class struggle, no mass to abolish the ruling class, as a whole—

Anti-Socialist & Winnie."

· Winston Churchill may be a political At last, in this election, the voters of | working-class membership and next to no | twisters but he can see more clearly the South Africa will have an opportunity of support but rather antipathy among the trend of events than many of his colpassing sentence of death upon a typically | disfranchised workers. The National Party | leagues. He realises what so many Labour capitalist Government, headed by one of may include such ill-assorted elements as leaders, political and industrial, either do the most plausible darlings of world im- the landless bywoners and the big land- not see or are not honest enough to deowning backwoodsmen who hold them clare, that the great fight between organdown in ignorance and fear, and its atti- ised capital and organised labour must tude to the enslaved native masses may be come, and in the not far distant future. even more overbearing and narrow-minded | He aspires to lead the army of capitalism. oppressors whose lips give out "idealistic" than that of the S.A.L.P. Even so we and there are indications that although at can acknowledge that the coming together the moment under a cloud owing to the of town and country workers which began | fact that the tactics of capitalism is to fellow-countrymen both white and black. during the 1922 strike will be carried a fawn on and flatter "safe" Labour leadstage further by the Pact; and the ers of the Snowdon-Thomas-MacDonald

> He aspires to be the Mussolini of ism which may preserve some sort of rebel Britain, and if he gets his chance the yellow labourites who prate of goodwill to damming bar sinister on the Labour the interest of the whole community and deny the essential class autagonisms of capitalist society will get a rude shock.

"Winnie" has no illusione: Socialism must be destroyed or he and his class must go.

The class-conscious worker agrees with him, but will see to it that the Socialist movement, in spite of Labour Fakirs, fools and traitors of all kinds, does not retire

EXCUSE OUR INTERRUPTION,

half South African whites "segregating" | the real destroyer of national and all real

Yet in spite of all these culpable failings, class-conscious workers will vote for the Pact because the fall of the Smuts Government is an essential stage in the fall of capitalist government throughout the world, a natural step along the most probable and practicable line of emancipation for mankind, something that should be assisted even by those voters (like the native voters for instance) who think they see in a Nationalist-Labour Government a scorpion compared with the S.A.P. whip. SOLEMN WARNING, THAT THIS To these we say: it is not enough to sigh. for land and liberty: to get them we must grasp clearly what stands in our way, and when we find the snag is the entire worldwide capitalist exploitation machine (in-Again, both Pact parties adhere to the cluding the British "Throne and Empire"), then we must put off childish They refuse to see what is only too obvious | things, "loyalties" and superstitions, we to-day, that bourgeeis property means pro- must cease to look to capitalist governletarian propertilessness, that the big land- | ments for "protection" and aim only at owners can only exist because hundreds | weakening them all, and we must use all around him are landless, that property is available weapons at hand, no matter how gained and held by the few only at the ex- intrinsically reactionary, to achieve our pense and to the exclusion of the many. purpose, confident that they in turn will They refuse to recognise the only alterna- soon be superseded by better ones. Thus tive, Communism; they glory in being we shall approximate ever nearer to the clear-cut "workers' and peasants" move-

His wonders to perform."

We support the Pact on this occasion the exploiters involves war by the work- just because experience has shown and is ers of each nationality AGAINST THE showing us more clearly every day that ONE BANNER ALONE CAN LEAD THE WORKERS TO UNITY AND VIC-TORY, THE BANNER OF THE COM-

"The Internationale unites the human

S.P.B.

Radek on Lenin.

(Continued from last week.)

ments for the Second Congress of the Com- of low d gree of culture. Our comrades munist International. Delegates arriving in the colonies often err along the paths industrial organisations in South Africa to from every part of the world found a trans- of left Communism. Themselves educated take a larger share in the Labour Party lation of Lenin's pamphlet, 'Radicalism, by a literature which proclaims the fight activities, realising no doubt that the the Infantile Disease of Communism.' The | for the dictatorship of the proletariat, it | unions are a powerful factor in winning young Communist parties, rejecting every is only with the utmost difficulty that they elections and also a source of revenue in compromise in their revolutionary zeal, can adapt themselves to combining the the periods between. were taught by Lenin to consider the les- work of gathering together the young pro- The dissolution of Parliament has sons won by the experiences of the Russian | letariat and the craftsmen of China, Corea, | stopped these advances and the whole of revolution. He showed them that the first | Persia, India, and Egypt, against the the energies of branches and Labour leadpremise towards the dictatorship of the foreign and native bourgeoisie, with the ers have been devoted to the burning quesproletariat is the winning over of the attempt to support the national emancipa- tion of apportioning seats. majority of the working class. He showed tion movement of the young native bour- The remark has been heard in Union them that the winning over of the majority | geoiste against the capitalist centre by | branch meetings and on the various jobs of the working class requires the utilisation | which it is being suppressed. Decades will | that no great anxiety is now shown to of all those means granted to the advanced | again have to pass before actual practice | consult the unions as to their feelings in workers by the same bourgeois democracy will be successful in combining the respect to the selection of candidates. The which they are about to overthrow. He struggles for national emancipation among list of candidates has not yet been officially showed them that when the road to the the colonial peoples with the proletarian published, but enough has leaked out to barricade leads even through Parliament, revolution in Europe and America. But give the ordinary worker a rough idea of we must preach the idea of Communism to one thing is clear: Lenin's genius has what to expect when the final selections the working masses, even from this rub- pointed out the path to be pursued by the are published. bish heap. He pointed out to them the international proletariat. mass organisations of the workers, the 'In the figure of Lenin, and in his said to be in direct touch with the workers works, we have for the first time in the from the hands of the yellow leaders by history of class warfare a comprehensive unwearying efforts. He showed them that a revolutionary minority cannot renounce all compromise, if such compromise can facilitate the winning over of the majority. It is difficult to concentrate into a few words the contents of this incomparable work of our great leader. But it may be safely asserted that even now nine-tenths of the leaders of the Communist International have not entirely made the contents of this pamphlet their own.

