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Have You Seen the Placards?

Sign the Petition for the RELEASE of the NINE Remaining Strike Prisoners.

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.

What the "International" SAYS TO-DAY the Working-class WILL THINK To-morrow.

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P.O. Box 4179.

Vol. VIII. No. 384. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

Many Workers are Saying—

That Jimmy George hasn't a hope in the Parktown by-election, but that the policy of the United Labour Front and downing Smuts must be consistently followed by all workers, irrespective of party, voting solidly for him.

* * *

That the recent magisterial decision, legally scrapping the colour bar, and the increasing encroachment of natives on spheres of labour till now looked upon as the exclusive preserve of the whites, is accomplishing what years of propaganda have failed to do—is teaching the whites that the complete solidarity of labour—irrespective of race—is their only hope.

* * *

That the South African Mine Workers' Union, by endeavouring to drive home this lesson, is on the right track at last.

* * *

That the stand being made by the miners on the New State Areas, backed by their Union, shows that the spirit of the Rand workers is far from broken.

* * *

That the White League, which is obtaining signatures to a petition calling for the death penalty on natives found guilty of rape, is a South African Ku-Klux-Klan or Fascisti in embryo.

* * *

That Tommy Boydell's vociferous disclaimer of any taint of Republicanism through his party's pact with the Nationalists is dictated by a fear of losing the next election in Greyville, which is a notoriously Jingo constituency.

* * *

That the flag-wagging tactics of these leading lights of the Labour Party will, when the workers awake, prove to be their undoing.

* * *

That the Communist Party still remains the only clean workers' party, the only one free from opportunism, and

* * *

That all workers should join it immediately.

The Fascist Thief in the Night.

The Spanish Fascist outbreak confirms the repeated warnings of the Communist International that this danger is ever present in every country where the discontent of the masses shows signs of breaking out. Like a thief in the night the military tools of the bourgeoisie are liable to seize and destroy at a stroke all the "democratic" institutions so beloved by reformists and clap all the working class militants into gaol; yes, not only "Communists and Syndicalists," but even "Liberal" Governments are destroyed by Fascism—you will not buy safety by being just anti-"Bolshevik."

Note too that Fascism everwhere follows the modern fashion of distrusting the regular or conscript forces and relying on its own selected White Guards only. It trades on monarchism and royalty, so much boosted in England and South Africa to-day. And like the Tsar and the Kaiser, it resorts to foreign Chauvinist war-swashbuckling in order to keep down the working class at home; the very mutiny against the Morocco expedition was itself the signal not only for the proclamation of Martial Law but for a more vigorous prosecution than ever of the "patriotic" war against the Moors.

South African Labour, beware! Beware of the "neutral" attitude towards these military revolutions adopted by the workers of Bulgaria and now apparently of Spain. Defeat the warmongers before they have time to concentrate! And remember that every time you defeat them you become stronger and they weaker for their next attempt.

"Not as Other Men."

"The sinister aspect of this collapse" (says the writer of the "London Letter" in the "Daily Record"), "is that the great mass of the German people have been deliberately swindled and plundered by this mere handful of great magnates in whose hands nearly all the wealth of Germany has accumulated." Which is exactly what has been done in Britain for generations—only the "Record" never mentions it!—"Forward."

ROCKING THE BOAT.

MORE "FLUNKEYS TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY."

Mr. Barlow, M.L.A., who despite his British-sounding name was, according to the "Guardian," born a republican, was a burgher of the Free State, fought against the British, was captured and interned in Ceylon, and who, having since (like Mussolini, the renegade Socialist, pilloried in the same column of the "Guardian") been a member of one party after another, is now ensconced as a virulent anti-"Bolshevik" Labourite, has excited, even in the London "Times," high hopes of a collapse of the Nationalist-Labour pact by his Jingo Colonial twang of the "King's authority" and "the greatest navy in the world," in the name of which he claims, under the pact forsooth, that every knee, even a Nationalist one, must bow. From such a man indeed we could expect nothing better; but we are bound to sit up and take notice when we find Messrs. Boydell and Sampson in effect saying ditto to him—brainstormed, we must suppose, into courting political suicide for their party by anxiety over bourgeois votes in their own parochial constituencies ("Labour in Natal is contesting more Provincial seats than ever before," says the same "Guardian"—and Natal is ultra-British and ultra-bourgeois); when even Mr. Madeley, the "anti-monarchist" who "admits" he is for a Socialist commonwealth, apparently relapses into British imperialism by stipulating that his commonwealth is to consist of the nations of the British Empire only, so that his Red Flag is after all but Union Jack writ large; and when Col. Creswell, claiming to speak not for the working class it seems but for "the preponderating bulk of English-speaking South Africans," declares that "something very serious will have to happen" (evidently nothing serious has happened or is happening so far or is desired by him to happen) "before the traditions and customs of the British Commonwealth are brought to an end" and, omitting as superfluous verbiage Mr. Madeley's pious reference to Socialism, "sees in the future a great association of free nations as we are" (sic) "in the British Empire."

'WARE TOENADERING WITH SMUTS!

True, both Barlow and Creswell try to coax the rebellious Dutchman to their view by claiming that "we have real freedom to run our own affairs now, we are masters in our own house, we can carve out a splendid future, under the present constitution," and they come out with an identic formula about "outside interference coming from Throgmorton Street," or about "the craftiness of 'foreign' financiers which can be regulated by South African legislation," so as to approximate as nearly as possible to Nationalist phrases which, welcoming the Afrikander capitalist, concentrate all their venom on the "foreign" article. Meanwhile Dr. Malan says that the Nationalist Party has never decided to work for the abolition of the common kingship, and that Article 4 amounts only to a claim for Canadian status. But if there is really so little to quarrel about after all, then, IF SUCH MATTERS ARE REALLY THE FUNDAMENTAL THING THEY ARE REPRESENTED TO BE, THERE IS LITTLE TO QUARREL ABOUT WITH SMUTS EITHER, and we might feel anxious not so much about disagreement between Labour and Nationalist as about whether there is sufficient disagreement between them and the S.A.P. to preserve life and militancy in the pact even if it is scrupulously maintained. Really, of course, in spite of the rhetorical toenadering above quoted, there is next to nothing in common to make a pact about except the defeat of Smuts; and there is no more justification in "interpreting" the pact as an abandonment of republicanism than of imperialism, although no doubt the more it is acted upon the more it must involve some moderation of both, and especially of Labour Jingoism.

"... THEY KNOW NOT WHAT THEY DO."

The fact is that the pact was stumbled into by "statesmen" who did not realise the high politics of their own act, and it will be the duty of those elements in their parties (or outside them) who do realise it to keep them up to the mark when they themselves show signs of faltering. It is necessary to defeat Smuts not because his successors will be much better, but because his defeat and replacement by a predominantly anti-imperialist Government is, so far as can be forecast, A NECESSARY STEP, IF ONLY A SHORT ONE, IN THE PROGRESS OF THE OPPRESSED CLASSES AND RACES, NOT OF SOUTH AFRICA ONLY BUT OF THE WHOLE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE WHOLE WORLD, TOWARDS EMANCIPATION. We must follow the line of least historic improbability; and the next step will probably be the break up, on lines of ever-intensifying class division (AND THUS ON THIS VERY MATTER OF FLAGS TOO) of both the Nationalist and the Labour Parties, neither of which can expect much longer to appetise a following of starving workers and peasants with the hash of bourgeois scraps at present dished up as their "policy."

WHITE MAN DOMINANCE.

