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8 Years Old!

A Sturdy Boy!

Come to Our Birthday Party
at the
SELBORNE HALL,
JOHANNESBURG,
Tomorrow Night

MUSIC AND DANCING,
8 to 12.

The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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. 382. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

THE
"International"
wants a
Birthday Present
FROM YOU.

What Shall it Be?
Why, a Bunch of
New Subscribers
of course!

GET BUSY QUICK!

Eight Years Old.

Eight years of a clean, a strenuous, a fearless fight for the working class of South Africa—that is the record which we are celebrating in this issue. "Pioneers," some sections will say; "go on with your good work, and leave us the plums of office-seeking meanwhile." The Communist Party is not content with that role anywhere. Pioneers! Then now, with bourgeois "civilisation" cracking, is the time for the mass of the workers to march forward in the trail we have blazed. Fellow-workers, are you preparing to take control of the state and of production? In Russia it has been done; our German fellow-workers are nerving themselves for the assault. Why not South Africa too? Do you choose to prolong your agony? Still to shut your eyes, to clean your bosses' boots, to cringe for favours at your fellow-workers' expense? It is time to recognise the only Labour policy that leads out of a vicious circle of futilities, and to rally in one United Front behind the Red Banner of the militant, the far-seeing, the ever-advancing Communist International. Come over and help us and share in the honours of the real war to end war, the war to exterminate your real enemies, the only war that "brings the hope of peace at last" through the world-wide victory of Labour.

A Challenge to the Smuts Government.

(By the Chairman of the Witwatersrand Unemployed Committee.)

At the recent Congress of the South African Party, General Smuts stated that phthisis men employed on Government "relief" works could earn, and in many cases were earning, 15s. per day.

During the past few days I have met and discussed matters with a number of phthisis men who have returned from Magaliesberg, where they have been working on one of the "relief" constructions. One man told me that after a month's hard graft he had received the magnificent wage of £2 10s. Others I spoke to had received amounts ranging from £2 10s. to £8 for the month's work, the latter figure representing the highest wage earned by any man on the job, few indeed ever reaching that amount. The work is performed at piece-work rates and, as it requires far more energy than the weakened constitution of a phthisis man can supply, it is a sheer physical impossibility for them to earn anything near the wage which Smuts so grandiloquently asserts they can earn. The conditions on the works are of the worst. Herded together in open camps, with sanitary arrangements none too good, separated from their wives and children (who in all probability starve in the towns), denied the amenities and amusements of social life, with long hours of unremitting enervating toil for which they are unfitted, these poor physical wrecks will die an even more premature death than the one to which the dread silicosis condemns them.

It is a crying disgrace that the derelicts of the mining industry, their physique having been broken on the Chamber of Mines' profit-producing treadmill, should be expected to do pick-and-shovel work. But such is the hellish system under which we live that in most cases the only alternative is slow starvation.

On behalf of these men, I CHALLENGE THE GOVERNMENT TO REPEAT THEIR LYING STATEMENT as to the wage it is possible for them to earn! I challenge them to re-assert it BEFORE AN ASSEMBLY OF THE MEN who are forced to work under the blighting conditions I have briefly described!

Now, then, Smuts—I dare you! On behalf of the whole mass of starving and destitute in this country, I give you the challenge!

I can well imagine my challenge falling on deaf ears, for the Government is a mere machine for stifling the cries of the oppressed and down-trodden wage-slaves. The only hope is for the workers, the sufferers, to organise and rise in their might and sweep this rotten Government, together with the rotten system it represents and upholds, into the limbo of forgotten things. It can be done. The masters are only masters because we are on our knees. Let us rise! Down with the Smuts Government, and South Africa for the workers!

FRANK GLASS.

The general course taken by the Russian revolution after October, 1905, as well as the logical consequences of the events in Moscow in December, 1905, confirmed with surprising accuracy one of Marx' profoundest theses: Revolution advances by means of creating a determined and firm counter-revolution, that is, by forcing the enemy to resort to more and more rigorous means of defence, and thus evoking means of attack of ever-increasing powerfulness.—Lenin.

The Peace of Europe.

In "pre-war" days, war scares occurred at intervals of a few years, and wars every quarter of a century or so. But war having been ended for good at Versailles, the danger and actuality of war has recurred ever since at shorter and shorter intervals, until at the beginning of this year it had come to be about a quarterly event (war with Turkey, war with Russia) and nowadays, what with Anglo-French scares and Italo-Greek actual hostilities, we look for more "trouble" at least every fortnight, and soon it will be every day. As for poor old League of Nations, it has fallen in general esteem to the level of an English Dorcas society.

It is tempting to look forward to a war as likely to open the door for proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie, whose sociology is largely mixed with superstition, fear that, and may be expected to make real efforts for peace accordingly. But we must base our hopes on facts: and the facts of the situation are that, rapidly as changes in outlook are taking place, not even in Germany is the majority of the working class yet quite ready to follow a revolutionary lead, though the time is rapidly approaching. We for our part must beware of the superstition that even a general war conflagration necessarily produces the revolutionary spirit and organisation we desire. If Mussolini conquered Greece it might postpone his overthrow rather than hasten it; it is to the event of his being compelled to climb down, i.e., to a continuation of peace, that for the moment we have to look for the best results.

Nevertheless, this latest display of the political anarchy of capitalism all round, and the increasing rapidity of its desperate wriggles to save itself, while surprising and unintelligible to the bourgeoisie, is only forcible confirmation of all that Communists have held for years. It affords overwhelming reason why the workers of all lands should redouble their efforts to organise and educate themselves, not just to sit tight and leave the bourgeoisie to take the initiative, but to be prepared at the proper moment themselves to force the situation and to seize power once for all.

NO
EARTHQUAKE,
NO
ULTIMATUM,
NO
BOMBARDMENT,
NO
WAR,
AND NO
CORRUPTION
CAN SHAKE THE
INTERNATIONAL.

The International
Founded 10th Sept. 1915.

STILL GOING STRONG.
THE LONGEST LIVED, THE OLDEST, THE BEST
The Only
REAL WORKING-CLASS PAPER IN SOUTH AFRICA, IS CELEBRATING THIS WEEK ITS
8th Anniversary

Will You Join Us?
(SEE PANELS AT TOP OF THIS PAGE.)

"The Internationale Unites the Human Race"

IN THE
SIGN
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL
THE
WORLD'S
WORKERS
SHALL
CONQUER.

Keeping the Nigger in His Place.

(By "R.A.N.").

II.

If the natives are to give their best without hindrance or artificial barriers, so that they may of themselves shape their destiny as a race, they need plenty of rope, plenty of encouragement, a liberal hand of fellowship ready always to help them in their struggle. And if they of themselves do not resist oppression, prejudice and other agencies employed to retard their progress, their fate will indeed be that of outcasts.

At present they are hedged round by so many restrictive regulations that it is a wonder they make any effort at all towards progression. Under the Pass Laws, the native is required, the moment he leaves his home for an industrial centre or for any place of work, to arm himself with a pass that gives him passage to go there. He must not change his mind en route, although in the course of his journey he may find another and better job. If he stated he was going to Johannesburg at the outset, he must go there. Upon arrival he is required to exchange the travelling pass for a license to look for work within a specified period. Should he fail to find work within that period plus three extra days he is either liable for transference to another district or for arrest as a vagrant. But if he finds work or is forced to take on any work, he has again to report and be furnished with a monthly pass while his employer holds the registered copy of the contract. It is virtually a one-sided contract protecting the interests of the employer as against that of the native, for while the employer may dismiss a servant without notice the native dare not leave his job without notice under pain of imprisonment.

If the native decides to leave the service of the employer immediately and without notice, for an obvious reason perhaps, the offence is regarded as a criminal one; if the employer decides to get rid of the native without notice, the offence is regarded as a civil one. But of all injustices under the Pass Laws the most inhuman is to licence a man to sell his labour within a prescribed period under threat of imprisonment as a vagrant in the event of his failure to find work remunerative enough to meet the needs of life. The effect of this restricted licence is that the labour of a native man has no market value except what the employer is prepared to buy it at. Native labour becomes thereby a commodity without value because under the pass system he is thrown at the mercy of any employer who takes undue advantage of his plight and exploits him.

