the blows of the numerous revolts and also as a result of the people's movement against him in his own province. Just as Canton some years ago signalled in its somewhat hazy movements, which were strongly influenced by the petty-bourgeois population, the powerful and great movement of the Yangtse valley, in the industrial district and in the revolutionary peasant centres, so too have the violent movements in Canton are signals of the approaching great revolutionary wave which will once again attempt to sweep away the semi-feudal militarism, the most important ally of the imperialists in China.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Reaction at Work in South African Trade Unionism.

By James Shields (Johannesburg).

The year 1927 has proved in many respects to be a year of shattered hopes for South African workers. Hopes placed by the white workers in sympathetic treatment from the Nationalist Labour Pact Government have everywhere been subjected to ever-growing disillusionment. Hopes of the native workers in the ability of their organisations to put up a fight for their demands have been doomed to bitter disappointment. Throughout the course of the year the forces of reaction have grown and consolidated themselves whilst working class organisations have had to suffer not a few damaging blows from the hands of both internal and external enemies.

Following in the footsteps of the Smuts' regime, the Pact Government has expended a great deal of energy along the lines of rendering the organisation of the workers impotent. On all sides the machinery of class peace and conciliation has been tightened up until practically the whole of white trade unionism has been dragged into its clutches. The industrial organisations have been under continuous pressure from the hands of weapons without a sting, with their leading officials in the majority of cases quite content to confine their efforts to having an amicable talk on affairs with the masters across the top of a table.

Even with this state of affairs predominating however, the apostles of class peace remain dissatisfied. There is a fly in their ointment of class harmony. As is well known the trade unions of the white workers in S. Africa are organisations of a labour aristocracy which refuse to have any truck with the native workers. Despite this fact a number of national communists hold position on the Trade Union Congress national executive where they do not hesitate to propagate a militant class outlook. Their presence on this important body has long proved a thorn in their organisation at its last congress. A ballot was taken in the A. S. W., the Boilermakers' Union, and the Ironworkers' Union, but much to the discomfiture of its promoters resulted in a decision on the part of these bodies to still remain affiliated. In one instance however, success crowned the efforts of the wreckers and they were able to get the A. E. U. ballot and thus bringing its affiliation to the T. U. C. membership. The loss of the A. E. U., which is one of the biggest unions in the country has dealt a blow to the stability of the T. U. C.'s position financially and otherwise, and to a certain extent has jeopardised its capacity to carry on active work in the future. Affiliation of other unions in many respects sympathetic to the Trade Union Congress to fill the gap created by the A. E. U.'s withdrawal continue to hang fire through one cause or another. As things stand at the most it is just possible that the T. U. C. may be compelled in the near future to run the risk of suspension of activities, an outcome that would be greatly welcome to the hearts of the employers and their tools.

Unfortunately it is not only in white trade unionism ranks that hardening of the attitude has been noticeable. In the camp of non-European trade unionism, The I. C. U. (Industrial and Commercial Union) leadership still claim to have a large membership in their organisation but ever since their base desertion of the class struggle outlook a year ago stagnation has set in in many quarters. No longer is it possible for I. C. U. leaders to boast of a continual influx of new members, rather the contrary. However, there is the idea that a big falling away has resulted in the different provinces.

This is not surprising in view of the fact that the present I. C. U. leadership, having once turned its back on the policy of class struggle, has seen fit during the past year to assume the role of strikebreakers. In various native strikes which occurred the I. C. U.'s officials washed their hands of the strikers because they dared to have recourse to strike action as a means of rectifying grievances. For instance there was the example of the Durban Dock strike on June 16th when some fifteen hundred native workers downed tools and went on strike because twenty of their mates were arrested for non-payment of the poll tax. The I. C. U. leaders disclaimed to support these strikers and with their usual tardy attitude sent a note. It was the same story in the case of a couple of strikes of native workers on the Natal coal mines, the reason for I. C. U. lack of interest in these latter occasions being the excuse that the men in alliance with the colliery management had "engineered" the business.