And so the Labour imperialist utterances of the last week must be considered as backslidings, like those of 1914 all over the world, betraying a "Labour" Party insufficiently class conscious to perform its proper mission. In this country such imperialist weakness, in spite of occasional revolutionary outbreaks, is bound to be more marked than in the case of other Colonial Labour Parties like those of Australia or Canada which have partly shaken it off. THE PREDOMINANT CHARACTERISTIC OF MODERN IMPERIALISM IS THE EXPLOITATION OF SUBJECT RACES, and South Africa is therefore one of its most typical fields. The S.A.L.P. is still in effect a white workers' party ("if mighty finance is going to dominate this country it is a poor look-out for the WHITE people," says Creswell—the blacks don't count, or perhaps they like it!); and thus it exudes much of THE BOURGEOIS PSYCHOLOGY OF A DOMINANT RACE AS SUCH. "We whites, a handful in a black continent, must not cut ourselves off from British protection," is the note struck by Mr. Barlow; while Mr. Christie says, "Republicanism would be suicidal in a conglomerate community in which 'we' are the only section that holds predominant and controlling power." There's the rub! And yet, also, there's a common sentiment which makes the pact even possible!

"FREEDOM AS WE ARE!"

What party representing the whole South African working class (not as whites or blacks but as workers) could think of using such language as "WE have real freedom as we are," etc. Free indeed? "We" on top may be free, but who can speak of "free" indentured natives, "free" coolies, "free" Bulhoeks, aye, "free" Hanekoms, "free" Longs, Hulls and Lewises, "free" Fordsburgs, "free" unemployment, "free" starvation and degradation? Or elsewhere in this fabled "Commonwealth" where no wealth is in common, "free" Africa, "free" India, "free" Amritsar, "free" Ireland, "free" Egypt? For that matter, as "our" Empire leads the world, "free" Ruhr, "free" Italy, Spain or Greece, "free" Russia even? Good God, have we to listen to schoolboy (or rather schoolmaster) stuff like this and call it working class politics? Is not Fascism a better name? Does not Mussolini talk in what is at bottom the same tone? And when the "Imperial" Government makes its next call for cannon fodder in the coming fresh war, what will be the value of the pact if the Labourites shriek "patriotism" again while the Nationalists are as passionate (and far more sound) on the other side?

CAPITALIST FLAG, CAPITALIST ECONOMICS.

It is idiotic to pretend that "flag" questions are irrelevant, and that we should "confine ourselves to 'economic' demands." Imperialism, British and "foreign" (it is all foreign to the working class), has got to be smashed, and the Reg Flag flown to the exclusion of any other, if these economic questions are to be solved and the world's workers are to come into their own. Nowadays "every class struggle is a political struggle" and an international one at that. And the sooner the Labour Party of South Africa (as of Britain) learns the lesson and educates itself to appreciate the importance of its own pact to its own professed cause, and the good reason (which its spokesmen cannot define) for "putting another set of men in power," the better for the entire working class movement.

Race Consciousness.

(By Harry Haynes.)

How far race consciousness is gripping the minds of the natives of South Africa few white men are in a position to realise. At the best the whites are outsiders and, however sympathetic they may be towards the native and coloured races of this country, it is obviously impossible for any of them to even glimpse the psychology of our ultra-exploited peoples. They are in a somewhat similar position to the bourgeois when he "sympathises" with the working class and conscientiously tries to understand our outlook and aspirations. However honest he may be, the moment he speaks or writes his thoughts upon our problems we detect the bourgeois and a grin becomes discernible upon the faces of the class-conscious audience or reader. Similarly a "sympathetic" Englishman invariably exposes his lack of appreciation when supporting the Irishmen in their national struggle, and so on. One of the reasons for this is that we can never explain our thoughts to our bourgeois sympathisers in our own language. If we did he, or she, would fly in consternation. Similarly an Irishman will never attempt to talk to an Englishman really seriously upon Irish questions, and South African natives simply find out what white men want them to say and —say it, in order to please "the baas."

That race consciousness is growing among the South African natives can be proved, and that this, at the moment, is taking the form of hatred for the white baases is only to be expected. A native is a human blessed with intelligence and the capitalist is fostering race consciousness for his own ends. If proof were needed we have only to notice the Councils established at which native worker and leader of industry continually meet round the table, while white workers, even where organised into Unions, find every obstacle put in their way of meeting the bosses in conference. The native to-day therefore looks upon the capitalist as his friend—not because he is ignorant of the true facts, but because he has noticed that the white worker has ever lent himself to the task of keeping the "bloody nigger" in his place. As an instance of this: an intelligent and educated native, who has worked as a miner underground on and off during the past ten years, recently complained bitterly to the writer that white workers have always scabbed on the blacks when they, the blacks, have put up a fight against their conditions. Further, he told me that he was preaching always against the white worker—the direct overseer —who dished out the kicks. "Sir Lionel Phillips would never kick a black man," he said, "but a white workman has kicked me on many occasions." At the same time this black workman had no illusions about the capitalist, but thought race consciousness and solidarity among the blacks would be able to accomplish black proletarian emancipation AFTER TOTAL SUPERSESSION OF THE WHITE WORKER HAD BEEN ACCOMPLISHED.

Apparently he had not thought of the possibility of a white, or even black, trained army of occupation to act as disciplinarians after all the white workers had become redundant, but I mention the conversation to show that the black worker is thinking, and thinking very hard, about his position in life.

The black worker has strong prejudices against his European prototype, and who dare say he has not reason therefor? And undoubtedly as the white worker is forced by capitalism down and down towards the "Kaffir" line of subsistence, white prejudice against the black becomes accentuated.

All the same, subconsciously both black and white realise that co-operation and co-organisation can be the only solution to the terribly vital question, and the whites as the, at present, economically superior race, if they are wise, will take a lesson from the Chamber of Mines and the Churches and invite the black workers to discuss the question amicably round the same table, and explore every avenue that shows a possibility of leading out

(Continued at foot of previous column.)

For Labour Unity.

The Miners and now the Johannesburg Tramwaymen are hinting strikes. The moral of unsuccessful strikes in the past is not, as the creepers and crawlers say, that the strike is played out, but that it requires more and ever more general solidarity among the whole ranks of labour. Our advice to those about to strike is not "Don't," but—make sure of other Unions as "100 per cent." allies, and make sure that no Union will scab or be "neutral"; and in this way incidentally help to fashion that greatest need of Trade Unionism in South Africa to-day, a genuine and authoritative Federation or Central Council of all organised Labour in the country.

of the morass into which colour "blindness" has thrown both black and white.

The white worker may not be able to organise the black. His function may be only to organise himself, and act in accord with the black worker, who holds such tremendous economic power and who is already organised, perhaps to a greater degree than any white is aware of.

How about renewing your sub. to the "International"?

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Official Organ of
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(S.A. Section of the Communist International).
(Secretary-Editor, S. P. Bunting.)

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Nationalism and War.

It is now definitely accepted that an immediate task before the Communist Party is to assist the Nationalist and Labour Parties to political power with a view, among other things, to the education and disillusionment of the workers through actual experience of the ability of these parties to improve their conditions of existence.

There is, however, another most urgent reason why the Communists should support the Nationalist Party in their political activity and propaganda, even to the extent of joining that party. The reason is the urgent need for a united front in this country of all parties prepared to fight against the imperialistic designs of Smuts and Co., who are prepared to assist the Empire in its next great war for "democracy," etc., etc. War will come again, and it is for us to put the question to the people of the Union whether or no the Union will participate in the bloody and inevitable conflict.

The economic causes making for war have been rendered acute by the slow decay of capitalism, and it may flare out at any moment. The Eastern questions, the Ruhr, the Graeco-Italian conflict, any of these may be the immediate cause. It is the task of the Communists to probe into the political rivalries and expose beneath them the economic substance—the struggle for markets, mineral wealth, fields of investment for capital, etc., so that when we hear again the brazen trumpets and the drums of war we shall know for what is the call to sacrifice.

