Registered at the General Post Office as a newspaper.

The Workers' Weekly
Official Organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain.
Obtainable at BELLONI'S
International House, Kerk Street, between Rissik and Loveday Streets, Johannesburg.

The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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

Vol. VIII. No. 385. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1923. PRICE THREEPENCE.

C.P. Benoni Branch.
Great Workers' Rally.
WEDNESDAY NEXT, October 3rd, at 8 p.m.
at the MUNICIPAL SUPPER ROOM, BENONI.
First-Class Programme.
Tickets: One Shilling, including Refreshments.

Many Workers are Saying—

That it behoves all who are in sympathy with the cause of Labour to sign the petition for the release of the nine remaining strike prisoners.

* * *

That the arrest of three members of the Communist Party, all within one week, on charges of obstruction, when the issue of a summons is the usual procedure for technical offences against Municipal by-laws, is a new method of persecuting the working-class movement.

* * *

That the "Rand Daily Mail," which celebrated its twenty-first birthday last week, has lived twenty-one years too long and

* * *

That the "International," which celebrated its eighth birthday three weeks ago, will survive when the "Daily Mail" is shut down—or rather, taken over by themselves.

* * *

That at all costs the "pact" between the Nationalist and Labour parties, with the object of bringing about the downfall of the present Government, must be maintained, and

* * *

That in view of the cowardly opportunistic wavering of certain of the S.A.L.P. leaders on the question of the pact, the rank and file must keep up a "gingering-up" campaign with the object of compelling these "leaders" to ratify the pact at the January conference.

EXCUSE OUR INTERRUPTION, BUT HAVE WE HAD YOUR SUB. YET?

That Boydell's seat as the "Hon. Member" for Greyville is a secondary consideration to the united front against and the downfall of the Smuts oligarchy.

* * *

That, although the workers are robbed at the point of production, the Transvaal poll tax adds to their exploitation.

* * *

That the imposition of the poll tax is the unwisest step which the Labour-Nationalist majority in the Provincial Council has yet taken, and is proving a powerful weapon in the hands of the Press for discrediting the administrative ability of those two parties.

* * *

That this iniquitous tax was abolished in Natal as the result of a strong agitational campaign, and

* * *

That it is high time a similar campaign was started in the Transvaal, to include the even much more iniquitous native poll tax too.

* * *

That the situation in Europe grows ever more menacing to the capitalist system and holds out a bright future for the victory of the workers, the present intolerable position in which the latter find themselves being merely the darkness which precedes the dawn.

* * *

That the capitalists of the whole world are whistling in the dark when they report in their daily Press the constant shifting of the situation from "hopeless" to "more hopeful" and so on, as the situation grows ever more hopeless for them.

* * *

That the 508 votes for J. George at Parktown show a record opposition vote even in this bourgeois hotbed, which is so far so good.

Coming Out on Top.

The Mr. Baldwin, cousin of the Premier, referred to in "Wheels Within Wheels" on page 2, has told a Press representative that he is "particularly struck with the skilful way in which the Russian Government is dealing with the question of currency and in general with the financial position of the country. He is astonished to find that TWO-THIRDS OF THE CURRENCY NOW IN CIRCULATION IS BACKED BY GOLD, and that although taxation is very high, owing to the [illegible] that are being made to stabilise the [illegible], there is no sign of real want in the [illegible] region."

By the way, Herr Cuno and M. Loucheur [illegible]

Hands Off Workers' Germany.

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE RUHR.

There has been much virtuous condemnation in English countries of the wicked French occupation of the Ruhr; but British troops are also involved in the occupation, and in its tyrannical phases at that.

Right at the beginning of August the British authorities forbade all assemblies or demonstrations in Cologne. British troops have been used, as at Solingen, to disperse workers agitating for increased wages.

Recently, big strikes have broken out at Cologne and at the great dye works of Bayers, at Leverkusen. With the co-operation of the British forces they have been answered by severe measures. The workers have been locked out, and German police have been ordered to fire on demonstrators.

The "Times" remarks complacently that "a warning from the Englishmen on the spot to the excited workmen that if the police are resisted and our military assistance is requested it will be forthcoming with promptitude and in unsparing measure is nearly always taken to heart."

The British authorities have now suppressed the Communist newspapers of Cologne and Solingen.

The workers in Britain, says the British Communist Party in a resolution on the subject, must support the German workers. The Labour Movement in Britain must be prepared for mass action in defence of the German working class, under the watchword of "Hands off Workers' Germany." Unless such mass action is taken up and is successful, reaction will break out with renewed force in Great Britain and crush the British workers' movement for a generation.

The Kenya Fascists.

Enlarging on the impolicy of Indians adopting any attitude but that of acquiescence and submission to the Kenya decision, the "Times of India" points out the alternative. Supposing, it says in effect, that the British Government agree to pass a law recognising the just claims of Indians, it will avail little. "They" (the whites in Kenya), it observes, "will seek for some means of forestalling the legislation and of circumventing it, and not all the charges of rebellion, sedition and lawlessness will turn them back."

We (says "Indian Opinion") have been recently reading the life of Dr. Jameson of the Transvaal raid fame, and we know only too well that the "Times of India" is right in its appreciation of "the solid qualities" of Englishmen in Africa. They will circumvent laws and will not be deterred by charges of sedition, rebellion or lawlessness from doing so. "Law and order" is not for them. If "law and order" comes across their path, so much the worse for "law and order." . . . Then, our contemporary says, the Europeans in Kenya will invoke the aid of General Smuts to annex Kenya to the South African Union. This will be high treason, and if General Smuts agrees to do so, he will be equally guilty of treasonable conduct to the Empire. If constitutional methods alone are right, the doctrine must hold good for all parties—Indians and Europeans.

The homily of the "Times of India" amounts practically to this: unless Indians are prepared to defend their rights, like the white settlers, by circumventing laws, and not allowing "all the charges of rebellion, sedition and lawlessness" to turn them back, they cannot hope to be allowed to live on equal terms with the white settlers in Kenya.

A Dash for Liberty?

So soon after the Comintern's advice to the powerful Bulgarian Communist Party to make common cause with the bona fide peasant organisations against the Fascist usurpers, it seems hard to believe that the advice has been followed up to the extent of a capture of the country, and possibly the hasty cables recording suppression of the Communist outbreak (it is always "the Communists") reflect the truth, while the other news magnifies the outbreak so that the enemy can say afterwards "See what a monster we have slain." However, there is "trouble" brewing all along that line, and if Fascism has really so speedily got its back to the wall in Bulgaria—as a sequel to disturbances initiated by Italian Fascism—the omens are so much the more favourable for its short life in Italy and Germany and on the entire anti-working-class front. Cheers for the brave and militant workers of the Near East! And cheers for the strong support, 'way back to their north-east, which gives them courage to make this dash for their country's real liberty.

Six Fascists and a Corporal.

A leaflet printed in London is in circulation summarising the organisation of the "British Fascists." The system is one of complete decentralisation, its units consisting of seven members (or less) under a chosen leader "to take active measures against the revolutionary elements in their own districts." Arrangements are laid down "for purposes of swift mobilisation in the event of the general strike or revolution"; but "apart from this emergency, UNITS WILL WORK ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE." "The Intelligence Department will call the attention of units to existing Bolshevik activities in their districts" and "THE COMBATIVE MEASURES WILL BE LEFT ENTIRELY IN THE HANDS OF THE UNITS." Thus it is hoped "to combat the ever-increasing menace of Socialism and Bolshevism."

You see, "the British" are not so law-abiding after all; their bourgeoisie does what it likes, it is only the workers, including, in colonies, the "subject" or "inferior" races, that are expected to keep law and order.

Thus, in Kenya, according to an article in the "Contemporary" by Mr. E. D. Morel, M.P., the "settlers" and vested interests generally are bearing out what the "Times of India" said (see "The Kenya Fascists," col. 2); they are already actually organised for armed rebellion against any policy devised to mitigate the tyranny they exert over the natives. But no one calls that "the menace of revolution"! Bless you, these Fascists know well enough that they too are among those whom the King delighteth to honour.

British Labour and the Rand Strike.

