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THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

THE ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (S.A. Section of the Communist International)
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The Russian Revolution 6th Anniversary

Great Workers' Rally
Selborne Hall,
JOHANNESBURG.
Wednesday, Nov. 7.
Tickets, 2/6.

International Youth Day.

(By W. H. Andrews.)

In brilliant sunshine all the streets of Moscow were alive on Sunday morning, September 2nd, with marching, singing, cheering children and young people, wending their way joyously to the famous Red Square where they were to demonstrate their triumph at the downfall of capitalism in the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and their solidarity with the still struggling proletarian youth of the rest of the world.

Shortly after the Kremlin clock had chimed the International and struck the hour of noon, the president of the Russian Soviet Republic mounted the plain brick rostrum just in front of the garden by the old Kremlin wall where lie Lynovsky, John Reed, and five hundred unnamed heroes of the Moscow revolutionary workers. Kalinin, a small unassuming man in a grey tweed suit, was accompanied by a few leaders of the youth movement, and behind him were representatives of the various Communist and workers' organisations. On the other side of the square were the workers from the various factories; and between these two lines, kept by a few neatly uniformed militiamen or Moscow police, poured a stream of the young life of Moscow for two and a half hours. As each contingent passed the president, encouraging words were shouted and the youth cheered back. Scores of bands, thousands of banners, boys and girls in gymnastic uniform, each group or club being differently dressed, marched past proudly and in perfect order. Factory groups, peasant groups, student groups were interspersed with companies of Red Army students in various uniforms with fine bands marching like veterans. No regular army men were there excepting a few mounted Cossacks who, instead of knouting the people as in the old days, were guiding the contingents to the various exits from the square to avoid congestion and confusion. Thousands of pioneers, the equivalent of the Boy Scouts and Wolf Cubs of capitalism, with red neckcloths and staves, stretched their little legs to keep abreast of the bigger boys and girls. All cheered, all sang, all shouted. Half a dozen bands would be within earshot at one time. Then the big Red Army band opposite the saluting point would strike up the International, and the whole vast multitude would stand at the salute or bare-headed. On they came, the procession now coming along two companies abreast in order to get through in time.

An element of carnival was introduced—grotesque figures of capitalists, Klu Klux Klan in black with masks, Fascisti black shirts, clowns pulling "N.E.P." men back who were trying to climb into a wagon containing barrels of food, etc. A party of Chinese or Mongolian youths in their native dress came along; Turkestan youths in huge white turbans and red robes; companies of young sailors dragging a big model of an aeroplane. Another party carried four gallows on which hung effigies of capitalist statesmen—Mussolini, Horthy, etc. Youth battalions armed with rifles passed, motor lorries filled with children; the endless pageant continued, but no one seemed to tire of it, the processionists least of all, many of whom had been marching since nine and would not reach their homes in the distant suburbs till three or four.

No one could doubt, after seeing this magnificent turn-out of the future citizens of Moscow, that the Soviet Government is secure in the hands of clever and devoted statesmen and a heroic army, but in THE HEARTS of the young people who are only anxious about one thing outside serving Soviet Russia, and that is the progress made by the proletariat in other lands in the direction of throwing off the age-long tyranny of the exploiters

"White South Africa"—How it Strikes a Contemporary.

We sometimes flatter ourselves as a party organ that we are free from race prejudice, but we often get a reminder that this is far from true; that we are in many respects at least as ignorant of the natural outlook of native people as some of their most enlightened representatives are of the natural outlook of white workers; and that our very plea for co-operation between the black and white workers owes little ice because it is mainly urged in the sole interest of the white workers. Here is a cutting from the "Workers' Herald," Capetown, organ of the (native) "I.C.U." or Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, which reveals a flash of [illegible] think on these questions. Addressing the [illegible] "IF YOU [illegible] THE [illegible] A [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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Labour's Commercial "Friends."

Prominent Trade Unions are making eyes at "the commercial community" and appeals to the Chambers of Commerce in the hope that these will realise their dependence on white working class custom and their impending collapse if that custom disappears. No doubt it is true that "the little middle class, the small shopkeepers, tradespeople, peasant proprietors, handicraftsmen and peasants, all these classes sink into the proletariat"; but they have to sink first, their class outlook changes only after their economic position changes; and by that time they have ceased to belong to "the commercial community," and still more to the Chambers of Commerce. The Chambers of Commerce here represent the firms with big capital, more or less closely connected with if not supported by the leading mining and financial houses, and therefore, as we pointed out last week, they follow the political lead of those houses even though their customers are often largely of the working class; and after all, there is other custom to be thought of—e.g., Municipal orders and the like. . . .

An illustration of this occurred in Johannesburg this week, when the Chamber of Commerce issued a circular to all its members about certain mail contract matters of no urgent importance, which might probably have awaited the next summons to a general meeting or the like. The urgency was discovered in the other matter enclosed in the same envelope, viz., A LETTER FROM THE RATEPAYERS' FEDERATION pointing out the extreme NECESSITY OF DEFEATING THE LABOUR-NATIONALIST CANDIDATES in the approaching elections, and requesting individual help from every member of the Chamber of Commerce in support of the Ratepayers' candidates, e.g., by lending motor cars, etc.; together with a COVERING LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER ASKING, IN ITS NAME, FOR COMPLIANCE WITH THAT REQUEST.

This should teach the S.A.E.D. and F.A. and the S.A.M.W.U. to think twice before asking for the cooperation of Chambers of Commerce, whose members are the chief patrons, by the way, of churches, missions, Y.M.C.A.'s (white and black), welfare societies, Joint Councils of Europeans and natives and so on—incidentally betraying the real character of many of these institutions.

These then are the champions to whom white workers feel driven to appeal, and the reply to that appeal is only redoubled effort against the parties of the white workers. And now the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce has replied to the Union circular in a letter so typical that we could have written every word of it for them. In vain is the "more purchasing power" net spread in sight of the commercial bird for all his hunger for purchasers; the stereotyped reply is "work as cheap as coloured men or be unemployed, and a fig for your custom; we are all for the mining and agricultural 'industries' which can do without you." Blind perhaps, but hardly blinder than those who look to them, or to bourgeois social credit stunts, for salvation!

Darwinism and Marxism.