In the struggle against participation in the wars of this bloody and despotic Empire the Communists will find no more willing and courageous friends than a large section of the Dutch people of the Union who at the outbreak of the war in 1914 rose in rebellion—an action which no Socialist Party at the time saw fit to endorse. The circumstances in this country are more favourable to our anti-imperialistic propaganda than they are in any other part of the Empire, and I do not refer to the increasing class consciousness amongst the workers but to the hatred felt for the Empire by the Dutch in this country. The problem is how to utilise it for the benefit of the end we have to achieve—the creation of a powerful anti-imperialistic front whose slogan shall be "No part in the Empire's wars!" In the event of an outbreak of war the carrying on of an anti-war propaganda advocated within the Nationalist Party would not only ensure its rapid assimilation by the masses but also largely influence the policy of one of the most powerful parties in the Union. How far the republican and anti-imperial ardour of the Nationalist leaders may be sobered by the responsibilities of office only God knows, but in the absence of more definite knowledge our only safeguard that their noses will be kept to the anti-imperial grindstone is our propaganda amongst the Nationalist rank and file. M. LOPES.

Dope.

A Y.C.L. LEAFLET.

There are many forms of dope. They all have these things in common:—

They poison the mind.

They poison the body.

They make people contented, and prepared to put up with starvation and poverty, long hours and low wages, disease and death.

They are used by the Boss Class to undermine the fighting strength and revolutionary spirit of the workers.

The worst form of dope is that which "springs eternal in the daily press." The newspapers are owned by the capitalist class, run by the hangers-on of the capitalist class, and used for dishing up dope to the workers.

Another form of dope is the capitalist school. There boys and girls of the working class are taught to be good wage slaves, to respect the "Flag," the "King," and the "Empire," to support the present system of robbery and slavery.

Another dealer in dope is the man who preaches that all men are full of corruption and sin, that all the misery on this earth is due to the fall of Adam and Eve, that if we are good children in this world and let the boss rob us, we shall all go to heaven when we die and live like full-blown capitalists.

Another form of dope is the Boy Scouts. They want the young workers to learn to fight so that they can shoot down their fathers and brothers when a strike comes. The Defence Force is used for the same purpose.

YOUNG WORKERS!

Do not allow yourselves to be doped any longer!

Do not believe what you read in the newspaper!

Do not believe what the schoolmaster tells you!

Do not believe what the sky-pilot says!

Be prepared to fight for yourselves and not for your masters!

Join up with the Young Communist League, the only organisation of the "live, thinking young workers" of South Africa!

ALCOHOL IS NOT THE ONLY FORM OF DOPE!

The Young Communist League meets every Tuesday night at 8 p.m. in No. 4, Trades Hall. All young workers are welcome.

(Printed and published by the E.C. of the Y.C.I., P.O. Box 7626, Johannesburg.)

Daily Wails.

"The Great War which was to have made the world safe for democracy has had a curious sequel. . . . . There is abroad a spirit of intolerance, and militarism and autocracy such as one hardly knew in 1913. . . . . The sword is rattled in the scabbard with very little provocation nowadays. Places and peoples are seized, or occupied, or held as 'pledges' or dealt with as 'sanctions' with an ease and a speed which would have shocked the entire old-fashioned world of 1913. Europe was 'an armed camp' then, the publicists said. But there are more men under arms in 1923 than there were ten years before, and more money is spent on armaments than has ever been expended on them before in peace time. . . . . The spread of the dictatorship spirit in Europe ought to contain a warning to us even in peaceful South Africa. . . . . Whatever violent experiments others attempt, we shall secure the best results from our Constitution. . . . We want neither White nor Red, neither Fascist nor Bolshevist, in South Africa."

It is strange how calmly critical newspaper editors can be about events in other countries. There is no dictatorship in South Africa, there was never any White Terror here. Oh, no! We have on the other hand "a sane and ordered democratic system, giving liberty and opportunities to all." It was only a year and a half ago that the Witwatersrand miners were being driven back to work by rifle and aeroplane, machine gun and bomb. The "constitution" was calmly ignored while an indemnity act absolved the Government from its many atrocities, including the murder of the Hanekoms and the bombardment of Fordsburg. Other countries are increasing their armaments, but is the Union Government an exception? Not at all. In its tin-pot way it is doing all it can to improve its military machinery. The Defence Force is being remobilised and equipped.

Are we so very far from Fascism in this country? Let the S.A.P. be defeated at the polls and watch the Chamber of Mines lie down quietly and allow the Nationalists to tax its profits! Fascism is not so far off as some people think. There is not much Labour solidarity, anyway, to stop it. Fascism, the Communist International says, is raising its head in every capitalist country. South Africa is certainly not a workers' republic. We are afraid, Mr. Editor of the "Daily Mail," that although your paper does make out a big difference, this country is very similar to those others where "Democracy" has broken down because it can no longer serve its old purpose of deceiving the workers. —E.R.R.

Black-and-White Lies.

Some idea of the unreliability of anti-Soviet accusations is given in a message to the "Chicago Daily News" from F. A. Mackenzie, a correspondent who certainly has no bias in favour of Bolshevism.

"White Russians," he says, "having failed militarily, morally, and politically, . . . have organised a propaganda news bureau at Helsingfors, which sends to the Press of Europe a mass of Russian fiction bearing no possible relation to the truth."

It is, none the less, mainly on the strength of the Helsingfors inventions that our foaming, Die-hard "diplomats" and our fatuous Foreign Office continue to oppose every move towards common-sense relationship between Britain and Russia. But that sort of "diplomacy" has always thriven best on lies—home-made or otherwise.—Labour Press Service.

A Whopper.

The first prize in the Best Lie About Russia competition is awarded to the London newspaper that published the following:—

"STARVING RUSSIA.

"The Grand Duchess Ivanovitch, cousin of the late Tsar, travelling incognito as Mrs. Fuller, arrived at Southampton from Canada yesterday. She said that the Grand Duke recently sent 35 shiploads of grain to his peasants, but the Bolsheviks became aware of its arrival and burned all the vessels to the water's edge.

"The starving people, who had gathered in the hope of obtaining some of the grain, rushed into the sea up to their necks, seized the burning corn, and, extinguishing the flames, swallowed it greedily."

This is on such a magnificent scale that comment is difficult; but I must say that I especially like the expression, "his peasants."—From "The Daily Herald."

The White Terror.

ARRESTS OF COMMUNISTS IN ROUMANIA.

The Roumanian police recently undertook a domiciliary visit to the publishing offices of the Communist Party periodical appearing in the Hungarian language. The edition of the paper containing an appeal issued by the Party against the high prices was confiscated, while 22 members of the Party were arrested, including two members of the central leadership. It is characteristic of the arbitrary methods of the authorities that the same appeal, as issued by the Party in the Roumanian language in the form of handbills, was allowed to be distributed without hindrance.

Besides these scandalous arrests, the secret police also made an attempt at framing up a new "assassination affair," in order to be able to deal a fresh blow against the Communist Party. A workman named Badulescu, a member of the Communist Party, was secretly asked by three police spies to assassinate the former minister Argetbianu. The workman informed the police, so that the "Sicuranza" FELL INTO ITS OWN TRAP FOR ONCE. In spite of this, the workman was arrested, and has not yet been set at liberty.

THE COLOUR BAR.

THE PRICE OF MUTUAL AID.

SOME NATIVE LEADERS' OPINIONS.

A leaflet has been issued by the Propaganda Committee of the S.A.M.W.U. pointing out in effect that if the "colour bar" is to be considered as obsolete, the white workers have two alternatives: either to fight their battles alone, or, if that does not promise success, to enlist the black workers in some way or another. This is, so far as we are aware, THE FIRST TIME that the latter suggestion has been even hypothetically or tentatively or grudgingly entertained in that quarter, and it indicates a notable advance in working class "vision."

But it must not be assumed that the native miners are waiting in ready organised batallions full of zeal to come to the assistance of the white miners. In the first place they are scarcely organised, in the Trade Union sense, at all; and for another, even if they were, they do not at present see why they should be expected to fight the whites' battles without a big change in the whites' attitude to them.

WHO SHALL TAKE UP THE CROSS?