On July 6 last we published an expostulation with the British Labour Party Conference for having refused even to pass a resolution in favour of the release of the Rand strike prisoners, and this though the information before the Conference was that there were still 800 in gaol. The report of the Conference, now to hand, shows that Mr. Bram Longstaffe, of the Barrow Labour Party and Trades Council, moved a resolution "condemning the Party Executive and Parliamentary Labour Party for their inaction in regard to the wholesale murder and persecutions arising out of the Rand strike," adding sarcastically (Mr. Langstaffe had been the proposer at the same Conference of the motion favouring Communist affiliation): "especially do we condemn them in view of their splendid advocacy of the cause of the Social Revolutionaries who were on trial for murder and for attempts at sabotage in the Workers' Republic of Russia." The resolution also demanded an inquiry into the causes of the disturbance, a NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF THE WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVES NOW IN PRISON, AND THE INDICTING OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR PRECIPITATING THE UPHEAVAL IN THE INTERESTS OF CAPITALISM. Mr. Longstaffe recalled that the PREVIOUS YEAR'S CONFERENCE at Edinburgh had REFUSED TO ALLOW THE MATTER TO BE DISCUSSED.

An amendment was proposed omitting the condemnation of the Executive, etc. But Robert Williams opposed both resolution and amendment on the ground that the South African Labour Party and Trade Unions had never complained of British Labour Party remissness in the matter, or made any representation to the British Labour Party as to what action it should take, while the Labour M.P.'s, on being approached, did not see in what way they could usefully raise the matter in the House of Commons at all—(though Philip Snowden found no difficulty in raising his Georgia cry). If South Africa made the appeal, he said, the Mother Country would respond as heroically as it did in connection with the 1914 deportations. As the result of Williams' speech, the "previous question" was carried by an overwhelming majority.

We understand that the British Labour Party has referred the matter of our expostulation to the S.A.L.P., whose National Council was to consider it last week.

Meanwhile this job has got to be cleaned up by petitions and mass meetings demanding the release of those still in gaol. Even petitions are not made easy. The Johannesburg Municipal authorities, i.e., really the C.I.D., are placing obstacles in the way of the Release Committee obtaining signatures to petitions, limiting the time and place, etc.—prohibiting it to-morrow, for instance, because some race is on! Meanwhile a Mayor, having received a requisition for a town's meeting, insists on first consulting the Department of Justice! Sympathisers will therefore redouble their efforts, which it is safe to say are supported by the entire Trade Movement in South Africa.

The news of the release, without an agitation, of most of the Bulhoek prisoners reminds us how pitifully one-sided and narrow-minded we still are. Why did we not take up the cause of these prisoners too?

This habitual remission of political sentences is also a confession by the Government that its judges act under the passions of the time at the expense of truth. Similarly yesterday's "Mail" reminds us of the Martial Law Commission (of which Sir Thos. Graham, the judge in the Bulhoek case, was also, appropriately enough, a member) when, speaking of Stambulinsky, it says "He was officially reported to have been shot while trying to escape. Probably, however, he was murdered."

A SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT IN MOSCOW.

A youth who left this country after the 1922 strike, equipped with that travesty which a bourgeois Administration calls education, to seek his fortune abroad, found his way into Russia, where he has had the good fortune to receive in Moscow a free education and maintenance ever since. And this is what he writes of his experience so far:

The educational system here, he says, seeks to bring out the initiative of every student. Take for example a subject like world history, ancient and modern. The lecturer starts off for about twenty minutes, after which questions are put to him by the students. These answered, and the results summarised, the subject is open for discussion by all who wish to take part. The lecturer also puts questions to the students designed to make them think for themselves.

There is no fixed method of teaching; experiments are continually being made with a view to improving the methods, and the student's own opinions as these are always invited add their suggestions are welcomed if feasible.

Pupils are taught not to accept the teacher's statements at their face value. The why and the wherefore of every phenomenon must be explained until they are themselves clear on it.

History, political economy, etc., are taught on true Marxist lines. We are not made to cram heads with a lot of rubbish such as names of kings and their battles; we study the factors that brought about the different changes in the evolution of history—the economic factors above all, also the political and religious factors, which attain significance only as sequels to the economic.

Excursions are arranged for us once a week, to factories and other places of economic, political and cultural significance. Particularly the students are kept in close touch with the workers. For instance, recently we went to Petrograd, and visited the Putiloff works, the Peter and Paul fortress (where Trotsky spent some of his time), the great Hermitage art gallery, a porcelain factory which once worked exclusively for the Tsar and now works for the state, besides various old palaces and cathedrals.

I can without exaggeration say that I have learnt in Russia in one year more than I learnt in South Africa in ten, and I have learned what will stand me in good stead in any country.

What about renewing your sub. to the "International."

THE INTERNATIONAL.
Official Organ of
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
(S.A. Section of the Communist International).
(Secretary-Editor, S. P. Bunting.)
Annual Subscription, 10/-; Half-yearly, 5s.
Bundle Orders of One Dozen and over: 2s. per dozen.
Crossed P.O.'s will not be accepted. Cheques should include commission.
Party Offices:
Nos. 4 & 6, TRADES HALL, RISSIK STREET, JOHANNESBURG.

Vol. VIII. FRIDAY, SEPT. 28, 1923. No. 385

Black and White Conferences, Capitalist and Working Class.

The proceedings of the Government Conference with natives held at Pretoria this week resemble, as we predicted they would, the recent conference between Sir Wm. Hoy (not to mention Gen. Smuts at Irene) and certain railwaymen. Affecting of course a far greater body of people, this conference is just another "NEGOTIATION" PREPARATORY TO A FURTHER TIGHTENING OF CHAINS, the object being to talk over the representatives and then say: "See, we have obtained the consent of the people concerned." It is difficult from newspaper reports to ascertain exactly how far this process has gone, but it looks as if certain leaders had already been persuaded, for one thing, to approve the introduction of pass or registration provisions from which Cape natives have hitherto been free, by the empty argument that uniformity all over South Africa is desirable!

It is not altogether the fault of the natives that they have not yet learnt what opposition, and especially organised working-class opposition, really means; for those who do know have hitherto LEFT THEM ENTIRELY TO GOVERNMENT AND PRO-GOVERNMENT (i.e., CAPITALIST) AGENCIES like the churches, which have used and are using their opportunities to the full. No wonder the conference thanks the Government for "allowing" it to discuss its own affairs; Labour has not even done that. Once more, the white Labour organisations must realise their duties and opportunities before it is too late. For instance, in the "semi-private" "Dutch-Reformed"-and-native conference now being held in Johannesburg, and supposed to include the chief experts on "the native problem" in the country, it seems that no representative of Labour organisations as such, still less of Labour political parties (other parties can get in by a side wind) is being admitted, although the working class is very vitally interested—a position which would be resented and combatted if we were more wide awake. Similarly the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and natives, though it includes a "Typo," has refused to admit the secretary of the Communist Party, for reasons which need no exposition. WORKERS, WHITE AND BLACK, WAKE UP, AND HOLD A EUROPEAN AND NATIVE CONFERENCE OF YOUR OWN!

". . Even When Bringing Gifts."

The "Save the Children Fund" asks us to publish, at its cost, an appeal on behalf of the young sufferers from the Japanese earthquake. Experience in connection with Russian Famine Relief has unfortunately taught us that it is necessary to discriminate between one fund and another, and even this fund, although we do not suggest that its officials in general are aware of the fact, will hardly, we fancy, be able to prove that it has always been administered without any motive of encouraging counter-revolution, or supporting, for preference, counter-revolutionaries, in or against Soviet Russia, so that it became necessary for the Soviet Government to assume a more and more complete control of the administration of all these foreign relief funds. There is not the same danger, perhaps, in the case of Japan, although in no other country is the working class more oppressed than in Japan, and funds are liable there too to be preferently bestowed on the "well-disposed" sections of the sufferers. But, as we wrote at the time of the earthquake, the workers of Soviet Russia, whose example in these things we are always inclined to favour, are sure to be to the fore, even amid their own scarcity, with relief to their fellow-workers abroad; and our latest news through capitalist agencies is that the Japanese authorities have refused their assistance. We prefer therefore to withhold publication of the appeal until we receive, from more reliable sources than the "news"-mongers of Riga, an explanation of the apparent position that the Japanese authorities are administering relief with a definite anti-working class bias. In any case, our readers might prefer to have their contributions handled by Soviet relief agencies.

