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The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

All Friends of Soviet Russia FORM A United Front IN SUPPORT OF THE Workers' Republic.

THE ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (S.A. Section of the Communist International).
No. 4, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG. P.O. Box 4179.

Vol. VIII. No. 368. FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

Relief FROM Russia.

Rich countries are content to chew the fat, or pass by on the other side, in view of the sufferings of the Ruhr workers. Not so the workers of the New World. From all parts of Soviet Russia, herself only just emerging from famine, comes news of collections having been made, one day's pay per month subscribed, a children's home being built for Ruhr workers' children, waggon loads of flour sent to Germany, a percentage of wages to be given to Ruhr workers "from now onwards right to the end of the fight against the capitalists," an album of caricatures of "the dictators of the Ruhr and Lausanne" sold—300,000 copies so far—realising the equivalent of 100,000 poods of grain, and so on, all done not sporadically but by workers' unions, workers' committees, factory councils, etc., all over Russia. Huge demonstrations of gratitude greeted the arrival of the Soviet food ships at Hamburg and Bremen. Russian bread has reached not only the stomach but the heart of the German workers. Here they see salvation—German machinery! Russian bread!

The Red Relief Committee, too, is an international body for co-ordinating effort on behalf of proletarian prisoners languishing in the prisons of the bourgeoisie, i.e., of course, in the West, not in Russia; but in spite of her own difficulties, Russia has been among the foremost contributors to its relief funds. These have been distributed for the benefit of "class war prisoners" in Italy, China, Turkey, Lithuania, Bavaria, etc.

Truly it is wonderful what working people can do when the incubus of capitalism is removed!

* * *

The Sleuths.

The "Rand Daily Mail," organ of the C.I.D. who once took six months to track a well-known Johannesburger to his address and then triumphantly confirmed their discovery from the directory and telephone book, has ascertained, 17 days after the event, that Comrade Andrews has left for Europe and hopes to go to Russia, as in fact he announced, and the "Cape Argus" reported, the day before he sailed. "Any old" stuff will do for the Rand Dubbs who neglect to read the "International." The suggestion that Com. Andrews is going to raise "finance" there for the movement here is of course a Mailer. As a matter of fact, "finance" has to be raised here to send him (friends will please accept this the only intimation this week, and Dubb up accordingly without delay), and "finance" is also just now being despatched from South Africa to Moscow by way of affiliation fees. Any taradiddle is good enough for the C.I.D. press.

* * *

Nowhere to Go.

The unemployed are asking to be repatriated. The Rev. Mr. Cutten at Krugersdorp is proposing that they should emigrate to Canada or Australia. About Australia as a dumping-ground we have already had a good deal to say. Now from Canada, described by one of its land-boosters as a land of milk and honey, comes the following notice by the Municipality of a city in Saskatchewan:

"The Council of the City of Regina have by resolution declared that the policy of the city will be one of utterly refusing relief to any person. Notice is further given that there is not sufficient work during the winter months for the present residents, and THE PUBLIC ARE WARNED AGAINST COMING HERE IN SEARCH OF WORK."

* *

Good Old Union Jack.

The S.A. Native National Union Congress at Bloemfontein has protested against the Urban Areas Act, which "reduces the Bantus to perpetual serfdom, refuses to Africans the right to African land, reserving it only to non-Africans—a direct challenge, an insult of the most provocative character to the Bantu's sense of fairness—and shakes confidence in the word of honour of members of the ruling race." And what is the reply of the ruling race? In conformity with true imperialism it has but one—to warn the troops to be ready for action.

* * *

The 46 tramwaymen and 50 municipal artisans still out of their jobs in Johannesburg were not victimised, says Mr. Milford, the tram and power manager. "I did not re-employ them, deliberately, because I considered that by not doing so I was acting in the interests of the efficiency of the tramway service." "Not Homer but another fellow of the same name." By the way, few things in S.A. trade unionism are finer than the way the tramwaymen in work, or rather the more class-conscious of them, have been maintaining their victimised comrades all these long months. There is a touch of Russian Communism about that which is not often met in countries whose ethics are dictated by a bourgeoisie in power.

* * *

According to the "Star," all that Sir Wm. Campbell has to say on unemployment is that some ex-service men "don't want work." And then he wonders why the B.E.S.L. are so short of members!

What Shall We Do?

"Abantu Batho" writes:

The Native Urban Areas Bill has passed the third reading, and has been sent to the Senate where, no doubt, it will pass without delay. By the end of June it will have been endorsed by the King—as the law of the land. After June a tragedy similar to the one of 1913 will be enacted. There will be wholesale evictions of natives from the urban areas, and the irony of the situation will be that the evicted natives, who must number several hundreds from each industrial centre, will have NOWHERE TO GO. For the majority of native families who are living in the urban areas have been driven from the rural districts by the cruel operation of the Natives Land Act. The gravity of the situation cannot be denied.

The Urban Areas Act, as it is now, has come to complete what the Natives Land Act has left undone, namely, to dispossess our people of the right to buy and own anywhere in South Africa. This is being done in order TO KEEP US IN A STATE OF INDUSTRIAL HELOTRY. The farmers want cheap labour, and they cannot obtain it without the help of such laws as the Natives Land Act and the Urban Areas Act.

General Botha's Government, on behalf of the farmers, rendered thousands of our people landless and homeless in order to force them to a state of PERPETUAL SERFDOM. This was in 1913, and exactly ten years after the enactment of this tragedy the Smuts Government is driving them out of the towns because THE PURPOSE OF THE NATIVES LAND ACT COULD NOT BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT THIS DRASTIC STEP.

The fact is that there is an organised campaign against our economic and industrial freedom. Without our cheap labour, white men cannot maintain their position in this country. We are a labour asset to the industries of this country, and through us white men have made themselves rich. . . . The wrongs which we suffer are not common wrongs; they cut to the very root of our economic and social life. To-day we are the victims of three capitalist forms of injustice—industrial helotry, insecurity of land tenure, and political ostracism. There can be no doubt that the continuation of this state of affairs must ultimately bring about our complete ruin as a people. In plain language, we are economic slaves; we are slaves who ARE NOT BEING FED AND CLOTHED BY THE MASTERS AS WERE THE SLAVES OF TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO. We are slaves who are not being sold and bought at the market places but who will be forced to enslave themselves because we shall have no land to live on. That this is a worse form of slavery no sane men can deny.

The time of action is now. Let all our resources be organised throughout the country. Let the hills and valleys of this sunny land of ancestors resound with the song of protest against this cruel inhumanity. Let every Bantu man, woman and child dedicate their lives and fortunes for the economic independence and political emancipation of our race.

THE Capitalist Class is unfit to rule because it is unable to assure existence in slavery to its slave, because it is forced to let him sink into a state in which it must feed him instead of being fed by him. Society can exist under its rule no longer, i.e. its existence is no longer compatible with that of society.

—THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

Johannesburg Unemployed.

The unemployed movement in Johannesburg is spreading like wildfire. The meetings organised by the Unemployed Committee of the Witwatersrand are growing daily in attendance, and unemployed men and women are signing the Committee's books at the rate of fifty a day.

MAINTENANCE OR REPATRIATION is the new war cry, and this has been taken up by other organisations. The Committee has put its views in a lengthy statement before the Government, covering the whole position of white and native labour not only in South Africa but on a world scale.

On Wednesday night a large mass meeting carried the following resolution with acclamation: "In view of the desperate situation regarding unemployment on the Witwatersrand, this mass meeting of Johannesburg citizens requests Parliament to receive and hear at the bar of the House two delegates from the Unemployed Committee immediately."

It is quite certain that unless action is immediately taken the movement will quickly become aggressive, and it is no less certain, judging from the opinions everywhere expressed, that aggression will be popular and receive the active support of the whole of the working class along the Reef and a good percentage of those usually referred to as "the public" by the capitalist press.

* * *

"Abantu Batho" illustrates the confusion brought into the "native mind" by bourgeois imperialist education when it quotes without disapproval, notwithstanding the experience of the "sacred trust" stunt in S.W.A., an article from the "Outlook" upholding the Kenya whites because "they would be BETRAYING THEIR TRUST to the natives if they acquiesced in the transfer of power to the Asiatic"! "The African," proceeds the article, "despises the Indian for his spinelessness." Would not the Indian be justified in returning the compliment to "Abantu Batho"?