Taken in a broadly materialist and dialectic sense, Marxism is the application of Darwinism to human society. Manchester liberalism has attempted to fit Darwinism mechanically into sociology. Such attempts have only led to childish analogies veiling a malicious bourgeois apologia; Marx's competition was explained as the "eternal" law of the struggle for existence. These are absurdities. It is only the inner connection between Darwinism and Marxism which makes it possible to grasp the living flow of Being in its primeval connection with inorganic nature; in its further particularisation and evolution; in its dynamics; in the differentiation of the necessities of life among the first elementary varieties of the vegetable and animal kingdoms; in its struggles; in the appearance of the "first" man or manlike creature, making use of the first tool; in the development of primitive co-operation, employing associative organs; in the further stratification of society consequent on the development of the means of production, that is, of the means of subjugating nature; in class warfare; and, finally, in the struggle for the uplift of the classes.

L. TROTZKY.

"Honour" or Mastery?

A case of a white man's alleged rape on a white girl was published in an obscure corner of a back page of the "Mail" recently, with never even a whisper of [illegible]. Another white rape charge has just resulted in an acquittal—no one made any fuss. A [illegible] of two years and six lashes on a [illegible] for [illegible] his [illegible] when he brought [illegible] under the impression [illegible] not [illegible] he did, [illegible]

[illegible] upholding so [illegible] the [illegible] in [illegible] for [illegible]

S.A.L.P. and the Poll Tax.

A CORRECTION.

Mr. G. H. Kretzschmar, M.P.C., on behalf of the South African Labour Party, has taken exception to a paragraph in last week's "International" which spoke of the Transvaal poll tax as a step taken by the Labour-Nationalist majority in the Provincial Council. The facts are, he says, that this tax was passed and maintained by the Nationalist-S.A.P. majority in the teeth of the Labour vote to the contrary. We much regret our error—a plain case of having been taken in by the false insinuations of the Capitalist Press. The error will hardly have had the effect of inducing anyone to vote S.A.P., for the S.A.P. would not abolish the poll tax anyway; rather it would place taxation yet more heavily on the shoulders of those least able to afford it. Still, it is no doubt easier for a voter to vote even Nationalist if he knows that the other party to the pact at any rate was not responsible for the tax, although for our part we have always urged electors to vote opposition no matter how great the sins of either of these opposition parties. The position must be faced that heavy and heavier taxation is necessary whatever party is in power, and not least under Communist Government as in Russia; and the proper task of Labour is not just to move to abolish taxes, but to struggle for the power to impose them on the rich (for instance, by confiscating all deceased estates over a certain figure, as in Russia); and when you have got that far, you are nearly, if not quite, in a position to go further and confiscate capitalist property altogether for the benefit of the workers.

Pious Communists of Capetown.

Amongst the ancient archives of the Cape Parliament there is a law which decrees that we must hold sacred the Sabbath day. It is known as the "Sunday Observancy Act." It stipulates that we must neither delve or spin, nor indulge in any form of recreation, or deal in merchandise. When the Capetown Communists were prosecuted by the authorities for selling the "International" on Sundays, a Cape Magistrate agreed that they were not merchants. The Attorney-General, having had a recent reverse at our hands, sought to score again against us by appealing against the Magistrate's decision. Judge Searle agreed with him, that the Capetown Communists, if nobody else, were to be pious people, and not do such wicked things as sell the "International" on Sundays. We Communists, in keeping with our righteous principles, bow (provisionally and without prejudice) in acquiescence, and feel elated that the authorities and their collaborators realise at last how soul-inspiring is our creed.

Other citizens of various orders are obviously hopeless. The Capetown Highlanders for instance cannot be expected to consider anything sacred; the very form of their occupation denies it; and hence a meeting in aid of their Kilt Fund, and the sale of programmes at 2/- each on Sunday, was no crime to these people. They were not prosecuted, no doubt on the ground that it is impossible to make them as pious and righteous as the Communists. So we pass them by.

We turn now to our City Fathers who recently, robed in surplice and wig, appeared before the sacred pulpit of the Dutch Reformed Church to set a pious example to their children the citizens. This is obviously rather a pose to the gallery than an observance of sacred laws, for they not only refuse to regard the Sabbatarian Acts of Parliament, but cater to make special financial gains from their Sunday undertakings. The toll at the Pier of 3d. per head and additional "extras" is one of them. Sunday concerts, sometimes of rag-time selections, and the sale of programmes, are another.

They also induce mixed bathing at the Municipal Pavilions, without restrictions of attire, hence the exhibition of the Female Form Divine to attract the amorous youth of our city—in the interest of their takings. A dear old lady, it was said, was shocked to notice our Attorney-General amongst them. It was argued, however, that, he being a mere observer of the laws for those who, he considers, ought to be piously concerned, like the Communists, it does not necessarily follow that he should observe those laws himself; in fact, his very presence there was a proof of it. Woe unto him and the Sabbath-breakers in such garb of familiarity, could the makers of these sacred laws behold them! The Communists have no such fears. We, like the ancients, still preach against the scribes and Pharisees religiously on Sundays, and demand that the workers of the world shall redeem themselves from such false standards.

WILFRID H. HARRISON.

A Free Press (?).

To say that the newspaper press represents public opinion is to administer insult to intelligent men. It is the property of speculators, political leaders, large contractors, and railway directors. Can we expect the truth through channels of falsehood, light from [illegible] of darkness, or fairness from those whose business it is to calumniate, pervert and deceive? Certainly not.

Hence the need of an organ that should be beyond taint of corruptions, invulnerable against [illegible], and [illegible] by men who feel it their mission to teach the truth they have acquired by hard toil and [illegible].

—Karl Marx.

From Intelligentsia to Communism.

AT THE GRAVE OF ANTOINE KER, OF THE FRENCH C.P.

(By Karl Radek.)

Our late Comrade Ker affords an illustration of the general development of a Communist who came to us from the ranks of the intelligenzia, and who had to fight obstinately against many prejudices hindering him from becoming a complete Communist.

When Comrade Ker, at the end of the war—he served in the army and thus did not participate in the struggle of ideas during the war—had worked his way through to Communism, he belonged to the left wing of the party. He was in favour of separation from the reformists, and for affiliation to the Comintern. He co-operated with the comrades of the Left until the outbreak of the sharp conflict between these comrades and Frossard and the Right. Our friends of the Left felt themselves bitterly disappointed in him at this time, and regarded him as a deserter.

When Ker came to Moscow to the Fourth Congress I had a detailed conversation with him.

In reply to my question whether he did not observe that Frossard was merely accepting the resolutions of the Comintern in order to sabotage them, Ker replied: "I fear that without Frossard, without his intelligence and without his organising ability, we shall not be able to realise our aims even gradually. We shall merely remain a closed circle of pure Communists. This is the reason that induced me to leave the Left, in order to avert the danger of Frossard's expulsion."

