circles in Great Britain openly back Hitler against democracy, nor do they see that the British Government is anxious to find a common language with the enemies of peace.

Secondly, the fact that the majority of Labour Party leaders allow themselves to be drawn along at the tail of the Government instead of developing a vigorous, constructive policy for collective security.

Thirdly, the difference amongst the State Labour Parties of the six States which make up the Commonwealth of Australia. In Western Australia, Queensland and Tasmania, where there are Labour Governments, the tendency is to be aligned with the policy of "collective security"—as interpreted by the British Government. But there is another tendency, as shown by the leadership in New South Wales (the most important State), of "absolute neutrality and splendid isolation." This slogan has never found enthusiastic support and is becoming more discredited from day to day. Nevertheless, due to Australia's geographical isolation, it causes confusion, weakens the Labour Movement, and its result is to help the reactionary ruling circles to sabotage the struggle against war and for collective security.

However, the growing mass movement for peace makes the elimination of these weaknesses possible and makes favourable the conditions for the election of a Labour Government on December 6.

The people are demanding a share of the "prosperity," of the increased profits enjoyed by the rich, whilst wage cuts remain and rents and prices of basic foodstuffs increase. The people are not content to bear the burden of millions for armaments.

The unity and militant opposition to the limitations of democratic rights is increasing. The banning of an anti-Fascist play at the instigation of the German Consul, corrupt police practices and bureaucratic use of the immigration laws and the literature censorship are recent events which have aroused very broad sections of the population, causing considerable embarrassment to the Government.

In the Tasmanian elections of February last, the State Labour Government won five additional electorates and now has a majority of twenty seats as against the Conservatives' ten, whilst in a Federal Referendum held early in March, in which the Federal Government asked for increased powers to control marketing and aviation, on both issues the people refused to give increased powers to this reactionary Government.

Finally, the growing unity and activity of the trade union movement, in which the Communists play a leading role, together with the growth of the Communist Party and the increase of its influence in developing the Labour Movement, enhance the possibilities of returning a Labour Government.

Such is the position and, with the democratic peace movement expanding in Britain and throughout the British Empire, the Australian people can play an important part in adding their weight to swing the scales in favour of an Empire foreign policy of collective security and peace.

HITLERISM IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IT

By A. WOODWARD

The uplift in the economy of South Africa, the considerable expansion in trade and industry derives mainly from the boom in gold-mining, the basis of South African economy.

The abandonment of the gold standard in 1932 had the effect of raising the value of gold produce in 1935 from its nominal value of £45,765,005 to the realised value of £76,532,830. It resulted in a re-starting of several old low-grade mines and the investment of large sums in opening up new mines, etc., and together with the general improvement in world trade in a boom period in the building industry, especially on the Rand, increased revenue from railways and harbours, a considerable expansion of secondary industries and an increase in the trade balance for the year.

But who are to benefit from these higher profits and increased revenues? Certainly not the diggers of gold, neither European or native. The latter constituted, in 1936, approximately nine-tenths of the workers employed in the large mines, and thus wages are approximately two shillings per day for more than 300,000 of them. Nor has benefit come to the poor whites, numbering 400,000 of the European population, driven from the land by imperialist exploitation and the agrarian crisis that still continues, a crisis which is reflected in a landed indebtedness of £100,000,000. Many of these poor whites are employed on Government relief works at from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. per day, or given employment in industry, in many cases, at wages very little above the native level.
With labour disunited and badly organised, the employers are not slow to take full advantage of this so as to prevent the workers obtaining higher wages and better conditions. However, in spite of this disadvantage, with a willingness to struggle, the workers have made slight advances in several sections of industry, i.e., transport, textiles, railways, etc. But in the gold mines the workers failed to obtain their ten per cent. increase in wages for Europeans; the owners only conceding an annual holiday with pay and a yearly grant to the Provident Fund (out of which only a fraction of the miners can ever hope to benefit). With the failure of the leadership to lead an open struggle, the owners managed to deprive the miners of any but the smallest advance to meet the rising prices and increased rents.