In the most typical case of all, the Railway strike at Ka- zerne, Johannesburg, involving four hundred native workers the facts of the I. C. U. leaders betrayal were most clearly demonstrated. These native workers had struck work for higher wages and better rations many of them being I. C. U. members. The scene of the strike was little more than a stonethrow from the Union headquarters and with little delay an I. C. U. organiser was on the scene to have a talk with the employer. After an hour's confab in the employer's office this organiser advised the men to go back unconditionally to work as the whole strike was illegal. The strikers greeted him with a howl of fury and he quickly made himself scarce and left them to their own devices. The business being left in the lurch in this fashion it was now surprising to find that twenty Railway troubleম at a time or so was paid off duly. Money for the gold mine had been diverted by the Chamber of Mines recruiting organ, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association to work in the strikers' places, and every striker was paid off and sent back to his home. A few days later the I. C. U. official organ "The Workers Herald" came out with a leading article in which it was maintained that at the instance of I. C. U. offic- cials at the recent Kazerne strike should prove to the Government that they are not dealing with a lot of hotheads but that they are dealing with men who are anxious to assist both employer and employed. Had the Kazerne natives listened to the advice of I. C. U. officials... no doubt the whole case might have been differently.

An instance of the above description shows clearly the depths to which the I. C. U. leaders have now sunk. Inside the I. C. U. itself opportunity is flourishing and already in the course of the year two small splits have occurred in branches in Natal and the Orange Free State. In both cases the split resulted in consequence of disentanglement of certain reactionary elements who apparently were after more plums for themselves. It is now reported that there is much manoeuvring going on in the I. C. U. aiming at a reshuffling of official positions and that this is one of the reasons behind Kadale's abrupt recall from his European and American tour before it has been completed.

The native workers, it is clear, are thus faced with a very serious and responsible task. They have to find ways and means of reducing the influence of those I. C. U. opportunist elements that have got control, kick these gentlemen out of the way of doing further harm, and get down to the task of a sincere waging of the class struggle.

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the blows of the numerous revolts and also as a result of the people's movement against him in his own province. Just as Canton some years ago signalised in its somewhat hazy movements, which were strongly influenced by the petty-bourgeois population, the powerful and great movement of the Yangtse valley, in the industrial district and in the revolutionary peasant centres so to be observed, movements in Canton are signals of the approaching great revolutionary wave which will once again attempt to sweep away the semi-feudal militarism, the most important ally of the imperialists in China.

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Following in the footsteps of the Smuts' regime, the Pact Government has expended a great deal of energy along the lines of rendering the organisations of the workers impotent. On all sides the machinery of class peace and conciliation has been tightened up until practically the whole of white trade unionism has been dragged into its clutches. The industrial organisations of the workers have been deprived of weapons without a sting, with their leading officials in the majority of cases quite content to confine their efforts to having an amicable talk on affairs with the masters across the top of a table.

Even with this state of affairs predominating however, the apostles of class peace remain dissatisfied. There is a fly in their ointment of class harmony. As is well known the trade unions of the white workers in S. Africa are organisations of a labour aristocracy which refuse to have any truck with the native workers. Despite this fact a number of known communists hold position on the Trade Union Congress national executive where they do not hesitate to propagate a militant class outlook. Their presence on this important body has long provided a thorn in the side of the white workers' organisation and is one for which time and again they could find no remedy. This year the reactionaries resorted to an attempt to get the militants (particularly the Secretary, the communist Andrews) ousted from a position of importance in the trade union world. This attempt took the form of an underhand and dastardly attack on the very existence of the T. U. C. itself.

Strings were pulled here and there, and soon a number of reactionary intrigues made their appearance in various unions. These culminated in demands being pushed forward for a ballot on the question of continuance of affiliation to the T. U. C. Great play was made with the fact that the congress had passed resolutions of sympathy with the Chinese revolution condemning imperialist interventions, etc. and had also sent greetings to the native workers' organisation at its last congress. A ballot was taken in the A. S. W., the Boilermakers Union, and the Ironmongers Union, but much to the discomfiture of its promoters resulted in a decision on the part of these bodies to still remain affiliated. In one instance however, success crowned the efforts of the wily crew and they were able to get the A. E. U. to cut itself off from continuing its affiliation to the T. U. C. membership. The loss of the A. E. U. which is one of the biggest unions in the country has dealt a blow to the stability of the T. U. C's. position financially and otherwise, and to a certain extent has jeopardised its capacity to carry on active work in the future. Affiliation of other unions in many respects sympathetic to the Trade Union Congress to fill the gap created by the A. E. U.'s withdrawal continue to hang fire through one cause or another. As things stand at the most it is just possible that the T. U. C. may be compelled in the near future to run the risk of suspension of activities, an outcome that would be greatly welcomed to the hearts of the employers and their tools.