On the evening of the same day upon which this conversation took place, a dramatic scene occurred in the French Commission of the Congress. Comrade Trotzky was speaking of the circumstance that the Party had not yet broken with the decadent past of the French Labour movement, a past in which members given responsible posts by the Party still maintained connection with the bourgeoisie by contributing to burgeois newspapers, and at times even by membership of Freemasons' lodges. "I am informed," said Comrade Trotzky, "that some of the leading comrades are still members of Freemasons' lodges. When Serrati, at the II. Congress, made the demand that the twenty-one conditions be supplemented by another one breaking with Freemasonry, it appeared to us as if he were joking, as if he were suggesting something similar to withdrawal from some order of Jesuits. I do not know," continued Trotzky, "if it is true that the secretary of the party, and leading members of the Parliamentary fraction, are members of Freemasons' lodges, as we are informed."

These words took effect like the lash of a whip. Trotzky stood erect amidst the French comrades. Ker turned pale and let his head sink. For a moment an oppressive silence reigned. Then Ker's quiet voice was heard: "With regard to me, Comrade Trotzky, you are correctly informed." Trotzky turned brusquely to the worker from Frossard's fraction seated at his left. He laid his hand on his shoulder and addressed him in sharp and cutting sentences: "Do you know what Freemasons are? Do you know that they are AN ORGANISATION OF BOURGEOIS CAREER HUNTERS, WHO GOVERN THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE OF FRANCE, AND DECEIVE THE WORKERS WITH THE AID OF DEMOCRATIC PHRASES, IN THE INTERESTS OF PLUTOCRACY? And a proletarian like you permits it that the secretary of the party belongs to a Freemasons' lodge?" Ker rose to his feet: "Up to now there has been no resolution forbidding membership of a Freemasons' lodge. I have continued my membership out of laziness, but shall give it up if the Party demands it."

"It is the first time in my life," Trotzky told me next day, "that I found myself compelled to fire at any one from such close quarters. If he is cured, he must not be given up for lost; but it seems to me that, for the moment, he must be crossed off the list of speakers." We informed Comrade Cachin. Ker agreed without objection.

On returning to France afterwards, and after withdrawing from the Party Secretariat and the "Humanite," he did not, however, follow Frossard and desert us, but remained in the Party. We were now certain that Ker could be kept for the Party. He had recognised the justice of our standpoint, and grasped the fact that HE WHO INTENDS TO BE A COMMUNIST MUST BREAK OFF EVERY LINK WITH THE PAST, EVERY BOND WITH THE BOURGEOIS WORLD. He bore with resignation his temporary isolation and removal from a leading position. His behaviour proved him to be a true champion of Communism.

The Communist International and the Communist Party of France, lose in Ker a valuable and excellent worker. He was the more faithful and valuable fighter for having won his membership card after a severe internal struggle, and by a victory over inner doubts. Only that which has been won by struggle is durable. Ker's powers are now lost to the Party. May his example be an encouragement to the many who have not yet been able to bring themselves to break with the past, to conquer all half-heartedness and join our ranks without reserve. Ker's case forms but a brief episode in the story of the great difficulties of the young Communist movement. We do not hew our Communist Parties out of granite just taken from the earth, but we form them out of elements bequeathed to us by the Labour Movements of the past, and have to carry out the difficult task of remoulding old material. And we find remnants of the old ideas not only among the intellectuals joining the Communists, BUT IN THE WORKING CLASS ITSELF. These difficulties can only be overcome by obstinate and determined struggle, in which it must never be forgotten that there is still much valuable material which may be utilised for the construction of a new society, and that none of this must be thrown away.

The Sacred Trust.

A recent article in the "Socialist Review," London (I.L.P.), contains a somewhat interesting exposure of how Australia exercised its League of Nations' mandate over the ex-German island of Nauru in the Pacific Ocean. The spoliation of the natives and the practical confiscation of the rich mineral wealth of this island by Great Britain, New Zealand and Australia is fitting commentary on the power and efficacy of the League of Nations.

This island, estimated to be worth at least £350,000,000, with a wealth of rich phosphate deposits, is the stage of one of the most brazen pieces of roguery yet recorded. The vast farming potentialities of Australia naturally enabled the Australian Government to at once appreciate the value of these phosphate deposits. That, of course, is Imperialist Psychology. But the Australian methods, due to immaturity and being a very young Imperialism, are rough and crude and lack the diplomatic finesse of Great Britain, and consequently we get a somewhat brutal realness in her explanations. The Australian Minister for the Navy is quoted as giving the following explanation to the Federal Parliament: "When the war broke out two gentlemen came to interview me. They understood the Pacific Islands well, and pointed out the enormous prospective value of Naura. As a result I made arrangements that the Australian flag should be hoisted at once on Naura, because it was essential that we should make our claim early. The Government acted with promptitude, a ship was immediately dispatched, and the Australian flag was hoisted at Naura."

This gentleman, Kelly is his name, went on to say that only "official stupidity" enabled Great Britain and New Zealand to get "a share in the spoils." An interesting "most secret" telegram is quoted as having been sent to Mr. Hughes from the Government, while he was attending the Peace Conference. This telegram urged him to put up the "fight of his life" for possession of Naura, and contained the following:

"Naura is the one island whose receipts exceed its expenditure. Its phosphate deposits mark it of considerable value not only as a purely commercial proposition, but because the future productivity of our continent depends on such a fertiliser."

No nonsense about THAT! Straight talking, I calls it, "Guv'ner." No running any risk here of being misunderstood through the use of "diplomatic" language. It is true that a later message added that he must not "make it appear that Australia was grabbing at a valuable asset."

Certainly not! It is purely the welfare of the natives, is it not? They need liberating! You only want to "Christianise" them and dress them up in a "Democratic Constitution"! As the writer of this remarkable article, W. Francis Ahearn, caustically observes, the British warship commander had "learned with great sorrow how they had been tyrannised by the Germans, and he gave them a message of Hope, Liberation, Democracy, etc."

And the natives need such a message. Wages one half-penny per ton for phosphate which was sold to the farmers at £6 10s. per ton! Other astounding figures are given such as that while SIR JOSEPH COOK was assuring the League of Nations that Australia was looking after the welfare of the natives, they were paying them at the rate of 5s. for 216 hours' work!

And at the same moment as this article appears in the "Socialist Review," MacDonald, Henderson and Co. are endeavouring to have the care of the Ruhr handed over to this League of Nations! As the writer states, "it is a sordid business!"

—"The Communist International."

What about Renewing Your Sub. to the "International"!

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"On Safe and Wise Lines."

LAST WEEK'S EUROPEAN AND NATIVE CONFERENCE IN JOHANNESBURG.