Consequently, he has become an economic slave, a cheap labourer, a producer of wealth, so that the capitalist may pile up profits while the white worker mounts on his body to raise himself up to the level of the employer. General Smuts and Co. are making a big noise about the replacement of black labour by whites, both in development works and on farms. This implies that the native workers are left still at the bottom of the ladder. If they depend for a living upon such works and farming operations, they are being systematically ousted, without other prospects for employment except on the mines, which means tuberculosis, silicosis and other incurable diseases, or on other work not remunerative enough to support the white standard of living.

(Continued at foot of column 4.)

Under this yoke of oppression and economic slavery the native is expected to pull himself out of the mud and keep pace with the world's progress! Having found employment his movements are restricted. He has to arm himself, in spite of a monthly pass—a credential that ought to be sufficient to show he was in employment—with a special pass or a night pass. The other day one of these unfortunate men was returning from a visit. About a few yards from his house he met a constable who demanded a night pass. It was produced, but sooner than abandon his prey, the constable handcuffed him and took him to the nearest police station and charged him with being drunk and disorderly. Next day he was fined £2, in spite of his innocence. He had spent the night in the lock-up, lost his liberty and been deliberately robbed of two weeks' hard-earned wages, all in the name of justice. As a matter of fact he had not had a drink, he was a member of a good templar society. Why all this cruelty? To "keep the nigger in his place."

Get the Nine Out.

Practically all who attended the welcome to the 28 released Strike Prisoners at the Berkeley Rooms on the 15th ult. there and then constituted themselves a "Strike Prisoners' Release Committee" with the object of securing, by press and platform propaganda and any other available means, the speedy release of the nine strike prisoners still in gaol, viz., R. P. Erasmus, W. A. D. Coetzee, I. L. Viljoen, L. M. Sanders, A. W. Lategan, J. S. Potgieter, P. J. van der Merwe, J. Brussouw and J. Garnsworthy. These men are looking to their released fellow-prisoners, and to the organised labour and trade union movement in general, to do their utmost to secure the release to which they feel at least as well entitled as those already out, and every one with a spark of manhood in him on the workers' side will say Aye to that.

The Release Committee has been successful in enlisting the interest of the South African Mine Workers' Union, to which most of the strike prisoners belong, in the campaign, indeed it is hoped that the agitation will be largely led by that union, the object being non-political, although from the attitude of one or two who aspire to represent the workers in Parliament, and of the African Theatres Trust when applied to for halls, one might imagine that here too lurked a "Bolshevik conspiracy."

The Committee is also addressing all Labour bodies, Trades Councils, Unions and branches with an appeal for co-operation, for delegates to the Committee, and for speakers at the series of meetings which are being arranged. "The fight in essence was a trade union fight," it says, "and it must not be said that the fellow-workers who now languish behind the bars are deserted by organised labour. Our appeal is to the whole country for a united front on this matter, and we think if our efforts are strongly backed by every branch of your union we shall quickly meet with success. All Trade Union Branches should pass resolutions calling upon the Government to release the prisoners. The appeal will be a popular one and cannot but strengthen the unions if carried out as it should be. . . . All resolutions carried should be sent to the Committee for dispatch to the Government."

V. C. WOUDBERG, Secretary,
Trades Hall, Johannesburg.

The Strikebreaker.

Wherever the bitter fight is on
For life against human greed;
When the workers rally ere hope is gone
Which nerves for the valiant deed.

When the price is paid for in silent pain,
In want and nameless dread,
And victory near, then "scabs" sneak in
Like ghouls that rob the dead.

They pluck from a vine they did not prune,
They reap where they have not sown,
With a canting look and a craven heart,
And a soul that is not their own.

In a darker age when the world was young,
This jackal human grew,
Skulked in the rear while the fight was on,
And preyed on the valiant few.

They snatched the bone from the woman's hand,
And snarled at a hungered child,
Till the heroes were driven from the land,
And earth's gardens became a wild.

And ever and ever, where human greed
Holds the human race in thrall,
The fight will be fought by the noble few
And the victory shared by all

Then falter not while the fight is on;
There are only your fears to dread;
Though cowards skulk and "scabs" sneak in,
Like ghouls that rob the dead.

—West Virginia "Federationist."

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.

Crossed P.O.'s will not be accepted. Cheques should include commission.

Party Offices:
Nos. 4 & 6, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG

Vol. VIII. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1923. No. 382.

The Act of God.

Those who believe in a beneficent creator are faced with another poser in the unspeakable visitation he has inflicted on Japan, coming on top of the Great War, the influenza epidemic, and all the other disasters which with or without human agency have cursed the world in the last ten years alone. Our White League, no doubt, will rejoice in this punishment of "coloured men" for presuming to threaten "white prestige," wearing a monocle, leggings and spats, carrying a cane, or walking on the sidewalk. "White Australians," too, will be relieved at the reduction of possible immigrants; for the survivors in Japan will be kept busy rebuilding their own cities. But although God moves in a mysterious way, we doubt whether even Mr. Hedley Chilvers is so parochial as to imagine that two million yellows have been sacrificed to please him or the petty bourgeoisie of Australia.

Bigger fry, however, will possibly also be rejoicing up their sleeves. A Japanese paper says the earthquake at a stroke reduces Japan to the position of a fourth-rate power. The reconstruction of Japan will involve enormous loans placing the country completely at the mercy of foreign capitalists, American probably in particular, but perhaps involving a scramble over the carcase between several rival money-lending States. The unhealthy atmosphere after such a disaster may also facilitate Fascist control of Japan. Russia is freed for some time from one menace to her eastern borders. This is neutralised by the freer hand left to America in those waters, but this again opens the door to a more unhindered rivalry with Britain there. China will probably gain by a relaxation of Japanese pressure, and Korea should be able to regain its independence. In general, a competitor has been downed; the "balance of power" is changed beyond recognition!

So much for the rejoicers. The chief mourners will be the working-class of Japan, who are probably too hard hit to take advantage of the situation. The daily press is most interested in the escape of the Emperor and of the European foreign devils from destruction (God intervening on the side of wealth and privilege, no doubt), but working-class sympathy will be all for the surviving masses who will suffer most whatever happens (and surely to goodness they will have no further use for God after this). We may be sure, in particular, that it is the working-class alone that will offer disinterested aid to their suffering fellows (for capitalist loans will only be investments after all), and the more so the greater their class consciousness; and thus, that Soviet Russia, despite her own disasters and poverty, will produce the greatest number of contributors to the distress funds.

We spoke of an Act of God. But of course we were forgetting that the last great disaster involving death by the million, the Russian Famine, was not a divine turn at all, but due to the wicked Bolsheviks. And, if so, then who after all is really guilty of the Japanese earthquake? HAS GOD GONE BOLSHEVIK?

The Rebel.

I'd rather be in the cold grave.
Asleep in the silent clay,
Than toiling for bread, like a black slave.
In the man and master way.
I'd rather be in the dull earth,
In the flag of a rebel rolled,
Than be a slave to a man of no worth,
And a crawler to get him gold.

I'd rather be in the front rank.
Shot down by the martial mad,
Than follow the flag of a war crank,
And kill with his conscript squad.
I want to be clean in my brave youth,
No sinister skunk am I!
I'd rather die for the white truth,
Than live for a sordid lie.

—J. K. McDougall.

Strike Prisoners' Release.

Under the auspices of the Benoni Branch of the Communist Party an excellent meeting was held last Saturday night in front of the new Municipal Offices, to demand the release of the nine strike prisoners still in gaol. Comrade T. Chapman presided, and the large crowd was addressed by Donald Snowdon and Frank Glass, who succeeded in rousing their hearers to great enthusiasm. P. C. C. O'Connor, who was the chief Crown witness against Donald Snowdon in the Treason Court, was in the audience, and an amusing incident occurred when he offered to buy a copy of Snowdon's "Sniper King." Amid loud applause, Snowdon flung the proffered coin on the pavement, declaring: "If my wife and children were starving I would not take a bob from a police,——." Benoni Branch is to be congratulated on a very successful meeting which came to a close with the "Red Flag," the audience pledging themselves to spread the agitation and do everything within their power to get their comrades released from gaol at an early date. Other Reef towns please copy.