We are indeed stimulated to organise, said a native well versed in mine conditions to a representative of the "International," by three agencies—the capitalists, the white workers, and our own race consciousness. The attitude and conduct of the white workers towards us have compelled us to look upon them too, even more than the capitalists, as our enemies. Indeed, the capitalists want to see us organised, although WE KNOW THEY DO SO ONLY THE BETTER TO EXPLOIT US: BUT THE WHITE WORKERS HAVE NOT EVEN ATTEMPTED TO PREACH INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION TO US. On the contrary, they have been our bitterest opponents, they have kicked us and cuffed us, they have even persecuted those very few in their own ranks who in our 1920 strike, for instance, preached "DON'T SCAB" to them. The capitalists set up "Joint Councils" with us in all the chief centres of the Union. But the white miners have ABSOLUTELY DECLINED TO HAVE ANY DEALINGS WITH US; they have refused our offers to discuss wage rates with them; they have barred us from the Johannesburg Trades Hall. The consequence, and a perfectly natural one, has been that we have needed no encouragement to turn a deaf ear to any appeals that might have been made (ACTUALLY NONE HAVE BEEN MADE) to support white strikes; we have even been willing to help break them. We have been forced into that position, and UNLESS THE WHITE WORKERS CHANGE THEIR ATTITUDE, THE GOVERNMENT'S STRENUOUS EFFORTS TO WIN US TO ITS SIDE WILL BE ALLOWED TO GO BY DEFAULT. The remedy lies in the white workers' hands, but it means a complete and public recantation, it means TAKING UP A CROSS, it may mean crucifixion for those who will have the courage to pioneer it. It is not we who need convincing so much as they themselves. We await a move from them. After all, if the Dutch Reformed Church can meet us as equals at its forthcoming conference with us, why cannot the white workers do the same?

HOLDING OUT A HAND.

A mutual understanding is needed between the workers of different race, was the opinion of another native representative. The colour prejudice is a real thing on both sides; we want to end it, and IT SHOULD BE EASIER FOR THE WORKERS THAN FOR THE DUTCH CHURCHES TO DO IT. It is indisputable that where there are two standards of life and wages, THE HIGHER INEVITABLY COMES DOWN TO THE LEVEL OF THE LOWER; THAT IS THE ULTIMATE FATE OF ANY ATTEMPT TO UPHOLD A WHITE STANDARD WITHOUT NATIVE CO-OPERATION. On the lines hitherto obtaining, we are naturally driven to take up an anti-white position. It is for the Europeans to DO THE BIG THING, TO TAKE THE DESPERATE MOVE, to reverse their hitherto accepted policy of letting us down, as for instance the NURAHS did in the Cape dockers' strike; but if they do reverse it, they will find us, although once bit, twice shy, yet more than willing, not indeed to surrender to them, but to meet them, for WE TOO ASPIRE TO A WHITE STANDARD.

BARS WITHIN BARS.

Of course, said a leading member of a coloured organisation, there are colour prejudices and "bars" even among non-Europeans, for instance, between Indians, Mauritians and Cape coloured people, and between all of these and natives; but the hostility of the whites, or some sections of them, overrides all these, and we can do little as long as it prevails.

THE WAY OF SALVATION.

What is our own conclusion?

First, that it is no case for forming premature conclusions.

Secondly, that these native critics underestimate THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS FOR THE ADMITTED RACE PREJUDICE. Posing as friends of the native, the capitalists have the most direct interest in seeing that there shall be no friendship between the white and the native worker, in playing off the one against the other, in using the lower standard to break the higher; but they also use their facilities for camouflaging their responsibility and GETTING THE DIRTY WORK OF PERPETUATING THE MUTUAL HATRED DONE BY WORKING CLASS EMISSARIES AND AGITATORS, NATIVE AS WELL AS WHITE (willing emissaries no doubt in either case), holding themselves aloof meanwhile like kings who profess to be "above party."

Thirdly, that mere preaching of brotherly love is a futile tactic: ECONOMIC NECESSITY, only seconded by educational propaganda explaining to both sections the fundamental forces at work, can alone be reckoned on to convince each that neither can expect salvation except through co-operation, whatever its form, with the other.

But lastly, that this co-operation of the whole working class will be the signal not for salvation under capitalism, but for salvation—THE ONLY WAY OF SALVATION TO-DAY FOR ANY SECTION OF THE WORKERS IN ANY COUNTRY—through the downfall of the entire world capitalist system, nothing less, and the foundation in its place of a COMMONWEALTH, not indeed that bastard British Imperial "Commonwealth" sung by Creswell, but a commonwealth in very truth where all workers shall receive the full reward of their toil because they will all toil for the common good of all. The noble inspiration of the fight for that consummation will alone suffice to overcome the apparent crisis between "different classes of His Majesty's subjects" which has come to a head in this country with the abolition of the "colour bar." And it is because of the rapid advance of that inspiration that WE ARE PERFECTLY CONFIDENT THAT THE SOLUTION OF THE CRISIS AND THE FOUNDATION, FOR THE FIRST TIME, OF A REAL UNITED LABOUR MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, IS NEAR AT HAND.

The Wealth of the World.

(By Tom Mann, in "All Power.")

Ruskin, writing to Trade Unionists over forty years ago, expressed astonishment at their moderation and put it thus: "Whose is the wealth of the world but yours? Whose is the virtue? Do you mean to go on for ever, leaving your wealth to be consumed by the idle and your virtue to be mocked by the vile?"

It is necessary for the quiet going moderate constitutionalists of our day to comfort themselves with this question; are we to go on for ever leaving the wealth produced by the workers to be consumed by the idle? Ruskin adds, "The wealth of the world is yours; even your common rant and rabble of economists tell you that—'No wealth without industry.'" And still we have a big percentage of workers hesitating to take vigorous action to put a stop to the systematic exploitation, and striking an attitude in regard to wages as though the bosses were morally entitled to take profits, interest, dividends, and rent.

I believe the Transport Workers' attitude towards agreements, and officials who treat agreements as more sacred than the seizing of opportunities to battle for the advancement of the workers, indicates what will happen on a large scale in the Unions generally unless the machinery of the Unions is used consistently and persistently for the paramount object for which they exist—THE FIGHTING OF THE WORKERS' BATTLES ON THE MILITANT SIDE, AND THE STEADY EXTENSION OF THE WORKERS' CONTROL OF INDUSTRY ON THE CONSTRUCTIVE SIDE.

I am confident, however, that this is even now receiving attention, and active men are carrying on effective propagandist effort that will soon change the Unions from the slow-going, time-marking affairs that they have been, to the live fighting aggressive agencies that they must and will be.

"Cry aloud, and spare not!" Young men, get busy! Don't worry because a few old-timers hitherto have been able to keep grip of your Trade Union branches and lodges. You have your right also to put your case, and what is much more to the point, you have a case to put. The reactionaries have no case other than that of "Keep in the old groove!"

The old grooves won't do, and we with a different outlook absolutely refuse to allow the organisations to be so damnably misused that they become aiders and abettors of the Capitalist System. That system must go, and we are out definitely and avowedly to make it go. We are the victims of the rotten system and we refuse to remain quiescent even though members of our own class urge us to go slow, to be constitutional.

Let there be no going to sleep or fooling around, as though we either did not know what to do, or, knowing, dare not attempt it.

Liven up the Unions. Get on the Trades Councils. See that discussion of the right subjects takes place there, get special committees formed for special work; SHOW AN INTEREST IN ALL QUESTIONS DIRECTLY AFFECTING THE WORKERS. Dare to declare yourselves out avowedly for the overthrow of capitalism. Every informed worker knows there is no hope for the future under capitalism, it has had its day, it is the direct and positive cause of the awful conditions that prevail now, it is the real cause of the poverty that curses us and our children. Prepare then without delay to step into the breach, with a mentality attuned to cope with all requirements of a saner system. Back to the Unions! Certainly; but DON'T ALLOW THE UNIONS TO REMAIN WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN with their aimless impotency. Cheerio, Comrades, there is a grand future close at hand, and we are to have a hand in shaping it.