Reference has been made more than once recently to the famous picture in the Kremlin at Moscow, showing the Tsar warning a group of peasant representatives not to believe the rumours that the land was to be given over to the peasants, and to remember that his was the kingdom, the power and the glory, and it would be the worse for them if they dared to put up other than "legitimate" demands, or to lose their respect for religion and government. "Such pictures make one understand why there has been a revolution in Russia," wrote Comrade Andrews in the "International" last week—a revolution that abolished the Tsardom, took the land from the landlords, and gave it, and freedom, to the peasants.

A somewhat similar scene was enacted last week at two conferences of natives, one with the Government at Pretoria, the other nominally with the Dutch Reformed Church and its allies at the Wesleyan Hall, Johannesburg. No doubt the analogy is not exact; the "British method" is to be as reticent as possible about the naked use of force and to rely more upon dope to keep the masses in subjection. But after all, the religious Russian was, indeed still is, at least as dope-ridden as the South African native, and the South African native in his turn has had, and still fears, at least as big a bellyful of lead and steel as did the subjects of the Tsar.

More apposite is the case of the notorious Puruskevich, member of the Russian Duma and of the Black Hundred. When his associates forboded trouble from the admission of Socialists into the Duma he reassured them with the advice: "Let them come in and have their say; we will deal with them as a clever husband deals with his wife—we will consult them and confer with them AND THEN DO WHAT WE LIKE."

THE "NATIVE QUESTION"—ACCORDING TO THE BOURGEOSIE.

The object of both conferences was probably to bring the Cape more into line with the more repressive and reactionary conditions, as regards natives, of the Northern Provinces—of course under camouflage.

The Pretoria conference resolved itself into a subcommittee discussion on matters of legal drafting, and little could have been expected of it. But the Johannesburg Conference seemed at first blush to promise much more. "The native question" generally and "the proper attitude of the Churches towards the grievances and aspirations of the native people" were its published topics. Alas, it proved only another Tsar's warning, only another case of Puruskevich's advice, couched in professional or clerical language. There was prayer and smoodging; but the Bantu were sent empty away. It was obvious to anyone who attended the conference that only selected native speakers dared, or were competent, out of a body of delegates themselves also obviously selected under strong Church influence (compare Smuts' and Hoy's recent Railway Conferences), to open their mouths; and these were mostly speakers more or less permeated with bourgeois dope unable or unwilling to state the full native demands. The claim of a subject race for complete breaking of its chains, of a people dispossessed of land for its complete restoration, of a people without schools or homes for both, and so on—all this was taboo at this conference. Throughout, NOT A WORD WAS BREATHED ABOUT HIGHER WAGES; evidently these are to be awaited in the next world.

As for the Pass Laws, for the repeal of which natives by the hundred have suffered and been persecuted, the subject was, as far as the reports go, apparently not discussed at all. In these holy-water surroundings anything so vulgar, so disloyal, so rebellious would apparently not be considered respectable.

And the character and control of the discussion is significantly indicated by the fact that the conference actually BY A VERY LARGE MAJORITY REJECTED a motion for compulsory (which means universal) native education! In short, as the prospectus said, the Conference was to deal with the natives' "LEGITIMATE" aspirations; and of course the promoters of the Conference, predominantly bourgeois whites, were to be the judges of what is "legitimate"; the bourgeoisie will consider native advancement only if controlled by the bourgeoisie. To them the "native question" is not the natural or even the actual "demand" of the natives; IT IS ONLY THE QUESTION HOW, IN THE INTEREST OF THE EXPLOITERS, TO RESIST THAT DEMAND, to temporise and dilly-dally with it, to divert it into "safe" channels, to preserve "our" position substantially unimpaired.

THE DEMAND FOR THE LAND.

And so, as regards the land for instance, although a native speaker could venture to say "the land question is the native question," the discussion was gently led off into bypaths about what length of leasehold (freehold being refused) might be allowed in certain locations, or into nicely balanced resolutions drafted by professors about "the kind of segregation that we mean"—which certainly does not include anything calculated, through "segregating" native workers out of the labour market, to mitigate the eternal lowering of wage standards to "Kaffir level"; indeed the opposition to "squatting" points the other way—evidently native wage labour is cheaper to the farmer than native squatting. In effect. THE WHITE MAN'S CRY FOR SEGREGATION COMES TO MEAN "THE MOST AND THE BEST OF THE LAND FOR THE WHITES, AND THE NATIVE TAKE THE HINDMOST"; or to quote Mr. Stallard: "The S.A.P. will not tolerate the intrusion of the black or coloured man in the sphere of white men." True, English parsons begged landowners to give up some of their land to swell the miserable "Reserves," but what a hope, especially against the overwhelming demand for cheap labour on mines and farms! And as for a free land market, the Dutch Moderator truly if cynically remarked that, with Europeans free to purchase land where they pleased, natives would not get much. (Note that Mr. Stallard having been too blunt, a KEPT native paper comes to the rescue by saying he does not represent the S.A.P.!)

THE DEMAND FOR THE VOTE.

As for the franchise, the native claim was fobbed off in quite a "short way" with a resolution about "training the native peoples on safe and wise lines" in Native Councils on native affairs (already established by a 1920 law but NEVER PUT INTO OPERATION because forsooth "the natives have not insisted on it," and in any case quite beside the point).

THE DEMAND FOR SCHOOLS.

Coming to education, again, the best the Conference could do was to urge that native education come under Government control (in relief of private financial support, of course); with special attention to hygiene (but never a word about the necessary bathrooms, an immediate demand on which natives generally should concentrate) and also to reformatories (to think that the natives have already been brought down, through landlessness, unemployment, and urban overcrowding, to that level!) Play was made, of course, with the now fashionable bourgeois cry against bookish over-education. "Look at Europe to-day," said Lord Robert Cecil the other day; "it is 'educated' people that have made it what it is"; and a predikant at the Cape Nationalist Conference said: "It is science that has helped to plunge Europe into chaos." In other words, "leave higher education to the ruling class, to whom it is a useful aid to maintaining their government; as for the masses, teach them vocational subjects, make them good workers, in agriculture and industry, for their exploiters' profit." In any case, education is a comparatively harmless gift, for, as another Cape Nationalist speaker said, it is DESIGNED TO KEEP PEOPLE STUPID. Altogether, we were reminded of the bourgeois control of the Workers' Educational Associations.

THE GRIP OF RELIGION.