Bloemfontein Rebukes Barlow.

Barlow's flag-wag outburst at Bloemfontein provoked the calling of a meeting of the local branch of the Labour Party, a gathering of members such as the Party had not seen for years, on the 21st inst., at which a unanimous resolution was passed, not, it is true, explicitly repudiating the M.L.A.'s remarks, but pledging the branch, in the teeth of those remarks, "to work for the ratification of the Nationalist-Labour pact and to carry out the agreement in loyal co-operation with the Nationalists with the object of supporting the present capitalistic, tyrannical Government." From such a city of [illegible] a most encouraging and significant sign [illegible] have a pretty good idea after all of [illegible] and what Labour [illegible] Labour Party leaders [illegible] where neces- [illegible] will have to keep

A Blasted Shovel.

We do not wish to argue here about Douglas schemes, State Banks, social credit, etc., except to say that as expounded by some of their local champions they simply amount to an advocacy of centralisation of finance capital—international centralisation in the long run—resulting, it is pretended, in the fostering of undertakings now unpayable (e.g., many manufactures in this sparsely populated country), while the robbery of the worker at the point of production would continue as merrily as ever. It needs little advocacy to bring about this result; it is happening anyhow, that is, the international centralisation of finance; and as these financiers and bankers control the States already, nothing is gained by formally elevating them to State, or rather International, Banks. Further, such elevation would not alter the unpayability of the undertakings in question.

But we do wish Labour leaders would drop this silly and slovenly use of the phrase "insufficient purchasing power," which they use as though it carried a whole economic system behind it, whereas all they mean is that people don't get enough to live on or not as much as they want. Even fluctuations in the valuta are not referred to in this loose use of a cant phrase; whether the pound (or the mark) is worth, or buys, more or less, what the working class wants is not just more pounds or cheaper or dearer pounds, but more of what is usually purchased with pounds: the goods, not the money for its own sake. Then why not say so? Call a spade a spade, not the "purchasing power" of a spade. Instead of playing fast and loose with topsy-turvy phrases, say simply, as heretofore, that the working class (including the salaried class, etc., if you like) does not get all it ought to get, seeing that the capitalist class, whether organised as a State Bank or not, takes the best part of what the workers produce.

The British Dockers' Great Fight.

AND THE FALSE STEP THAT HELPED TO BREAK IT.

Our readers may as well get the actual facts about the ending of the British dockers' strike. The Central Strike Committee, after reckoning up all the forces and factors of the situation, finally agreed on August 18 to recommend a return to work, which was adopted at a series of strikers' meetings on August 21. "The men seemed to feel that their unofficial leaders did not like the job, but knew it had to be done, and there was a bond of sympathy between the Strike Committee and the strikers such as is unique in Trade Union disputes, and particularly when a dispute is about to terminate in an unsatisfactory manner."

It took all the united front of capitalism, from Baldwin to Bevin (their own Trade Union official), to beat the strikers, and even then they would have held their own but for a FATAL ERROR on the part of some of their own leading spirits, viz., THE ATTEMPT, INSTEAD OF STOPPING INSIDE THE UNION, TO FORM A NEW UNION composed of those disgusted with the hostility of their Union Executive and the orthodox Labour leaders generally. They were rightly disgusted, but Union-splitting (e.g., FORMING "BROTHERHOODS," S.A.I.F. "ONE BIG UNION" FRACTIONS, ETC.), is now recognised as only PLAYING THE ENEMY'S GAME, and particularly so in the thick of a dispute. This error was utilised to the full by the Union leaders, the Press and the employers; and faith in organisation—at least in that type of it represented by "that new class in society, the thoroughly comfortable Trade Union officials of the Clynes and Bevin type"—has for the time being been severely shaken.

It is significant that for the period of this strike, which was over cost of living, the cost of living figure fell, and that as soon as the strike was over it rose again. "It was just let down the single point for a few weeks sufficient to rob the dockers of their bob;" but now it is up again the bob has not been restored to them.

But the bitterness is there, and that is always to the good. "To-day the strike has been broken. To-morrow it will break out larger, stronger and better organised than ever before."—From the "Workers' Weekly."

Wheels Within Wheels.

At the present time a great World Industrial Fair is proceeding at Moscow, the aim being the cultivation of trade between Russia and other countries. Well, just look at this official list of the number of exhibitors:—

Germany, 87; America, 45; Austria, 19; Tchecko-Slovakia, 17; Italy, 15; Esthonia, 17; Lithuania, 16; Belgium, 4; France, 5; Denmark, 2; Sweden, 1; Finland, 2; Palestine, 2; GREAT BRITAIN, 6; China, 8; Japan, 8. Latvia and Persia will each have their own pavilion.

Germany 87, America 45, and Great Britain, gasping for extended trade, 6—six! This of course is owing to the aloofness of the British Government towards Russia.

But not all Britons are standing aloof, and one of them is Mr. Baldwin, a cousin of the Premier, and one of the heads of a huge engineering concern. This Mr. Baldwin was, in mid week, at Riga, on his way to the Moscow Fair, and doubtless is at Moscow now. With Mr. Baldwin was a large party of British traders representing 80 of the biggest engineering firms in Britain, all determined to open up business with Russia despite the British Government's hostile attitude towards that country.

This probably explains the sudden reversal of Curzon's anti-Russian policy when Baldwin became Premier.—From the "S.A. Review."

The Indian National League has passed almost unanimously a resolution favouring independence from the British Empire, thus falling into line with the recent resolution of the South African Native National Congress favouring a South African republic.

The Moscow Exhibition.

A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT.

(By W. H. Andrews.)

Punctually at noon on Sunday, August 19th, amid the cheers of the vast audience, the thunder of the saluting guns and the strains of the "Internationale," Comrade Kamenev, chairman of the Moscow Soviet, rose to declare the Exhibition open. Standing on the balcony of one of the main pavilions he faced an audience unique perhaps in the world's history. Surrounding him were many of the prominent figures in Soviet Russia: Tchitcherin, Krassin, Sidersky, the chairman of the trans-Caucasian Republics, with many of the leading Trade Unionists and Communist Party leaders. Seated on his left front were the representatives of the foreign Governments and their friends in the immaculate frock-coat and top-hat of the bourgeoisie. On the right, in marked contrast, were the representatives of the workers, peasants and Red soldiers of Soviet Russia. Behind these again, and facing the forum, were rank on rank of the delegates of the proletarian organisations of Moscow with their appropriate banners, in the first rank of which stood representatives of the various nationalities which go to make up the population of the Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics.

Looking at the various types in their national costumes one obtained a glimpse of the gigantic task that the great leaders of the Soviet Republic have accomplished in welding these heterogenous elements into an ordered whole, and of the many problems that they still have to solve.

SPEECHES AND CHEERS.

Here were Kirgishs, Kalmuks, Circassians, Georgians, Armenians, Tartars, Siberians, Great and Little Russians, Turkestan people and many others. They seemed to have walked straight out of the Arabian Nights, and it was hard to believe that they were not got up for theatrical effect but were real people wearing the dresses that they are accustomed to wear in their far distant homes in their every-day life. The opening ceremony was favoured by one of the very few fine days that Moscow has enjoyed this summer. After Kamenev—who was hoarse from much speaking—had sat down, Sidersky, Minister of Agriculture, spoke, and was followed by Schefler, the chairman of the Exhibition Committee; and then Tchitcherin rose and received a tremendous ovation from all present; "even the ranks of Tuscany" (the foreign diplomatic corps) "could scarce forbear to cheer." All speakers stressed the need of close co-operation between the peasants and the industrial workers, and Krassin, who has a fine voice, struck a defiant note which was rapturously applauded when he said that Soviet Russia had invited the co-operation of other nations but, being refused, was determined to build up the country herself; and they were sure they would succeed. Pavalov, chairman of the Russian Trade Unions, briefly congratulated the Exhibition authorities on the success of their efforts, and then rose the Turkish Ambassador, who spoke in French, and the Chinese representative in his native tongue, interpreted by a fellow-countryman into Russian. The climax of enthusiasm was, however, reached when the President of the Trans-Caucasian Federated Republics rose to speak. A swarthy, stoutly-built man, he assured the audience that Georgia, Armenia and Asjerbazan were wholeheartedly working with their comrades in Russia, Siberia and the Far East for the consolidation of the Soviet Federated Republics; and the whole audience rose and in a score of different languages but with one spirit and one common purpose sang the "Internationale." No more speeches were needed after this, and with thunderous cheers for the Revolution the thousands of visitors filed off group after group to inspect the wonderful fairy city which with almost superhuman energy the Moscow workmen, artists, architects and engineers had erected in a few short weeks on the banks of the Moscow river.