* * *

The growing Fascist movement constitutes the main danger in South Africa. The Nazis have not been slow to realise the strategic importance of South Africa in their war plans and their demand for colonies. Therefore, every support is given by them to the Greyshirt Fascists—the "National Workers' Party of S.A., who no doubt are receiving direct material aid and personal guidance from Nazi agents and spies who have become very numerous. The Greyshirts are reinforced by the Nazi organisation in South-West Africa, the former German colony. Here the Reichs-Bund, under the guidance of the Nazi Consul at Windhook, carry on systematic terrorism against former German citizens who refuse to give support to the plans of Hitler carried through in S.W.A. This became so great that the South African Government Commission appointed to investigate the political situation was forced to admit that this terror included even assassination.

A blow has been dealt at the activities of the Nazis in South-West Africa by the Proclamation published on April 2 curtailing the political activities in S.W.A. of non-British subjects and in particular aiming to prevent Nazi activities in S.W.A. and the recruitment of British or Union subjects for the German Army or volunteer bodies.

The Greyshirt movement was started about three years ago, mainly among the poor Afrikanders and farmers. Now they feel strong enough, with a weekly paper to support them, to come out openly in the large towns and have even commenced to break up meetings. They not only attack anti-Fascist meetings, but have also attempted to break up meetings of the United Party, when prominent members of the Government spoke.

Evidently the Nazi officials in Berlin are planning a further advance. This is shown by the departure of Admiral Foerster, who sailed recently for Tanganyika to "investigate the conditions of German citizens," after which he will also visit South-West Africa ostensibly for the same purpose. This indicates direct interference in South African affairs since the mandate of S.W.A. is held by the S.A. Government.

The Blackshirt Fascists differ in no wise from the Greyshirts. They have the same demagogic approach to the poor-white population and the intensity of their anti-Semitic propaganda is the same. They, while pretending to differ, relying more upon support from the British Blackshirts, have raised the question of the Afrikanders being of "pure Aryan" stock. Therefore, in a critical situation these two Fascist organisations will be united unless defeated beforehand by the forces of peace and democracy. Already the Blackshirts have entered electoral fights in the last provincial elections, polling over 3,500 votes in five small constituencies. But this does not end the Fascist danger.

The base for Fascist development has been widened by the adoption of an anti-Semitic programme by the Nationalist Party Conference under the leadership of Dr. Malan. The adoption of this potentially Fascist programme by the Party which constitutes the largest of the opposition parties in Parliament is a new departure.

A series of mass meetings followed the Woodstock Conference to popularise this new platform as one of opposition to the Government's new Immigration Bill. Malan demanded that the Bill include prohibition of Jewish immigration and the withdrawal of the Jewish language as a recognised European language for emigration purposes. He tabled a motion in Parliament demanding that Jewish persons be excluded from certain trades and professions, making it an offence to change their names, or to receive employment in any industry when other Europeans were available for work, etc. Thus the Nationalist Party creates favourable ground for the extension of the influence of the Fascists. This is a most dangerous development for the working-class movement, and indeed also for British imperialism when related to Fascist aggression in North Africa and the Mediterranean. It is worthy of note that the Cabinet Minister, Pirow, in charge of the defence forces and the railways and harbour services, together with two other Ministers, Grobler and Fourie, have made distinctly Fascist utterances, the former being in favour of the "return of Germany to Africa."

As the C.P.S.A. pointed out long ago, there are two roads open before the Nationalist Party: either the rank and file, who constitute a large section of the poor-whites and poor farmers, put an end to Malan's demagoguery which exploits their anti-imperialist and republican sentiments, their poverty and misery, force the leadership to bring forward an organised national demand for higher wages, relief for the unemployed at trade union rates of wages, land for the landless rural population and relief for the poor farmers, etc.,
unite with all other organisations prepared to defend peace, democracy and freedom as the only way to develop the Republican movement; or the Nationalist Party will go the inevitable road to Fascism already indicated by Malan's anti-Semitic line.