Above all, religion was stressed as a necessary part of the curriculum; in a word, the Church, that secular servant of the ruling class (and the Dutch Reformed Church especially represents the S.A.P. landowning interest) must be put in control, on behalf of its masters, of native civilisation; just as the Churches in Europe are filled with domestic servants, their masters attending just to set them an example. Keep them meek and lowly, and "we" are safe; as one speaker said, "but for what religion there is in the compounds, life would not be safe in industrial crises"—for "us" of course; native life is never safe. "Fear God, honour the King" is modernised into "FOLLOW CHRIST AND TRUST THE GOVERNMENT"; but not, as 1,900 years ago, as a matter of slaves' tactics but as the deliberate policy of the masters.

THE QUESTION OF ALL QUESTIONS.

We have only to imagine the confusion in this camp if Christ should happen to have appeared on the scene in the shape of a native, as indeed Christianity did flourish for a time among the slaves of Imperial Rome. Or, to come to realities, contrast the big humanity and grasp of THE ESSENCE OF THE SITUATION—IMPERIALIST EXPLOITATION—voiced at, say, the Congress of Toilers of the East convoked early last year by the Communist International. "THE QUESTION OF THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE COLONIAL NATIONS," said Zinoveiv at that Congress, "will remain on the order of the day until the proletariat, through the Communist International, consummates the final victory over the bourgeois system. It is upon this question more than any other that the Comintern has abruptly broken with the damnable tradition of the Second International which led to the victory of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat in the memorable days of the imperialist war. THIS IS THE QUESTION OF ALL QUESTIONS, THIS IS THE CENTRAL KNOT OF WORLD POLITICS AND OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD."

HOW LABOUR HAS SHIRKED THE ISSUE.

How has the working class movement of South Africa approached the question? Is it not a scandal that we have allowed the bourgeoisie and its Churches to monopolise the civilisation, such as it is, of the natives, and thus to enlist their confidence, control their outlook and engender, among other things, the current native view that "the white Trade Union is A GREATER ENEMY TO HIM THAN THE CAPITALISTS THEMSELVES"—a view that has vitally assisted the capitalists in their attacks on the white workers' standards?

"A SINISTER MOVEMENT."

Contrast again the publicity of this Dutch Reformed Church white and black conference with the atmosphere of secrecy, "sinister, underground secret meetings, menace to society, etc.," spread whenever any section of labour has ventured to put its point of view before the native people.

When white working class propagandists have conferred with native workers, not only the newspapers but the C.I.D., the bishops, the magistrates, the auctioneers and their clerks, the petty bourgeoisie, the bar loafers, even many of the white workers themselves, have execrated, pelted, threatened, mobbed them; "White Kaffirs," "Enemies of society," "Kaffir kings," etc., etc., were the daily epithets, and many of those concerned, both black and white, were arrested, and fantastic efforts made to secure a conviction. But no mobs, no C.I.D., no "Sunday Times" vernacular, worried the meetings at the Wesleyan Hall; the benediction of those who understood what was being done for capitalism was tempered only by the ignorance and indifference of the rest.

This conference is treated as novel, perhaps, but as perfectly respectable, just like the "Joint Councils" of Europeans and natives—which admit no "Bolsheviks." The difference is of course, as this contrast in treatment shows, that the dope at the Dutch Reformed Church conference is INNOCUOUS—TO "US," whereas that issued by the Socialists is highly dangerous—to "us." Does the working class movement then take sides with this "us"—with the bourgeoisie? Impossible. Well then, let the working class movement henceforth defy all the mystery-mongers and claim the example of the Dutch Reformed Church conference as a precedent for perfectly OPEN CONFERENCES ON THE BASIS OF THE COMMON INTERESTS OF ALL THE WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA; refusing to be deterred by the snorts of the "Sunday Times," the C.I.D. or even those of the working class itself whose ideas on this subject are based not on the actualities of the working class position but on the same psychology of a small possessing class that permeated most of the discussions at the Wesleyan Hall—WHERE THE "SINISTER" PROPAGANDA IS REALLY DONE.

AWAY WITH BOURGEOIS PRECONCEPTIONS!

But if the Labour Movement is to make up the leeway and get ahead of the other side in this matter, it must do so as a Labour Movement only, and in no way as a bourgeois or petty bourgeois movement. To do that it must take the widest possible view of the POSITION OF SUBJECT RACES UNDER IMPERIALIST CAPITALISM, and not be limited to the outlook of white men struggling against fearful odds for a job or a decent wage, although this is where their interest in the matter originates. Not, of course, that the sense of struggle and wrong is misdirected; but it is the KNOWLEDGE OF THE WAY OUT that needs all the study and discussion, as against the blind passion for "machine breaking" as it were, or in this case Kaffir head-smashing, that comes first with many of us still. LABOUR'S "NATIVE QUESTION" IS AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT THING FROM CAPITALISM'S "NATIVE QUESTION"—all the difference between co-operation and exploitation. The apparent difficulties in the way are soon discovered to be not labour difficulties at all but BOURGEOIS DIFFICULTIES, placed there by capital to serve capital's purposes—race prejudice, language inaccessibility (fostered by the missionary education), competition for jobs, wage inequality and so on. But class conscious labour cannot for ever be put off like this. We are coming to recognise that the current white attitude towards "the native" is the attitude of the exploiter, AND THEREFORE UTTERLY FOREIGN AND ABHORRENT TO THE WORKER. The overthrow of the exploiting basis of society is the only way out—not for the benefit of one section of the exploited only, but of all. We know now by experience that Organisation of only one section of the anti-capitalist elements, at arm's length with the rest, spells defeat. But organisation and co-operation of them all, of white and coloured as of adult and juvenile and male and female, makes victory a question of immediate practical politics.

While Rome Burns.

THE MEANING OF AN UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT.

For two and a half years now a large proportion of the white workers of this country have been unemployed. For eighteen months the number has steadily and consistently grown until throughout the country hundreds of thousands are living in great poverty, bordering upon starvation; some of them have been like this for years. Their condition has now come to be taken as a matter of course. Nobody thinks twice about them. They have become, as it were, a permanent feature of our civilisation.

Yet even if one pauses to reflect for even a moment, the fact that one out of every seven wage-earners is unable to earn a wage, that these hundreds of thousands (counting their families) have been starving slowly since the autumn of 1922, acquires a deep significance. It is seen at once not as a permanent feature, explicable in lecture rooms, of a continuing system of civilisation, but as a sign that this civilisation is waning to its end.

But obviously we do not see it in this way. [illegible], though remarkable, is this by any means [illegible] to explain. The historic parallel is not [illegible] to find. It is clear to us to-day that [illegible] the Roman Empire had begun to [illegible], no one, or at any rate no body of [illegible] seems to have been capable of under[illegible] exactly what was taking place. Poli- [illegible]

In all our surroundings, in all the news of foreign events, the thing of the very greatest importance is the existence in the civilised world of millions of men and women who have no work to do, and have not had work for thirty months.