EAST AND WEST, THE TWAIN MEET.

The inspection was confined to the Exhibition grounds, covering 150 acres, and the exteriors of the gaily decorated and quaintly designed pavilions, among which the Turkestan building is perhaps the most outstanding, with its sky-blue domes appearing almost transparent against the grey-blue sky, its wonderfully-carved doors and bizarre decorations. Near this is a great refreshment booth where Turkestan cooks and caterers serve up weird dishes of rice, fat and meat which is very welcome after the long tramp round the grounds, and which one eats seated Eastern fashion on mats and rugs on the floor. The Exhibition caters for all tastes and appetites. The most modern machinery and up-to-date Western methods are shown side by side with the primitive appliances and beautiful workmanship of the Russian and Eastern handicraftsmen.

MODEL VILLAGES.

A typical Russian village of the old style has been erected, and near by are model peasants' houses and farm buildings in order to give the peasant visitors who will be brought in by thousands to spend four days in the Exhibition an object-lesson on how it should be done. A full-sized model of the heavy log-built houses of the Arctic regions shows the arrangement by which the cattle and stores are housed on the ground floor, and above them are the living apartments of the family. The windows are mere slits in the log walls, as it is necessary in these bleak and bitter regions to provide as little ingress as possible for the blizzards of winter.

THE GARDENS.

The various pavilions are arranged round a great quadrangle laid out in ornamental gardens, a prominent feature of which is a splendid raised flower bed displaying in growing plants on one side a fine portrait of Lenin, and on the other a stirring revolutionary appeal. There are small plots in which are found growing every kind of field and garden product suitable for Russian conditions and climate. At one end of the quadrangle is a great open-air theatre, and near it a circular auditorium where lectures and demonstrations on matters of interest to peasants will be given.

THE EMBODIED SOUL OF RUSSIA.

The colours and designs of the Exhibition buildings are indescribable, and show a daring which would only be possible in Russia, and revolutionary Russia at that. The grounds are bordered on one side by the river, which was alive with rowing boats, pleasure steamers and hydroplanes, the latter racing along at a furious rate, to the great delight of the thousands of Muscovites who thronged the banks, and who are always ready for a spectacle and a holiday. Above floated aeroplanes dropping leaflets among the crowds and gazed at by the Moscow workers with very different feelings from those of the Rand workers in March, 1922, when bombs and not leaflets were the propaganda medium. A fine high-level wooden bridge has been thrown across the wide road which separates the Russian section of the Exhibition from the foreign, which latter contains among other attractions the great machinery hall, a stadium for sports and gymnastic displays, besides the Italian, Chinese, German and other national pavilions flying their respective flags. It may be merely imagination, but the political situation seems to be expressed in the form and arrangement of this section. Although attractive and interesting in themselves, these pavilions seem isolated one from another, and there seems to brood over them an atmosphere of suspicion and a feeling which may be expressed by the phrase "Keep off the grass." On the Russian side on the other hand, in spite of the almost infinite variety of designs, colours and styles, there is a sense of harmony and common purpose. A unity in variety as it were. It is almost like a living organism, and even on the first day it became part of the life of the Russian people. As the various groups paused before the picture of their beloved Lenin they cheered or they sang one of the folk songs of which the Russian people seem to have an infinite variety. All over the grounds the factory and other groups broke out into songs or cheering as this or that feature or exhibit was explained to them. The Exhibition has already become an institution. The Moscow people have adopted it, have taken it to their hearts as it were. As the tens of thousands of peasants from all quarters of the far-flung Soviet Federation arrive, spend their four crowded days of sight-seeing and depart to their distant homes, they will carry away impressions and knowledge which will do much to assist them in their struggle with nature and to cement their friendship for their comrades of the towns, factories and workshops, and for the Soviet power which is as anxious to arouse their dormant aspirations as the old regime was to crush them.

THE MAGIC OF LABOUR.

The whole of the district bordering on the Exhibition has been transformed in the five weeks that I have been here. Streets have been paved, new roads made, sidewalks asphalted, railway sidings run into the grounds, landing stages made for steamboats, unsightly and crumbling walls removed and replaced by trim fencing revealing lawns, shrubs and flower beds which have sprung up as if by magic where rubbish, rank vegetation and stagnant pools held sway only a few weeks ago; the magic which has been invoked being only as everywhere human labour of course. A more detailed account of the Exhibition may be given at a later date and after a closer inspection, but the first impression made on one is that it epitomises the accomplishment and tasks of the Soviet revolution. It expresses the will, the determination and the capacity of the workers and peasants of Russia not only to build and make a success of their Exhibition in spite of the sabotage of the capitalist Governments or most of them, but also to rebuild the shattered economy of that vast and varied area of the earth's surface called Soviet Russia in spite of all that a cunning and unscrupulous enemy can do to hinder them.

Marxism and Leninism.

Marx and Lenin—these are our two supreme guides in the sphere of social research. For the younger generation the way to Marx is through Lenin. The straight road becomes increasingly difficult, for the period is too long which separates the rising generation from the genius of those who founded scientific socialism, Marx and Engels. Leninism is the highest embodiment and condensation of Marxism for direct revolutionary action in the epoch of the imperialist death agony of bourgeois society. The Lenin institute at Moscow must be made a higher academy of revolutionary strategy. Our Communist Party is permeated by the mighty spirit of Lenin. His revolutionary genius is with us. Our revolutionary lungs breathe the atmosphere of that better and higher doctrine which the preceding development of human thought has created. Thus it is that we are so profoundly convinced that to-morrow is ours.

L. TROTZKY.

The Money Problem in Russia.

The rouble still sinks, but as wages are adjusted every fortnight and paid on the commercial rouble basis, the workers are not much affected. The outsider, however, finds the cost of living, with the exception of bread, rising rapidly. How far this process will go remains to be seen. The new Government bank note called chernovetz, valued at a pound, rises in value as the rouble drops. It stands now at 1,165 roubles, and the £1 stands at 1,1[illegible] roubles, so that it will be seen that the chernovetz is as stable as pound sterling at any rate in Russia, and is preferred to pounds and dollars as it is more easily negotiable. The Government is coining gold chernovetz now. Radek showed me one the other day. It is the size of a sovereign, well minted, with a farmer sowing seed on one side and on the other the Soviet emblem with the legend "Workers of all countries unite" round it. I do not know [illegible] will be in general circulation.

The Communist Task in Germany.

AND THE IMPENDING BANKRUPTCY OF THE GERMAN BOURGEOISIE.

(By Karl Radek.)

The German bourgeoisie has lost the second war. The dollar already costs over a million marks. This seals the issue of the Ruhr war. But it need not necessarily have been sealed by this fact—had the German bourgeoisie taken heroic measures to win the victory, and given to the masses of workers and petty bourgeois the means of holding out, at the cost of big capitalist profits, then the German bourgeoisie could have kept up the struggle much longer. The rouble is lower in value than the mark, and yet the Russian working class and the Soviet Government have not only not capitulated, but are growing in strength day by day. But the German bourgeoisie will capitulate in order to prevent the further fall of the mark and its inevitable result of uprisings among the masses of a people plunged ever deeper into misery. It is kept back from capitulation by the morphia injections administered by the English Government.

The crisis of the German bourgeoisie is now entering the decisive stage, and the German Communist Party is thus faced with the hardest tasks which it has ever known.

THE K.P.D. COMING INTO ITS OWN.