The "Honest Brokers" of Industrialism.

HOW TO "NEGOTIATE" WAGES AWAY.

No better instance could have been devised of the value of the so-called "negotiation" policy than the Hoy-Crawford conference which was concluded last week. It required four columns in the "Weekly Herald" and several articles in its coadjutor the "Star" to point out the resultant gains, but they are still invisible to the naked eye at least.

In litigation it is said that when you have no case the best thing to do is to abuse the other side's attorney. A parallel principle in "negotiation" is to persuade your clients that they stand to lose heavily and then to earn their gratitude by saying, "See, I have reduced the loss for you." This scheme, simple enough for the most arrant of Simons, is greatly assisted if the attorney is in collusion with the other side, which arranges to demand, say, £100, intending, with a flourish of generous concession, to accept £50—never, indeed, having expected more; but the method can be successfully applied even when the parties are at arms' length, as every lawyer knows.

Thus, it is given out that by the end of the year there might be 500 or 600 "shopmen" available for "retrenchment," for "the short-time system cannot be kept up indefinitely." Such threats are obviously to be taken as mere demands for the £100. Then comes the suggestion that if wages are reduced, work at present done overseas can be done locally and retrenchment thus avoided. "There is no intention to reduce existing shopmen's pay if this can be avoided"; but, anyway, "a reduction must take place before very long." Other adjustments are also, says Sir William, to be made in any case in the percentages of skilled labourers' wages and in apprentice rates of pay—and, by a curious coincidence, there are 2,000 applications for 150 vacancies for apprentices.

And so, what is the result of the negotiations? "We accept Sir William Hoy's statement on the matter of the 'redundance' of shopmen. We want a 'good' standard rate of pay, and not sweating conditions; 'some' stability, as a guarantee that in introducing 'a new standard rate' there is no intention to undermine the existing rate of pay 'in the immediate future.' We suggest stabilisation for a year, and then three months' notice of reduction."

To which, being of course the £50 in question, Sir William rapturously agrees; and the amount of reduction of apprentices' pay is modified—no doubt to the figure which Sir William thought he could safely insist on in any case. As for the percentages, all that is obtained is "sympathy." As for new rates of pay, the Railway proposes 3s. reduction; the "negotiators" say "Too much"; the Railway again offers "sympathetic consideration"; and the negotiators say "If an endeavour is made to meet our suggestions the introduction of these new rates will not meet with the same degree of opposition." That is all. Not even the conventional "splitting the difference."

No wonder Sir William wound up by saying that "he had never before come into such close and amicable relations with the artisans." For it is plain to see that not only the men have gained nothing, but that they have lost, as the result of the conference, everything that the Administration hoped and intended that they should lose. The conference, in short, was called for that purpose, and its purpose was (for the time being) completely achieved—including the purpose, so dear to those who are busy on the same game in other industries like mining and building, of splitting the workers' organisations. Mussolini, beloved of the "Weekly Herald," could not have done better.

Meanwhile the Railway Brotherhood has so far extorted the following valuable concessions from Hoy: A refusal to restore the eight-hour day, and a promise to deal with employees' associations "IF NOT INIMICAL to the Administration, and provided they maintain AN ATTITUDE WHICH MAKES AMICABLE RELATIONSHIPS POSSIBLE." This is hailed by the Brotherhood as a brilliant victory: "We have achieved the Open Door whereby we can discuss matters affecting all grades."

So simple, so easy, so "able"—and so pitiful on the part of the men who are fooled into this sort of thing. These are your "same and constitutional methods," your "amicable co-operation with the masters," and the rest of the stale and canting humbug which in some circles still passes for trade unionism. Now it is for the "genuine article" to show its mettle by such redoubled activity as will defeat the spurious once for all.

School Books: Wanted, a Revised Version.

At Coorparoo (a Brisbane suburb) the local Australian Labour Party branch carried the following resolution (among others):—

> "That we consider the time is now opportune for the Minister for Public Instruction to insert in the Queensland school books and papers educative articles on the working-class movement, and that he be asked to embody in such books and papers articles dealing with the Socialist philosophy, and articles to enlighten the children on the objective of the Labour Party and on the history of Soviet Russia."—"Daily Standard," July 26.

This is a move in the right direction, WHICH OTHER LABOUR BODIES MIGHT WELL ENDORSE.

And it is not only the insertion of working-class or Socialist articles which is desirable. There is urgent need for the elimination from our school books of all that glorifies militarism, monarchy, money getting and mysticism.

It would be splendid work if a committee of the best intellects in the Labour and Socialist Movement made a careful examination of all the school books in use in all the State schools throughout the Commonwealth and prepared an entirely new series, from which all of the existing shoddy matter would be discarded, and the latest knowledge on sociological questions inserted in simple, yet scientific terms.—"Common Cause."

Scenes of Moscow Life

(By W. H. ANDREWS.)

I have just returned from a visit to the "tank" military school. A fine building and the atmosphere of military order and discipline. The occasion was the winding-up of the course of training for the present students. About four or five hundred Red Army students were present; a band, of course, and speeches of good cheer and congratulation from the political commissar of the school, the commanding officer, the representative (a woman) of the factory which has "adopted" the school, a Javanese delegate, and myself, representing South Africa, and the Commintern. Then distribution of certificates of merit and prizes to the twelve or so best students, more speeches, and a cabaret concert.

THE YOUNG COMMUNISTS' INTERNATIONAL.

I attended some of the meetings of the Young Communists, and they seemed a sane and businesslike crowd. All business conducted in German. An English delegate and one or two Americans were there, and I think they did good work.

Yesterday evening there was a great meeting in one of the largest theatres of the Young Communists, on the occasion of the conclusion of the International Young Communists' Congress. A red flag was presented to the Russian Young Communists by the German section. The theatre was packed by a noisy, enthusiastic crowd of young people. A huge figure of Lenin formed the background of the stage. Innumerable speeches, each one punctuated by a few bars of the International by the band, and the tossing of the speakers into the air by the enthusiasts on the platform in the usual Russian way. Then the concert, musical drill by a band of proletarian athletes, which appeared to me to be based on various kinds of manual labour, and was excellently done. Singing by choirs of workers just in their ordinary workaday dress, etc. The feature of this gathering of youth was the vivacity and tremendous enthusiasm of the audience and the absolute absence of restraint coupled with the utmost good behaviour. This I have noticed to be a feature of Moscow crowds. There is a happy-go-lucky way with them but no rowdyism. I have only seen one fight, and that was between two women who were selling trifles on the street and found the street too small for them.

THE GALLERIES.

I visited Moscow's chief picture gallery to-day. The building is far too small for the enormous collection of pictures, some of them removed from private houses and placed at the disposal of the workers. They are all Russian, and the subjects almost entirely scenes of Russian life, landscapes, with some few historical, legendary and religious subjects. There is a marked absence of the brutality and worship of force in all the Russian art which is such a feature of the German variety, or at least so it seems to me. The church decorations also leave hell, the devil and tortures out. So far as I have seen, the religious pictures are of the Saints, the Madonna and Child, etc. The crucifixion horrors so beloved of Western churches are not obtrusive in the Russian. A mild religion, I fancy, compared with the Roman Catholic and Protestant varieties of Western and Southern Europe.

THE OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE.