Gold Mine Propaganda.

Following the trouble on the Rand last year was the establishment of a propaganda news service by the gold-mining industry. This is known as the South African Industrial News Service, and it is—we quote from its own description of itself—"an information office established with a view to the dissemination of ACCURATE and RELIABLE information regarding industrial matters, and particularly in regard to questions affecting LABOUR conditions. The service is conducted by the Transvaal gold mining industry." It is to the credit of the mining industry that it frankly discloses its ownership of this "Industrial News Service," though the readers of those newspapers which print this propaganda stuff do not know whence it emanates. But now an attempt is being made to circulate the mining industry view through the medium of a South African publishing house, for yesterday their representative called upon us, and, presenting two short articles, the one headed "THE SOVIET'S WAR ON RELIGION," and the other "The New State Areas Start Production," informed us that his head office has asked him to approach the local newspapers with the object of having these articles published. There was no name or other mark of identification upon these contributions, but as we happened to have beside us a copy of the South African Industrial News Service's articles on the same subjects, the authorship was not difficult to trace. If this sort of thing is going to develop, and the South African Press, either wittingly or unwittingly, is to be used for such purposes, AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC CONSEQUENTLY MISLED, the question will arise whether Parliament should not take legislative action by calling upon newspapers to publish the source of such matter.—"The Friend," 22nd May, 1923.

What about renewing your subscription to the "International"?

Russia's War on Religion.

(Extract from "The Catholic Magazine," Capetown.)
[Bishop Budkieviez was a Roman Catholic.—Editor, "International."]

Our militarist papers have been displaying a most remarkable zeal for the good of religion in Russia. This is a most suspicious circumstance, and deserves more attention than it has received from those who value religion. We may well grow grave, when these imperialists threaten to lead a new crusade on behalf of religion or civilisation or the sanctity of treaties. We have seen them too often at this sort of work. . . . The object is to produce the impression, especially in Catholic countries, that the Russians are greater enemies of true religion than the capitalist governments of the world.

Roumania, for example, is an ally of Great Britain and France. Yet it has been known for years, since the glorious Armistice of 1918, that the persecution of the Catholic Church, and the judicial murders of priests have been going on there far more extensively than in Russia. So, too, in France, the irreligious legislation of 1905 has not been repealed. France has led Europe in enacting persecuting laws against all religion. The goods and churches and properties, stolen wholesale from the Church then, have never been given back; and the laws against religion are in full force. These laws are against the religion of Frenchmen, whilst the Catholics aimed at by the iniquitous laws of the new Russia are mainly foreigners, chiefly Poles. The bulk of the Orthodox Church, which was once an instrument of the Tsar's tyranny, has now gone over to the new form of government. . . . No government in the world will discuss matters with people who speak and work to upset it by force. In Russia, moreover, the government is still at war with most of the other governments of Europe which have tried in every way to destroy it. So far they have failed. But martial law prevails in that country; and bishops and priests receive no better treatment than the German Prelate, Monsignor Gerlach, did from the military tribunals of Italy during the war. . . .

An Anglican Archbishop, following the lead of the militarist papers, speaks of the sentences of death passed upon the Bishops in Russia as unparalleled in history. In what planet, we may ask, do such prelates live as this Anglican Archbishop?

Four years ago a far more cruel and inhuman sentence was passed upon the whole nation—the old, the middle-aged, the young and the unborn. On the absurd charge that the whole German people (including babies not yet born) had conspired to dominate the world by force, hundreds of thousands of them were condemned to slow death by starvation and the sentence is still being carried out. Even if this charge against the leaders of Germany in 1914 were true, it would not justify this series of murders, which are certainly unparalleled in history. But because these innocent German citizens are dying quietly in houses which were once opulent, or in back streets, or in their mothers' wombs, the press of the countries responsible for this, and its Archbishops, are able to lift up hands of horror at the iniquities of Russians who do their judicial murders openly and do not pose at the same time as paragons of humanity.

We cut a sorry figure in protesting against a sentence of death pronounced against Russian bishops, as long as we continue to execute German babies for crimes which their fathers did not commit. No wonder the Bolshevist Government sent a sharp reply to the Allied and American protests, which these governments were wise enough not to publish.

We can easily guess the substance of that reply. It might well be couched in the language of Scripture. "Brothers," the Russians might say, "take the beam out of your own eye, and then we can discuss the mote in ours."

In view of the persistent attempts to misrepresent the position of religion in Russia, we quote Clause 13 of the Constitution, which runs:

In order to secure real liberty of conscience to the labouring masses, the Church is separated from the State and the school from the Church. Every citizen has complete liberty to pursue religious and anti-religious propaganda.

We may mention, in order to illustrate the nature of the malicious campaign which is now being conducted against Russia, that one British Church paper has published a statement that Clause 13 of the Constitution enjoins on every citizen the duty to conduct anti-religious propaganda!

* * *

Mr. A. L. Clark, President of the N.U.R.A.H.S., appeals, quite properly, to the workers of Uitenhage to vote solidly for the man standing in opposition to the Government. For this supreme purpose, the defeat of imperialism, it is necessary to know only one thing more, viz., that his name is Bellingham.

BRANCH NOTES.

JEPPE BRANCH meets next Wednesday, June 6, at 8 p.m., at 227 Fox Street.

MAY DAY SOCIAL.—Ticket sellers are earnestly requested to settle up IMMEDIATELY with the Treasurer, Com. Rabb, No. 4 or 6, Trades Hall.

THE INTERNATIONAL.
Official Organ of
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(S.A. Section of the Communist International).
(Secretary-Editor, S. P. Bunting.)
Annual Subscription, 10/-; Half-yearly, 5s.
Bundle Orders of One Dozen and over: 2s. per dozen.
Party Offices:
Nos. 4 & 6, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG.

Vol. VIII. FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1923. No. 368.

A Helots' Bill of Rights.

Every intelligent worker, whether of European or African descent, must associate himself with the demands of the S.A. Native National Congress, representing for this purpose, we think, the subject races of the Union in general, for equal rights with the other races, right to ownership of land, equality in the eyes of the law, "equal rights for all civilised men," equality of treatment and citizenship irrespective of race, class, creed or origin, equal share in the direction of public affairs, and direct representation by members of their own race in all legislative bodies.

It is easy to quibble at the wording of these demands; let that task be left to the enemy. Nor is it necessary here to point out their incompleteness—there is much more that should have been included in a Bill of Rights. But what matter? For the working class of the whole world, struggling to shake off the yoke of imperialist capitalism, the essence of imperialism is the subject status of the exploited races. As long as one section of the working class acquiesces or participates in the subjection of another, so long will that other be used to bring it down lower and lower. If the enemy is to be dispossessed by the working class, it will take all the power of the whole working class to do it, and the victory must be shared by all the victors. The native workers cannot be expected to throw their weight into the fight if no benefit to them is expected out of it, nor if they are asked to fight for people who promise them still nothing but helotry. At present the capitalist class has got the chief hold on the minds and even sympathies of the native masses, or at least of their leaders, not because the capitalist class really offers them anything substantial, but because the working class movement in general has boycotted them and left the field clear for capitalist dope. Let the organised workers boldly and honestly champion the helots' demands and prove themselves worthy of their confidence. On the helots' side are all the professed principles of the bourgeoisie: logic, justice, common sense, liberalism, progress, freedom. If we want that sort of argument to "excuse" us for being "negrophiles," there we have it in plenty, unanswerable, impregnable. On their side also is the historic fact that national liberation is, in the case of subject races, the necessary introduction to proletarian revolution. On the ruling class side, the only argument—and the fact that it is the only argument shows only the more the strength of the natives' case—is "JANNIE, GET YOUR GUN and your sword and your pistol"—and your aeroplanes.

Workers of South Africa, support every movement for emancipation from capitalist oppression, irrespective of race, colour, or country.

Class (Un)consciousness.

A woman was driving past Palace Yard in a Rolls-Royce. An M.P., black-coated, black-hatted, white-gaitered, passed between the gates. The lady saw him and stopped the car; he entered and they drove off together. It was Budget night, and he told her about the Budget. She rejoiced, for it meant another car, an extra footman, more money for Bridge, a holiday on the Riviera.