The "Slum Fighters' Committee" do not seem a very hard fighting body, to judge from their warning (somewhat gratuitous from them in any case) against the militancy of the S.A.M.W.U. in daring even to insist on a Conciliation Board.

The rapidity of the world-wide response to capitalist Japan's distress contrasts significantly with the tardy and grudging aid given to proletarian Russia two years ago by the same peoples.

PEN PICTURES OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

By W. H. ANDREWS (Moscow).

Trade Unions in Soviet Russia.

It may be of interest to our Trade Union readers to hear how the Russians manage their Trade Unions and what influence they have under the new regime.

THE ALL-RUSSIAN HEADQUARTERS.

There are two great centres of Trade Union activity in Moscow: one is at the headquarters of the all-Russian Trade Unions, which have their national headquarters in a huge building situated by the side of the river—next to the Kremlin the most prominent feature on the river side. The vast building is four or five stories high, and interminable corridors on the various floors lead left and right to the offices of the Unions which are easily found as everything is labelled and numbered. This is in marked contrast to some of the other administrative buildings which are perfect labyrinths to the stranger. The headquarters of the Proffintern (Red International of Labour Unions) are housed in the third floor of this great hive of Trade Union activity. The various offices are fitted with all modern conveniences—phones, typewriters, etc.—and are comfortably and sometimes even luxuriously furnished. A fleet of motor cars is always at the disposal of the Trade Union officials and workers during office hours; for although Moscow is supplied with a good and rapidly increasing service of electric street cars, the city is so big that it is a saving of time and money to use more rapid transport.

THE MOSCOW TRADES HALL.

Beside this all-Russian headquarters, there is, near the famous theatre square, a great building which is the headquarters of the Trades Council of the Moscow Government or Province. This body co-ordinates the activities of all the industries in the Province—food, textile, building, engineering, etc., which are organised strictly according to industries and number 750,000 members. Comrade Melnachansky, who has been many years in the United States, is at the head of this organisation, which appears to be extraordinarily efficient.

THE "DOM SOYUSOV."

The building in which the Trades Union Council is housed was for some hundreds of years the hall and meeting place of the Russian nobility. It has an imposing front and contains a magnificent assembly hall and smaller halls, once the haunts of the supporters of Czardom and now the meeting halls where the great aggregate meetings of Trade Unionists are held. The whole building, which had become rather dilapidated under the old regime, is now being thoroughly renovated by the Unions, and when completed will probably surpass anything of its kind for the dignity of its proportions and chasteness of its decorations.

DECORATIVE CRAFT.

I was interested in going over the building with Chairman Melnachansky to see the workmen who were renovating the great columns which support the roof and galleries. They were possessed of a secret process by which a plaster column is given the appearance of marble or polished stone, and it is said that these men belong to a family of artisans who alone in all Russia possess this secret, which they have preserved for hundreds of years, handing it down from father to son. They have worked in all the great buildings of the Czar and the nobles for centuries, and now are applying their skill to decorating and beautifying the Moscow workers' hall. The Russians are wonderful handicraftsmen and have infinite patience on small and intricate work.

COMMON ROOMS.

The President of the Council has his office leading out of a fine circular apartment which contains a huge round polished oak table round which, on carved oaken chairs emblazoned with their armorial bearings, nobles used to sit at council. This is now used as a waiting room for workers and Trade Union officials. In the upper floor is a reading and recreation room as big as the Selborne Hall, Johannesburg, where the Union members who for one reason or another have leisure, can meet one another and read or amuse themselves.

RECORDS AND STATISTICS.

The most careful and elaborate statistics are kept and put into diagrammatic form, dealing with every phase of Trade Union activity and the workers' life; and one can see at a glance how the Unions are progressing and how the worker is faring in his daily life. The progress of production in the factories, health, attendance at work, degree of illiteracy, etc., etc.—all this is shown not merely by tables of uninteresting figures but by easily understood diagrams in various colours. I have a complete set of records up to June, 1922, and it is not only a wonderful piece of statistical compilation but a fine specimen of the printer's art. The Union members pay 2 per cent. of their wages as contributions.

UNION OFFICES.

Besides this great hall of the workers every Moscow Union is accommodated in fine and convenient offices. I have visited those of the metal workers, the textile workers, and the food workers, where one comes into contact with the men and women who are building up the new Russian economy as well as forming the backbone of the Soviet power.

Russian Factories and Workshops.

Through the courtesy of the Union officials and particularly Comrade Melnachansky I have seen several factories, amongst them the Russian-American tool factory, where standard engineers' tools of all descriptions are made. The latest American machinery is here installed, and taps, stocks and dies, gauges of all descriptions, etc., are turned out by means of the most modern and accurate machinery. This factory can supply all the gauges and small tools required by the Russian engineering industry, and will still be equal to its demands as it increases from month to month. Another factory, which is now employing 800 men and women, is the automobile works, which is turning out motor cars complete, engines and all other parts being made in the factory. They are chiefly building motor lorries for transport work. The famous dynamo factory is the most up-to-date not only as regards equipment and technique but also from the point of view of workers' control. We were shown round by the manager and the shop steward or workers' committee chairman, and were impressed by the efficiency and the quantity of electrical work being turned out. Most of it was for the Baku oil fields. Amongst other things a device has been invented here for reversing an electric motor by the mere turning of a lever, which will enable certain pumps now being driven by engines to be operated by electric power. The restaurants, club rooms, theatres, etc., attached to all these factories, with their atmosphere of workers' control and proprietorship, are the most interesting feature. There are 500 workers in these works, but more could be employed if raw material were more easily obtainable. It may be interesting to state that the oil used for fuel in almost every factory and power house in Moscow is brought up the Volga and landed at the factory doors from the river boats and lighters. The new machinery is not usually sent down by river as it is urgently needed, and so is railed down. We had a very nice lunch in the workers' restaurant attached to the factory, and it only cost the workers 15 roubles. When it is stated that 80 to 100 roubles is the minimum for a meal at an open cafe and not a very swell one at that, the advantage that a worker gets becomes obvious. The hours are 48 per week in most of the factories, the exceptions being less than this. The Moscow electric power and lighting plant is quite up-to-date with steam turbine sets and oil-burning boilers. New sets of Swiss turbines and Babcox boilers are now being installed to increase the capacity of the plant.

A TEXTILE FACTORY.

Several large textile factories are working in the Moscow Province. I visited one a few miles outside Moscow which combines in one undertaking cotton spinning, weaving and printing. There are 36,000 spindles and 990 looms. 7,040 people are employed, many of whom are most highly skilled, particularly those in the calico printing section. Very beautiful fabrics are being made here as well as the more every-day and serviceable kind. The factory was established as long ago as 1709, but of course it has been completely rebuilt and refitted with new machinery in recent years. The present machinery was installed in 1910. Altogether there are 180,000 members of the textile Unions of the Moscow Province.

The usual club rooms and restaurant are found in this factory, and as there are many married women engaged, provision has to be made for their small children during work hours.

We were shown a fine mansion near the factory, situated in spacious grounds, which used to be the owner's resisdence. This is now being completely remodelled inside and renovated, and when complete will be the home of the children of the factory women during working hours, where every attention will be given them by a trained staff.

Defence Forces With Something to Defend.

THE RED ARMY.

One of the most interesting of my experiences in Moscow was a visit to one of the Red Army officers' training schools. The occasion was the distribution of certificates and prizes to the students at the end of their period of training in the school and on the eve of their being drafted to the various regiments.

We drove about fifteen versts into the country and found that we were too late for the formal parade. The students, all in Red Army uniform, with the school staff and friends, were, when we arrived, seated at dinner on the lawn under the trees. About 600 were present, and whilst the feasting proceeded an incessant stream of speeches was delivered from the platform in the centre, each being punctuated with bars of the International by the band.

"THE SPLENDOUR FALLS ON CASTLE WALLS."