I had the curiosity to enter a church a day or so ago. It was decorated and illuminated with hundreds of lights (mostly electric). It was packed with people young and old, beggars and well-dressed people, all standing or kneeling. There are no seats, it seems, in Russian churches. The mixed humanity there was interesting. One old peasant was devoutly kneeling by the side of where I stood who might have walked straight out of one of the picture frames in the gallery. He saw and heard nothing but the service, and crossed himself at frequent intervals and bowed down almost to the floor. A picturesque figure and, one hopes, a passing one, but at the same time it seems to me that the glitter, the music and the companionship which the church afforded the down-trodden mass supplied a very human want which will have to be replaced by some more rational satisfaction of the emotions before religion will become a forgotten dream with the millions of isolated peasants. Religion is the opium of the people, but the wretched of the earth require opium, either vodka, religion or something to enable them to continue to exist at all. To sweep religion away, creating a void, would be madness. The Bolsheviks have wisely attempted no such thing. They will have to introduce other pleasures, and religion or the grosser forms of superstition will then fade away painlessly. The cultivation of sport is one of the means being used: football and other games are gaining thousands of adherents all over Russia, and a team recently visited Finland and knocked spots out of the Finns. We rather deprecate sport as the opium of the workers, as it undoubtedly is in English-speaking countries; but that does not prove the Soviet Government wrong in encouraging it here any more than the Red Army can be correctly called a concession to militarism. Sport, the Red Army, and I think even the Church itself, can all be and, in fact, are being used, as the "N.E.P." men and the capitalist concessionaires are being used, to strengthen the proletarian revolution and to defeat the enemy.

"THE RED ARMY, HURRAH!"

There are many unsatisfactory features in the Russia that I see around me, but contact with the Red Army always leaves in me a feeling that here at any rate is clean, healthy, well-organised efficiency and a huge educative as well as defensive machine. I like soldiers and sailors in the mass anywhere. They are efficient and move together without noise and yapping. The Red Army, having these qualities in common with all soldiers, but an entirely different objective, is in my mind the very incarnation of the revolution. "The krasni army, Hurrah."

MOSCOW FACTORIES.

I have visited several factories round about, and in Moscow chiefly engineering works and power stations. They are struggling against lack of materials and also lack of effective demand. There is a thoroughly up-to-date machine tool factory here which can turn out enough taps, stocks and dies and gauges of all kinds to keep all the factories in Russia going; and it is only just keeping going partly because the metal industry is still in a very weak condition, and also because many of the larger factories make their own tools. The great motor factory can turn out complete motor-cars and lorries, engines and everything complete, but is not working at a quarter capacity. The busiest shop is the dynamo, where they are pushing the manufacture of electric motors, generators and electrical appliances to something like concert pitch. Baku is the chief customer, and so oil not only drives engines and influences diplomacy but keeps up the demand for electrical accessories.

LESS HASTE, MORE SPEED?

There is a deluge of whitewash over Moscow. The Russian not only whitewashes the objective but everything and everybody within range. He is like Jim Sixpence in that respect; windows, furniture, himself, passers-by, the floors and sidewalks are a deluge of whitewash, and weeks after the job is done the windows remain not merely splashed but covered with whitewash. The building opposite my room is still, so far as the windows are concerned, a mass of whitewash, although the workmen have left it weeks ago and the store and rooms are all occupied. Perhaps they wait till the rain washes it off. There is plenty of time in Russia. They calculate, I think, in cycles not years. One asks, when a half-hour's wait is mentioned, whether it is a Russian half-hour or otherwise. Meetings are called for six, and quite naturally people stroll in at seven or seven-thirty. In a restaurant if one gets through a three-course lunch in an hour it is good business. The cabs and taxis seem the fastest things, and they drive like hell all over the place and over anyone, or rather they do not really run many down as the Russian pedestrian has learned by generations of experience that he has no rights when a drosky bears down upon him.

Moleskin Joe.

REFLECTIONS ON RELIEF WORKS.

'Twas towards the close of a fine day in the following summer that we were at work in the end of a cutting, Moleskin and I, when I, who had been musing on the quickly passing years, turned to Moleskin and quoted a line from the Bible.

"Our years pass like a tale that is told," I said.

"Like a tale that is told damned bad," answered my mate, picking stray crumbs of tobacco from his waistcoat pocket and stuffing them into the heel of his pipe. "It's a strange world, Flynn. Here to-day, and gone to-morrow; always waiting for a good time comin' and knowin' that it will never come. We work with one mate this evenin', we beg for crumbs with another on the mornin' after. It's a bad life, ours, and a poor one, when I come to think of it, Flynn."

"It is all that," I assented, heartily.

"Look at me!" said Joe, clenching his fists and squaring his shoulders "I must be close on forty years—maybe on the graveyard side of it, for all I know. I've horsed it ever since I can mind; I've worked like a mule for years—and what have I to show for it all to-day, matey? Not the price of an ounce of tobacco! A mid-summer scarecrow wouldn't wear the duds that I've to wrap around my hide! A cockle-picker that has no property only when the tide is out is as rich as I am. Not the price of an ounce of tobacco! There is something wrong with men like us, surely, when we're treated like swine in a sty for all the years of our life. It's not so bad here, but it's in the big towns that a man can feel it most. No person cares for the like of us, Flynn. I've worked nearly ev'rywhere; I helped to build bridges, dams, houses—aye, and what happened? Was it for us—the men who did the buildin'—to live in the homes that we built, or walk through the streets that we laid down? No earthly chance of that! It was always, 'Slide,' we don't need you any more'; and then a man like me, as helped to build a thousand houses big as castles, was hellish glad to get the shelter of a ten-acre field and a shut-gate between me and the winds of night. I've spent all my money, have I? It's bloomin' easy to spend all that fellows like us can earn. When I was in London I saw a lady spend as much on fur to decorate her carcase with as would keep me in beer and tobacco for all the rest of my life. And that same lady would decorate a dog in ribbons and fol-the-dols, and she wouldn't give me the smell of a crust when I asked her for a mouthful of bread. What could you expect from a woman who wears the furry hide of some animal round her neck, anyhow? We are not thought as much of as dogs, Flynn. By God! them rich buckos do eat an awful lot. Many a time I crept up to a window just to see them gorgin' themselves."

"I have looked in at windows, too," I said.

"Most men do," answered Joe. "You've heard of old Moses goin' up the hill to have a bit of a peep at the Promised Land. He was just like me and you, Flynn—wantin' to have a peep at the things which he'd never lay his claws on."

"Those women who sit half-naked at the table have big appetites," I said.

"They're all gab and guts, like young crows," said Moleskin; "and they think more of their dogs than they do of men like me and you. I'm an anti-christ."

"A what?"

"One of them sort of fellows as throws bombs at kings."

"You mean an anarchist."

"Well, whatever they are, I'm one. What is the good of kings, of fine-feathered ladies, of churches, of anything in the country, to men like me and you?" —(From "Children of the Dead End.")

Black Peril Again.

HYPOCRISY AND FUTILITY BEAT THE AIR.

Mr. Hedley Chilvers, the musical critic of the "Sunday Times," has recently burst upon an astonished world in the role of a Knight Protector of the honour of white women, although from his context it appears after all that it is not so much white womanly honour that he champions as "the prestige of the white race," and this again not so much by virtue of their European blood (we cannot see Mr. Chilvers protecting the honour of Bolshevik white women, for instance) as by virtue of the position of a section of the whites as the conquering, dominant, exploiting, slave-driving caste of South Africa; the same "championship of whites" as is disclosed in lenient sentences on milk-and-water charges of "common assault" where the death of a black man is involved, or in "salutary lessons" from aeroplanes on unruly Bondelswarts, or in Administrators' homilies to Hereros on the unwisdom of daring to match their strength against Europeans, yes, Huns—and we take this opportunity of associating ourselves, subject to the important reservations set forth in the article "Sheep's Clothing" in our issue of the 17th ult., with the strictures on these matters contained in last Monday's "Star," even though they may be largely inspired by anti-Dutch, i.e., political anti-Nationalist, propaganda motives.

TEMPT WHITES, NOT BLACKS.

In reply to the "White League," Mrs. Maxeke comes forward not, as might have been expected, with an exposure of the whole scandalous economic basis of South Africa's bourgeois social system which is at the bottom of all the trouble, but with A GRATUITOUS HOMAGE TO THE FLAG PROTECTING THAT SYSTEM, a mild criticism of some of its superficial though important features (such as the lack of social amenities for native servants, the European origin of liquor and venereal disease among natives, etc.), and an advocacy of female instead of male native house servants, in connection with which she is prepared, with the co-operation of European ladies, to open a registry office! To which one of the European "ladies" in question, with all the cynical indifference characteristic of the white bourgeois to the interests of the native people, replies that introducing native girls into "the home" (i.e., the white home, for who cares whether the native has a home?) is simply placing temptation in the way of European males—those Europeans so jealous of their racial "purity"!—ergo, we must continue to place temptation in the way of native males instead and shoot, lynch and execute them if they yield to it!