Confronted with what is euphemistically called "the slump," our Government finds itself completely incapable of providing any measure by which to surmount the difficulty. Its attitude is really no different from that of the financiers, commercial men, and petty traders who keep repeating that there is bound very shortly to be a revival of trade. Save for this parrot cry no foresight has been or is being shown anywhere. What of the unemployed? As for them they, like the other workers, would have to "grin and bear it." The Government was not particularly concerned, provided that "wages came down to an economic level"; and the relief work measures attempted, even if adequate, are only aimed at keeping a few on the starvation line, and perhaps assisting in preventing those few from becoming totally unemployable. By these very relief schemes our Government discovers its own complete lack of any settled outlook on the future and, at the same time, contrives to make the lot of the white workers—employed and unemployed alike—a little worse. The consistent policy has been, and is, to prevent the unemployed from becoming a crying nuisance on the one hand, and, on the other, to drive them to seek sustenance at the cost of working below standard rates of [illegible] the evil. [illegible], as regards the bringing of wages to an economic level, has been very successful. But that success has done nothing towards solving the problem. The Labour Movement has been defeated; the unemployed have been defeated, but—unemployment has not been defeated, and the measure of the Governments fundamental helplessness is in the repetition of the magic words "There is every sign of a trade revival."

But if the leaders of capitalism have been no better than witch-doctors, the leaders of Labour have been like the ignorant believers in witchcraft. The white working class, down and out, has no organisation worthy of the name, and the most remarkable thing is that unemployment is treated by the Labour leaders as a "question" and a "problem" instead of being itself a call to action of the whole of the workers. Actually, instead of this call to action, the unemployed were abandoned, thrown back upon themselves. They were left to organise themselves—for themselves. Then began the SEPARATE organisation of the unemployed—an incredible thing! To organise the unemployed was to reject the possible and obvious, and, instead, to attempt the impossible. Nevertheless, in desperation, this impossible thing was attempted, and the fundamentally unsound idea of organising an evil was put into operation, and the separateness of the organisation was allowed to develop. There was little or no contact between the organised (more or less) white workers and the unemployed. The Unions did nothing; the Labour Party did nothing. It was only a few individuals who, in their leading of the unemployed, tried to make the out-of-works feel that they were part and parcel of the working class, and that they must act, not as organised blacklegs, but against blacklegging, against rate-cutting, and against acceptance of sweated and starvation conditions. The Unemployed Committee was, and is, only an agitational Committee with a limited objective, and for the especial use of the unemployed. From its very nature it could be nothing else, and its activities are confined to forcing home to the brain (?) of both Labour and Capitalist leaders that unemployment is something that demands, not theoretical discussings and pretty phraseology, but action—and action guided by an outlook on the future.

The peculiar thing noticeable is that, with the exception of a few shellbacks, all public men, editors, parsons and so on agree that upon this vital question we are drifting. It would seem that, with the unemployed themselves, the whole community awaits the inevitable eruption and only wonders when it will happen. Thus our big army of unemployed loses faith in both sides. Regarding anything the Government might do they are cynical, and they have no faith in the modern species of Trade Unionism, wherein they witness only the spectacle of Trade Union officials' minds moving in the narrow circle of wondering whether next month's contributions will be sufficient to pay the salaries.

For everything which is going wrong—and nearly everything is going wrong—this failure to deal with unemployment is responsible. Whatever either side attempts—Labour or Capital—this dogs their footsteps. However society may burke it, there is the grinning skeleton.

"So long as poverty and want on the one hand witnesses wealth and plenty on the [illegible], there can be no peace."

HARRY [illegible]

The Gaol Delivery Campaign.

The Strike Prisoners' Release Committee held a well-attended meeting at the office of the S.A.M.W.U., Johannesburg, last Sunday. Representatives of the S.A.M.W.U., S.A.E.D. and F.A., several branches of the B.W.I.U. and A.E.U., W.T.A., and Unemployed Committee, together with prominent members of the Nationalist, Labour and Communist parties, were in attendance. Arrangements were made for forthcoming Mayors' meetings as well as for the furthering of the release petition, signatures to which already number some 10,000, and for a publicity campaign in such Press organs as are likely to publish the reports supplied. Attention was called to the similar movements proceeding in many other countries, and also to the possibility of the Committee taking up the case of other equally "political" prisoners now behind capitalist bars—such as Abraham Morris, for instance.

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.

The Cape Nationalist Congress has also passed a resolution calling for an amnesty for the strike prisoners.

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

The Open Door.

A "SECRET printing press for printing Communist literature" is reported to have been discovered in Berlin. Makes your flesh creep, Henry, doesn't it, until you reflect that Germany is flooded with Communist newspapers and literature every day, printed and published very much in the open. They talk in the same way about Russia, as if it were some unknown Thibet—so that they can go on telling lies about it. And when white Communists in the past have met with native workers for propaganda purposes, a whole web of suspicion and funk is spun by the Press, with its dark hints about "sinister plots," "secret meetings," etc., although the bourgeoisie and the parsons and the Y.M.C.A.'s hold similar meetings quite openly, last week for instance, and the only secret about it is that their meetings are really held for the really sinister purpose of "keeping the nigger in his place." Away with the air of mystery! Insist on publicity! The open door is the best policy against Fascism, pogroms, lynching, White Leagues and all the sons of Belial and darkness!

The League of Nations, having censured South Africa for its dealing with the Bondelswarts, admits the last resort of the old slave trade, Abyssinia, to its councils, just to show there's no ill-feeling, you know!

A Triumph for Comintern and Commonsense.

Comrade S. M. Pettersen, of Durban, who has recently returned from Europe, gives an interesting account of the progress of the Norwegian Communist Party, numerically the strongest in Europe, he says, in proportion to population. After the Fourth Congress of the Communist International last year the Norwegian Party jibbed at the new resolution adopted by the Congress whereby the Comintern Executive was elected as a whole by the Congress and not composed of direct nominees of the separate sections. Comrade Pettersen attended the Party Congress held at Christiania to decide for or against a secession from the Third International, at which Bukharin, on behalf of the Communist International Executive, attended to defend the Congress resolution. Workmen, however, were brought over from Russia by the opposition, to decry working conditions there, to rail against "Moscow dictatorship," and to play on the natural antipathy to the apparent surrender, in the form of concessions, of the very principles fought for in the revolution. Such demands for immediate complete Communism in Russia, which the Soviet Government, with the best will in the world, had been unable to establish straight off, are the basis of "Fourth International," Sylvia Pankhurst, etc., opposition, calling itself Leftist but usually of middle class, not working class, character; and after keen debate affiliation was rejected by 94 votes to 92. It was not only the "Leftists," however, but the Rightists, and above all THE CAPITALIST PRESS OF ALL EUROPE, that was exuberantly overjoyed at the result; and possibly it was the shock of awakening to this fact that led the powerful Trade Union Congress of Norway a week later to vote hands down for affiliation to the Red International of Labour Unions and support for the Comintern. The result of that vote has been the reversal of the Party's decision since, involving the defeat of its middle class, professional and old Social Democratic elements and tendencies, and the re-affiliation of the Party to the Comintern.