. . . . . .

A woman was walking past Palace Yard. She was coming from the barrow-market to her home in Pimlico. She did not know about the Budget the wise men were discussing in the great building inside the gates. A Proletarian Budget might have meant another loaf in her basket, a little more milk in the jug, a new pair of boots for little 'Arriet, a little more schooling for Tiny Tim, a little more 'baccy for the old-age pensioner in the chimney corner, a few more . . .

But she was not thinking of these things. She saw the decorations for the wedding of the King's son, and she wondered how the young bride would look. She remembered that she sat up all night for twenty-four hours on the pavement edge to see the funeral of King Edward, and she wondered how early she would have to be in her place on the kerb on Wednesday to see the Duke of York go by.

. . . . . .

'Tis true 'tis pity and pity 'tis, 'tis true.
—After "Forward."

Fogs and Smuts.

"The view is gathering strongly that the Great European War rose in a great fog."—General Smuts. Yes, and the great European "peace" has left him and his gang in a thicker and greasier pea soup than ever, in the midst of which the best they can do, it seems, is to try and precipitate yet another war, "greater" than ever—seven other devils worse than the first. But the cloud which in 1915-16 was no bigger than a man's hand grew in 1917 to a storm which has already swept away the fog in half Europe, and is going to wash the whole world clean of fogs, with all their smuts and smells and slime.

* * *

Anonymous leaflets against Jews are double-edged weapons in S.A. from our point of view. They may represent the standpoint of the elements, such as disappointed ex-officers, etc., which go to form the Ku Klux Klan or the Blackshirt Fascists; but though there are only 40,000 or so Jews in South Africa, their deportation would leave us not only minus many little shops, but also minus many if not most of the long purses to which after all the Klan and the Shirts in fact look for their wages. Biting the hand that feeds them, we should say: quarrelling with their bread and butter.

A Deal in Tripe.

It was only by the grace of God, and because the S.A.L.P. leaders are for the time being among His chosen instruments for the castigation of the Smuts Government, that the "Labour" meeting held by them at Capetown last week was not broken up by an audience outraged at the bunkum there uttered.

Leaving aside Creswell's now heretical denunciation of "class hatred," we find Mr. Barlow, who a day or two before had cried "Good old British Flag!" in evident sarcasm and derision on the occasion of the attack on S.W. African Imperialism, now seeking at the City Hall to recant his "disloyalty" with this slosh: "The Union Jack stood for all that was good and holy. It was too sacred to be brought into party politics. . . . It was not to be prostituted any longer." Good God, is it not under the Union Jack, and in its name, that all the outrages of British capital are committed? The thing has no other reason for existence except to be "prostituted," as a decoy to catch recruits, as an idolatrous ikon to bewitch cannon fodder, as a cloak to cover the indecencies of Amritsar or Rand strike or S.W. African massacres, as a banner of imperialism, of oppression, of exploitation, of murder and rapine? Too sacred to be used by the S.A.P.? Barlow, let 'em have it and keep it, and if you want it, join 'em. Why, this flag-wagging stuff is already years and years out of date in any but dorps of the world like South Africa. Only in such a backwoodsmen's colony would a labour leader be heard still bleating, with Creswell, about the people who "had the lying audacity to say, during the 1915 election, that the Labour Party was not to be trusted on the war issue"! "Sound on the war"—still mouthing this when Lloyd-George, Clemenceau, the Kaiser, the Tsar, Francis Joseph, Smuts, and all that crew are only too forward in admitting they were unsound on the war, that the war was a gigantic blunder and crime, and when all the working class of the world know by bitter experience that the only people "sound on the war" were the profiteers—and many even of them have become quite unsound since! Still sporting a Colonel's uniform, when the whole proletariat, "victor" or "vanquished," knows only too well the ghastly tragedy it signifies? "No solitary good thing has come out of the war to encourage and strengthen the moral advance of mankind, nor has all the enormous waste of blood and treasure settled one single problem which was unsettled before the war." The "Guardian" says this was not written by Mr. Bunting or Mr. Andrews, NOR BY COL. CRESWELL OR MR. BOYDELL, but by the Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman, an ex-Minister of Britain. But the implication that it would more naturally have come from the mouth of Col. Creswell—that is the joke!

Again, when we find the Labour Party still parading its copybook programme of eleven or twelve years ago about the coloured man being equalised with the European, but the native being segregated to outer darkness—where are we? "As long as a man is a man," says Mr. Barlow, "the Labour Party will stand by him." But when is a man not a man? When he's a native, then the L.P. will segregate him! Are the labour "leaders" Rip Van Winkles? Have their eyes been closed to patent facts all these years, that they can still get on a labour platform and retail such ancient and fish-like absurdities?

What is the explanation? "Asked whether he would join a Nationalist Cabinet, Col. Creswell said that that depended on what the Labour Party determined"—or rather, "he would take that course which would be best for the Labour Party and the interests for which it stood, and which was best for the good government of the country"—"best," presumably, in his opinion. Place, office, portfolios—for these only they have eyes.

Labour "stalwarts," if you are going to stand by "men," be men yourselves, not cracked gramophones of "His Master's Voice"; pull yourselves together; try to present us with something more practical, more honest, more abreast with the times than this Victorian claptrap, this third-rate, parochial, penny-a-line, mothers' meeting, officers' mess, curate's sermon talky-talky, or you will find the workers will spew you out of their mouths and go forward all the better for the vomiting.

Coloured Seamen Strike.

MORE SHIPS HELD UP.

Coloured seamen are now in the van of the fight against Havelock Wilson's wage cut, says "The Workers' Weekly."

Four hundred coloured men struck on the Elder, Dempster ships "Appam" and "Ebani" at Liverpool. Led by well-known revolutionaries, they marched in procession to the Company's offices, and were only driven away by a large mob of police.

The firm tried to find substitutes among other coloured men working at its engineering shops. All workers approached refused, and were dismissed.

It was only when A NUMBER OF WHITE FIREMEN WERE FOUND TO ACT AS SCABS that the ships got to sea.

Shipowners for years have used coloured workers to depress the wages and conditions of white seamen. Now the coloured men are GIVING ALL WORKERS A LEAD, standing up more vigorously than many white seamen to the shipowners' wage cut.

Other ships in Liverpool are still held up, thanks to the activity of the Strike Committee. The "Zaria" has tried for a week to find a crew.

The Shipowners' Federation is retaliating through the law courts. 134 firemen who left the "Windsor Castle" and the "Almanzora" have been prosecuted and bound over for six months.

Throughout the Witwatersrand there are 20,000 people living on the verge of starvation, and according to official figures, there are 120,000 unemployed in the Union. Comparing white populations, this is a HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYED THAN IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY IN THE WORLD—and this in a country which is one of the richest in the world.

Second International Veers Leftwards

The International Socialist Congress meeting at Hamburg, including the heads of the British Labour Party, has "ADOPTED CLASS WARFARE as the means of emancipation for the working class," and declares that "the decisions of the International on all international questions are binding for all its parts."

CLASS WAR.

The class war is not a "method" to be "adopted," it is a historical fact visible under our very noses all the time. But we need not cavil at terminological inexactitudes. In the former "Provisional Constitution" of the Second International (now merged in this "Socialist Labour International" which met at Hamburg), reference to "class warfare" was conspicuously absent, and among English-speaking adherents in particular it was usual to repudiate such an idea in favour of a pious social pacifism with much laudation of "democracy." Evidently the brutalities of modern capitalism, especially from the war-time on, have driven these cobwebs from the minds even of Social Democrats and compelled them to recognise the true relative positions of the capitalist and the working classes. We are justified in interpreting this new statute as an advance in militancy, a most significant and encouraging progress of the Leftists in those groups.

DICTATORSHIP.

As for the International's decisions being binding, away at once go all the gibes at the Dictatorship of Moscow. The critics themselves have in this case as in the other had to follow Moscow's example. It is understood that the headquarters of the "S.L.I." will be in London, and it will be interesting to see how far the future "dictatorship of London" will be distinguishable from that capitalist dictatorship of London under which half the world groans to-day. Henderson and Thomas do not seem the men for the job; and these new statutes will probably compel them to retire in favour of more class-conscious leaders.