RECRUITING FOR MINES.

As for Mrs. Maxeke's registry office proposal, which betrays, like so much native thinking, little more than partial assimilation of the ideology of the exploiting caste itself, its main result would be to "release" tens or hundreds of thousands of houseboys for work on the mines, which is exactly what the "Star" and its backers, the chiefs of the exploiting caste, would most like to see!

A CRIME-BREEDING SOCIAL SYSTEM: DEATH TO ITS AUTHORS!

It has so far been reserved for Dr. Abdurahman, of Capetown, to give the proper rebuke to these so-called White Leaguers, whose very posture only fortifies his words. "Assaults on women," he says, "are horrible crimes; but they are symptoms only. Hang the criminal, be he black or white, who assaults a woman" (but if "the prestige of the white race" is the real point, the white criminal need not be afraid of being hanged) "but HANG ALSO THE CRIMINAL WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONDITIONS WHICH INEVITABLY BREED CRIME"; and he denounces the unspeakably degrading conditions in which an exploiting caste, "of pure white race," including its womenfolk con amore, compels the natives, WHOM IT HAS CRIMINALLY DESPOILED OF LAND, LIBERTY, AND WELL-NIGH EVERYTHING ELSE, to live as its slaves. "The criminal with whom we are dealing now is largely the direct product of our present economic and social system; our social structure, by its very nature, begets a criminal type. We, with our comfortable homes, our arts and sciences, etc."—things which we forbid the natives to enjoy—"WE ARE RESPONSIBLE. Perhaps the immediate practical choice we have to make is THE CHOICE BETWEEN A GODLESS EXPLOITATION OF CHEAP LABOUR AND THE SAFETY OF OUR WOMENFOLK; in a word, between OUR POCKET AND OUR HONOUR."

A PIMP SOCIETY.

In other words, as we wrote at the time, "the class that howls loudest about black peril and death for black rape—apart from being the class which itself often shows anything but a clean record in this matter—is voicing the ideas of the ruling caste which LIVES ON THE PROFITS OF BLACK LABOUR EXPLOITATION AND DEGRADATION; it LIVES ON the resulting immorality, on the PROCEEDS OF PIMP CLASS in a literal sense." And, as such, let ROBBERY, PROSTITUTION AND RAPE; IT IS A us be frank, it deserves all it gets at the hands of the slaves. (See the article, "A Pimp Society," in the "International" of May 18 last.)

WHERE IS THE BESTIALITY?

This shriek for vengeance against the products of the system that enriches the shriekers expresses the lowest depths of imperialist hypocrisy and brutality. It is a far more bestial offence than the worst animalism of the black criminal. He sins against one woman; but our exploiting caste sins against his whole race; glories in sinning against it, profits by sinning against it, and is determined at any cost to persist in sinning against it and profiting by its sin.

THE ONLY WAY.

A Mr. Bridgman suggests that the White Leagues should cooperate with natives. So long as they are too imperfectly organised to do better, natives may have to meet their exploiters and executioners round a table; but their leaders have yet to learn to aim at something more self-respecting and more effective than just "hobnobbing with Europeans." As immediate demands, they must insist on the much more real "equality with Europeans" of equal pay for equal work, with an increasing demand for higher pay all round, on free and universal education, instead of the monstrous scandal of practically the whole of the money raised by their sweat being spent only on white education, primary and secondary; on civilised housing, on facilities for cleanliness, on "social amenities" free from church, Y.M.C.A. and similar sycophantic dope designed to keep them servile; on the restoration and also the improvement and civilisation of their natural family life, now destroyed by European capitalism; on the restoration of their home lands, in fact, on "THE LAND FOR THOSE WHO WORK IT"; finally, with the world proletarian movement, on the complete emancipation of the whole working and peasant class from capitalist exploitation.

PAY THE PRICE!

Not by attacking symptoms, but only by this comprehensive programme, can either white or native reformers escape the futility of beating the air. The White League is really only designed to maintain the domination and the slavery which, as we see daily, are degrading the whites themselves to "Kaffir level" by the hundred thousand. The price of white women's honour is the freeing of the slaves. WILL THE "WHITE LEAGUE" PAY IT? We know quite well in advance which it will prefer to sacrifice.

The "Brass Check" in Australia.

"We journalists are all intellectual prostitutes."—John Swinton, Editor of the "N.Y. Tribune."

There is known throughout every working class district in N.S.W. a weekly newspaper called "The People's Weekly." But it is not generally known that this weekly is the official propaganda organ of the Coal Vend.

Since this section of the robber class locked out over 8,000 miners on the Northern Coalfields, "The People's Weekly" has become hysterical in its antagonism towards the miners. In order to make their propaganda effective the Coal Vend is at present delivering a free copy of "The People's Weekly" to every miner's home throughout the coalfields.

Some weeks ago the "People's Weekly" contained the following notice:—

"The People's Weekly" has decided to give a prize of a Marmot Fur Coat valued at £35, and two Fur Stoles to the women who supply the best description of their own and their family's sufferings through their husbands, fathers, or brothers going on strike.

Each issue of "The People's Weekly" since this announcement has carried a section headed "Women and Strikes," and under this heading there appeared week after week scores of letters denouncing strikes and strikers from "the wives, daughters and sisters of the workers."

These letters in every case were signed with a pen name. "A Daughter of a Victim," "Tired Mother," "A Sufferer," "Mother of Seven," "Edith," "Mary Ann," "May Polliser," "Bitter Betsy," "Miner's Wife," "Australia First," "L.G.," and many other similar signatures. Every one of these letters was couched in the most bitter terms. They denounced the Miners' Federation, the strike, the strikers, the Communists, the "Reds," Trade Unions, high wages and every other thing distasteful to the Coal Vend.

Enquiry produced the following confession:—

"WHY I SOLD MYSELF TO THE COAL OWNERS.

"By Grant Madison Hervey.

"I was down and out and applied to the Editor of "The People's Weekly" for a job. He pointed out that "The People's Weekly" was running a regular weekly page of so-called letters from miners' wives, denouncing strikes and the general policy of the Coal and Shale Miners' Union. He said that they were all fakes, and so far not very satisfactory. If I could turn myself into a woman, as it were, for the time being, and write some faked letters from alleged miners' wives, which would really attack the Union in satisfactory style, I would be paid for them. He then gave me certain instructions as to what sort of matter it was desirable to incorporate in the first faked letter. I accordingly wrote the first epistle, entitled "Strikes As Step-Ladders," and signed it "May Palliser, Coaleliff." It was duly published in "The People's Weekly's" anti-strike section, over the slightly altered signature of "May Polliser." ("People's Weekly," June 6th).

"A second article was given by me to the Editor. After reading it, he said it was marvellous. 'No one on earth,' he commented, 'will ever guess that that letter is a fake.'

"Later, I saw the managing director, Mr. T. E. Sweet. He said that he had taken the article in proof to the Northern Collieries people, who approved, and that it would appear as a special feature to the front page of the next issue. In due course, it appeared. It was headed, 'Women Slaves, A Cry from the Depths. Miner's Wife's Tragic Protest.'

"The Editor wrote an introduction to it:

'Hereunder a woman who, besides having experienced great adversity, like thousands of others who are victims of strikes, has the exceptional gift of well-expressing her feelings, lays bare to the public, through a letter to the Editor, the poignancy of her sufferings mental and physical—under strike conditions. Her story is so pathetic and profoundly moving that it ought to stimulate those who feel able to stem the drift towards strikes to do what they can to impress upon the workers that they are unethical and that, for their wives and children's sakes, as well as in the interests of law and order, and industrialism, they should, for the settlement of grievances, resort only to constitutional methods.'

"The Editor said that he could do with some more faked letters, if I cared to write them, but he could not take stuff of mine on other topics."