History has created the premises for the fulfilment of these tasks by the Communist Party of Germany. The Party, beginning in November, 1918, as an organisation of about 30,000 loosely connected adherents, is now approaching the point of winning the support of the majority of the active workers of Germany. Mighty men are arising from the blood of Liebknecht, of Rosa Luxemburg, of the 15,000 workers murdered by Noske's White Guards. The united front tactics—the appeal made to the every day interests of the working class, interests common to the proletariat without difference of Party—is being crowned with success. All the shrieks of the social democrats about the swindling manoeuvres of the Comintern have been of no avail. The workers must rally round the flag of Communism, for this alone carries on the struggle for their vital interests. The social democratic bureaucrats in the Trade Unions, co-operative societies, municipal councils, and official positions, have their hands full holding back the working masses from the struggle. One section of the social democrat workers sinks into complete apathy, another section resolves to fight and goes over to the Communists, a small section even goes over to the Fascisti. Social democracy has ceased to be a decisive factor in public life. It is not even a decisive factor of counter-revolution, as it was in 1919-20. It has become an inert mass.

BANKRUPT FASCISM.

In 1919 the nationalists, the students, the officers bereft of means of livelihood, put themselves at Noske's disposal. In 1922-1923 they do not dream of doing this. Now Scheidemann, Noske, Ebert, etc., are known as the November criminals, and the Fascisti are not holding marshals' batons in readiness for them, but gallows. But to govern Germany means to feed her. Fascism can give Germany the White Terror and the Hohenzollerns, but it can give her no bread. The more German Fascism increases in strength, the weaker it becomes. Maintained as it is by Vogler, Stinnes, Krupp, and the like, Fascism still demands in its organs the nationalisation of the banks, the nationalisation of the trusts, and the gallows for the speculators. Why does it demand this? Merely to get round the workers? No. They demand all this in order to attract the PETTY BOURGEOIS masses sinking ever deeper into poverty, now that these masses are grasping the fact that if the present speculation economics are continued, there is no salvation for them. But the German bourgeoisie possesses nothing which it can give to the masses of the lower middle class, except the further increase of its poverty and want. The petty bourgeoisie, the pillar of counter-revolution, is beginning to be the potential ally of the working class.

WIN MAJORITY SUPPORT.

There are many comrades who maintain that agitation and organisation of the majority of the working class are excellent things, but can only be attained by means of great actions. We maintain the contrary, that great actions are only possible when our agitation is increased a hundredfold; when our message has reached the broadest masses of the workers; when we convert the rebellion of the working people into conscious knowledge and determination.

The Bolsheviki were able to seize power with 70,000 members only, for the bourgeoisie was unorganised, and we had at our disposal such an organisation as the Russian army. But a million members is the minimum which the Communist Party of Germany must attain in the near future. Our organisation must not be a mere election apparatus, it must be a clenched fist, a fighting organisation, held together not only by the Communist idea, but by the iron bands of the storm troops of our defence units.

WIN THE PETTY BOURGEOIS.

But the mobilisation of the working class is not enough in itself. We must go to the petty bourgeois masses proletarianised by the capitalist economics of Germany. The small peasants, the settlers, the officials, the private officials, the proletarianised intellectuals—these are the reservoir of our power, even though they still think in terms of nationalist reaction. It is a question of winning over a [illegible], comprising millions of human beings, [illegible] need not only for the seizure of power, but [illegible] for socialism.

[illegible] AND THE PEASANTS.

[illegible] attack, [illegible] and [illegible] to burn wood instead of [illegible] [illegible] were deprived of [illegible] and then [illegible]

A Word With the N.U.R.A.H.S.

The National Union of Railway and Harbour Servants has sinned in many respects, and notably in holding aloof from what it calls, in its recent "Rally No. 2," "the prepared strike and smash-up of 1922"—a neutrality, equivalent to strike-breaking, also favoured by A. Crawford who, we observe by the way, is just now throwing questionable bouquets at N.U.R.A.H.S. It should have been enough that workers, on an unprecedented scale, were being attacked by masters for the railwaymen to spring to their side instead of standing by and even opposing them. Not only may defeat WITH THE FLAG OF SOLIDARITY FLYING be preferable to neutrality (compare Zinoviev's criticism of the Bulgarian Communists in the Stambulinsky affair, in the "International" of the 7th inst.), but neutrality acquiesces in and in effect assists defeat, whereas WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY, AGAINST WHICH THE RAILWAYMEN AND THE PRINTERS WERE, OF WHITE WORKERS, THE CHIEF TRANSGRESSORS LAST YEAR, WOULD HAVE CONVERTED DEFEAT INTO VICTORY DESPITE ALL THE "PREPAREDNESS" OF THE CHAMBER GOVERNMENT. The N.U.R.A.H.S. to-day is all for militancy; well, militancy was the only possible note last year too. NOT "SAFETY FIRST" BUT "SOLIDARITY FIRST"; AND THE GREATER THE MILITANCY THE GREATER THE SOLIDARITY.

DOWN WITH THE UNION SPLITTERS.

Having said so much, we can well associate ourselves with the present protest of the N.U.R.A.H.S. against the various attempts to split away from that Union, to form additional or rival Unions among the railwaymen or sections of them, or to undermine its claim to embrace ALL the workers in the railway system—one such attempt, cynically enough, actually appropriating the slogan of "One Big Union"! Unless the circumstances are entirely abnormal, or a very fundamental principle has to be vindicated, one of the gravest crimes in the Labour Movement is to split Unions, whether by the expulsion or by the voluntary secession of any section of members—especially in critical times. That is the crime, on the part of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, against which the Red International is fighting most strenuously to-day. It is THE FATAL ERROR THAT BROKE THE RECENT DOCKERS' STRIKE IN LONDON, as appears from an article elsewhere in this issue. The duty of Trade Unionists, however militant on the one hand, however slavishly content with their lot on the other, is to stick to their established Union. The Union may be imperfect; then work, work to perfect it. Agitate for influence inside it, not out of it or against it. Overhaul it, eliminate its unsatisfactory features and replace them by satisfactory ones. It will be found that splits and desertions result usually from rank and file slackness or apathy, taken advantage of by some individuals' self-seeking or egotism, if not traitorous design. Leaving personalities aside, the circumstances are more favourable to a real "Industrial Union" of the S.A.R. than in any other industry except perhaps Rand mining; while as for personalities, it is ridiculous to say "the case is hopeless so long as such-and-such an official remains in office"; as if any body of workers could honestly stand up and say "We are impotent to shift our officials"—who are in the long run but the reflex of the membership. In the case of the railwaymen, then, recent experience seems to show that the N.U.R.A.H.S. still offers the best foundation for developing the proper structure; but only by rallying to N.U.R.A.H.S. as it is will you make it what it ought to be.

CRAWL OR WALK.

Again, to suggest, with Sir W. Hoy and some of his apparent satellites, that the aim of a Union should be to promote "amicable" relations with the employer, is to mock the very soul of the Labour Movement. A Trade Union movement, of course, exists primarily not to compromise or "negotiate" with the bosses, but to resist them—EVEN TO EXERCISE WHAT THEY NATURALLY CALL "TRADE UNION TYRANNY" over them—and any body whose be-all and end-all is to bask in the smiles of Sir William stands self-condemned. "Recognition" is a thing not to be bought at the price of slavery, but to be extorted; and if it cannot be extorted without difficulty, then organisation and agitation must go on until the difficulty is overcome.

TRADE UNION POLITICS.

The N.U.R.A.H.S., in a limited way, is entitled to the credit of being a pioneer of the United Anti-Smuts Political Front, in that it already long ago advised its members to vote against the Government, whether for Labourite, Nationalist, or Independent. The scope of such a policy is wider than that of mere direct Government employees; for the Government represents the whole employing class, and therefore every employee, Government or private, should naturally vote against it—and will probably find his class interests best served by continuing that practice even if and when a Nationalist-Labour Government attains power. Nevertheless, there is a special justification for definite political opposition on the part of organised railwaymen; for, as "Rally No. 2" reminds us, the railman is bound down, like the native worker in many cases, by special legislation which makes a strike a criminal offence. Besides, the "Brotherhood" and Crawford are opposed to political Trade Unions, and Jagger says he will not recognise any Union if it is politically active. THIS IN ITSELF SHOULD BE ARGUMENT ENOUGH FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY. Of course, S.A.P. activity would be readily forgiven. "NON-POLITICAL" IN EFFECT MEANS PRO-GOVERNMENT.

THE TRUE "O.B.U."

