As a matter of fact, the All-India Committee of the National Congress during its sessions at Bombay in May 15-17 of this year was formally asked to define its attitude with regard to the Nagpur revolutionary movement. A Left wing resolution, moved at the Bombay session with a view to commit the whole congress to support the action of the Nagpur Committee, was thus worded:

"The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the organisers of Satyagraha (Civil disobedience) at Nagpur and recommends the Working Committee to take the necessary steps including the collection of funds with a view to carry on the campaign to a successful end."

It was very significantly pointed out during the discussion on the resolution that the Nagpur movement was to be supported not for its immediate revolutionary value, at least as a means "for educating Indians in the use of arms". At the instance of the president of the Congress, the left wing resolution was replaced by a statement: "The All-India Congress Committee requests the Working Committee to send some accredited representatives to Nagpur to inquire into the Satyagraha movement there and to make a report as to the facts of the situation and the steps, if any, that may be taken by the Working Committee in furtherance of the object of the movement."

After this, the British Government found their way clear to take steps to suppress the movement at Nagpur. The left wing resolution moved in which the Congress promised to sacrifice their own interests with eighteen months imprisonment and Avari himself to four years imprisonment. Other volunteers however, have appeared on the scene and are carrying on the movement.

The significance of the Nagpur revolt lies in the fact that since 1921 it is the first symptom that the social classes whose interests have been betrayed by the reformist policy of the Right leadership of the Congress, are ready for decisive revolutionary action against British Imperialism.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Trade Unionism and the Organisation of the Native Masses in South Africa.

By James Shields (Johannesburg).

Once again the question of linking up the forces of the working class movement in South Africa has been raised. The negligible trade union ranks, and once again it has been relegated to the dim and distant future. This question of workers' unity, the most serious problem which confronts the South African working class, has been raised time and again in the organised labour movement. The old dogmatic standpoint of the privileged upper stratum, the white labour aristocracy, the latter indeed is so hostilely antagonistic to the native and coloured workers that they prefer to drag along in the slough of stagnation and decay rather than achieve solidarity and triumph through the aid of their fellow-exploited.

When the matter of taking common action with the non-European workers was raised this year at the Annual Conference of the Alliance, the leaders of the Alliance and the workers made clear that the white trade unionists still held to their old dogmatic standpoint with the same incredibly foolish persistency. The above mentioned Conference took place at Capetown on April 15 to 17th, and in most respects it turned out to be a comparatively ineffective gathering.

The proceedings were on lines similar to those of last year's Congress and dealt in the main with amendments to the Constitution and resolutions from affiliated organisations. There was a regular pot-pourri of amendments dealt with but very few were incorporated in the Constitution. Some wanted the T. U. C. to take up a "No politics" attitude; others wanted the word "employees" taken out of the Constitution and "workers" substituted in its place. The discussion on the latter point brought the leading delegate of the Engineering Union (A. E. U.) to his feet with the declaration that he for one (and it appeared to be the opinion of a number of others) had no objection to including mine-managers in the trade unions. The "reformed" and "sedate" term "employees" which many considered so conveniently all-encompassing was allowed to stand.

Numerous resolutions were passed decrying unemployment, the Extension Bill, indentured labour, etc., and demanding out-of-work pay and a forty-hour week for industry. One resolution passed denounced imperialist intervention in China and pledged support to the struggling Chinese workers. White trade unionism in South Africa will readily pay lip service to the class struggle of non-European workers provided it takes place in other lands. No sooner do they turn their eyes and thoughts, however, than their whole attitude undergoes a complete change. This was demonstrated clearly by the manner in which they shelved the report of the Brussels Conference at this particular Congress. All the resolutions passed by the League against Imperialism and for National Independence were subsequently withdrawn by the body who had presented them. T. U. C. were allowed to lie unread on the table, and the written report giving a brief summary of the events that had transpired at the Congress, was passed over almost in silence.

Whilst the T. U. C. was sitting at Capetown, a telegram was received from the native workers' Union (I. C. U.), also in session at Durban, asking for a common front against the capitalist enemy. This appeal was followed by further discussion, in which some of the delegates declared that the white workers would be up in arms against any such proposal, whilst others against took refuge in the excuse that "lacking a mandate from their Unions" they could do nothing in the matter. Thus in this fashion was one example given of how the South Africa workers are determined to sacrifice their working class unity and solidarity on the altar of racial prejudice.

The decision of the white trade unions on this point though not unexpected is bound to have serious consequences for the movement as a whole. In the first place it will condemn the Unions to prolong inactivity and render them powerless to put up a fight against the shackles of the Conciliation Act, and in the second it will make easy the fierce anti-working-class offensive being inaugurated by the Government. The S. I. T. U. C. is in a poor position for putting up a defence against employers' attacks, for its last Conference shewed a representation of only 10,000 workers as compared with almost twice that number a year ago. In addition to this it has to encounter a rival in the shape of the Cape Federation of Labour Unions, a body of similar strength and determination in the Cape Province, which is ambitious of becoming the national centre of trade unionism in the country.

The antagonisms existing between the various trade union groups all contribute towards making the problem of attaining workers' unity a very serious and difficult one. The reactionary outlook of the white workers gives little hope for the future of anything tangible being secured from that direction to assist in building up a united-working class front. It is mainly to the efforts of the I. C. U. that we owe the present end to grave obstacles though they are, that one must look out for the sound growth of a solid proletarian basis.