"A Mad World, My Masters."

Tom Walsh, the well-known secretary of the Federated Seamen's Union of Australasia, writes to the Unemployed Committee of the Witwatersrand as follows:—

The question of unemployment is just as bitter and as frequent here in Australia as it is in the older countries. We have "schemes" in galore to mitigate the evil, but not a single planful effort for the removal of the causes of the curse.

The churches are having their usual bun-fights, the parsons and the priests have their prayers and their appeals to God and to the soft-heartedness of the profiteers, but whenever the suggestion is made that a remedy for this matter must be looked for elsewhere than in bun-fights, we are called extremists.

"The unemployed ye have always with you" might very well be the lesson at the churches on Sundays now, but to propound such a doctrine would be a challenge to the Capitalist System, and I don't think that any clergyman will attempt to do anything so foolish. His job depends on the perpetuation of the evils of Capitalism.

We have, as I have already said, the unemployed question with us here, but the Federal Government is, I understand, about to ear-mark £200,000 for road work mainly to relieve the congestion of unemployed workers. The several States are also doing something in that direction. But such efforts are usually spasmodic, and have no permanent result.

Notwithstanding the numbers of women and men on the bread-line in Australia, the Governments are importing other people who must, sooner or later, swell the numbers already looking for food or work.

The Capitalists are preparing for another war, and it will be interesting to know how the wage plugs will respond to the call for heroes to shoulder their guns. The land which they were promised when they won the big war has vanished somewhere, but, doubtless, the bone-heads will again rush to assist "master" in defending his markets and his property.

Is it not remarkable how willing the workers are to go a thousand or ten thousand miles in the interests of the "master-class" to fight with a man they have never seen, and at the same time it never occurs to them that their real fight is right in the country where they are and with the people for whom they offer their bodies?

I don't see any sign yet of the workers in this country attempting to shift "master" or invite him to WORK. They allow him to use the cold storage accommodation in which to retain the food for which the people are craving; they are willing to go hungry and cold while the stores are almost bursting with food and warm clothing. They are willing to accept charity from the profiteers for whom they have slaved and created wealth which the useless parasites squander and waste.

It is a mad world all right.

TERMINOLOGICAL INEXACTITUDINARIANS.

Mussolini demands fifty million lires from little Greece. "Absurd," writes Comrade Donald Snowdon; "why, there aren't that number of police in the whole world."

* * *

A trade union without politics is like a church without religion.—Henry George.

The International of Youth.

AND THE TASK OF ITS SOUTH AFRICAN SECTION.

Compared with the imposing demonstration with which we may be sure the Ninth Anniversary of the Young Socialist, now Young Communist, International, was being celebrated elsewhere, and particularly in Russia (where the present writer had the pleasure of attending the wonderful Young Communist festival a year ago), last Sunday's South African celebrations were no doubt of small account; yet all that will have been said elsewhere on the tasks of the "youth" movement applies equally to this country, all the more perhaps because ideologically at least the majority of the European population are bourgeois, not proletarian, minded.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR THE BOYS.

Never was the first "War on War" slogan of the Young Socialist League, initiated in Germany in 1914, more vital than to-day, when the criminal futility of the great capitalist slaughter has been exposed and discredited in the eyes of the whole adult world. Capitalist war means the sacrifice of the young to the old, of the flower of working-class youth to the greed of middle-aged Fat with its women. That is why the warmongers, through their schools, churches, cadet corps and bioscopes, are so sedulous to capture and enchain the minds of the young; and that is why the Communist movement for its part must concentrate above all on undermining that monopoly and educating the youthful cannon-fodder in the true facts of the case. Just as the boys and girls of Russia who knew not Tsarist capitalism are having to be taught what it meant, so, while the ex-soldiers of the last war have "had some" and "know what is to be there," the schoolboys of to-day, bred in the legendary lore of the schoolroom as against the real experience of life and death, must be taught betimes what it has meant in the past, and will mean again in future, to fight for their King or Empire; they must learn the poisonousness of their "education" and the blind alley destination of it all. And for this teaching the responsibility falls on the Young Communist Leagues.

BLIND ALLEYS AND THE ONE WAY OUT.

In this country, which has not so directly suffered from the war, the failure of our existing system to provide for its slaves is nevertheless as patent as anywhere. Thirty thousand white boys are turned out annually, we are told, into the blind alley of life with nothing either to live on or to live for; for even shooting Kaffirs or "Bolsheviks," in obedience to school teaching, will not bring in bread and butter. They are coming to learn that the South African plutocracy has no other use for the bulk of them than as fighters, but will not give a living wage even for that. They are beginning to notice that their "white standard" has, for the great majority of them, come to mean £2 10s. a month at Hartebeestpoort or £1 1s. 0d. a week on Johannesburg relief works; in other words, that the ruling class, more rapidly than ever in this last year or two, HAS ALREADY LARGELY EQUALISED WHITE AND BLACK STANDARDS, and declared redundant the occupation, hitherto traditionally considered the proper destiny of South African young whites, of bullying, robbing and "bossing up" Kaffirs in the interest of their masters. We must take them further, and show the true motive of all the mess of militarism, monarchism, patriotism, "Christianism," and anti-Bolshevism they have imbibed from their pastors and masters; stimulate them with a knowledge of the cardinal curse of the world and the way to exorcise it and free both themselves and their whole class, irrespective of colour; inspire them with a CONTEMPT FOR THE DULL EGOISM OF A TYPICAL BOURGEOIS CAREER, such as the few "successful" among them at best may attain, while the great majority are faced with the fate of "poor whites"; until they sit up and take notice and realise that at the stage society has reached to-day THERE IS BUT ONE "HONOURABLE PROFESSION," THE SERVICE OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT.

THE LIGHT BRIGADE.

All this, and more, is the task of the youth movement, and more than the youth movement. On such lines parents must educate their children, AND CHILDREN THEIR PARENTS. And as fast as the children can be thus educated they will be attracted to the side of the young workers' militant movement of the whole world. Let the 1924 Anniversary of the Young Communist League be signalised by a gathering not of scores but hundreds and thousands of young men and girls, class conscious, courageous, and prepared, in order to secure the victory of the working class and the defeat of the bourgeois or fascist forces, to go anywhere and do anything, whether "peaceful" and "constitutional" or not.

Planes and Politics.

The "Cape Argus" published recently a letter of 2nd July last from Com. Noieck, of Queenstown, now at Moscow, confirming the evidence of all visitors that the position of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party grows stronger every day, and all the more because of the hostility of capitalist powers. For instance, "in answer to the recent ultimatum of Curzon (here in Soviet Russia and associated Republics) there has grown up a strong movement to build a powerful Red Airfleet. Hundreds of little townships, dorps, and peasant communes from all the ends of the vast republics, not counting the cities and industrial communes, where the proletarian organisations are prominent, are freely and voluntarily subscribing to the funds, and each township, factory, etc., subscribes so much as to enable the Association to build a whole aeroplane to be named after them. The movement was started only six weeks ago and yesterday two powerful aeroplanes, built locally, were officially handed over to the Commissariat for Defence. One of these aeroplanes was built from sums collected by a paper, and the other from the wages due to the workers of some Moscow factories for work done on Ascension Day.

But of course it is not so much the military as the political strength of the working class that inspires the great optimism felt by everyone sympathetic to the revolution—and the great pessimism of its opponents.

Hats Off to the Boss.

Smuts utters the last word in abject impotence, if not contemptuous refusal, to cope with the tragedy of cheap labour competition in South Africa (coloured vs. black this time) when he says: "As long as EMPLOYERS CHOOSE to employ cheap unskilled native labour in preference to more experienced coloured labour, so long will coloured labour be pressed out of unskilled employment and be forced in increasing numbers to compete with white men for skilled employment." What "employers choose" is law, and the devil, white, coloured, or black, may take the hindmost. That is capitalism, and that is why Communism is necessary to save the world.

Hypnotic Propaganda.

Think, men and women, think! Let no one lead you by the nose. The donkey is led by the dangling carrot, and we are led by a splash of colour.