Finally, a true industrial Union will include ALL the workers in the industry or undertaking, whatever their grade or race. The N.U.R.A.H.S. has, we believe, no colour bar. BY BETTER ORGANISATION OF THE NON-EUROPEAN RAILWAY WORKERS IT CAN **DOUBLE ITS POWER** (as we have said years ago already); and if it doubles its power it cannot fail to regain the confidence of the now apathetic railway workers as a whole.

A Workers' Anniversary near Moscow.

On August 4th the workers and staff of the great Moscow waterworks celebrated the 20th anniversary of the foundation of that enterprise. Bowling along the stone-paved country road at sixty miles an hour we soon reached the waterworks, which are 25 versts up the river. From a small hill about half-way a magnificent view of Moscow is obtained. On arrival we found the men and some of the women filling the fine large recreation hall, and speeches were delivered by the engineer in charge, who detailed the history of the undertaking, then by various representatives of political bodies, myself for the Comintern. The heads of various departments of Moscow offered their congratulations, and workers' delegates one after another emphasised the necessity for efficient work in the factories and loyalty to the Russian and world revolution. The last speakers were a boy and a girl, and one noticed that the audience of working men and women who had listened stolidly, cheered mechanically and stood to attention dutifully during the flood of adult oratory and the frequent playing of the "International," were moved by the children. The features softened, and there were many moist eyes to be seen in the crowded audience and on the platform as the childish voices paid their tribute to the heroes of the revolution in Russia and in other lands and urged all present to work, to fight and if necessary to die for the workers' and peasants' republic and the world revolution.

* * *

The manager took Comrade Melnachansky and me round the plant, which is in perfect order and filters 260 million litres of water daily and pumps it to Moscow. A complete new pumping station is being put down, the machinery being all produced in Russia (at Tula) excepting the oil-burning water-tube boilers which come from Germany. It was in the huge building which is to house this new plant, two sets of which are already in position, that the second part of the festivities were under weigh when we returned. Six or seven hundred employees and their friends were seated and enjoying a feast. The whole great engine and machine room was covered with a mass of greenery, with portraits of revolutionary heroes, mottoes and banners interspersed. This was no Barmecide feast, but cold ham, sturgeon, cold meat, bread, salads, jellies, beer, tea, etc., and the joyous crowd did full justice to it all. There were no speeches here. The [illegible] being over, the evening was devoted to entertainment and dancing which we did not share in, [illegible] to town for other engagements. [illegible] pointed out evidences of the terrible [illegible] the whole [illegible] had [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] All the [illegible] had [illegible] [illegible] to burn wood instead of [illegible] [illegible] were deprived of [illegible] and then [illegible]

A Penny a Line Premier.

Mr. Lloyd George is eking out what can hardly be called an honest living by writing for the Press, and his latest and one of his grossest attempts to deceive the public—and it is for ability at that game that Premiers are chosen—is the slovenly application of the word "Fascist" indiscriminately to Lenin and Mussolini, which implies the equally slovenly and commonplace laudation of "democracy" as political perfection. This old capitalist "statesman" knows as well as Smuts or any other of the gang that the test and essence of politics and social life in general is not the form of government but the class interest it serves; and that both "democracy" and Fascism, according to circumstances, are instruments of capitalist class and anti-working class interest, while the Soviet Government is an instrument of working class and anti-capitalist class interest. "Democracy," indeed, is failing in one country after another as an instrument of both interests alike; of the capitalist interest, because in some countries capitalism, having been found out, is faced with defeat under constitutional "democracy" and therefore has to rely only on armed force, still at its disposal as part of the government machine; of the working class interest, because in some other countries (e.g., Britain) capitalism, having control of the "sound education" which according to Lloyd George is a condition of the people being "trusted with the destinies of a country," has still escaped being generally found out and so succeeds in continuing its tyranny over the workers through so-called democratic institutions. "Democratic institutions are good or bad," he says, "according to the quality of the people from whom they draw power." Exactly; just as any swindle is good or bad (for the swindler) according to the gullibility of those on whom it is attempted to practise it. Attacks on "democracy" "need watching," he says; but he and his gang are watching not against Fascist but only against working class attacks. If Lenin and Mussolini are really comparable, why does not the King of England go to Moscow and confer the C.M.G. on Lenin, and why does he not blockade and devastate the country now usurped by Mussolini and his Blackshirts? Why is not every capitalist Government scheming to crush Fascism as it is scheming to crush Bolshevism, instead of openly or secretly supporting and even kowtowing to it? And if "the great lesson of the war is that democratic institutions bear a prolonged national strain where autocracy breaks down," then, on the absurdity that Lenin means "autocracy," how is it that democracy is breaking down right and [illegible] within, despite unparalleled strain, is the [illegible] of the stablest Government in Europe? Again, [illegible] "democracy" or is it "Fascism"—is it not [illegible] alternative forms of capitalist [illegible] has played and plays the autocrat in [illegible] India, the Ruhr, the Rand, Bulhoek, [illegible] mines, etc.?

[illegible] of Government [illegible] contest;

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] wins is best.

The Education of the Revolutionary.

(By L. Trotzky.)

It is frequently asserted that the task of Communist enlightenment consists in the education of the new man. These words are somewhat too general, too pathetic, and we must be particularly careful not to permit any formless humanitarian interpretation of the conception "new man" or the tasks of Communist education. There is no doubt whatever but that the man of the future, the citizen of the commune, will be an exceedingly interesting and attractive creature, and that his psychology (the futurists will pardon me, but I fancy that the man of the future will possess a psychology) will be very different from ours. Our present task, unfortunately, cannot lie in the education of the human being of the future.

THE "NEW MAN" AND THE REVOLUTIONIST.

The Utopian and humanitarian-psychological viewpoint is, that the new man must first be formed, and that he will then create the new conditions. We cannot believe this. We know that man is a product of social conditions. But we know too that between human beings and conditions there exists a complicated and actively working mutual relationship. Man himself is an instrument of this historical development, and not the least. And in this complicated historical reflex action of the conditions experienced by active human beings, we do not create the abstractly harmonious and perfect citizen of the commune, but we form the concrete human beings of our epoch, who have still to fight for the creation of the conditions out of which the harmonious citizen of the commune may emerge. This, of course, is a very different thing, for the simple reason that OUR GREAT-GRANDSON, THE CITIZEN OF THE COMMUNE, WILL BE NO REVOLUTIONIST. By means of our work we are creating the conditions of a social order in which no class antagonisms will exist, no revolutions, and thus no revolutionists. Consequently, we are far from being required to educate the harmonious citizen of the commune, forming him by careful laboratory work, in an extremely disharmonious transition stage of society. Such an undertaking would be a wretchedly childish Utopia. What we want to make is champions, revolutionists, who will inherit and complete our historical traditions, which we have not yet carried to a conclusion.

REVOLUTION AND MYSTICISM.

The revolutionist of our epoch, who can only be associated with the working class, possesses his special psychological characteristics, characteristics of intellect and will. If it is necessary and possible, the revolutionist shatters the historical obstructions, resorting to force for the purpose. If this is not possible, then he makes a detour, undermines and crushes, patiently and determinedly. But if he is internally hampered by subjective hindrances to action, if he is lacking in understanding or will power, if he is paralysed by internal discord, by religious, national, or craft prejudices, then he is at best only half a revolutionist. There are too many obstacles in the objective conditions already, and the revolutionist cannot allow himself the luxury of multiplying the objective hindrances and frictions by subjective ones. Therefore the education of the revolutionist must, above all, consist in his emancipation from that residue of ignorance and superstition, which is frequently found in a very "sensitive" consciousness.

He who believes in another world is not capable of concentrating all his passion on the transformation of this one.

THY GODS!

Matthew Arnold was a typical literary and religious representative of the British educated middle class of the 'nineties. On one occasion he shocked his friends by declaring that the unequal distribution of wealth in England had "materialised the upper class, vulgarised the middle class and brutalised the lower class"—meaning by "lower class" the working class. This classification will stand improving. That the English upper class are materialistic is an historic and every-day fact. They love the flesh and all things material. That they are vulgar and brutal is also a fact. A few families own Britain. A third, perhaps half, of the globe is theirs.