A Journalist's Confession.

We carried on the most successful war propaganda of any country. We lied extremely well. When I think of the "children's hands cut off" lie, and of the corpse factory lie, I am rather ashamed of the ingenuity which produced that kind of propaganda. This lying did not end with the war. . . It is going on still.—Hamilton Fyfe, London "Times" correspondent, now Editor of London "Herald."

Mr. A. Eaton, Provincial candidate for Creswell's constituency, has evolved the following brain-wave on the Asiatic problem: "Where an employer pays an Asiatic less than he would pay a European for doing the same work, then such employer should be taxed the difference. (Loud applause.)" But surely the Asiatic, not the State, is entitled to that difference? Or is Labour's view that the white man should be robbed at the point of production once, but the Asiatic twice over?

A Communist Candidate at Capetown.

Comrade W. H. Harrison opened his Provincial campaign for Hanover Street with a meeting at the Empire Bioscope last week.

Before reading the big headlines in the "Cape Argus," "REVOLUTION WITHOUT BLOODSHED" and "'RED' CAMPAIGN OPENED," and the announcement that there was "a fair meeting," I had written a report of there having been a "bumper" meeting. I leave it to our readers' judgment as to whether a "fair meeting" in the somewhat jaundiced and short-sighted view of a capitalist reporter would justify the "Bumper" report of a Communist.

Anyhow, we have it from "The Argus" that "it was an ENTHUSIASTIC and ORDERLY meeting," which is more than they could say of any meeting held by Smuts and Co. And how did the speaker keep the order and enthusiasm of his audience? Not by the usual vote cadging methods, not by glowing accounts of what he, W. H. Harrison, would do for them if they gave him their vote; no, but by showing what they might do themselves if they joined their strength to the mighty world-wide movement of Communism, which stood, in Parliament as a protest against futile and unjust laws, and on the street corners of the world urging the workers of the world to throw the idle rich off their backs. The speaker "touched on a variety of matters" as the reporter stated, and "expounded the principles of Communism on the well-worn lines," the tale of the coach being one of them, and as the audience listened to that tale of how the human donkeys pulled their "bosses" along and how those "bosses" got out only to bind up the bleeding feet of the "donkeys" that pulled them, but never took their share in pulling, they (the audience) sat so still that they might have been screwed to their seats as fast as those same seats were screwed to the floor! The speaker also dealt with religion, and denied its suppression by Communists, stating that in Moscow at the present moment there are more places of worship to the square mile than any country in the world. It was only when robbery and injustice to the people was committed under the cloak of religion, he said, that it was punished deservedly, as in the case of Tikhon, who not only refused to give part of the great wealth which had been begged from the poor back to them in their time of great need, but actually fought on the side of capitalism to keep their ill-gotten gains from the starving poor who had given it! The God of Capitalism is £ove every time.

An interval was given for the distribution of "The International," voluntary contributions being asked in its support, as the sale on Sunday is not allowed. Last but not least I must mention the Choir, who rendered some fine samples of their ever-increasing repertoire. Great is the power of song, and we mean to sing to our success in this election, if we can win it honourably, or meet our defeat undaunted, singing!

A. E. HARRISON.

COMMUNIST PARTY [illegible]

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Discussion syllabus for Wednesdays in October, at 8 p.m. at No. 4, Trades Hall:—

10th—E. R. Roux: "Industrial Nuclei,"

17th and 24th—to be announced next week.

Wednesday, October 31st, will be taken for the November Branch meeting, as the following Wednesday, November 7, is taken up by the Russian Revolution Rally at the Selborne Hall (see advertisement at top of page 1).

Comrades and friends are invited to the picnic to be held on Sunday, the 28th inst., at the Zoo Lake (everyone to bring his own provisions and cup).

* * *

BENONI.

A public lecture will be given by Comrade S. P. Bunting on Friday next, the 12th inst., at 8 p.m. at the Workers' Hall (Council Room), Benoni. Subject: "Russia: Its Trade Unions and Soviets."

Wednesday's Rally at the Municipal Supper Room was well attended, and completely successful both politically and financially. The speakers were W. Harrison (jr.), C. F. Glass, and Donald Snowden

YOUNG COMMUNIST NOTES.

THE DEAN OF ST. MARY'S PAYS A VISIT TO THE Y.C.L.

The Reverend Maurice Ponsonby called to see the Johannesburg branch of the Young Communist League at their meeting at the Trades Hall last Tuesday. He said he had come in response to an invitation pasted up on the door of his church (Quite a number of Johannesburg bars and churches were adorned recently, by some unknown agency, with the "Dope" leaflet, published by the Y.C.L.—Ed., "Y.C. Notes.") The Dean said that in future he would be glad to receive our invitations in the orthodox way, i.e., through the post. As an expert on "Dope" he said he would like to discuss with the Y.C.L. this most important subject.

A meeting has been arranged for Tuesday, October 16, at 8 p.m., in Room 4, Trades Hall. All members of the Y.C.L. and all comrades and sympathisers are invited to come and hear the discussion.

* * *

YOUNG WORKERS' SPORTING ASSOCIATION.

HIKING SECTION: A hike will take place this Sunday, October 7.

Start: Twist Street Terminus at 8.30 a.m. Proceed to Yokeskei River via Killarney.

A special fast-walking contingent will leave the terminus at 9 a.m.

All welcome! Bring your own lunch.

Acknowledgements

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATE FUND.

Previously acknowledged, £79 8s. A.S., 5s.; G.S. (Springs), 2s. 6d.; C.J.A. (Springs), 5s.; G.M., 5s.; H.B., 10s.; L.M.S., £1; L.H.G., 10s.; Alex Borland, 10s.; R.G., 2s.; A.B., 10s.; T.C., 5s.

Balance proceeds, July Social, £5 2s.

* * *

PRESS DONATIONS.