Propaganda is no longer punched in by hammer blows, but painted in by delicate strokes of colour: the direct method is out, or supplementary; the wily method is in. It is a period of "peaceful penetration," of stroking public opinion as we stroke a cat, and stealing a man's opinion as skilfully as Spartans of old were taught to thieve.

When the people rebel, the people are always justified.—Mirabeau.

Good-bye and Good Riddance.

General Smuts, having travelled to Capetown not on a triumphal tour but almost in secret, sails we believe to-day to settle the affairs of Europe, with the curses of the workers of all Africa ringing in his ears, the best hated Premier in the Empire. Let him by all means contribute his quota to the hash his colleagues have made and are making of everything they touch. We will not trouble ourselves to suggest a programme for him. Perhaps, like President Cosgrave, he will seek an audience with Mussolini; perhaps he will revisit, if not revise, Versailles; perhaps he will find it more prudent to stick to "tariff reform" questions in London. Anyway, we are content to give him unlimited leave of absence, and hope that by the time of his return such a political tidal wave will have gathered as will bring about here, as in Japan, the total disappearance of yet another premier from political life.

World Fascism: Its Cause and Cure: A Comintern Analysis.

(Continued from last week.)

DOOMED BY INTERNAL INCOMPATIBILITIES.

However; the development of Fascism in Italy shows something else, namely, that Fascism is of a twofold nature and has in it strong elements of ideological and political disintegrations. Its aim—to hammer the old bourgeois "democratic State" into a Fascist despotic State—has let loose antagonisms between the old established bureaucracy and the new Fascist bureaucracy, between the regular army and its professional officers and the new national militia and its leaders; between the violent Fascist economic and State policy and the ideology of the relics of the liberal and democratic bourgeoisie; between monarchists and republicans; between the bona-fide Fascists of the black shirts and the nationalists who have entered the ranks of the party and the militia; between the original programme of the fascists which deceived and won the masses and the present fascist policy which serves the interests of industrial capital, and mainly of the artificially created heavy industry. Behind these and other antagonisms there are the irreconcilable economic and social antagonisms between the various capitalist sections of society, between the big bourgeoisie and the small and middle bourgeoisie, as well as the small peasantry and the intellectuals. Towering above them all is the greatest of all economic and social antagonisms: the class antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Consequently, we see already the ideological bankruptcy of Fascism, and the discrepancy between the Fascist programme and the manner in which it is carried out. It is possible that organised armed bands and relentless terror will for a little while prevent the clash of these antagonisms and will conceal the ideological bankruptcy. But finally, the antagonisms within the armed forces will make themselves felt and will destroy Fascism. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat must not be a passive spectator of the disintegration of Fascism, for it is its historic duty to further and hasten it actively and consciously. The confused and unconscious revolutionary elements within the fascist ranks must be brought into the proletarian class struggle against the class domination and the power of exploitation of the bourgeoisie. We must pave the way for the military defeat of Fascism by overcoming it ideologically and politically.

WHAT MUST BE DONE.

The class conscious vanguard of the revolutionary working-class is now bound to take up the struggle against Fascism dominating in Italy and menacing throughout the world. Fascism must be politically disarmed; the workers must organise for a vigorous and successful defence against its violence. To this end the following steps must be taken:—

I.—NATIONAL PROGRAMME.

A special organisation must be created in every country by the working class parties and organisations of all tendencies to direct the struggle against fascism.

The duties of such an organisation will be:

1. To collect facts concerning the fascist movement in that country.

2. To enlighten the working-class systematically on the hostile nature of the fascist movement by means of articles, pamphlets, placards, meetings, etc.

3. Systematically to enlighten classes recently proletarianised and those threatened with this fate, on their situation and on the functions of fascism as a tool of the great capitalists.

4. To organise the defence of the workers by establishing workers defence corps and arming them. As the Fascisti carry on their propaganda particularly among the youth, and as it is necessary to enlist the working class youth into the united front, it is necessary to include the youth in common factory "hundreds." To organise workers control committees to stop the transport of Fascist bands and arms. Ruthless suppression of every fascist attempt to terrorise the workers and prevent free expression of their interest.

5 To attract workers of all shades of opinion to this struggle. To call on all working class parties, trade unions and all proletarian mass organisations generally to combine for common defence against fascism.

6. To combat fascism in parliament and on all public bodies. In this connection emphasis must be laid on the imperialist and arch-chauvinist character of Fascism in the various countries, whereby the danger of new international wars is increased.

(To be continued.)

The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich man as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the street, and steal bread.—Anatole France.

Lessons of the Bulgarian Upheaval.

A. CRITICISM BY G. ZINOVIEV.

The "International" confesses that owing partly to faulty cable news it entirely misinterpreted at the time the possibilities of the recent Bulgarian revolution. If it is any excuse, the error was in part shared by the Bulgarian Communists themselves. Zinoviev, President of the Communist International, writes some convincing words of wisdom on the matter, severely criticising the head Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party for its attitude of "neutrality" as between the "Peasant" party led by Stambulinsky and the Military party, supported by Britain and Italy, which seized power from Stambulinsky.

"The importance of the village, its economic and social significance," says Zinoviev, "has continually increased in recent times. The bourgeoisie, with its 'social democratic' helpers, is forced to devote more attention to the peasantry, to draw them into political life. . . . .

"Peasants' parties cannot play an independent role in politics. A via media policy is condemned to breakdown more than any other policy during our imperialist epoch. Even those peasant parties existing today, and keeping up the appearance of independence, are in reality nothing more than POLITICAL CANNON FODDER FOR THE BOURGEOISIE. It is not by accident that we find so many parsons, lawyers and rich land-owners among the leaders of the so-called peasants' parties.

"In Bulgaria 85 to 90 per cent of the population consist of peasants, and Stambulinsky's 'peasants' policy' seemed to promise well. But all too soon it began to change into a policy IN FAVOUR OF THE LARGE FARMERS. A 'peasants' government' which directs its efforts against both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has proved itself to be an empty and lamentable Utopia, even in an agrarian country like Bulgaria. NOTHING BUT A WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT CAN HELP THE BULGARIAN PEASANTRY TO FREE ITSELF FROM THE CLUTCHES OF THE BOURGEOIS ROBBERS.

"The Bulgarian Communist Party, however, at the beginning of the civil war which overthrew Stambulinsky, issued an appeal which said:

> 'The toiling masses in town and country will not participate in the armed struggles between city and rural bourgeoisie, for such a participation in the struggle would signify that the toilers pull the chestnuts out of the fire for their exploiters and oppressors. . . . The Communist Party, and the hundreds and thousands of workers and peasants united beneath its standard, take no part in this armed struggle for power between two wings of the capitalist class. . . . We demand the abolition of military law,' etc.

"And this," says Zinoviev, "one day after the white upheaval! We are so innocent that we demand from the Fascist Government that it confirm its declarations on freedom, etc., by deeds! And then the Central Committee accuses the Bulgarian workers of indifference, of lack of fighting spirit, of disinclination for combat, etc.; and says the movement of resistance was certain of defeat even if supported by Communists.

"The true position is that in this tiny country there are about 600,000 peasants who are potentially our allies; a portion of them was already at the parting of the ways from Stambulinsky to us at the time of the upheaval. WE MUST UNITE WITH THEM TO FIGHT AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE. The over-cautious leaders sought to shelter themselves from the impending danger of civil war beneath the torn umbrella of 'neutrality.' Why, the whole bourgeois press writes derisively of this 'neutrality' of the Communists, and PREPARES TO DEAL THEM FRESH BLOWS.

"At the moment when the Fascists and the heads of the peasants' party came into conflict, it was (and still is) the task of the Communist Party to unite with all reasonably honest adherents of the Peasants' party and to join forces with these against the Whites. Was Kerensky no enemy of the workers in September, 1917? And yet the Bolsheviks joined Kerensky against Korniloff. And they lost nothing by it. Kerensky was the only one to lose anything.