The Government, taking advantage of the economic uplift to claim all the "good things" to be a result of its own policy, is subsidising agriculture and exports, thereby winning large sections of the richer farmers away from the Nationalists and influencing backward sections of the population with their demagogy and false promises, etc.

This whole situation confronts the Communist Party of South Africa and the forces of Labour and Democracy with the urgent task of uniting and strengthening the disunited and rather weak Labour movement.

Out of 750,000 industrial proletarians, native, coloured, Asiatic and European, not more than 100,000 are organised. Therefore a tremendous field is open to developing trade unionism among the workers, especially among the natives employed in industry.

Every effort must be made, as a first step to this task, to get an understanding between the South African Trades and Labour Council—with between 50,000 and 60,000 members—and the Cape Federation of Labour—with approximately 15,000. The aim must be to establish one national T.U. centre, and one union for each industry. Having regard to the fact that every attempt is now being made by the Government and the Chamber of Mines to split existing organisations—organising withdrawal of Afrikaan-speaking members from the trade unions and creating their own unions, creating new movements among native and coloured peoples, etc.—the immediate issue becomes the need for unity within every trade union.

A magnificent contribution to the possibility of developing the mass movement was made by the organisation of the All-African Convention. This body is very representative of the native people. Fifty-two organisations attended the Bloemfontein Conference which created the A.A.C. as a permanent organisation. The representation amounted to 206 delegates from native trade unions, the African National Congress, farmers and religious societies, sports organisations, native Advisory Boards and communities, women, teachers and progressive bodies as well as the Communist Party—all native delegates representing African people.

This national movement can be given a wide mass basis by engaging the leadership of all its constituent parts in developing the national liberation movement of the native people. This can be done around the slogan: Work and Bread, Land and Liberty! Concretely carried out this means to develop the fight against the oppressive anti-native laws and taxes, using the right to elect representatives to Advisory Boards and the Representation Council in a positive way, electing only those prepared to work for raising the miserable living standards of the natives and for their democratic and equal rights as citizens. In every location, township and reserve local A.A.C. Committees elected from the people must carry through the daily work of defending the natives and must actively engage in organising natives into trade unions, and create for the A.A.C. a proletarian reinforcement.

The most tragic feature of the Labour movement is the anti-native prejudices existing in its ranks. This assists employers to engage native labour at starvation rates of wages, and reacts upon living standards in general. Demagogically the Government raises the question of a "white civilised labour policy," when the whole economy of S.A. is based upon native exploitation, there being nine natives to one European employed in gold mines, with approximately 400,000 engaged. Thus the so-called Government's white labour policy is merely an attempt to overcome the political difficulties arising from the poor-white problem, an attempt to disarm its political opponents who constantly use this problem to politically attack the Government.

Anyone who does not see this will surely fall into the trap laid for them by Generals Hertzog and Smuts. The continued employment of poor-whites, who are constantly drifting into the cities at rates of pay so low as to leave only a small margin between them and the natives, will inevitably prevent the higher-paid workers from taking full advantage of a very favourable situation, and will finally bring down wages. This can be prevented by the Miners' Union organising the natives, whom they have hitherto refused to organise, and by the South African Trades and Labour Council, as well as its affiliated unions, engaging in the task of organising natives in every industry.

Such an effort, supported by the All-African Convention, will result in raising the living standards of the natives and rob the Government and the employers of the possibility of dragging down the wage levels of the white workers.

By uniting the organised natives within the Trades and Labour Council and the A.A.C. the gulf separating the native and European workers can be bridged. The creation of fraternal relationships between these two bodies and common action upon all questions of direct interest will make it possible to smash down these prejudices and enable a real united movement to emerge.