EFFECT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The South African Labour Party resolved shortly before the war to affiliate to the Second International, and sent Mr. Creswell to attend its Congress. The war broke up the Congress; but it may be assumed that the S.A.L.P. is morally if not literally a member of the new combination. The results will be highly interesting.

Last week at Capetown, for instance, Mr. Creswell, in what was called his "reply" to General Smuts, said of the S.A.L.P.: "They had NO MORE USE FOR THE RAISING OF CLASS HATRED, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and other such stock-in-trade of the Communist Party than they had for the dictatorship of the plutocrat"; and generally he has voiced the typical middle-class objection to all talk of "class," "class-consciousness" and "class struggle." But under the dictatorship of London, he will have to change his tune or get out—that is, be left behind by the class-conscious rank and file of his party for whom life is indeed a class struggle and not a game of political place-hunting.

FOR RUSSIA.

Again, this Hamburg Congress not only protested against the Allies driving the German people to arms, but against "the attempts of the Imperialist Powers to intervene in the internal affairs of Russia." A nasty knock for the Nonconformist consciences of the British Labourites, Sunday School teachers, etc., who were spoiling for the blood of "the Soviets" on the strength of the fables about religious persecution; and so they refused to vote. But under the dictatorship of London they will have to toe the line, and instead of supporting they will have to oppose any further threats by Curzon or Baldwin. Similarly, the German Social Democrats boycotted the recent Frankfurt Congress which evolved a series of measures to combat the evils of the Ruhr situation: but now they will quite likely be drawn more deeply into the struggle in face of the redoubled menace of German Fascism, in fact they too have been compelled to arm themselves.

INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT.

A year ago the Communist International proposed a United Front with the Second, which broke down owing to the latter imposing terms regarding the trial of the Social Revolutionaries. The new Second, having condemned the intervention of the Imperialist Powers in the internal affairs of Russia, presumably in connection with the clergy trials, may no doubt be taken to have abandoned the idea of itself "intervening" with regard to political trials in general. The way is therefore open for a revival of last year's pourparlers. The matters on which a United Labour Front is desirable are certainly not less important now than then. Imperialism is more bellicose, Fascism is more insolent, civil class war in a number of countries is nearer. Some speak as though a United Front meant a surrender of Left to Right. On the contrary, it means drawing the Right into the struggle waged by the Left. The Left, the Communists, are just those elements which, owing to their wider outlook and more continuous concentration on the whole class position (irrespective of place-seeking) know their own mind the better, and are the less likely of the two sides to surrender: and in fact the Hamburg tendency is Leftward, not the Moscow tendency Rightward.

"U.F." IN S.A.

Equally in South Africa the Hamburg decisions should facilitate more common agitation and action as between our Party and the S.A.L.P. The way is not simple, any more than it is on the International scale. Even in the Ruhr the enemy is busy fomenting splits among the militant miners, with his "Christian workers," "German workers," and "Police workers," something like the reactionary splitting of unions with which we are already familiar in this country. Even in the unemployed ranks, the British Empire Service League is trying to create a split by demanding special favours for ex-Service unemployed. Some splitting indeed is necessary; for instance, there are influential elements in the S.A.L.P. who will have to be eliminated if the rest are really to "adopt class warfare as the means of emancipation for the working class." And in any case, a United Front on a mere white labour, "damn the nigger," basis is destined to futility; it is too much out of harmony with the world campaign as such. On the whole, however, the Hamburg decisions are a step forward, and we look with confidence to their effect in this country.

Our Pathe's Gazette.

Listening in to the world's news has been a stimulating pastime these last few days. Poincare's dictatorship of France seemed built on popular chauvinist acclamation; now he has been let down a peg, and we find out once more how precarious after all is the power of these capitalist champions, and how much the workers' task is lightened by disputes within the enemy's own ranks.

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The best of it is that Poincare's defeat was on the very issue of Communism. Of course Communism is really the issue everywhere; to defeat it is the supreme object of all the national and international policy of Baldwin, Harding, and the lot of them, and here is their foremost militant in his own capital compelled to dip his flag to Comrade Cachin (now released like W. Z. Foster), whom he had arrested for inciting to revolt in the Ruhr; which revolt is now materialising under Communist auspices, and Poincare's officers apparently dare not interfere, perhaps lest their troops should shoot them and join in with the Communists.

* * *

Shaken, there is talk of Poincare retiring from politics. After the enemy's malignant expressions of glee at Lenin's illness, let us say how much we enjoy the sight of one capitalist hireling after another, from Wilson to Bonar Law, breaking down under the strain. General Smuts, too, is reported looking very shaky, and no wonder after that damning exposure of "settlers'" imperialism last week in connection with S.W. Africa, and after his rash challenge with the Urban Areas Bill. Let him shake. Let a successor try his hand, and he too shall tremble before the raised fist of a proletariat no longer tolerant but angered by age-long persecution.

* * *

What beats these people is the facts of the workers' daily life. Talk of Moscow intrigue, of secret support by the French to the Ruhr Communists (why on earth?); the Ruhr rising is perfectly typical and inevitable. It is due to the cost of living and the military invasion. Like the Russian revolutionaries, the Ruhr workers' elementary cry is "Bread and Peace." Ebert and Kuno, Poincare and Baldwin, will not and cannot give it them; they are taking it, spontaneously, even unarmed as most of them are, and they find that involves something more—a Workers' Republic. That is the Social Revolution in every country.

Whatever their immediate success, their rising, the weakening of French imperialism and the Cabinet jolt in England not only afford to Russia a breathing space from threats of war, but weaken the position of the Allies' tool, Poland (now weakened internally too by a Cabinet crisis), and bring nearer within possibility the adhesion of Germany to the Soviet Federation, especially as the "Second International," for what it is worth, hitherto much under the influence of the German Social Democrats for all its London office, is apparently going pro-Russian.

* * *

Hungary too is reported in the financial soup, which may mean that Horthy's number will soon go up, for he too cannot long stand on his own legs, and that the day is approaching when his slaves too will burst their chains. Altogether there are many heartening signs that the capitalist offensive has passed its zenith, and that the Communist International is everywhere leading the counter-attack. Like the pirate's breeches in "Peter Pan," which gave an ominous tearing sound whenever he bent down, we hear rents in the pants of the bourgeoisie, as they are caught bending, ever more frequently, and we may soon see them reduced to "sans-culottes."

* * *

The moral is that Communists, however small their number in any one branch or section, must no longer hide their diminished heads and complain of their weakness in the eyes of "the public." "The public" is just a name for the people who know no more than the dope given them by capitalist organs. Their ignorance is in no way a reflection of the facts. Not only are the Communists to-day by far the strongest party in the world, but they are supported by what is now the strongest Power in the world—strongest politically, diplomatically, and, if the doubtful allegiance of the capitalist armies be taken into account, possibly the strongest even in a military sense. It is not merely a question of converts: events, capitalist blunders and contradictions, play into our hands. Much may still be made of the rejection of Communist advances by "Labour" or trade union bureaucracies; but these are rapidly coming to represent a point of view as out of date as our former estimate of our position. During the war the Communist groups had indeed the majority of the workers against them. But to-day those majorities are no longer hostile: they are not yet followers, but they are learning to recognise the Communists as pioneers. In effect the Communist International is already functioning as the leader of the working masses of the whole world. As the newspaper heading says: "COMMUNISTS IN COMMAND."

The Dope Merchants.

The misrepresentation, distortion and half-truth dished up by the hireling press to confuse its readers, especially the working class, is so grossly manifest that one is amazed at the audacity of "the dope merchants" in continuing day after day to dish up their monstrous absurdities, contradictions, and lies, and not expecting to be found out. They act on the principle that their readers have a short memory, that the mental kinks induced by the dictatorship of the capitalist class have dulled the critical faculties of the working class, rendering them unable to see that the game is nothing but propaganda to strengthen the stranglehold held by the capitalistic class on the present form of society.