The school was, until the revolution, the home of one of Russia's proudest noblemen, Count Sheremetkyeff, and the mansion itself remains as the late owner left it, being only opened to visitors in charge of the military caretakers. Here Catherine of Russia, Peter the Great and others of the Romanoffs used to stay as guests of the owner, whose family was older than that of the Romanoffs themselves. Catherine's carriage is still preserved, and many other pictures and relics of the old regime. The mansion is crowded with priceless old paintings, tapestries and Russian handicraft, all carefully preserved and labelled as in a museum. In front of the house is a big artificial lake which was excavated by Swedish prisoners of war captured by Peter the Great and left in charge of the duke of that period. Here in this historic setting, amidst the stately trees, the lawns and flower gardens, the marble statues, etc., the Red Army with its peasant and working class guests was enjoying itself—perhaps the most dramatic glimpse of the change which has taken place which has been permitted me. The last duke, a childless old man, is in Paris, and so both from want of heirs as well as through the revolution the great family vanishes. Included in the technical staff of the academy is an old Czarist general, a fine bearded old soldier, enthusiastic over his Red Army boys who love him in return. He among others was presented with a certificate detailing his good work as instructor, and in the Russian way he was thrown repeatedly into the air and caught again by his youthful comrades. We afterwards talked and were photographed with him, and he was prouder of the certificate of appreciation of the Soviet authorities than ever he was of the smiles of the Romanoffs. He reminded one more than anything else of the old-time Boer general or commandant with his bearded peasant face and unaffected manner.

The same day I was present at the break-up concert of another military academy in Moscow. The hall was crowded with Red officers and their friends, and the decorations, although having of necessity a military flavour, were mainly of a character designed to impress on the students the real purpose of the army, namely, the defence of the workers' revolution, and to keep constantly before them the idea that the workers, peasants and Red Army were one and undivisible.

THE RED AIR FLEET.

Before leaving these military matters it is necessary to mention a grand review of the Moscow air fleet which was held on August 2nd, the anniversary of the establishment of the Red Air Fleet. In correct military formation the men were drawn up on two sides of a square, the spectators forming a third. In this square forty-four war planes were lined up inside in four squadrons, and in front of all was a huge bomber named "Ultimatum," which was given to the Red Army by a group of workers after the Curzon note was paraded. After speeches to the men, the "International," and cheering, the machines of the first squadron were paraded past the saluting point with engines on slow speed, and, rising one after the other on the open side of the square, performed evolutions in the air in perfect order. Squadrons two, three and four repeated the process, and four squadrons of eleven each in "V" formation sailed over Moscow to let the people see that all the talk about the Red Air Fleet was not mere moonshine. A drenching thunderstorm broke during the manoeuvres, but the Red Russians care as little for thunderstorms as they do for Czars and capitalists, and machine after machine rose in the teeth of the driving storm whilst the men stood stoically at attention. The number of machines available in this one aerodrome is by no means covered by the machines on parade, as beautiful new machines could be seen inside the various sheds where the civilians took shelter during the rain, and on our way back to town trolleys were passed bringing more and more new aeroplanes to be assembled and held in readiness to defend the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic.

The Children's Holiday Homes.

That there is need for the workers and peasants to leave nothing to chance and that they have at last something to defend can be seen on every hand. Not only are noblemen's mansions now officers' training schools, but the summer residences of the old bourgeoisie in the forests round Moscow are now housing thousands of the children of the Moscow workers. Having occasion to take a ride into the country on a tram-line built and now being double-tracked by the Moscow Soviet, I took a walk through the pine and birch forests in which for miles nestle wooden one and two-storied houses. All these houses in summer are inhabited by children, and in each house is a "mother" and her helpers who take care that the children come to no harm. The whole forest is alive with the shouts and laughter of the boys and girls, bareheaded, barefooted, browned by the sun and throwing off the ill-effects of the too close confinement of the town which is still unfortunately overcrowded owing to the immense influx of population since the revolution, in spite of the great strides being made in the direction of renovation and repairs. Not only are the children in the woods, but an immense exodus has taken place from Moscow during the past month, and I presume from other big cities in Soviet Russia. Factories, offices, etc., have sent the workers to the Crimea, the Caucasus and nearer-by resorts in tens of thousands, leaving in many cases only sufficient workers to keep the factory machinery in order for the general resumption of work. Even the Soviet authorities are in many cases taking the first real holiday since the revolution, leaving a trusted leader or so in each department to carry on. Of course a few days and they could be back again, and they are in constant touch with headquarters, but the facts stated above prove how stable the Government has become and how normal life is now in Russia.

A Young Communist Tocsin.

The Struggle of the Young International Against War and Reaction.

The following circular arrived too late for publication by September 2nd. We reprint it nevertheless because the problems with which it deals and the slogans which it raises are not of the kind which appear to-day only to disappear to-morrow. The struggles of the young workers (including those workers whom it is the hypocritical fashion in this country to profess to treat "as children" are a daily feature of capitalist society, and as far as the Young Communist International is concerned every day should be a Day of Youth, a day of propaganda and organisation, a day of greater militancy and more far-reaching activity, another step on the road to victory:—

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG.

Young workers, peasants and soldiers of all lands!

In this serious hour we appeal to you to march forth in your might, together with the young Communists of all lands, and under the banner of the Young Communist International, to celebrate the Ninth International Day of Youth on September 2nd, 1923.

The working class and the small farmers of all lands face a bitter struggle against the increasingly bold and insolent attacks of the exploiting class. The exploiters have placed all the burdens and all the consequences of the war which "ended" after five years of slaughter, on the shoulders of the workers and farmers so that their situation has become unbearable.

IT IS YOUR OWN INTOLERABLE SITUATION THAT IS DAILY BECOMING WORSE.

Your daily increasing misery, your constantly increasing exploitation—these are the foundations on which the capitalists and the possessing class are building their empire and their mastery. You, the exploited, are having your wages constantly lowered, your working hours constantly made longer. THE EIGHT HOURS' DAY WILL SOON BE AN ANCIENT FAIRY TALE UNLESS YOU RISE TOGETHER IN A MIGHTY PROTEST AND UNLESS YOU STRUGGLE TOGETHER AGAINST THESE ROBBERS.

Young workers and farmers! MARCH OUT ON SEPTEMBER 2nd! Struggle with us! Express your demands, your wants, your determination!

AGAINST THIS UNENDURABLE MENTAL AND PHYSICAL MISERY!

AGAINST THE ABOLITION OF THE 8 HOUR DAY, AND FOR SUFFICIENT WAGES!

FOR THE SIX HOUR DAY!

BUT THIS IS NOT THE ONLY NECESSITY OF THE HOUR.

In every land the working class faces a much more dangerous enemy—Fascism. Fascism has taken over the shameful job of suppressing and overthrowing the workers and poor farmers who would dare to rise against their exploiters, and of putting them in chains of capitalist slavery. It directs its attacks and plots especially against the ranks of the working class and farmer youth.

The working class and farmer youth must show close and determined ranks to these wolves. And not only that. The youth must take the foremost place in the columns of the entire working class which are forming for a bitter fight against Fascism.

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL DAY OF YOUTH IS THE DAY WHEN THIS DETERMINATION WILL APPEAR!

The 2nd of September will be, at the same time, a declaration of struggle against all efforts and attempts to make the workers and farmers of different countries face each other and become cannon fodder for the profiteers of one nation or another. The danger of war increases.

England and France are making every preparation. England and France would fight each other, but both would fight Soviet Russia. America and England would unite against Japan. The whole capitalist world is in a war fever, and the next imperialist war for which they are preparing will make the last war look like a children's game. THE WORKING CLASS AND FARMER YOUTH MUST PREVENT THIS.

ON THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL DAY OF YOUTH, ALL THE FORCES OF THE YOUTH MUST BE MOBILISED AGAINST THE THREATENING WAR.

The social democratic youth leaders have rejected our repeated appeals to join in a united front against the danger of war, against Fascism and reaction, against bodily and mental wretchedness. Give them a clear and distinct answer:—

WE REFUSE TO BECOME CANNON FODDER FOR THE IMPERIALIST SLAUGHTER AS IN 1914.