At the present time native trade unionism is passing through an exceedingly difficult period as a consequence of its most prominent leaders going over to the viewpoint of the masterclass. Whether it will succeed in weathering its present crisis or not, seems none too clear at the moment. Although some attempts at unification have been made the files are still pretty backward, and this gives a free hand to the violently opportunistic bureaucrats who are in control to engage in inflicting incalculable harm. Already their efforts have resulted in almost killing the movement in the Cape Province and they are seeking might and main to transform the I. C. U. into a "resettitable constitutional body" deserving of the good wishes of the boss class.

At the Seventh Annual Congress of the I. C. U. (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union) held in Durban during the second week in April they curbed the enthusiasm of the few sincere rank and file delegates present and very effectively stilled rank and file opinion. This Congress was in the nature of a "packed" gathering, and was mainly composed of those whose chief concern is to hang on to paid official positions. The bureaucratic leaders dominated the proceedings throughout and
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THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

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Once again the question of linking up the forces of the working class movement in South Africa has been a topic for discussion. The most serious problem which confronts the South African working class, has been raised time and again in the organised labours. The question of workers' unity, the most serious problem which confronts the South African working class, has been raised time and again in the organised labours. The question of workers' unity, the most serious problem which confronts the South African working class, has been raised time and again in the organised labours. The question of workers' unity, the most serious problem which confronts the South African working class, has been raised time and again in the organised labours. The question of workers' unity, the most serious problem which confronts the South African working class, has been raised time and again in the organised labours. 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At the present time native trade unionism is passing through an exceedingly difficult period as a consequence of its most prominent leaders going over to the viewpoint of the masterclass. Whether it will succeed in weathering its present crisis or not, seems none too clear at the moment. Although the conditions under which they are still pretty backward, and this gives a free hand to the violently opportunist bureaucrats who are in control to engage in inflicting incalculable harm. Already their efforts have resulted in almost killing the movement in the Cape Province and they are seeking might and main to transform the I.C.U. into a "resistible constitutional body"-deserving of the good wishes of the boss class.

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after skillfully playing on the radical sentiments of their followers pushed through a resolution debarring any member of the I. C. U. from associating himself with the Communist Party. There are quite a number of native workers in the C. P., and according to this decision they will henceforth be forbidden trade union membership.

Never was a Congress more contradictory than this one. It passed resolutions of protest against the Sedition Bill, Government Native Bills, Colour Bar, etc., but when it came to ways and means of organising opposition to these measures, its erstwhile “revolutionary” leader, Kadzie, could only manage that a “day of prayer” be held as a protest. Fear of the rank and file made the Congress turn this motion down and decide in favour of demonstrations of protest.

One resolution passed decided that the I. C. U. should celebrate May Day in order to “demonstrate the international solidarity of labour and symbol of class struggle”, but this profession of solidarity sounds rather hollow coming as it does from men who are persecuting militant communist workers. The precise motive which led the I. C. U. leaders to send greetings and appeal for common action to the white trade unionists is not very clear, for whilst the native rank and file would undoubtedly welcome a rapprochement, their opportunist leaders wish to avoid it. The deceit and cunning of the latter is difficult to fathom.

For their organisation they claim a total membership of 100,000, but this figure, one is inclined to think, is a bit exaggerated. The precise details of the organisation’s strength, finance, etc., are very carefully kept secret, even the delegates to the Annual Conference having the financial report withheld from them.

The foregoing facts in connection with South Africa Trade Unionism illustrate the grave difficulties and obstacles which beset it. Where it is not weak numerically, it is generally the prey of调皮 native organisa-tionists who are very little concerned with its vital interests.

The building up of organisational unity between black and white is a very difficult task, and its achievement would appear to be still a matter of years of patient, persevering work.

More immediate and beneficial results can be obtained by the unification of the masses of non-European toilers, and indeed a big impetus has now been given to this line of development by the return of the Brussels native delegates.

One of these delegates is J. T. Gumede, a prominent native leader of the African National Congress. Formerly a strong racialist, he has come back from his trip to Europe with a new understanding and a new outlook. He now perceives that the only hope of salvation for the millions of toiling blacks lies in a militant policy of struggle against capitalism conducted by a united front of workers and oppressed peoples. Since his return from Europe he has outlined this policy to mass meetings of natives at all the most important centres in the country, and everywhere it is finding increasing support.

At the African National Congress Convention to be held in Bloemfontein on June, 28th, Gumede will raise the question of adopting new tactics to promote unity of the non-European masses. For some years past the two important native organisations, the I. C. U. and the A. N. C., have kept aloof from each other. Gumede will now urge that the A. N. C. take the lead in promoting an all-in native movement, having the I. C. U. affiliated to it as its industrial backbone, in order to fight for the immediate political and economic demands of the oppressed Africans.

This policy is bound to meet with the support of the non-European masses who desire nothing more than an immediate closing of ranks in order to effectively combat their exploiters. If the A. N. C. shapes its policy on these lines, it will be the means of developing a mighty forward movement against the Afrikaner imperialists, and will lead to the critical test of ideology under which the I. C. U. South African capitalism is mortally afraid of the awakening to active life of the toiling masses of non-Europeans, and once a solid front of oppressed Africans pursuing a militant policy can be attained, then most assuredly will it have good cause to tremble.