The bugbear of the capitalist class is Soviet Russia. Gallons of ink and innumerable reams of paper have been used to put before the newspaper reader the iniquities of the government under which the Russian people are suffering. In distorting the facts of the situation in Russia these dope merchants have excelled themselves. Their masters should be proud of them; no honour that the present form of society can confer is good enough for them, but alas, their reward will be the scrap heap when they are no longer able to deliver the goods, and when another and more effective method of doping the masses has been discovered It has ever been thus with the faithful slaves of the capitalistic class, whether as workmen performing the daily grind of producing profits for their economic masters, as scabs enabling the employing class to rivet more firmly the chains of economic slavery, or as intellectual prostitutes delivering the dope to induce contentment and adherence to the present capitalistic dictatorship. As tools they all get the same reward, discarded by the capitalist class with as little compunction as one discards an old pair of shoes.

The trial of the heads of the Greek Church has been used as propaganda by the dope merchants. The whole facts have been distorted, but in rather a clumsy fashion. "It takes a liar to have a good memory," is an old adage evidently forgotten by these hirelings, and unless they do better in the future and avoid making such an unholy mess of things as has been done in their handling of the trials and executions of these holy men, their masters will be asking ugly questions, and some of them will be on the unemployed list. One paper in particular gave the whole show away; two columns were devoted to a wail of woe about how the church was being persecuted by the Soviet Government. This damnable government was out to destroy all religion, no religious services were allowed, and the usual stock atrocities were being perpetrated by the wicked Bolsheviks. Yet right in the middle of this wail appeared a small paragraph stating that the American Methodist Episcopal Church were holding their annual conference in Moscow under the auspices of the Soviet Government, also that a dignitary of the Greek Church had written a letter denouncing the A.M.E. as anti-Christian for holding a conference under such conditions, with the usual mud-slinging incidental to good Christians when having any difference of opinion as to doctrine, ritual or tactics.

The superficial individual with the mental kinks, on reading the dope of the brutality of the Soviet Government, is led to believe that these church dignitaries are angelic martyrs, cherubic creatures utterly inepable of conspiring against the Soviet Government, and in any case it is wicked of the Bolsheviks to imprison or take the lives of these holy men.

In reading all this dope one is led to wonder if the dope merchants are totally ignorant of past history. If not ignorant, their crime against humanity is magnified a thousandfold, seeing that they are banking upon the credulity and ignorance of their readers. These prostitutes are not ignorant, they know that in political struggles in the past leaders of the several churches have been put to death. One has only to read any history of England to find that all the leading Protestant as well as Catholic churches have had their martyrs put to death by Englishmen who were opposed to them religiously and politically. It is unnecessary to give a list. Any common history book will give their names and other details as to why they were executed and the denomination to which they belonged.

It ill behoves these hirelings to howl about the death or imprisonment of these so-called holy men. Their crime has been treachery to the Soviet Government, organising armed revolt to re-establish the old capitalistic form of government, and the Soviet Government are quite within their rights, as a sovereign state, in dealing out punishment to these conspirators. The press have also failed to conceal the known fact that there is a reform movement within the Greek Church. Several capitalist papers have given an account of a meeting of representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church, the new "living church," and the Revivalist Church, demanding the death of Tikhon. These prostitutes are condemned by their own statements. This conception of the mentality of their readers is very low indeed when such a glaring contradiction as that "the Soviet Government does not allow religious freedom" is dished up in the same column with reports of meetings of religious bodies.

Any and every method is being adopted to stave off the inevitable collapse of the present form of society. If the trash of the dope merchant fails, other measures more drastic will be used to maintain the present gang in the saddle. Yet we know the material conditions will eventually force the issue and compel the apathetic many to see that the only salvation is not to try and amend the system but to take control and mould the co-operative commonwealth.

J. M. G.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE!

A man who had been knocked down by a motor bus in a busy London thoroughfare, on regaining consciousness, exclaimed: "Where am I?" An enterprising street hawker rushed up to him and said: "'Ere you are, guv'nor, map of London, one penny!"

Social Science, Bourgeois & Proletarian

By N. BUKHARIN

(From the introduction to his book, "The Theory of Historical Materialism.")

THE FIGHTING NEEDS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

When bourgeois professors begin to talk about a science they speak of it with an air of mystery, as if it were something which had its birth not upon earth but in heaven. But, in reality, every science grows out of the needs of society and its classes. Nobody counts the flies upon the window or the sparrows upon the roof. But one does count cows and oxen. The first is of no utility to anyone. But it is useful to know the second.

It is, however, not only useful to have a knowledge of nature (from the constituent parts of which we obtain all kinds of materials, instruments, etc.), but it is just as much a matter of practical necessity to have a knowledge of society. The working class in the course of its struggle finds itself faced with the necessity for such knowledge. In order to be able effectively to carry on the struggle with the other classes, it must foresee how the classes will conduct themselves. But in order to be able to foresee this, one must know upon what depends the attitude of different classes under different circumstances. Before the working class has acquired power it must live under the yoke of capital, and in its struggle for emancipation it has constantly to reckon in advance with the question of how this or that class will conduct itself. To this end, it is necessary to know upon what the attitude of the classes depends and in what way this is determined. Here we have a question that only social science can answer.

After it has captured power, the working class has to fight with capitalist states abroad, and with what remains of the counter-revolution at home. It must then also master the most difficult problems connected with the organisation of production and distribution. What is to be the economic plan? How is one to utilise the services of the brain workers? How are the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie to be educated in Communism? How are experienced managers to be developed from among the workers? How are the broad and as yet unconscious sections of our own class to be won over? And there are many other similar questions.

All require for their correct solution a knowledge of society and its classes, of all their peculiarities and their attitude in this or that case. There is required, too, a knowledge concerning the economy of society, and the social thought of the different groups in society. In short, a SOCIAL SCIENCE is indispensable. The practical problem of the transformation of society can only be rightly solved when the working class has a scientific policy; that is to say, a policy based on scientific theory. The proletariat possesses this scientific theory in the form of Marxism.

THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

The bourgeoisie, too, creates its social sciences in response to its practical needs. In so far as it is the RULING class, it must master a great number of questions: How the capitalist order of things is to be maintained; how the so-called "Normal Evolution" of capitalist society, that is to say, the regular production of profits, can be ensured; how to organise the economic institutions for this purpose; what policy is to be pursued in relation to other countries; how to keep the upper hand over the working class; how to avoid disputes in one's own ranks; how to fit a staff of officials, parsons, police and teachers; how to conduct education in such a way that the working class will not become so brutalised as to be capable of damaging the machinery, but at the same time unenlightened enough to remain complacent under its oppressors, etc., etc.?

The bourgeoisie, for these reasons, requires social science. It needs it in order to help it to find its way aright in the complicated life of society and in the solution of the practical problems of life. It is an interesting fact, for example, that the first bourgeois economists were practical men who came from the ranks of the big commercialists, or men who were occupied in the service of the State. The great theoretical exponent of the bourgeoisie, Ricardo, was an experienced banker.

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

Bourgeois professors always maintain that they are the representatives of so-called "Pure Science"; that all earthly prejudices, the struggle of interests, the material needs of life, the desire for profits, and other earthly and sordid things are absolutely remote from the consideration of their science. They speak and write as if a professor were a god enthroned upon a high mountain, dispassionately observing public life in all its diversity. They believe (and they have much to say about this) that sordid practice has not the slightest influence upon "pure" theory. But from what has already been said, we see that this is not the case. On the contrary, Science itself is born in practice. And if that is so, then it is perfectly clear that the social sciences have a CLASS character. Every class has its practice, its particular problems, its interests, and therefore ITS CONCEPTION of things. The bourgeoisie is concerned, in the first place, in maintaining the rule of capital, in perpetuating it, consolidating it, and extending it. The working class is concerned, above all, with destroying the capitalist order and establishing the rule of the working class in order to reconstruct the whole world. It is easy to understand that bourgeois practice demands one thing and proletarian practice something quite different; that the bourgeoisie has ITS conception of things and the working class quite another conception; that the social science of the bourgeoisie differs entirely from that of the proletariat.

WHY DOES PROLETARIAN SCIENCE STAND HIGHER THAN BOURGEOIS SCIENCE?