WE REFUSE TO BE PUT OFF WITH ORATORY IN THE FACE OF A NEW WAR.

WE REFUSE TO BE PATIENT WITH OUR DAILY SINKING DEEPER INTO UNENDURABLE MISERY AND WANT.

WE REFUSE TO BE NUMBERED WITH THOSE WHO HAVE DRAWN AWAY FROM THE ACTUAL STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL THESE DANGERS.

This, young workers and farmers, is the appeal of the Young Communist International, for the Ninth International Day of Youth.

MARCH FORWARD, UNITED FRONT OF YOUNG WORKERS, FARMERS AND SOLDIERS, UNDER THESE BANNERS!

But to overthrow these assaults of capital, Fascism, and the danger of war, you need STRONG ORGANISATION, and we summon you, young workers of the city and country.

DO NOT REMAIN SCATTERED AND DIVIDED!

UNITE TOGETHER, JOIN OUR RANKS, ENTER THE NUCLEI OF OUR LEAGUES, THAT GREAT STRUGGLING ORGANISATION OF THE WORKING YOUTH, THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

Struggle against misery!

Down with Fascism and with imperialist war!

Long live the united front of the working youth of the whole world!

E.C. OF THE Y.C.I.

Moscow, July 26th, 1923.

Barlow, Boydell & Big Business!

The recent speeches upon the Labour-Nationalist pact made by Mr. Barlow and Mr. Boydell have been seized upon with great gusto by the Chamber of Mines (Capitalist S.A.P.) Press; which in itself should be sufficient proof to the person of average intelligence that the pact was not liked by the Smutty politicians of this country.

In coming to an agreement—an agreement upon mere procedure, or tactics, for one particular object, i.e., the overthrow of our present Government—the leaders of the Nationalist and Labour parties were pleasantly surprised at the almost unanimous measure of support they received from the rank and file of their respective parties. The staunch Nationalist Party man apparently was not intensely afraid of co-operating with the "Bolshevik" Labour Party, any more than the Labour man was scared of uniting with the "republican" Nationalist Party for the purpose of politically overthrowing the Government headed by the Butcher of Bullhoek. That in itself is proof enough that the "Bolshevik" and "republican" cocks can no longer be relied upon to fight. The moral victory of Uitenhage and the utter rout of Turffontein, where the Nationalist-Labour combination was tried out, show clearly that the pact was a good tactic from the point of view of pure party politics and, if further proof were needed, the hysterical vapourings of the pen-men in the first instance, and now the joyous boosting of the disruptive speeches of the two B's, makes it perfectly plain that the Smutty gang is using every method known to Fat to break up the combination.

Consequently, at this juncture, anything tending to assist that break-up is worth a million to Smuts and the Corner House, and may possibly be the means of keeping Smuts in the saddle over another general election without forcing him to play his last card—which will be woman's suffrage.

Hence in thus theatrically opening the attack upon the pact both Mr. Boydell (who should know better) and Mr. Barlow (from whom anything may be expected) are in reality playing the enemy's game. To be kind, it may be inferred that, being seat-conscious, they do not intend to do it, but the best intentions fall into insignificance beside the act, and it seems to be inevitable that the Labour Parties of the British Empire seem always to attract to themselves a type of politician whose chief claim to notice seems to be a phenomenal lack of both vision and balance.

From another viewpoint it is comical that the wealthy landowner Barlow, while remaining a member of a "Socialist" party—for no amount of argument can alter the fact that up to now Creswell has failed to twist his rank and file far enough round to remove the Socialistic clause from his party's constitution—is parading his perturbation at the idea of a landowners' republic (it is almost as funny as the unemployed magistrate Macfie's objection to sit on a committee which contains a Communist, while he himself remains a member of a republican party) but that only tends to show that in actual fact Labour has no representation in the Legislative Assembly of this country, and that the so-called "Labour" members depend more upon the petite bourgeosie for their position as Labour representatives than they do upon the actual working class. Thus the fear of this section is at bottom the cause of the attack upon the pact which, unintentionally no doubt, will have far-reaching effects if persisted in, all to the benefit of the Smutty Party and Big Business.

PISCATOR.

Prohibition and Religion.

Apart from the interests of "the Trade," the capitalist class are divided between wanting sober slaves and fearing clear-headed slaves. Those willing to chance it minimise their risk by calling in religious dope to take the place of alcohol, and so we find the temperance campaign (like the "slum-fighting" campaign) handed over to the parsons, and Pussyfoot's meetings punctuated with hymns. The working class, instead of just sneering, should capture this as well as other movements (e.g., the Joint Councils with natives or the whole range of workers' clubs, Y.M.C.A.'s, etc.) at present cornered by the bourgeoisie; for who can deny that, whatever may be possible once victory is won, it cannot be won on alcoholism, and that many a fight has been lost through alcohol—in Benoni on March 12, 1922, to go no further? The German too loves his beer; but although the Communist Party of Germany is not a teetotal party, the visitor to its headquarters is faced as he enters by an appeal to join the Communist Good Templars, to which most of the party members belong. Excuses there are in plenty of course for "driving dull care away"; but, to adapt Lloyd George, "if the British workers" (whose reputation is the worst in this respect) "were deprived of their drink, there would be a revolution"; and so mote it be!

Every working class organisation should back up the Johannesburg Tramwaymen, on whose [illegible] are being [illegible] on the strength of the [illegible] last year!

A Tribute from Nurahs.

Mr. W. Moore, secretary of Nurahs, writes to the "International":

Regarding the endeavour to splinter up all forms of honest railway industrial organisation, I think the thanks of railwaymen generally, particularly those who retain a measure of their independence in regard to their own organisation, are due to you for the lucid way in which you have presented a few of the recent developments as between the Railway Administration and its servants' organisations. Your article under the title of "Mutton" which appeared in your issue of September 1st, cleverly removed all the smoke-screen with which this "Brotherhood" has been covered both by the Administrative elements and by the Press. Your article in the issue of September 7th also correctly dissects the motives underlying this much boosted Conference of Artisans. The whole incident is an illustration of how adroitly the Administration, assisted by a versatile manipulator, can bring railwaymen together under the guise of giving them something, while all the time their intention is to take something from them. Then there was that remarkable deputation of a few selected Pretoria shopmen to General Smuts at his home at Irene the other day, the results of which are kept a State secret.

While in common with all other organisations, our numbers are reduced, we are still the only live organisation representing all grades of railwaymen, and we have stalwarts all over the country holding up the flag believing that the time is not far distant when the present reaction will be reversed. In the meantime my recent tour round the three out of the four Provinces has shown that railwaymen generally are not being caught by this sickly association of a "hat in hand Brotherhood" with another Crawford movement.

There is not a vestige of the alleged "Brotherhood" in Capetown and district. At Durban during June Messrs. Clark and Johnson made an endeavour by meetings and Press advertisements to establish the movement there. They got 15 provisional enrolments and before the end of July all had resigned and the movement was abandoned. At Johannesburg the two principal movers are J. M. Johnson and E. J. Barnett. You will be acquainted with Mr. Barnett's position as attached to the General Manager's office, as a travelling ambulance officer and in other capacities. Besides these two, I am assured that there are not more than twelve others who have identified themselves with this movement. Those who were prominent in Braamfontein in attempting to form the Essential Services Union are of course that round dozen. In the other important centres not a single member or evidence of activity on the part of the "Brotherhood" can be produced.

Such articles as I have referred to appearing in your publications are performing valuable service in removing the scales from the eyes of railwaymen and other interested readers.

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

(Concluded.)

II.—INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMME.

The organisation of the fascist forces being international the resistance of the workers against it must also be on an international scale. To this end, an international Workers' Committee must be created. The work of such a committee would be to exchange experiences, and also to organise international action. The first effort is to be directed against Italian fascism, for which purpose it is necessary:

1. To commence an international campaign through newspapers, pamphlets, cinematograph, meetings, etc., to acquaint people with the absolutely hostile nature of the Italian fascist rule to the workers, and to expose the systematic destruction of all workers organisations by the Italian fascists.