centrated form the quintessence of the whole philosophy of Bolshevism, strategy and tactics, and many years will pass, years of victory and defeat, until we can maintain that these ideas of Lenin that here we have proletarian mass organ- middle-class office-seekers and careerists, have really passed into the flesh and blood of the leaders of the Communist International. The daily experiences of the leaders, so that the work before us is ex- control and direction of policy by the in-Communist parties in the different countries show us that the main questions in-variably arise in quite different forms, and a number of compromises, disagreeable to fools or humbugs. that every Communist party must be capable of independent thought if it is to rise to the level of the revolutionary strategy of to be won over. our greatest revolutionary leader.

THE 21 POINTS.

Lenin to the Second Congress consisted of his first draft of the conditions of admission to the Comintern. These theses have been much derided. Many protests have been raised against them. Dut when we read them through, and when we ask ourselves what parties belonging to the Com-the words enabling him to express his loss. But if ever it could be said that munist International have hitherto learnt | clearly defined ideas in a foreign language. | death has only taken the body of a leader, to fulfil only one-tenth of these conditions, then we begin to realise their political sig- question, accompanied by a wink of one here. And therefore the Communist Internificance.

of the theses on the colonial question. the world revolution?" and then added energy to the task of making its own all These theses have also not yet become part immediately, 'I shall say that when the that is immortal in the teachings of Lenin. and parcel of the very being of the Com- | Communists behave more sensibly, the | And with Lenin's sword in its hand the munist parties of the West, whose bour- prospects will improve.' Lenin gave in- Communist International will stride forgeoisie holds hundreds of millions of structions on the methods of war against ward to victory! human beings in its rapacious claws in the war to the Russian trade union delegation "Our beloved leader is no longer among colonies. Neither has it fully penetrated going to the Hague. This last piece of us. We shall accomplish our task by the consciousness of our young Commun- advice given by Lenin to the international means of the collective thought of the ist parties in the Best. The work being | proletariat represents a perfect example of | whole of the Communist parties of our Indone in the colonies by our English, his extraordinary sense of reality. He de- ternational. French and Dutch comrades not only en- clared that those who promise the carrying | "Lenin's banner and Lenin's teachings counters great difficulties on the side of out of a general strike in the case of a fresh arm the Communist International for the the police of the imperialist powers, but outbreak of war, in face of the lessons whole spock still dividing us from the vicfinds another obstacle in the imperfect pre- taught by the imperialist war, are either tory of the proletarian world revolution." paration of our comrades for work among! (Continued at foot of next column.)

"Lenin drew up three important docu- | masses of colonial peoples of an unheard |

centre, in the literal sense of the words, for the workers of the whole world. For the first time we begin to emerge from the I blind alley into which the European proletariat has run, to tread the path of a real world movement.

THE THIRD CONGRESS.

its in the year 1917, and the conditions under adopted in Britain. which the West European Communists | A Labour Party must BE a Labour tremely complicated, and demands much dustrially organised workers.

munist International, Lenin gave a report | revolution in the ranks of the imperialist "The second document submitted by on the situation in Russia, though he had armies. Our task is to exert every endeajust recovered from the first atttack of that | vour to prevent any fresh outbreak of war. disease which has now robbed us of him. And again Lenin unfolded, point by point, The congress received him with enthusias- the plan of daily revolutionary work tic joy, and it was with the greatest sorrow against the danger of war.

Labour Candidates and Trade Unions.

A week or two ago the Labour Party started a strong campaign to induce the

In one list of eleven Rand constituencies

union.

It would be as well if the Labour machine took this into consideration before making its final decision, as a good many workers are getting a little suspicious of the way the professional politician is dominating the situation.