The following question now presents itself to us: If the social sciences have a class character, why does proletarian science stand higher than bourgeois science? The working class has its interests, its aims, and practice. The one class, as the other, is in like measure interested in things. The matter is in no way altered by the fact that the one class is a well-disposed and generous class, concerned about the welfare of mankind, while the other class is selfish and profiteering. The one has its red spectacles, the other white spectacles. But why are red spectacles better than white? Why does the one see better through the red than the other sees through the white?

Let us consider the position of the bourgeoisie. We have seen that they are interested in the capitalist order. At the same time it is admitted that there is "nothing eternal under the sun." There were at one time slave-holders; then there were lords of the manor; there was and there is a capitalist order. There were also other forms of human society. If that is so, and it unquestionably is, then it follows that to understand the life of society one must above all understand that all is variable, that one form of society is dissolved through the other.

Let us take the example of a landowner in the Feudal Age who lived before the emancipation of the peasants. He could never conceive of the existence of a social order where man required to sell or exchange. Could such a lord of the manor have been able to understand correctly the evolution of society? Naturally not! Why? Because he wore blinkers and not spectacles. He could see no farther than his nose, and, therefore, could never understand what lay in front of his nose.

It is just those kind of blinkers that the bourgeoisie also wears. It is interested in the retention of capitalism and believes that capitalism is durable and eternal. Therefore, it is not in a position to perceive and observe those features in the evolution of capitalist society which point to its transitory existence, to its inevitable decay (or even to its possible decay), to its transformation into another order of life. This is best seen in the example of the World War and the Revolution. How many more or less distinguised bourgeois professors have foreseen the consequences of the world carnage? Not one! They were all occupied with supporting their bourgeois governments, with predicting the victory of the capitalists in their own country. Nevertheless, it is such phenomena as the universal impoverishment resulting from the war and the revolution of the proletariat, that decide the destiny of mankind and alter the whole shape of the world. And the bourgeoisie has seen nothing. But the Communists, the representatives of proletarian science, have foreseen all this. Why? Because the proletariat is not interested in maintaining the old order and on that account is MORE FAR-SEEING.

It is now not difficult to perceive why proletarian social science stands higher than that of the bourgeois. It is superior to the latter, because it investigates the phenomena of social life in greater depth and breadth; because it is in a position to see further, and to perceive clearly what escapes the gaze of bourgeois social science. Therefore, it is also intelligible that we Marxists have the full right to regard proletarian science as the true science and to demand general recognition for it.

"Living on the Proceeds of . . ."

The views published by us two weeks ago under the heading, "A Pimp Society," are echoed in the following extract from the May issue of "The Cape Indian":

"Englishmen and Englishwomen who deliberately connive at the degradation of their fellow-beings of coloured races because they or their countrymen profit by such degradation, cannot shirk the responsibility for the consequences of their failure to do their duty as men and women."—(Words uttered by a radical member in the New Zealand Parliament.)

It was the Natal Province who initiated the indenture system and effected it on an extensive scale, actuated purely and simply by motives totally devoid of all civilised principles, but full of inordinate greed and lust of gain. The planters, with rare exceptions, of Natal, while posing as pioneers of civilisation, forgot all sense of humanity in the exploitation of Indian labour, and treated the latter in a manner one would feel ashamed of even in the case of animal labour. The history of the treatment meted out to indentured labour will make one long infamous record of the betrayal of humanity. The indentured Indians were treated with such a total disregard of human qualities that the effects of this heartlessly degrading process naturally produced the MOST DEGENERATE CONDITIONS among the indentured and ex-indentured to last for a considerable time. But if by degrading their fellow-beings the planters and their countrymen profited, what else mattered. The Indian traders who followed in the wake of the indentured labourer to supply his wants and who subsequently succeeded in finding other scope for their calling were also summarily made to share the ban of this inhumanly created character and tacked on to the indentured Indian. No repentance was ever manifested on the part of the planters nor on that of those who governed the country. Not a pretence of any effort to uplift their wronged fellow-beings was made. . . . They are made to possess all the imaginable worst qualities in order to create public feeling against them. In those days the process of degradation was carried on by the planters on the lines suitable to them. To-day the same process is being carried on in perhaps a different manner, but equally revolting to human nature. Exaggerated accusations are made against them IN ORDER TO CREATE A STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING FAVOURABLE TO ANTI-ASIATIC PROPAGANDA. Race, tradition, and everything Indian is condemned wholesale by these anti-Asiatic agitators, and under the pretext of superiority and advanced culture, such high-sounding and vainglorious tirades are trumpeted for the benefit of the unknowing general public that the latter, or at least a portion thereof, unwittingly fall easy victims to the current agitation, not dreaming in the least that it is all a camouflage ably utilised in the interest chiefly of commercial and industrial sections of the Union.

By a curious coincidence, "Abantu Batho" hits on a very similar observation. It says:

"We cannot conclude this article without mentioning the fact that this epidemic of native assaults on white women ALWAYS PRECEDES SOME VERY UNJUST PIECE OF LEGISLATION. We still remember the serious outbreak which took place in 1912, and was followed by the enactment of the Natives Land Act in 1913. After this there was practically a lull until the recent outbreak, when the agitation against natives in towns was at its height. The natural outcome of this was the prohibition of the natives to own and buy land in the urban areas. This is striking, and should not be lost sight of; Europeans are expert propagandists."

News of Soviet Russia.

The weather reports from all parts of Russia continue to be favourable, and there is every reason to believe that the anticipations of a good harvest this year will be realised. This, of course, is of considerable importance to western countries as well as to Russia, for a good harvest, taking into account the increased area under cultivation, will make large quantities of grain available for export. As a result of last year's good harvest, the price of grain in Russia is much below the world price, and over 350,000 tons of grain has been exported from Russia during the last few months. In 1923 the peasants will not only be in need of vast quantities of agricultural implements and machinery, but they will be able to pay for them.

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The Karelian Commune has leased to the Swedish Co-operative Communist organisation "Broderskap" the model farm belonging formerly to the Olonetz Zemstvo. The Swedes receive about 362 acres for fifteen years, as from March 1, 1923. The "Broderskap" undertake to cultivate all the land at their disposal within these fifteen years, and to conduct the estate as a co-operative model farm on modern lines.

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Direct telegraphic communication has been established between Moscow and Baku, and between Petrograd and Odessa. It is expected that wireless communication between Moscow and Vladivostock will be possible in the near future.

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The Council of People's Commissaries has instructed the Commissariats for Foreign Trade and for Justice to draft jointly detailed proposals for a special code of law governing trading relationships, contracts, etc., to be included in the Civil Code.

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The provincial executive committees have been inundated with applications from former Russian citizens who after the Revolution became citizens of Poland, Esthonia, or Latvia, and now desire to return to Russian citizenship.

"While there is a lower class, I am in it. While there is a soul in jail, I am not free."

—Eugene Debs.

Soldiers' Opinion of War.

"The politicians are the guilty ones," said one cavalry officer. . . . "I am all for revolution after all this bloody massacre. I would hang all politicians, diplomats, and so-called statesmen with strict impartiality."

"I'm for the people," said another, "the poor ——— people who are kept in ignorance and then driven into the shambles when their rulers desire to grab some new part of the earth's surface, or to get their armies going because they are bored with peace."

"What price Christianity?" asked another, inevitably. "What have the churches done to stop war, or preach the Gospel of Christ? The Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, all these conventional, patriotic, cannon-blessing, banner-baptising humbugs. Mon Dieu! They make me tired."

"I don't want to kill Germans," said a fellow with a superior accent. "I've no personal quarrel with them, and, anyhow, I don't like butcher's work."

"Christian service, that's what the padre calls it. I wonder if Christ would have stuck a bayonet into a German's stomach—a German with his hands up! That's what we're asked to do."—Sir Phillip Gibbs.

Fascism and King Charles' Head.

Signor Mussolini is not satisfied with a mere Premiership, and rather fancies himself as a candidate for the Presidential chair of an Italian Republic. One of his creatures, Signor de Vecchi, a Fascist Minister and otherwise a big maccaroni of the blackshirt pudding, has openly stated the desire of the Fascists for "an Italian Empire without the House of Savoy"—quite a delicate paraphrase for one of his garb.

Mussolini's recent refusal of the King's offer of the Grand Cordon of the Annunziata—though possibly dictated by a merely instinctive aversion to the ropy title of the decoration—has served to strengthen the general suspicion that mischief of some sort is afoot. Hence some uneasiness; the feeling is that a king is at least ornamental.

