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The Vengeance and the Thanks of the Hungarian Franc Forgers.

On the Approaching Trial of Rakosi and Comrades.

By Bela Kun.

The Hungarian government of Franc note forgers for long hesitated to proceed with the trial of Mathias Rakosi and the 57 accused along with him. The proceedings before the Special Court against Rakosi, Weinberger, Gögös, Oery and Hamann became — as a result of the heroic behaviour of the accused — a powerful means of agitation for the Communist Party of Hungary which is labouring under the heavy burden of illegality. The Hungarian social democracy — this sometimes open, sometimes secret ally of Bethlen — was compelled to raise the question of the legality of the Communist Party of Hungary. There were even bourgeois newspapers which, pointing to the "Western example", considered it right that "the nests of communist agitation should be allowed to come out into the open".

That the Bethlen government has now decided to take this dangerous step (dangerous not only for the accused but also for itself), can be attributed to the following domestic and foreign political reasons:

1. Even the incredibly mild sentence passed on the franc forgers has created discontent in the extreme Right circles with which Bethlen, since the Franc Forgery Process, has again established close relations. In order to appease their thirst for vengeance, Communist and Left Social Democratic labour leaders must be sentenced.

2. The Left development of the labour movement is going steadily ahead. The Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Labour Party are striking deep roots not only among the industrial working class, but also among the agricultural workers. The gendarmes and their allies, the Hungarian social democratic leaders, had hardly succeeded in holding up the march on Budapest of thousands of miners, with their wives and children, from the mining district of Salgotarja, when the spectre of the reapers' strike made its appearance on the plains of Hungary. The agitational and organisational activity of the Communists extends to all legal workers organisations, including the social democratic Party. In order to intimidate the

working class, bloody sentences must be pronounced which at the same time have the object of depriving the Communists of all possibility of legal work.

3. The Hungarian Socialist Labour Party, the Party of the Left working class, at the beginning of March 1926, summoned the Budapest proletariat to a mass demonstration against the government of franc forgers. It is true the social democratic Party succeeded in preventing the demonstration from becoming a broad mass demonstration, but in spite of this, after this demonstration, the leaders of the Socialist Labour Party, Stefan Vagi, A. Weisshaus, Paul Vandor and others were arrested. In addition to this, in order to be sure of obtaining a judgement against them, the Public Prosecutor connected their case with the proceedings against Rakosi, although even the indictment showed that the police possessed no evidence going to prove any connection between these two parties.

4. By means of the court proceedings against Rakosi, the Hungarian government wish to provide their English imperialist masters with a "Comintern" trial. They wish to provide Chamberlain and Churchill with evidence that the "soviet agent" Rakosi, for years secretary of the Comintern, on behalf of and with the money from Moscow, wished to set up again the proletarian dictatorship in Central Europe. In the League of Nations Chamberlain took upon himself the task of defending the government of franc forgers against the efforts of the Czechoslovakian imperialists who are under French protection. That the Bethlen government was saved is chiefly attributable to this circumstance. In return for this the Hungarian franc forgers are now paying their English Conservative friends who are fighting against the Soviet Union; but they are not paying them with forged francs but with genuine counter-revolutionary support.

What is very remarkable about this trial is the fact that against Rakosi there is only brought the charge of activity in the Comintern and — just recently — in Hungary. The "crimes" which he committed as a member of the revolutionary governing body of the Hungarian Socialist Soviet Republic and on account of which the Hungarian authorities persecuted him for years, are not mentioned in the indictment. He was not even cross-examined regarding these matters. For the ruling classes in Hungary it is not very advisable to stir up the memory of the proletarian dictatorship, especially among the industrial and agricultural working class, the greater part of which is beginning to free itself from the fog of social democratic deception. This is why the government avoided cross-examining Rakosi, as the former People's Commissar, on account of his "crimes" during the proletarian dictatorship.

Another remarkable factor in the trial is the role of the Hungarian social democratic Party. The Public Prosecutor has very weak evidence in his hands. He could only produce as witnesses, police officers and two or three notorious provocateurs and — a member of the C. C. of the Hungarian social democratic Party, Gabriel Horovic. This sweet creature testified to the police that the Hungarian Socialist Labour Party is a bolshevik Party, and it will be his task at the trial, as an expert witness, to give evidence for this assertion.

The 58 accused can be divided into two groups. The one group consists of Rakosi and his four comrades, with whom he has already appeared before the Special Court, and those against whom the concrete charge is brought of having taken part in the Congress of the Communist Party of Hungary abroad, or of attending the Party school set up abroad by the Central Committee of the C. P. of Hungary. The second group is the group which includes Stefan Vagi. The members of this group are accused of having, after the split in the Hungarian social democratic Party, formed a disguised Bolshevik Party and, although they were represented at the Marseilles Congress of the Second International — in spite of this and contrary to the social democratic Party — summoned the working class to the class struggle. The accused in both groups consist for the greater part of workers, but there is also a number of peasants among them. The majority of the accused have already passed through the prisons of the Hungarian white terror, but this did not deter them from continuing their activity in the revolutionary labour movement. The Public Prosecutor is therefore mobilising his whole apparatus against them and is preparing to wreak vengeance on Rakosi and comrades, who during the proceedings before the Special Court and even under the shadow of the gallows, energetically denounced the justice of the Hungarian white terror.