All the necessary conditions exist for the establish-
ment of the People's Front on a mass basis. The rising Fascist danger is growing, supported by the Trotskyist gangsters, who recently united in an effort of the Greyshirts to smash up a Communist meeting in Johannesburg. The movement must be organised of all who are desirous of peace, of preserving and extending democratic liberties and satisfying the urgent needs of the poor people and landless farmers, the movement against Fascism and the war-mongers.

The perspective for such a united movement must be to obtain a Government really representative of the people, one which will make a complete break with a policy of harbouring Nazi agents on South African soil. Such a movement would commence by demanding that the Government take immediate action to put a ban on all Fascist organisations and their activity, demanding that Nazi diplomats cease their propaganda in South Africa and terrorism in South-West Africa.

Supporting such demands, the C.P.S.A. must raise the fight for the repeal of all anti-working-class and anti-native laws, restoring the right to strike, unhampered by the Industrial Conciliation Act, giving freedom of movement and democratic rights to native people now, unhampered by the Urban Areas Act and other laws; abolishing the slave conditions of natives under the Master and Servants Act and the Pass Laws, etc.

But naturally these proposals cannot be carried through without recognising that first and foremost there must be driven out of the Government all such supporters of Fascism as Pirow, Grobler and Fourie, coupled with a demand to clean the police and armed forces of all Fascists and their supporters.

Although the Labour Party Conference went on record not to affiliate to the People's Front Movement, nevertheless the supporters of the united and People's Front are not allowing things to rest at that and are anxious to come to an agreement upon even a limited platform, without giving up the right to criticise and expose the harm resulting from the unreserved support given by the Labourists to the Government's foreign policy, which is hooked-up to the policy of the British National Government, as well as their segregationist native policy.

The best representatives of the peoples of South Africa are rallying their forces to secure from the Government a change in its external policy, a change to a policy of collective security, mutual assistance and the indivisibility of peace, the abandonment of the non-intervention farce, the restoration of the full right of the Spanish Government to defend the interests of their people, and the lifting of the blockade on the Spanish Republic.

The best representatives of the South African people are bringing pressure to bear on the members of the Government to ensure that they demand of the National Government that it change its policy of support for Fascist States.

Can the Cabinet, which is pursuing its present reactionary policy, be given the possibility of increasing armaments? Can increased military power be placed in the hands of Pirow, who has openly declared Fascist sympathies? Where are the guarantees that they will really be used to defend the South African people? Under the present policy of Hertzog-Smuts they can be used, and most likely will be used, on the side of Fascism and against the workers. This is why people are saying in South Africa that there can be no support for the armaments policy of the Government.

The Communists explain to the South African people, particularly the Labour Party members and the rank and file of the Malan Party, that collective security, under a mutual assistance Pact embracing all democratic peoples, based on the League Covenant, constitute the best guarantee for South African defence.

A united people's front built upon such a platform can rally large masses of the people, and obtain a government that will really defend democracy, peace and freedom, a step in the direction of bread and work for all working people. Such a government would make the rich pay by taking away their swollen profits with which they will supply the needs of the poor farmers, etc. Such a government would end Fascist activity and restore democratic liberties, and would have the support of the entire people, who would also defend South Africa against Fascist aggression.

Such an approach would produce a platform around which a formidable bloc could unite, that would definitely challenge the existing reactionary Government at the next General Election.

To secure the carrying through of such a programme what is demanded is a complete cleansing of the Labour Movement of all Trotskyist agents of Fascism in the first place and of all those provocateurs, adventurists and other enemies who are now doing all possible to prevent the movement from attaining the maximum unity both industrially and politically. However, great care must be exercised in dealing with each individual case so as to differentiate between avowed enemies of the working class and those who are merely influenced by them.