A.G., 4s.; S.M., 5s.; N.L., 2s. 6d.; D.S., 10s.; P.D., 10s.; V.B., 5s.; E.B., 10s.; W.F., 5s.; C.F.G., 5s.; A.V., 5s. 4d.; H.B., 5s.; K.K., 10s.; R.F., 5s.; W.M., 10s.; R.G., 2s.; R.E.A., 15s.; S.K., 10s.; J.B., 2s. 6d.; A.A., £7 7s.; J.H, 20s.; H.G., 20s. 3d.; H.J.M., 1s.; A.H., 10s.; L.C.B., 10s.

Communist Children's Groups in Johannesburg.

The first meeting of the Young Communist League children's group will be on Sunday, October 14, at 11 a.m., at Room 4, Trades Hall, until more suitable quarters can be obtained. All comrades are asked to let their children know about this.

The leadership of the group will rest with a committee of leaders, responsible to the E.C. All prospective leaders should turn up.

Fifteen has been suggested as a suitable maximum age for the children's group, so that all who reach this age can be promoted to the Young Communist League.

"Imperial" Unemployment.

The concerted action of the unemployment committees of South Africa and Australia in urging unemployment as a topic for the Imperial Conference has had effect. The London "Sunday Express" is reported as saying that the most important matter the "Imperial" Premiers could discuss is not foreign politics, or Protection Tariffs, or Empire Development, but the gigantic problem of unemployment which makes all the other talk ring hollow and "Empire" a mockery. Now let the British unemployed keep up the cry, and force the banqueteers to attend to "the proper study of mankind."

NOTICE is hereby given that the General Dealer's Business carried on by B. Sischy on Stands [illegible], Knights Central, will be transferred to Stand [illegible], Germiston, as from the 2nd October, 1923.

J. BACHARACH, Agent for B. Sischy.

5/12/19.

LARGE FRONT ROOM TO LET U[illegible]D. —Apply 166, Marshall Street, Johanne[illegible]

This paper will be posted [illegible] ONLY (a) to subscribers whose subscriptions have expired from date of expiry; (b) to persons recommended as likely subscribers.

The International Red Aid.

By W. Budich.

The resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International to found an international organisation for the relief of the victims of the proletarian class-war brought into being the fulfilment of an entirely new and hitherto neglected task. True, casual spontaneous measures of assistance had been undertaken when in one country or another such combats had been especially costly; but such efforts were wholly insufficient and lasted only as long as the temporary excitement, as long as the impression of the savage terror of the bourgeoisie, still lasted upon the proletariat. In a little while interest would relax, other events would attract the attention of the masses, and the deep veil of oblivion would fall over the victims of the struggle, unless an occasional frightful shriek of despair gave notice of their martyrdom.

As the number of victims increased, this condition became an ever-increasing danger, especially to the vanguard, the Communist Party. Something definite had to be done. The sufferers in the battle for revolution had to be systematically shielded and supported; to this end, the masses of the proletariat had to be mobilised; a regular Red Cross service had to be organised for the proletarian armies, such a service as would in every way meet the requirements of the revolutionary struggle.

We are still far removed from even an approximation to such an achievement. In proportion to the demand the resources of organisation and finance of the International Red Aid are infinitesimal. In Germany such regular organisation had been in existence already for two years; but elsewhere it was only in Italy, Poland and France that the Central Committee discovered auxiliary organisations for this purpose.

In all other countries no progress has been made beyond occasional and spontaneous collections to help the sufferers in the class war. [illegible] encountered in organ[illegible] [illegible] element is the [illegible]

France, Sweden, Poland, Lithuania, and Italy; of these the Russian is the most active. As in everything, the Russian proletariat holds first rank. We now have eight sections, and are also in contact with a number of other countries, such as China, South Africa, Sweden, America, etc.

Thus the work of assistance to our Red fighters is barely beginning. As to the numbers of the sufferers in the revolutionary combats of the latter years, no exact estimate can be made. The few facts at the disposal of the Central Committee utterly falsify all previous conceptions. These figures depict the extraordinary force and magnitude of the fight of the proletarian masses for their liberation; a picture is revealed both of the self-sacrifice of the proletarian class and of the brutality of the bourgeoisie.

The Central Committee of the International Red Aid has drafted this estimate:—

Germany, about 5,000 political prisoners.
Italy, about 5-6,000 political prisoners.
Spain, about 2-3,000 political prisoners.
Belgium, about 2-3,000 political prisoners.
Lithuania, about 250 political prisoners.
Latvia, about 500 political prisoners.
Esthonia, about 150 political prisoners.
Poland, about 1-2,000 political prisoners.
Hungary, about 70,000 (during the Horthy regime).

India, 25-30,000.

The dungeons of the bourgeoisie must be overcrowded! The first and urgent duty of the International Red Aid is to help these victims, and this will involve gigantic efforts on the part of the International proletariat. Large resources not only in money but in organisation as well are required; for material help by itself will not relieve the sufferings of our captives. Of what use to them is bread alone, exposed as they are to ghastly physical and mental torture? Until the proletariat manages to burst open the gates of the prisons, it must endeavour to alleviate the conditions of [illegible] prison life [illegible] comrades are not [illegible]

more through political agitation. Further, the fight of the prisoners themselves, to get the barest rights of humanity in these dungeons of the bourgeoisie, must be given the utmost publicity. The story of their desperation must be made known outside the walls of their prisons. The iron ring with which the bourgeoisie fetters our imprisoned brothers must be broken.

But this does not exhaust the tale of the work of the International Red Aid. There have been four inundations of terror which in Western Europe have latterly submerged the proletariat—in Hungary, Finland, Germany and now in Italy. Yet no proletarian scheme of assistance had been organised capable of coping with this task on a grand scale, of affording adequate help through a systematised and powerful Red Aid, to temper the horrors of the White Terror and bring the counter-revolution to terms. In Italy to-day thousands of proletarians, men, women and children, roam from place to place, hounded by Fascists. Their homes have been destroyed, and they have been driven from their habitations. Wherever they rest, they are forthwith expelled. In Italy a strong organisation might have been able to render much help, and its work would also have been very useful politically. But we had to content ourselves with sending the Italian workers moneys scarcely sufficient to provide for the elementary needs of the prisoners.

The White Terror hits not only our vanguard. This is proved by experience in Finland, Hungary, Germany and Italy. It also strikes the broad masses of the proletariat, directly and immediately, and cripples their efficiency for battle for periods varying according to the licence and severity with which the bourgeoisie can wield the weapon of terror, and the strength with which the international proletariat is capable of rendering the beaten proletarian divisions Red Cross assistance.

It is the immediate task of the International Red Aid to create such an active and effective Red Cross service of succour.

To Artists.