"The attitude taken by the Bulgarian Party Central Committee approaches very closely to a Social Democratic attitude. In agitative and propaganda work, the party has accomplished magnificent work, something after the manner of German Social Democracy in its best years. It is led by a staff of leaders composed of educated and tried Marxists. And yet this terrible error, this great disappointment! IT IS FEARFULLY DIFFICULT TO PROCEED FROM AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA TO REVOLUTIONARY DEEDS. The party leaders have during the past few months devoted much more thought and care to the protection of the 'People's Houses,' which were attacked by Stambulinsky, than to preparations for the impending upheaval, although they foresaw it as many Social Democrats in 1914 foresaw the war.

"The Bulgarian Communists are backed up by the whole of the railway workers, the whole of the post office and telegraph employees. It is obvious that this could have been of immense significance in the first days of the upheaval.

"The Bulgarian Communist Party wanted a revolution 'with guarantees.' It has never ventured to even think of a war. 'On the day following a revolution, Roumania would march against us,' etc. But the Whites were not afraid of the Yugoslavs, and have been victorious, whilst the 'caution' of the Bulgarian Communist Party has earned a severe defeat.

"There are situations in which it is worse for a revolutionary party not to take up arms than to enter into a fight resulting in defeat. After all, the civil war is only just beginning. It can only end with the victory of the Communist Party."

The Survival of the Unfit.

This was the title of a public lecture given by Dr. Maynard at the Rand University on August 29. Professor Lehfeldt, head of the department of "Economics," was in the chair, and a crowd fairly representative of Johannesburg's "best people" filled the room.

Professor Lehfeldt, in introducing the lecturer, said that the subject to be discussed was really the most important that any meeting could be faced with. The basis of society was the individual, and upon the quality of the individual the whole of civilisation depended. He said that the chief object of the lecture was to stimulate discussion and that after the speaker had concluded the meeting would be invited to criticise what had been said.

Strangely enough, when the time for criticism came, there was no free discussion, the chairman very carefully selecting some half-dozen of the notabilities present to express their (strictly orthodox) opinions on the subject. There was thus no real criticism, and Prof. Lehfeldt can congratulate himself that the meeting was a "success" from every point of view.

The lecturer showed the usual lack of imagination which characterises most bourgeois scientists, especially "economists" and "statisticians." A fair idea of the lecture could be got by glancing through any of the numerous works on Eugenics published during the last thirty years. Malthus in his "Essay on Population" in 1799 dealt far more intelligently with the problem than Dr. Maynard in his lecture on "The Survival of the Unfit" in 1923.

It is one thing to say that society is rapidly degenerating, it is another to suggest ways and means of stopping the rot. True, the problem must be stated before solutions can be offered. But it must be stated intelligently. If it is not stated intelligently then all attempts at finding a solution must of necessity end in failure. The learned doctor brought forward a mass of figures. The facts deduced from these figures were in most cases correct; in some instances, however, the conclusions were obviously distorted.

One table of figures showed the relation between father's income and number of children. The object of this was to show that in poorer families there are generally more children than in richer families. Whether starvation wages are the cause of big families or whether big families are the cause of starvation wages, or both; or whether, on the other hand, both starvation wages and big families result from the general "unfitness" of the working class, the doctor did not state clearly. But he suggested the last alternative. Like most "scientists" he utterly ignores the social-economic explanation. It is well known to every student of economics (with the apparent exception of bourgeois "scientists") that since the advent of the industrial revolution child and female labour have tended more and more to replace adult male labour (in the same way that in South Africa native labour tends to replace European labour), because they are cheaper. It has been shown that in many cases the wages of a father are of themselves insufficient to support a family. Often the father is unemployed while his children can still find work. Child labour tends to displace adult labour and render the latter superfluous. It is but natural to find therefore that low wages and large families of necessity go hand-in-hand.

Dr. Maynard's figures were compiled in England. In this country both the adult white worker, his wife and his children are rapidly becoming superfluous. Where white youth labour is still employed, as, for instance, in the form of apprentice labour in factories in Johannesburg, it is only because it is cheaper than adult native labour. White apprentices may be had in Johannesburg at ten shillings per week, a wage on which even a native would find it impossible to exist.

All these facts are economic facts, and though they have certain biological results, the problems they produce cannot be solved biologically.

Another set of figures compared the number of children in the case of healthy mothers and unhealthy mothers respectively. The figures indicated that unhealthy mothers had on the average more children than healthy mothers—another case, according to Dr. Maynard, of "the survival of the unfit." A woman in the hall here interjected, "He's confusing cause and effect." Of course a "scientist" would not realise that a woman with six children has to scrape and pinch and worry and work very much harder than a woman with one or two children or perhaps none at all. The Neo-Darwinian does not believe that there is such a thing as environment; it is all a question of heredity.

We should like to see Dr. Maynard trying to bring up a litter of children in a slum tenement. Of course his health would not suffer!

The same argument applies to his figures of "dirty home—many children; clean home—few children." Dr. Maynard's home is probably kept clean by his native servant, and we are quite sure that the number of his children is less than the proverbial half-dozen.

Dr. Porter, health officer to the Johannesburg municipality, said that he thought that too much was spent nowadays on child welfare institutions. He did not advocate that children should be exterminated,

> "But thought that it was wrong to strive
> Unduly hard to keep alive!"

—a verse which he actually quoted.

And this officer of "health" believes in sterilisation. If sterilisation is ever to be, perhaps some of us could tell Dr. Porter who would be the best people to begin with. We agree with him that it is a pity that certain individuals are still free and capable of reproducing their kind.

E.R.R.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

The discussion nights for September will be on Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at No. 4, Trades Hall, as follows:—

12th.—E. Tyzak: Class Differences in Human Society.

19th.—E. R. Roux: Communist Tactics applied to South Africa.

26th.—W. Bloomberg: The Aims of the Social Revolution.

These gatherings are open to members AND THEIR FRIENDS, and have covered some exceedingly interesting and useful ground already, besides drawing out a number of new speakers and debaters. The opener is given 30 minutes, and the rest of the time is occupied with discussion.

Get the Wednesday evening habit!

A Picnic will be held on Sunday, September 30. Details later.

Steps are being taken to organise a Communist Choir. Will singers please give their names in at No 4, Trades Hall, so as to enable the choir to get started without delay?

* * *

YOUNG WORKERS' SPORTING ASSOCIATION.

HIKING SECTION: A hike will take place on Sunday, September 16.

Start: Corner of Main and Von Welligh Streets. Proceed to Forest Hill via Wemmer Pan.

Move off at 9 a.m.

All comrades, friends and sympathisers invited. Bring your own lunch.

Acknowledgements.

We gratefully acknowledge the following further donations to the "International" Guarantee and General Funds:—

July: H.G., 20s. 3d.; S.K., 3s. 6d.; A.A., £5 1s.; H.B., 5s.; A.R., 20s.

August: W.H.A., 2s. 3d.; S.B., £5; D.L.D., 3s. 1d.; S.H., 10s.; G.N., 10s. 6d.; W.F., 5s.; G.M., 10s.; M.G., 4s.; J.D., 2s. 6d.; V.B., 5s.; P.L.G., 5s.; P.D., 10s.; H.G., 20s. 3d.; B.G., 10s.; R.G., 10s.

September: A.A., £5; V.B., 5s.; M.G., 4s.

* * *

The accident figures for the Witwatersrand Gold Mines for January to June, 1922 and the same months of 1923 respectively are as follows:—

Deaths: 1922—125.
1923—297.
Injuries: 1922—788.
1923—1,587.

Thus after all the "revolution" did little more than make up the average of killing and maiming that GOES ON ALL THE TIME—and goes on increasing too, it seems, since the Chamber reduced the number of responsible white men below. "The results of the past months of the year," says "The Reef" for July, "compare very unfavourably with the first five months of 1921, and show an INCREASE OF 46 DEATHS DUE TO FALLS OF GROUND ALONE."

* * *

Laws in great rebellions lose their end, and all go free when multitudes offend.—Rowe.

* * *

Socialism is a science, a political movement and an ideal. As a science it furnishes the mental weapons for the political movement, and the political movement is the means of attaining the ideal, the co-operative commonwealth.—Ernest Untermann.

* * *

He that will not live by toil
Has no right on English soil.
—Charles Kingsley ("Alton Locke").

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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.