2 To organise international meetings to protest against fascism and against its representatives abroad, and so forth.

3. To maintain a struggle in the parliaments, to call upon the parliaments and the international Labour organisations to send deputations to investigate the position of the working-class in Italy.

4 To fight for the immediate liberation of the communist, socialist and non-party workers under arrest or convicted.

5. To prepare for an international boycott of all workers against Italy; to stop coal supplies to Italy, to urge all transport workers to refuse to carry goods from and into Italy and so forth. To this end, to set up international committees of miners, seamen, railway workers, transport workers, etc.

6. Afford material and moral support to the persecuted workers of Italy by collections of money, assisting refugees, aid to get work abroad, etc. For this purpose, the work of the International Red Relief must be extended accordingly. The workers' co-operatives must be drawn into this effort.

It must be hammered into the workers' minds that they will share the fate of the Italian workers unless they, by an energetic and revolutionary fight against the ruling class, forestall the attraction of the less class-conscious elements towards fascism. Therefore, the labour organisations must devote all their energy to the protection of the broadest masses of the workers against exploitation, oppression and usury, and must oppose capitalism and the specious revolutionary language of fascist demagogy with the most strenuous mass struggle. All further attempts to organise fascism at home must be nipped in the bud with all possible energy; and consciousness must be roused to the fact that the defence against fascism in Italy and throughout the world will be a strenuous fight against it at home.

"Directive Ability."

Frederick W. Suydam, New York millionaire, has died.

Now, Fred was remarkable for this, that when fifty years ago he was adjudged a looney and incapable of looking after his affairs, he was worth only 50,000 dollars.

He lived all the last half-century upon the interest of his 50,000 dollars, and yet when he died his 50,000 dollars had grown to 1,000,000 dollars.

The anti-Sosh. orators say this increase is the reward of thrift and genius and industry. But Fred, poor fellow, had none of these virtues. So that the increase must have been the result of some one else's thrift, genius, and industry.

But Fred collared it.

And that's Capitalism.—"Forward."

Manifesto of the Union of Socialist Republics.

TO ALL PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD!

The Soviet republics from their very existence have been closely bound to one another by ties of working unity and mutual aid, later expressed in the form of treaties of alliance. The necessity of a joint struggle against the capitalist states attacking from without, and against counter-revolution attacking from within, has caused the Soviet republics to weld the system of the Soviets, representing the power of the workers and peasants, into one complete whole. The solidarity of the toilers has been made the means of uniting them for the realisation of fraternal co-operation amongst the liberated peoples. The Soviet republics emerged together out of the victorious proletarian revolution which overthrew the power of the landowners and capitalists. They have suffered together beneath the historical test of intervention and blockade, and have borne off the victory. After unheard-of sufferings they proceeded together to the magnificent work of restoring economics on the foundation of a new state of society.

A VOLUNTARY FEDERATION.

Although they have always been ready to place the whole of their forces and means at one another's disposal, and to lend one another mutual brotherly aid, although they are bound together by treaties of alliance, still they have none the less reciprocal relations, and the demands of the international situation have now induced them to unite in a Federal State.

The increased power of world reaction, the aggressive efforts of the imperialist governments and the resultant danger of fresh attacks, have made the union of the defensive powers of all Soviet republics in the hands of a federal centre inevitable. . . .

At their recently held Soviet Congresses the peoples of the Soviet republics unanimously resolved to found the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics, a United Federal State. This union of peoples with equal rights is a voluntary union, and excludes all feeling of national hate, and all compulsory retention of a people within the confines of this state, for EVERY REPUBLIC RETAINS THE RIGHT OF FREE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE FEDERATION, and all socialist Soviet republics, even those which may be set up in the future, are given the possibility of FREE ENTRANCE into the Federation.

THE FEDERAL COMMISSARIATS.

Having regard to the necessity of uniting all the forces of the Soviet republics for self-defence against outside attacks, it was decided to form a Joint Federal People's Military and Naval Commissariat.

The Soviet republics have been induced to establish a Joint Federal People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in view of their joint tasks and needs in relation to the capitalist states.

The necessity of completely centralising foreign trade on the principle of state monopoly, for the purpose of combating the attempts being made by capitalist states to subjugate the Soviet republics, has prompted the latter to establish a Joint Federal People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

The systematic leadership of economics demands unity in transport and traffic service, that is, the formation of Joint Federal People's Commissariats for Traffic Service, as also for Posts and Telegraphs.

The remaining branches of state activity are in part subordinate to the federal centres—each republic possessing its own centre—and in part exclusively in the hands of the separate republics. . . .

LABOUR RULE MEANS PEACE AND FRATERNITY.

The Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics, as the natural ally of the oppressed peoples, strives for the establishment of friendly and peaceful relations and for economic co-operation with all peoples. The Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics sets itself the aim of furthering the interests of the workers of the whole world. Over one vast area of the globe—from the Baltic Sea, from the Black and White Seas to the Pacific Ocean—the Federation is realising the ideal of fraternity among the peoples and of the supremacy of labour, and is at the same time striving for the friendly co-operation of the peoples of the whole world.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

The last discussion night for September will be on Wednesday the 26th inst. at No. 4, Trades Hall, when W. Bloomberg will open on "The Aims of the Social Revolution." Recent debates have turned on burning questions of the day and have called forth keen interest and controversy. All members and their friends are recommended to attend—every Wednesday at 8 except the first in the month.

More names are wanted for the Branch Choir. Send in to No. 4, Trades Hall.

* * *

YOUNG WORKERS' SPORTING ASSOCIATION.

HIKING SECTION: A hike will be held on Sunday, October 7. Details later.

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Ticket sellers for the 8th Anniversary Social held on the 8th inst., are urgently requested to send in their unsold tickets and cash for proceeds of tickets sold, to Headquarters FORTHWITH.

* * *

The "Communist International," the official magazine of the C.I., English edition, No. 24, is now obtainable at the Communist Party's Literature Department, No. 4, Trades Hall, Johannesburg, price 1/6. It contains valuable articles by Radek, Clara Zetkin, Phillips Price, Newbold, Kolaroff, E. Roy and other Communist writers of first rank. Everyone interested in the movement should get a copy.

Help Not Wanted.

When some of the members of the Young Communist League were distributing their leaflet, "Dope," to the crowd going into the Town Hall to listen to "Pussyfoot" last Monday night, an official came up and angrily demanded that they should "clear off." "We organised this meeting," he said, "not you." "It's quite all right," the Young Communist replied, "we've given out all the leaflets, except the last one. Will you have it?" The reply was an angry snort.

We do not know what "Pussyfoot" thinks about it, but his followers, at any rate, seem to consider that they have a monopoly for combating Dope. Or perhaps they object to the statement that there are other forms of Dope besides alcohol.

Booze is dope and don't you drink it.
Other dope is quite all right.
"Down with whisky"—but we think it
Wrong against the Press to fight;
Wrong to tell men that the Preacher,
Building mansions in the sky,
Deals in dope; and that the Teacher
Dopes them too, though he be dry.

E.R.R.

Release the Nine.

Petitions for the release of the remaining strike prisoners are now being issued for signature all over the country. A good beginning was made at the Wanderers Sports last Saturday when some 2,000 signatures were obtained.

Delegates to the General Release Committee have already been appointed by the S.A.M.W.U. Central, B.W.I.U., Johannesburg, and A.E.U., Johannesburg No. 2, also S.A.E.D. and F.A.

Resolutions demanding the release have already been received, for transmission to the Government, from the A.E.U., Johannesburg No. 2, Roodepoort and Alliance Branches.

Other Unions and Branches, please follow on similar lines.

Mr. L. P. Sheridan, Box 6779, Johannesburg, is now the Secretary of the Committee.

Comrade SAM BARLIN

Wishes to inform all Comrades and his Customers that he has removed his Tailoring Establishment to

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