The house of Cecil, to mention only one, was built upon the rapine and plunder of the English peasantry and the Catholic Church during the days of Henry the Eighth and the Protestant reformation. The escutcheon of the Cecils is smeared with the blood of countless thousands of India's and Britain's poor. Lord Robert, South Africa's representative on the League of Nations, is true to family type. When the assembly of the League of Nations met in Geneva, Robert delivered an address in which he described the Bolsheviks as "the greatest enemies of the Western nations," and he proposed, in the interest of humanity, that the League should have a colossal aerial fleet to ensure and compel peace. He had heard that the Soviets were building airships; hence his desire that the League should have ALL the aeroplanes. Should Russia not then come to heel her cities should be totally destroyed. He urgently pleaded with America to join the League for one purpose, and one purpose only, i.e., to enslave or annihilate any section of the world's workers which dared rebel.

The same noble Cecil, in 1918, publicly predicted that forty millions of Russians were doomed to starvation, and he prayed God to avert the calamity! At the same time the British fleet was [illegible] Russian ports, and the armies of Kol[illegible] ken (financed by the Allies) were ra[illegible] fields of the Ukraine! This same [illegible] as chairman at "Russian Fa[illegible] —can you beat it for hypo[illegible] there are guileless American [illegible] Republic" who credit [illegible] fulfilment of Abraham [illegible] when in America) with [illegible] peace! Lordly Cecil! A[illegible] a harp in his hand, a [illegible] [illegible] on his knees.

Face the Music!

LABOUR CHASING AFTER FALSE GODS.

Karl Radek has been advising the German Communists, as a second string, to carry their propaganda beyond the working class into the ranks of the ruined German petty bourgeoisie. The South African Labour Party and some of the Trade Unions go further and neglect the working class altogether in favour of the "commercial classes," and the propaganda they apply is anything but working class propaganda at all. In Jimmy George's election manifesto, for instance, an appeal is made to rescue "our race and civilisation" by "fostering industries and agriculture"; but "our race and civilisation" in South Africa to-day means a small dominant race exploiting, to the detriment of most of its own members, the labour of a subject one; and fostering industries and agriculture ONLY MEANS INTENSIFYING AND ACCELERATING THIS PROCESS. "Taxing land," too, results at best in an increase of landowner individualism hostile to real progress. "Native reserves" and "Asiatic emigration" under such a system are only window dressings; they may suppress competition with Europeans for land or business custom, but they will only flood the labour market the more with those so dispossessed. "Education for every child" (i.e., white child only) again means keeping the non-white children ignorant, and therefore cheap and docile, again with the same result; and the like with the "eight hours day," i.e., for white workers only, while the blacks on the mines, for instance, do thirteen. Is this the way to compose "ill-feeling between the citizens of the country"? And after all, "driving out our race and civilisation" is not peculiar to South Africa; IN EVERY CAPITALIST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD "OUR RACE AND CIVILISATION" ARE GOING TO THE DOGS.

Then we have a circular addressed by the Engine Drivers to the farmers and commercial community, and even the churches, urging a "fair return to capital" and a reservation of skilled and semi-skilled work to whites. Again, do our fellow-workers really expect, with all their experience of who really pulls the strings in capitalist South Africa, that those they now appeal to will sacrifice themselves by refusing to engage cheap skilled or semi-skilled labour? It may be said that tradesmen do not employ much labour. But they are politically the blindest section of the community, and will not be deterred by engine drivers from following big labour-employing finance to their own detriment, as in last year's strike. Why this almost wilful refusal to see existing class distinctions? Only by recognising the opposition between proletarian and other interests can the situation be mastered, and only in the direction of detaching the proletarianised petty bourgeois from the rest can such an appeal as that of the S.A.E.D. and F.A. have any meaning.

The Miners' Union have also issued a manifesto appealing more tellingly to the commercial community as "next for the axe" in view of the replacement of white labour by black. But the miners are wise enough not to recommend any reform but to limit themselves to an appeal to "pause and THINK"!

Finally, the N.U.R.A.H.S. eschew all appeal to any other class except the workers, and, without suggesting a real way out, confine themselves to urging, quite properly, a rally to the Union in order to resist the masters' offensive.

Workers, Labourites, Engine Drivers, Miners, Railwaymen! Face the music! Not by sucking up either to the bosses or to their satellites the "commercial community" (except those very few, already knocked out in the struggle, who see which way history is moving) will you emancipate yourselves! Realise the class struggle as the fundamental fact of modern society, both in South Africa and in every other country. The exploitation of cheap labour is universal; and the only way out is to organise all the workers, the cheap ones of course included, to overthrow the rule of the drones. LET ALL THESE UNIONS TURN NOT TO THE BOURGEOISIE BUT TO THEIR BROTHER UNIONS AS WELL AS TO THEIR UNORGANISED FELLOW-WORKERS. To them let their manifestoes be addressed, let all their activity be towards rapprochement not with [illegible] of the popula[illegible] WITH EACH OTHER; TO-[illegible] A REAL UNITED ORGAN-[illegible] OF THE WORKING CLASS, [illegible] Trades and [illegible] in ONE [illegible] THE WHOLE OF [illegible] EMPE-[illegible] the [illegible] is the only

THE KREMLIN.

On Sundays the proletariat of Moscow and from the country is taken to see the museums and other places of interest in and around the city. No excursion is so much sought after and so interesting as a visit to the Kremlin. This queer assembly of buildings of all periods, purposes and designs, enclosed by the great brick wall with its green tiled towers, is full of interest not only to strangers but even more so to the Russian himself. Some score of parties, each with their guide, were in the precincts on the Sunday when, with a cosmopolitan crowd from the Commintern, I visited what may be described as the heart and even the cradle of Russia, for it is said that the wandering tribes who eventually developed by natural increase and conquest into the Russian nation pitched their camp on what is now the Kremlin built by the side of the river.

* * *

It was then part of a forest, and the name Kremlin is said to mean forest. Around the stockade which was built to defend the infant settlement grew up collections of huts and houses of traders, artisans, etc., and Moscow was founded. The chiefs and nobles, with the head of the church, reigned over the surrounding country from this centre, and in time of danger and invasion gave protection to the inhabitants within its walls, which were first of wood and later of solid masonry. The first church built within the Kremlin was removed by Czar Nicholas in 1847 because it obstructed the view from the new palace which he was building. This palace is a collection of gorgeously decorated apartments, and the first object which arrests the eye on ascending the magnificent staircase is a great painting by the Russian artist Repin representing Alexander III. addressing representatives of the peasants from all over Russia. It is a fine picture and shows the haughty Czar telling his people that the rumours which agitators had been spreading, to the effect that more land was to be given to the peasants and that their lives were to be made less hard, were all moonshine, and that they were to go back to their districts and tell the people to remain loyal, religious and obedient to the Government or it would be the worse for them. Bitter disappointment is clearly shown in the faces of the patient and humble crowd, but such pictures make one understand why there has been a revolution in Russia.

* * *

In front of the picture the Soviet has placed the figure of a worker standing on a sphere and with vigorous gesture inviting the workers of all lands to unite. The gorgeous new palace built in 1847 is a monument to the skill of the Russian workmen, but is now interesting to Communists as the building in which the congresses of the Third International are held. The gloomy but picturesque rooms of the old palace were more interesting than the gorgeous new palace and seemed in keeping with the dark and bloody regime which was for centuries centred in them. At the same time one cannot help recognising that these old cut-throats and tyrants did build up and hold together against the assaults of Tartars, Swedes and the great Napoleon himself the nation which was destined to put up the most heroic struggle in history against a world assault, against internal disorders, and one of the most frightful famines in modern history. The Russians have been trained in a rough school, but it has admirably fitted them for their heroic and responsible role as the vanguard and standard-bearers of the world proletarian revolution which they now proudly accept.

W.H.A.

A RUSSIAN WEDDING.