The inevitable result of a policy of "At the Third Congress of the Com- ignoring organised Labour will be the munist International, Lenin was still at formation of a co-ordinating body amongst his fighting post. The revolutionary wave the unions for the purpose of putting up of 1918-9 had ebbed. With extraordinary | their trade union candidates, which would "This little brochure contains in a con- fine feeling he pointed out the main differ- not be without precedent in South Africa ences existing between Russian conditions and is at the present time a method widely

have to fight. He understood excellently | Party and not a happy hunting ground for isations possessing a past extending over and the only policy which will ensure this half a century, and in the hands of yellow is close contact and a reasonable share of

If we cannot Communists, but unfortunately unavoid- PREVENT the imperialist war, then the able if the majority of the proletariat is masses will be drawn into the war and then we shall be compelled to enter the "At the Fourth Congress of the Com- war ourselves, in order to work for the

that we observed the painful slowness with "The Communist International and the which our beloved leader had to seek for Russian proletariat have suffered a severe Before giving his report, Lenin put the in no case could these words be truer than leye: 'And what shall we say when we are national will shed no tears by Lenin's "Lenin's third document was his draft asked about the immediate prospects of graveside, but will turn with tenfold

(Concluded.)

The Scab's Tale of Woe.

I am a very humble man; I serve my master all I can; For him I'd work both night and day, And in return would, ask no pay. To bow and scrape, and kiss the hand Of my dear master is so grand, To toil, to slave, and sweat for him Is really such a glorious thing. To make him rich is my desire, To raise my hat, and call him sire; He sometimes speaks to me, oh dear! His very voice fills me with fear. I try to answer him so brave: "Oh, sir, I am your faithful slave."

Dear friend let me to you unfold A tale of woe which will when told Just prove to you how true I am A simple, honest working man. Some wicked villains, where I toil, Approached me with a view to spoil My fair name as a faithful slave Towards my master good and brave. They asked me, would I join with them In helping to get all the men Who worked with us, to realise The need there was to organise! So shocked I felt at this suggestion I waited for no further question, But fled away to find my master To warn him of this great disaster. I found him in the counting house; As in I crept, quiet as a mouse, My master shrank back when he saw The look of horror that I wore. "What ails you, man?" to me he said, "You look as though you'd seen the dead."

I cried, "Oh, Sir, yeur trustful man Has come to tell you of a plan Whereby some villains you employ Are seeking daily to destroy That power which you have over them Of lowering wages now and then! A Union they intend to form; They said that you would fairly storm If once you knew of their intention, They had no fear that I would mention Revealing all their plans to you, Who are so kind, so good, and true." My master clenched his fist and swore; "Why wasn't this told me before?" -I said, "I've only just found out About this plot; please do not doubt My faithfulness to you, dear master, I could not get here any faster." Said he, "Now name to me the lot Of those engaged in this vile plot And you shall see, what you shall see That these men soon will part from me."

"To fill their places I shall find Some others with your type of mind, Who'll serve me nobly day by day Expecting no increase of pay— The sort of men who ne'er complain, Come it sunshine, snow, or rain, And like you, my trusty man, Serve their master all they can. Your reward some day will come, When your time on earth is done. Fiery furnaces for me, Everlasting life for thee."

Now my story's at an end This my motto is, dear friend, (As I wish you now good-bye) "Faithful slave until I die." E. HUTCHINSON.

Turn of the Tide.

For the first time since the beginning of the trade depression the Amalgamated Engineering Union is able to report an increase of membership instead of the dreary tale of continued decreases appearling month by month in the Union journal. The net increase is small, only 114, but taken with the reported decrease of nearly 2,000 in the unemployed membership it may be taken as an indication that the tide has turned.

Liberated.

James B. Maclachlan, the Nova Scotia connection with the miners' strike, has live in Moscow. been, liberated.

When will the Rand strike prisoners be free?

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Drichen and Ring Ciase Wolf-	Δ	C

ment

Young Communist Notes.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Day Social.

The May Day Entertainment Committee will meet at No. 4, Trades Hall, on Monday, 21st inst., at 8 p.m. All comrades are urged to make a point of being present in order that final arrangements may be made.

The Youth Movement.

On May 1st the Executive Committee mine workers' secretary, who was sen- of the Communist Youth International tencea to two years for a seditious libel in | will meet delegates as an Enlarged Execu-

> On September 7th the tenth International Youth Day, the Fourth Congress will meet.

Strike Prisoners' Release Committee.

A meeting of the above Committee will be held this Sunday morning, 20th inst., at 11 o'clock in Room 8, Trades Hall.

The General Dealer's Business carried on by Mahervanjee Cursetjee at Stand 196, Hospital Street, Cleveland, will be removed to Stand 142, Concord Street, Prospect Township, as and from 15th April, 1924.

11/18/25.

Notice is hereby given that the Business hitherto carried on by M. Silverstone under the style and firm of the Central House Furnishing Co. at 220, Main Road, Fordsburg, will be removed to 31, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg, on the 1st May, 1924.

M. BACHARACH,

18/25/2

Agent for M. Silverstone.

MAY DAY SOCIAL.

Tenth Annual Social TOWN HALL, JOHANNESBURG, May 1st (Thursday),

AT 8 P.M.

Tickets, 2/6, including Refreshments; children at door, 1/-.

A Grand Programme is being Arranged. Look for Further Announcements.

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



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