Unfortunately it is not only in white trade union ranks that such things have been happening. In the camp of non-European trade unionism, the I. C. U. (Industrial and Commercial Union) leaders still claim to have a large membership in their organisation but ever since their base desertion of the class struggle outlook a year ago stagnation has set in in many quarters. No longer is it possible for I. C. U. leaders to boast of a continual influx of new members, rather has it been evident that a big falling away has resulted in the different provinces.

This is not surprising in view of the fact that the present I. C. U. leadership, having once turned its back on the policy of class struggle, has seen fit during the past year to assume the role of strikebreakers. In various native strikes which occurred the I. C. U.'s officials washed their hands of the strikers because they dared to have recourse to strike action as a means of rectifying grievances. For instance there was the example of the Durban Dock strike on June 16th when some fifteen hundred native workers downed tools and went on strike because twenty of their mates were arrested for non-payment of the poll tax. The I. C. U. leaders disclaimed to support these strikers and went back to work by the hundreds. It was the same story in the case of a couple of strikes of native workers on the Natal coal mines, the reason for I. C. U. lack of interest in these latter occasions being the excuse that the men in alliance with the colliery management had "engineered" the business.

In the most typical case of all, the Railway strike at Kazenerne, Johannesburg, involving four hundred native workers the facts of the I. C. U. leaders betrayal were most clearly demonstrated. These native workers had struck work for higher wages and better rations many of them being I. C. U. members. The scene of the strike was little more than a stone throw from the Union headquarters and with little delay an I. C. U.'s organiser was on the scene to have a talk with the employer. After an hour's confab in the employer's office this organiser advised the men to go back unconditionally to work as the whole strike was illegal. The strikers greeted him with a howl of fury and he quickly made himself scarce and left them to their own devices. The business being left in the lurch in this fashion it was now surprising to find that twenty Bantu houses were in the hands of strikebreakers. It has been maintained that for the gold mine had been diverted by the Chamber of Mines recruiting organ, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association to work in the strikers' places, and every striker was paid off and sent back to his home. A few days later the I. C. U. official organ "The Workers Herald" came out with a leading article in which it was stated that the organisation of I. C. U. officials at the recent Kazenerne strike should prove to the Government that they are not dealing with a lot of hotheads but that they are dealing with men who are anxious to assist both employer and employed. Had the Kazenerne natives listened to the advice of I. C. U. officials... no doubt the whole case might have been solved easily.

An instance of the above description shows clearly the depths to which the I. C. U. leaders have now sunk. Inside the I. C. U. itself opportunism is flourishing and already in the course of the year two small splits have occurred in branches in Natal and the Orange Free State. In both cases the split resulted in consequence of disintegration of certain reactionary elements who apparently were after more plums for themselves. It is now reported that there is much manoeuvring going on in the I. C. U. aiming at a reshuffling of official positions and that this is one of the reasons behind Kadahlie's abrupt recall from his European and American tour before it has been completed.

The native workers, it is clear, are thus faced with a very serious and responsible task. They have to find ways and means of retaining their organisation off the opportunist elements that have got control, kick these gentlemen out of the way of doing further harm, and get down to the task of a sincere waging of the class struggle.

Earlier in the present year it was thought that the African National Congress was getting ready to take up the issue from the point at which the I. C. U. leaders had left off. Any such
hope, however, was soon shown to be unjustified. One of the E. C. members, J. G. Gumede, returned from the Brussels Conference of the League Against Colonial Oppression with a radical programme of struggle embodying the organisation of native labour, and for a while he outlined this at native meetings. At the A. N. C. convention held in Bloemfontein in July last he was elected President of the Congress but its new Executive was once more found to be dominated by men who in many respects closely allied to the Chamber of Mines. The issues and points raised by the Brussels Conference were quickly allowed to drift into oblivion. The A. N. C. proved itself incapable of giving a lead and soon found itself dragging along in pretty much the same old rut. It is very questionable now whether the A. N. C. will ever cut much of a figure for it has very little left on which to wear itself. The struggle is based on the broad basis of the masses, and of course there is practically no native bourgeoisie as such from which it could develop an anti-imperialist support.

Sunk in stagnation as the organisations of the workers are, yet the picture is not without its hints of brightness. The gap between the white workers and the bourgeoisie is broadening and economic issues are beginning to sweep to the front. The granting of the Ciskei demand by the A. N. C., the steady rise of the Natal Miners, led to a number of strike outbreaks during the past few months and discontent on the Rand gold mines is daily becoming more intense. The sporadic strike outbursts amongst the native workers who groan under the most intolerable conditions are steadily educating the latter in the school of experience, a school that is bound sooner or later to throw up that native worker or leader who is still greatly lacking. Not yet have the native toilers produced genuine fighting class leaders who won't betray them; not yet has the feeling of class struggle permeated sufficiently the white producers to overcome their racial outlook. As time goes on however, the factors making for this end are gradually developing and with the growth of industrialisation in South Africa the labour movement will grow and expand also.