But what dreary news for the dukes and die-hards who are still dreaming of a British Fascismo.

What about renewing your subscription to the "International"?

Communist Children's Sections.

WHY THEY SHOULD BE FORMED IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Socialist Sunday Schools of the pre-war period have developed considerably in scope and method since the establishment of the Third International.

THE BOURGEOIS INFLUENCE IN THE SCHOOLS

A great deal has been said and is still to be said about the role of the proletarian child under capitalism. The capitalist class only succeeds in maintaining its present position in society by virtue of its control over the minds of a large section of the workers. Its most powerful weapon is its control of the mental development of the young children.

So powerful and far-reaching is this influence that at least ninety per cent. of the teachers in our local primary and high schools are permeated with bourgeois ideology. Even the fact that children have class-conscious parents does not prevent some of them being dyed red, white and blue by the Education Department, the influence of the school teacher over the child being in many cases greater than that of the parent.

It was in the attempt to counteract this far-reaching propaganda of the capitalist class that the Socialist Sunday Schools were formed. The need for a system of child education on a working class basis is as great now as it was then. The Communist Children's Movement is the natural expression of this need.

THE Y.C.I. AND THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT.

The old Socialist Sunday Schools were generally run by members of the Party. In those days there was no Young Communist League. The Left Wing of the Labour Movement had not yet assumed its present more complicated and, we believe, more efficient form.

The Third International to-day has five sections, each with a definite function and its own immediate objectives, but all organised for one common purpose—the consolidation of the working class into a fighting organisation for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. These five sections are:

1. The Communist International.
2. The Young Communist International.
3. The Red International of Labour Unions.
4. The Red Sport International.
5. The Communist Children's Sections.

The tendency is for the Communist Children's Sections, more and more, to come under the control of the Y.C.I. The E.C. of the Y.C.I. is taking the matter in hand and is publishing a monthly "Bulletin for Teachers of Communist Children's Sections." It is from the pages of this very comprehensive publication that the following arguments are taken.

The teachers of the children's sections are supplied both by the League and by the Party. It has been found, however, that the Young Communists make better teachers than the "old hands." This is due to the fact that youth has, nearly always, a more revolutionary outlook than old age or even middle age, and that young teachers more than make up in enthusiasm what they lack in experience. There is always a danger of the teacher becoming domineering, limited in outlook, prudish. These are faults which are extremely common in the ordinary government (bourgeois) schools. So common are they, in fact, that to find a member of the Transvaal Education Department without some or all of these characteristics is to find one in a thousand. By selecting their teachers from the revolutionary youth the Communist Children's Sections minimise, though they do not entirely eliminate, these dangers.

TO BE AVOIDED.

In the children's section there are two evils particularly which must be avoided: the prudish "old maid" and the jealous mother. They kill the movement right from the start.

In the first case, the mental awakening of the child receives a set-back. Its curiosity is baffled and thwarted. Its spontaneous exclamations and desires are checked, and the free atmosphere is shut out by all sorts of barriers, which the child discerns but does not understand.

The jealous mother, too, has ruined many a Socialist Sunday School. She is not content to leave the children alone with the teacher. She wants to be there to see that HER child is not neglected. She imagines that all sorts of slights are meted out to HER darling; and generally she succeeds, if she is persistent or if there are many of her, in breaking up the group.

LET THE CHILD BE THE MAIN SOURCE OF ITS OWN EDUCATION.

The function of the teacher is that of an assistant. The bourgeois pedagogues admit this, but they never try to put it into practice. The graduate of the Normal College becomes a slave driver or a talking machine. The bourgeois educationalists do not allow the child the slightest freedom in the class-room.

In the Communist Children's Section we must try to realise the object of education: it is not to force children to pass examinations, but to enable them to become thinking men and women. We do not wish to cram them full of words and phrases, which have little or no meaning and no practical value whatever. We wish to break down the barriers with which the bourgeoisie seeks to isolate the proletarian child from the struggle which is going on around it. We do this by encouraging the child to think for itself; we must not do its thinking for it. We supply the free atmosphere; we supply the facts; the child will supply the rest.

The leader in the Communist Children's Section does not say: "Now, children, we are going to study the First Book of Moses. I know that you are all frightfully interested in this, so you must all sit still for half-an-hour and listen carefully." On the contrary, he says: "Children, what do you want to do now?"

And if they say they want to play "ring-a-roses," then "ring-a-roses" it is until they are tired of it. And then if they want him to tell them a story, he has no option but to comply with the request. His art does not lie in compelling them to listen to a story, or even in persuading them that what they really want is a story, but in allowing them to ask for one. And in the telling is his opportunity of showing his talent in adapting the philosophy of Communism so that little children may hear and understand it.

WANTED: TEACHERS.

The whole question of establishing Communist Children's Sections in Johannesburg and throughout South Africa is a question not of children but of teachers. There are hundreds of children in Johannesburg and thousands in the Union who would enter the sections to-morrow PROVIDED WE HAD THE TEACHERS.

As we have hinted above, the problem of getting teachers is not simply a question of getting people who are willing to teach (though this would be the first move). Some are born teachers: they "have a way with children." These, if they are good Communists and study the "Bulletin to Teachers," will have little or no difficulty in running the sections on the principles laid down by the Y.C.I. Those who are willing to teach, but who are not born teachers, will have to learn by experience the right way of managing children, which really means (according to our definition) allowing children to manage them.

It is time, anyway, that we made a start.

The capitalist press and certain M.L.A.'s, following the example of their brethren in England, are conducting a vigorous propaganda against Communist educational work. They demand that the Government introduce legislation to prevent the teaching of seditious doctrines (by which they mean that the Government ought to suppress the movement for the liberation of the working class from its present slavery and bondage).

LET US REPLY TO THIS THREATENED ATTACK BY FORMING COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S SECTIONS.

Members of the working class!

HELP THE Y.C.L. IN SOUTH AFRICA TO WIN THE CHILDREN OVER FOR COMMUNISM.

The Y.C.L. is a training ground ground for the C.P.

The Communist Children's Sections must be a training ground for the Y.C.L.

INAUGURAL TEACHERS' MEETING.

To be held in No. 4, Trades Hall, on Sunday, June 3rd, at 2.30 p.m.

All who think they will be able to assist as teachers or in any other capacity are asked to turn up.

All communications should be addressed to

THE PROPAGANDA SECRETARY, Y.C.L.,
P.O. Box 7599, Johannesburg.

Russia Day by Day.

A LETTER FROM D. IVON JONES.

The Annual Congress of the Russian Communist Party is in progress. This Congress is important in many respects. It is the first Congress held in the absence of "Vladimir Ilych" (as everybody likes to call Lenin now), since that sixth Party Congress in 1917 when he was wanted by the police. Lenin has had another severe attack. The best doctors in Europe have been requisitioned to his side. With their skill and his marvellous constitution, he is again recovering, so that daily bulletins are no longer considered necessary.

But Lenin dominates this Congress nevertheless. The issues discussed are raised by him. His last article, before his illness took a serious turn, written in March, indicates in a nutshell the issue before this Congress. On that issue the enemies of Russia had hoped to see the signs of division, but the prestige of Lenin, and the strength of the men he has gathered round him, is too overwhelming. But above all, the flow of workers into the Party from the factories and workshops is the surest vote of confidence in the leaders of the revolution.

BOSSING UP THE BUREAUCRATS.

What are the chief dangers against which Lenin warned and forearmed the Party? The danger of the State machine running away from the control of the proletariat and its directing organ, the Communist Party. In the State machine and management of State industry we have a minority of directing Communists and an overwhelming majority of bourgeois specialists and employees. In the routine of business the Communists in the State machine and in industry come in daily contact with the "Nepmen" and the specialists and non-proletarian elements. Will they stand the test of an alien atmosphere? We will take no chances, says Lenin. We will make the control of the Party over the State apparatus more firm than ever. We will enlarge the Central Control Committee of the Party to 200 members. These of course will be the best brains of the Party—the old guard. They will ipso facto constitute the Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. This Commissariat will be a boss Commissariat over all the rest, with power to check and control everything, to reduce overstaffed departments, to avoid abuses, to proletarianise the officialdom, to link it up closer in the service of the workers and the peasantry, and to check all tendencies for this state officialdom to become a bureaucratic caste existing solely for itself. This is a turning point in the history of the Soviet Republic. This is the decisive phase in the New Economic Policy. The genius of Lenin has again turned a switch at the moment when the New Economic Policy might yet possibly lead one of two ways, the way of capitalist reconstruction or the way of Socialist reconstruction. That is to say, the phase of 1921, when the proletariat showed signs of becoming declassed and scattered, is passed, and the phase of a consolidated working class, conscious again of its great mission, is reached. Lenin and the Party therefore remain the great exponents of the will of the working class.