It is a holiday—a church holiday—and the wicked Soviet Government recognises it officially; and no shop, store, office or factory is working. It should be warm summer weather, but Moscow has had no summer this year. One wanders about the streets observing the never-ending variety of types and costumes to be seen in this gateway to the East. Seeing a crowd round one of the churches, and as it is raining, one enters. It is a small church and full of people of all sorts, the devout and the merely curious. As usual, it is a mass of ornamental brass and gilt work, barbaric rather than beautiful to Western eyes. The occasion is a marriage. The bride and bridegroom are in correct Western clothes. We arrive just as amid the incessant chanting of the priests and choir two young men, friends of the bridal pair, hold a crown over their heads. The bride and bridegroom are each holding a lighted candle in front of them. For about half an hour these crowns are held over the heads of the contracting parties whilst the chanting and crossing goes on. They both kiss a cross, the bible, and some other things several times, drink alternately from a little cup several times, and walk in procession round and round with the priests whilst their attendants struggle hard to keep the crowns immediately over their heads without touching them. More chanting takes place; then the pair advance to the top of the church where the altar would be in Western Europe, and the priest seems to have a confidential chat with them; and then the lights go out and so do we. Outside motor cars whirl the couple—who are obviously not proletarians—away, and as they go a company of Red soldiers swing past in their long winter coats, singing their regimental songs. The old and the new. The priest crosses the road in top-boots under his long cloak, and watching him stands a figure which one hardly expects to see in real life—a turbaned, be-cloaked, booted and spurred Tartar or some other Eastern, with huge bejewelled dagger slung in front of him, looking as if he had just stepped off the stage of an opera; but no one takes a second glance at such a figure in Moscow.

W.H.A.

White Terror Revived in Finland.

The Finnish Government came into power five years ago by the cold-blooded slaughter of nearly 100,000 workers, in which the Kaiser's troops assisted. This Government is on intimate terms with the British Government, and being strongly under British influence, it has launched a fresh White Terror against the Finnish Labour Party for declaring sympathy with Soviet Russia. 27 of the party's Parliamentary representatives have been arrested, and all the executives and editors. Here is the first message on this matter received by the E.C. of the Communist International, by telegram from Petrograd, on the 8th ult.:—

"The premises of the Finnish Workers' Party were raided on August 3. All the Party papers are suppressed and confiscated. The printing works are closed and sealed. The archives of the C.C. and of the district Committee are confiscated by the secret police. Orders have been issued to arrest the C.C., the D.C., and district secretaries, the contributors to Party papers and the members of the entire Seim fraction (Parliamentary group). On August 2 and 3, 130 responsible Party workers were arrested throughout the country, in Helsingfors, Abo, Tamerfors, Viborg, Uleaborg, Kayam, Jacovstadt, Vaasa, Linholm, etc., and in other provincial towns. Arrests are continuing. At the suggestion of the secret police, repressive measures have been introduced. The question is being discussed in the Ministry of Justice, where the decision was in favour of complete suppression. The arrests and the raid were carried out at the instance of the Ministry of the Interior.

"According to Government information, the cause of all this is the fact that the Finnish Workers' Party had been some time ago declared by the Supreme Court an illegal organisation, in that it had joined the Comintern and that its programme provided, as alleged, for 'the violent overthrow of the social order existing at present in Finland.' At the same time the Government states that the recent measures are not connected with the revelations made recently in connection with Finland, nor with the arrests which were made.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SABOTAGE.

"With respect to recent events, a delegation of the C.C. of the social-democratic party called on the Minister of Justice and demanded information about the raid and arrests. The latter received these followers of Scheidemann in a very friendly manner, and placed the material of the indictment at their disposal. The delegation was evidently satisfied with the explanations of the Minister, as the Viborg social-democratic organ expressed great dissatisfaction with the unsatisfactory attitude of the Communists.

"No information is as yet to hand in Petrograd about the temper and the attitude of the working masses to these events. The above information is culled from Finnish bourgeois papers. To-day or to-morrow it will be probably possible to receive information from Finland through the medium of comrades who left for Finland two days ago. A more detailed report will soon follow. If you have any instructions to give, we shall be glad to have them. The Central Committee has not yet discussed the situation, and has not yet made any decisions."

In view of his attitude to Georgia referred to in our issue of the 14th inst., we join the "Workers' Weekly" in asking when Mr. Philip Snowden is going to lead a protest against this infamous action of a capitalist "democracy."

A similar counter-revolutionary push is taking place in Bulgaria, Roumania and other states bordering on Soviet Russia, as well as in Spain. The European situation, says Comrade Andrews, cannot be indifferent to South African workers. There is much to be indignant about everywhere, of course, but that is no reason for keeping quiet about any of it.

What has become of the assassination of Trotzky and the big textile strike at Moscow? Stinnes was no sooner spoken at Moscow than he was cabled away from it again; but the other stories have become so trite that it is not considered worth while even to contradict them

On July 18 last, at an official farewell at Moscow to the staff of the American Relief Association, which is leaving Russia, the Director of the A.R.A., Col. Haskell, replying to Kamenev's declaration of thanks, expressed high appreciation of the assistance received by the A.R.A. from the Soviet Government, and added that "from personal experience he had become convinced that ALL ATTEMPTS TO DRAW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE WERE GROUNDLESS."

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH.

Branch meeting next Wednesday, October 3, at No. 4, Trades Hall. Business important. More names are still wanted for the Choir.

* * *

BENONI BRANCH.

A Great Workers' Rally will be held under the auspices of the Benoni Branch of the Communist Party on Wednesday next, October 3, at 8 p.m. at the Municipal Supper Room, Benoni. Tickets are at a price to suit the times—one shilling, including refreshments, and a first-class programme is assured. Our Benoni Socials are always enjoyable and successful, and next Wednesday's promises to be more so than ever.

* * *

YOUNG WORKERS' SPORTING ASSOCIATION.

HIKING SECTION: A hike will take place on 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.

The full Strike Prisoners' Release Committee will meet at the S.A.M.W.U. office, No. 8. Trades Hall, Johannesburg, on Sunday next, September 30, 1923, at 10.30 a.m. Business: Petition for Release, Town Hall Meetings, Press Campaign, Finance and General. All willing to assist actively in the movement should attend and join the Committee.

Mussolinism in Greecc.

"COMMUNISTS" MEANS WORKERS.

True to its policy of representing Communists as something apart from and in fact opposed to the general Labour movement, the Press cabled a month ago that there had been an outbreak in Greece in which 300 "Communists" had been arrested. That was true, but not the whole truth, and therefore mighty like a lie, and very similar to the "truth" circulated about the Rand strike of 1922.

We still have no news except that from the capitalist news-agencies. But the mail reports show the intensity and the huge dimensions of the strike, the remarkable solidarity of the workers, and the brutal intervention of the military government.

The movement began with a strike of the flour-mill workers, and spread with great rapidity to other branches of labour. On August 21 THE WHOLE OF ORGANISED LABOUR IN ATHENS was on strike—including railwaymen, tramwaymen, the workers at electrical power stations and gas works, printers, dockers and watermen, etc.

The Government took every measure possible to smash the strike movement. It mobilised the railwaymen and other workers doing "public services," used soldiers and sailors to perform important services where its intimidation had not prevented the workers from joining in the strike, and sent troops with machine guns and armoured cars into the strike districts. These soldiers fired into peaceful demonstrations, and killed several workers. The Government has also ordered the dissolution of ALL TRADE UNIONS, arrested a number of Communists, declared strict martial law, and set up special court martials to try the strike leaders.

Well, it has shared the proverbial fate of coward-bullies after a very short-lived triumph. The Mussolinis of Greece are now eating the leek to the Mussolinis of Italy. That may not have opened the prison doors, but it has shown that the most swashbuckling Governments are often the easiest upset.

Comrade SAM BARLIN

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

Room 6 Morley House,

(FIRST FLOOR)

Corner JOUBERT and KERK STREETS.

Comrade Barlin invites you all to give him your orders for Costumes and Suits, and he will give you satisfaction.

NOTE NEW ADDRESS:
Cor. JOUBERT & KERK STREETS.
(Opp. Norman Anstey's.)

PURE WOOL INDIGO SERGE

Costumes or Coat Frocks 4Gns

EXTRA SKIRT, 21/-

Before deciding on Winter Clothes, see Goldman's pleasing range of new materials—Gabs., Worsteds, Suitings.

Men's Suits 75/- EXTRA TROUSERS, 21/-

Delivery subject to complete approval.

A. Goldman [illegible]

1, GOCH'S BLDGS. [illegible] ST., JOH[illegible]

This paper will be [illegible] FOUR WEEKS ONLY (a) to [illegible] subscriptions have [illegible] date of expiry; (b) to [illegible] as likely [illegible]