All traitors, those who seek to disrupt the Labour movement, and all Trotskyists must be definitely exposed upon their concrete anti-working-class deeds committed in South Africa. It is not sufficient to point out that they constituted a "fifth column" of Fascism within the Soviet Union, as brought out
clearly at the Moscow trial of the anti-Soviet "Trotskyist Parallel Centre," and as they do in Spain, France, etc. The workers will sooner understand their acts of treachery and treason in South Africa if they are shown examples of the connections between the Trotskyists and Fascism. Thus that part of the Labour movement sincerely prepared to fight for unity will be able to take full advantage of this very favourable situation and confront Fascism with the forces of the working class gathered together in a powerful united front—the basis for the creation of a strong anti-Fascist people's front.

BOOK REVIEW

A POSTHUMOUS WORK OF RALPH FOX*

By T. D.

Ralph Fox, who recently fell in battle in Spain, where he fought in the ranks of the International Brigade, was not only an outstanding Party worker, but also a well-known author and literary critic.

In his book, The Novel and the People, Ralph Fox set himself the task of showing what have been the causes gradually serving to bring about the crisis of the bourgeois novel and of showing that there is a way out, the way of Socialist realism.

The book, which is written in an easy style, would be of independent interest as a popularisation of the utterances of Marx and Engels on questions of literature and art. The main theme of the book is the history of the novel, its rise, decay and re-birth.

Regarding the novel as the highest artistic product of the capitalist epoch, Fox shows how the novel writers gradually retreat from the realism of the founders of the modern novel.

This retreat from realism in England during the 19th century was conditioned by the fact that although the great realists of the "Victorian epoch"—Dickens, Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë and Mrs. Gaskell—were able to castigate the bourgeoisie, and to expose their vices, their attitude to the working people was one of a certain aloofness and weariness. And so refuge was taken in sentimentalising reality.

In France, where the class struggle developed much more fiercely, men like Flaubert, who though filled with bitter hatred for the bourgeoisie yet regarded the working class as a purely destructive force, sought refuge in "pure formalism" divorced from the sum total of life.

The development of capitalism into imperialism, the intensification of class conflicts to an hitherto unheard-of degree, the war and its accompanying destruction and then the horror of Fascism—all this increased the movement away from reality.

And so the bourgeois novel loses its inner force. Obscurantism and pessimism begin to prevail.

What is the way out? In the new realism which "must show man in action to change his conditions, to master life, man in harmony with the course of history and able to become the lord of his own destiny" (p. 101). Such is the hopeful, fighting message of Fox, who calls on the writers to link themselves with the proletariat, to imbibe their revolutionary ideology, to see in them the advanced heroic class struggling to liberate mankind. And it is in this regard that Fox spends almost an entire chapter of his book giving an outline of the epic story that could be written about the worker, printer Comrade Dimitrov, and his world-shaking victory over the Fascist barbarians.

Fox shows how many-sided such a story could be, how full of possibilities for showing the development of the Titanic figure of Dimitrov both in relation to his fellow-prisoners and in relation to the whole gang of Fascist degenerates whom he overwhelmed by the greatness of his spirit. Such a story, worthy of our epoch, a story whose treatment calls for the best that the literary art can give, stands waiting to be written by an author whose own fighting spirit and technique render him worthy of his subject.

Fox made his appeal to others to write about Comrade Dimitrov, but he himself was obviously very much attracted by this theme, as is shown by the fact that he again returns to it in the chapter following.

Fox's book is no mere theoretical tract, but a call to action, a call to writers bourgeois and proletarian.

"In the battle of ideas in the world to-day," he wrote, "the majority of the best writers of the bourgeoisie have begun to move sharply to the Left, and . . . this movement has brought them into contact with declared revolutionary writers. From this contact we may be justified in hoping that there will come the fertilisation of genius which we are seeking . . . (p. 112.)

* The Novel and the People, by Ralph Fox. London. Lawrence & Wishart. Price 5/-.