PARTY AND PEASANTS.

Now the tasks before us for the coming year are, as formulated by the Congress, closer alliance with the peasantry, avoidance of any class division with the peasants. On this alliance rests the Republic. Hegemony of the proletariat over all labouring masses. Simplification of the taxes on the peasants. As Trotsky said: we shall take from the peasant not what we can, but what he can give. We shall take this year so that he may be richer next year. The slogan now is to send twenty thousand Communists into the country districts to strengthen the alliance and raise the cultural level of the country population, as well as develop agricultural industry. In the Ukraine this year there are 4,000 agricultural communes. And they demand tractors, etc. This is an enormous increase on last year. The Congress also laid stress upon the need to develop the export of wheat. The price of bread is much lower than the price of manufactures. Hence the incentive to produce more must be given to the peasant. He cannot buy ploughs and harrows with the present market for bread. There is a danger, therefore, that he may stop growing wheat for the market. So the world market must be opened to him, in order that tractors and ploughs, etc., may be bought in return, and thus the area under wheat widened. In passing, I may mention that the area under wheat this year is greatly increased.

TROTSKY AS INDUSTRIALIST.

This Congress is the point of departure for a new period of planful industrial expansion. It is significant that Trotsky wrote the thesis and delivered the report on Industries. It is assumed that he will take over the direction of the Supreme Council of National Economy. I was told by a comrade that the "specs" (bourgeois specialists) in that department are shaking in their shoes at this news. The army is the one great department where punctuality is combined with courtesy. Trotsky is one of those men who considers an appointment to meet his chauffeur as important as an appointment to meet a head of a department, and will not wait for anyone beyond the appointed time. If a review or a committee is timed for twelve, it starts at twelve to the minute. By the way, Trotsky is learning English in his spare time, and everyone is anxious to help, so that he will be able to address the Commintern Congress in four languages instead of a paltry three! Whatever position he takes in the direction of industry, it is assumed that he will remain the head of the army.

THE PARTY "CUM" THE STATE.

The Congress condemns any attempt to view the Soviet State in opposition to the interests of the working class and its dictatorship, and regards any demand to separate the party from the state as the chief weapon of the enemy, which now vainly hopes to achieve its purpose by internal disintegration. Zinoviev said: We will agree to a division of labour, but a division of power—never.

THE EDUCATION PHŒNIX.

I wrote in a previous letter about the curtailment of the Education Budget. Since then there has been a wonderful movement all over the country to open schools on locally collected taxes. The result is that in a few months the whole of the retrenchment caused by the stoppage of funds from Moscow has been more than made up by local initiative, and so rapid is our progress that there is now talk of increasing the Central Education Budget as well.

HOW TO WIN STRIKES.

There have been one or two interesting examples recently of strikes in a proletarian state, all of course in private concerns. The hotel employees of Odessa were locked out because the employers objected to the trade union minimum. The local Trades Council immediately gave orders to cut off electric light, water, and all municipal services. In 24 hours the employers saw the error of their ways. Just as a capitalist government is "perfectly impartial" "neutral" when a capitalist employs scabs, so with the Soviet Government, it suits it to be "neutral" when the trade unions put the screw on. Strikes in Russia never last more than a day or two: if it is in a State concern, it is due to bad management or misunderstanding, which is immediately removed; if it is in a private concern, why, that is also a misunderstanding, the boss has misunderstood the dictatorship of the proletariat, he doesn't know what's struck him once he locks out his workers.

NO NATIONALISM.

On the question of nationalities, which is a live question in Russia, with its various tongues and national minorities, the Congress again affirmed the necessity of according the fullest cultural freedom to national minorities within the Republic, and declared the Party's obligation to resolutely oppose any incipient "great Russian chauvinism" in relations with national minorities (such as Tartars, Kirghisians, Caucasians, Jews, etc.).

"PERSECUTING JUDAISM."

Reverting to the question of national minorities, an interesting and rather amusing feature of this question was revealed to me recently in a conversation with a Jewish comrade who occupies a leading position in the department of finance. The Soviet Government, of course, scrupulously applies its principles of national and religious toleration to the Jews as to all other national minorities. So scrupulous is the Government in this matter that it often gets the Jewish Communists protesting and even appealing to the Commintern against the alleged too wide toleration of religious and national prejudices. In Minsk, where there is a large Jewish population, the Jewish members of the Young Communist League lost all patience with the Government. They wanted a building for a club. So they marched en masse to the largest synagogue in the town and occupied it, and turned it to their own use. To prevent the spread of this extra-governmental action, the authorities came to a compromise with the religious Jews thus: "Look here, you have so many synagogues; far too many. How many will you give over to the Young Communists!" So this is the present method of procedure, and there is a temporary truce with the young bloods. Of course, it was all done in good-humoured fashion.

REVOLUTION'S SOUL GOES MARCHING ON.

In other parts of the country also Jewish workers are demanding the conversion of synagogues to be used as workers' clubs. In to-day's "Pravda" we have a news item about a factory committee applying to the Moscow Soviet for leave to take over a neighbouring church for their club and children's house—request granted. We see these kinds of news items in the press every other day. Also such items as: the workers of such and such a factory have decided to take their rest day on Mondays instead of Sundays. The workers of such and such a factory decided not to observe Easter holidays, and work for the Ruhr workers. For Easter has a definite religious significance, and these religious holidays are not abolished, but exist side by side with the new revolutionary or Soviet holidays. It is the task of the Young Communist League to revolutionise them. For example, Christmas is called Young Communist Christmas. On that day the Young Communists emptied the churches with their wonderful carnivals, in which all the gods, Jehovah, Allah, Christ, and God knows what not, were carried round in effigy. In some places the priests refused to pray in the churches while such hilarity was in progress and postponed things to another day! Oh, yes, Russia is a live place, a wonderful country. You can feel the throbbing of the new life in every vein. Each month is different from the last. The revolution moves on here like a great steam engine—you can hear its mighty pistons pounding irresistibly onwards, and woe to any luckless "coo" of superstition and reaction that may stand between the rails.

Moscow, April 22, 1923.

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Communism Legal in U.S.A.

Communism has been pronounced no crime in the State of Michigan, U.S.A.

"Criminal Syndicalism is a doctrine advocating crime, sabotage, violence, terror and all other abnormal methods of action for the accomplishment of changes of an economic or political nature. The fact that the changes that the Communists desire cannot be achieved without violence cannot serve as a necessary manifestation of criminal syndicalism.

"According to the laws of Michigan, advocacy and propaganda of theories and doctrines of class struggle, mass action, soviet system, trade unionism, internationalism, the affiliation of American trade unions to the Red Labour International, support of the Russian Soviet Government, independence of the working class movement, Communist activity, social revolution and other changes of an economic, political and trade union character, which are contained in the documents of the Communist Party or the evidence given at this trial, do not constitute in themselves crimes.

"The only charge against this man (Foster) is that voluntarily and jointly with the Communist Party he formed an organisation for the propaganda and advocacy of doctrines of criminal syndicalism. But this alone would not constitute a crime if it should be proven that Foster and the Communist Party did not advocate violence as a method of carrying out the desired changes."

These words in the instruction of Judge Chas. E. White to the jury trying William Z. Foster, American labour leader, were an emininely fair interpretation of the criminal syndicalist law of Michigan.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Dates of meetings: June 7th and 21st; July 5th and 19th.

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Printed by the I.S.L. Press, 54, Fox Street, Marshall Square, and published by the Communist Party of South Africa, No. 4, Trades Hall, Rissik Street (Box 4179), Johannesburg.