In Defence of the Miners of Colorado!

Against the Capitalist Assassins and their Servants!

To the workers of the whole world!

Rifles and machine guns have again shattered the illusion of class harmony between American workers and employers.

Coal miners of Colorado are striking for wage increases, enforcement of mine safety laws and against the company unions, since October 18th.

Parading unarmed with their wives and children, they have been brutally shot down by State police whose real employer is Rockefeller, the richest man in the world, direct operator of Colorado mines and at the same time head of great religious and philanthropic movements. Five miners were killed outright, and twenty persons, among them many of the miners' wives, wounded, several fatally.

It is not the first time Rockefeller's hirelings have murdered workers en masse. In the very same mines, in 1913, nineteen men, women and children were shot and burned to death at Ludlow, Colorado.

But not all the responsibility for these murders lies at the door of Rockefeller, or his tool. Governor Adams of Colorado who has, despite his claim as a "liberal" and "friend of labour" mobilised tanks, bombing planes, machine guns and every weapon of war to crush the strike.

The chief blame for the Colorado massacre of workers and their wives and children lies upon the despicably corrupt reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labour, and in the first place, upon Lewis, head of the miners' Union, Lewis' agents and the whole A. F. of L. machine, united with the "black hundreds" of the American Legion and Ku Klux Klan, with Rockefeller and his governmental lackeys, to crush the strike.

Even while rifles were speaking, Green and Company, whose hands are wet with the blood of the workers, pretending to defend the interests of the miners they have betrayed, paid a boodlifying visit to Coolidge.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions expresses its profound indignation at the massacre of the Colorado miners to whom it sends its warmest greetings as heroic fighters for the interests of the American proletariat. The (R. I. L. U. calls upon the workers of all the world to raise their energetic protest at this bloodbath which puts American bourgeoisie democracy on the same level as European Fascism and Chinese counter-revolution.

Down with the Capitalist Assassins!

Down with the Corrupt Bureaucracy of the A. F. of L.

Long live the brave miners of Colorado!

E. B. Red International Labour Unions.

The R. I. L. U. to the Eighth All-India Congress of Trade Unions.

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U., on behalf of the revolutionary trade union movement of all countries sends cordial and fraternal greetings to the Eighth Trade Union Congress and the whole working class of India, and wishes for success in the struggle against the alien and native oppressors.

The Trade Union Movement in India is rapidly developing, the class consciousness of the wide proletarian masses is growing, as well as the proletarian solidarity in the economic and political struggle against the oppressors. There are tremendous tasks confronting the working class of India. The struggle against imperialism and colonial oppression, begun by the workers and peasants in the U. S. S. R., China, Indonesia, can be successfully accomplished only by the efforts of the working class throughout the world, and particularly of the proletariat in the colonial countries. The role of the Indian proletariat in this struggle must be particularly great.

In this struggle against the alien oppressors and the national exploiters, the working class of India and its trade unions may always count on the aid of the Red International of Labour Unions and of all its sections. This constitutes the very distinction between the R. I. L. U. and the reformist Amsterdam International which is permeated with the imperialist spirit, whilst the former has at all times supported the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for independence.

There was particularly clearly revealed the distinction between the imperialist policy of the Amsterdam International and the revolutionary policy of the R. I. L. U. in the course of the bitter struggle of the Chinese proletariat against imperialism and the internal counter-revolution. Whilst the R. I. L. U. did all in its power to help the Chinese Revolution, the Amsterdam International did not lift a finger to help the Chinese proletariat in its hard struggle. The denial of aid to the Chinese workers and peasants was tantamount to helping the world imperialists and the Chinese counter-revolution.

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. is profoundly convinced that the trade unions of India will be able to determine who are the enemies and who are the friends of the exploited classes and oppressed peoples and that the working class of India will march shoulder to shoulder with those who have placed upon their banner the union of the world trade union movement. The overthrow of the imperialist domination, and the independence of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

Long live the working class of India!

Long live the Unity of the World Trade Union Movement!

Executive Bureau, Red International of Labour Unions.

Moscow, 24th November, 1927.