In the trial which will commence on the 12th of July, the organisers of the Hungarian white terror will pronounce their vindictive judgment on the Comintern, the Communist Party of Hungary and the entire Left wing labour movement in Hungary. The charge is not yet finally formulated. The Public Prosecutor has the possibility, even during the proceedings, of altering his accusation in such a manner that, as a result, the court can pronounce the death sentence.

The solidarity of the international proletariat has already once rescued Rakosi from the gallows when he appeared before the Special Court. This devoted, undaunted revolutionary, along with his 57 comrades, now calls again for international solidarity.

Questions of the International Revolutionary Struggle.

(From his Speech at the Meeting of Functionaries of the Moscow Organisation of the C. P. S. U. on June 8th 1926.)

By N. Bucharin.

The Lessons of the English Strike.

Three Points of the Descending Curve of Capitalism.

If we approach the question from a general point of view, we must state that the international situation at present is chiefly determined by three great events.

1. The general strike and, after it came to an end, the miners' struggle in Great Britain.

2. The continued national revolutionary fight in China which is passing through various stages but persists.

3. The events in Poland which include some phenomena which may be described by the word "civil war".

It is not difficult to grasp the fact that England and China on the whole represent the two chief poles of capitalist relations in world economics. Even though America — at present at any rate — shows an ascending line of capitalist conditions, even though our Soviet Union shows an ascending line on a new foundation, i. e. on the foundation of the proletarian dictatorship, the British Empire is nevertheless the classical representative, the classical incorporation of the old capitalism with its monopolies of highly developed industry, with its whole amount of various colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries, among which China does not come last.

Although China is not in the direct sense a colony of England, it is nevertheless an object of the colonial exploitation of English imperialism. And this immense British Empire is

now being shaken on two sides, from the Chinese side and also from the side of the metropolis which is the heart of the Empire.

As regards Poland, it also deserves interest as the classical type of the newly formed States since the war, i. e. of those States which have come into being as the result of the war and post-war crises. Out of sheer habit we are sometimes inclined to think of Poland as the old Czarist Poland, as a comparatively small country under foreign influence. We need only glance at the politico-geographical map of Poland in order to realise at once that the Poland of to-day is a vast country which has come into being as a result of the war crisis and of various post-war events, a State which has a fairly important part to play, which, thanks to its situation, forms one of the points of junction of present-day politics.

Looked at from this point of view, one can say without hesitation that the events in England, China and Poland are of enormous significance. It is absolutely essential for our policy that we should rightly estimate these events.

By the events in England we understand in this case the strike of the English working class. England has always been the classical country of the most conservative working class in the world; for a long time the English working class was the pillar of the bourgeoisie. This was closely connected with England's unique monopoly in the world market. The undermining of this monopoly has caused a re-grouping within the country and a re-grouping of the English working class.

English capitalism is an expression, perhaps the most telling illustration, of the inclined plane down which capitalism as a whole is sliding. In connection with this are the permanent crisis in England, the continued unemployment, the collapse of the chief branches of English industry, above all the decline of the metal and coal industry. It was on this basis that the fight broke out.

The Bourgeoisie Mobilised, the Reformist Leaders Betrayed.

The bourgeoisie and the Government were excellently prepared for the anticipated fight, they had concentrated all the military forces and means of suppression, the organs of propaganda, the bourgeois Press, under one uniform, centralised control, they had thoroughly drilled the apparatus of Government and its systematic working and arranged a division of labour between the individual organs in which, on the one hand, Baldwin appears as the "reconciler", as the "benevolent grandfather" who stands above the classes and, on the other hand, guarantees a unanimous will on the part of the Government, directed against the working class. Thereupon the Government and the bourgeoisie forced their way into the camp of their class enemies, providing themselves with an extremely wide-spread service of espionage and, not satisfied with that, secured themselves an alliance with the upper stratum of the General Council. Thus we see that the Government had built up its strategy and, on the basis of that, its tactics, in such a way that all means — from the purely mechanical, military means of compulsion to the organisation of a direct conspiracy against the working class within the working class — were mobilised, prepared and taken into calculation.

The leading upper stratum of the working class, above all the General Council, had on the contrary hardly made any preparations for a real fight. There was no question of a mobilisation of the forces in the General Council which could in the least be compared with the mobilisation of the forces in the camp of the bourgeoisie, and a mobilisation of the proletarian forces was only undertaken by the Communist Party and the "Minority Movement", i. e. the Left — the real Left — opposition within the trade unions which, taken as a whole, goes hand in hand with the Communist Party. As regards the overwhelming mass of the English workers who are organised in trade unions, their forces were simply not mobilised. Furthermore, some of the leading group of these trade unions, in the persons of Thomas and MacDonald and of all those privy councillors and previous ministers of His Majesty, were, as has already been mentioned, in direct connection with the bourgeoisie and, at the decisive moment, went over to its side. The whole tactics of the General Council, the nature of which can only be described as treacherous, arose out of this strategic situation.

The Political Character of the Fight.

The masses joined in the fight, the masses developed unusual energy, the masses rose like one man to defend the miners. This general strike which was proclaimed by the trade union leaders, on the one hand under the pressure of the masses and on the other hand in the hope that it would be impossible to carry it out, immediately created a new situation. If in a country like England, almost five millions enter the fight — this figure was mentioned by the English bourgeois journal "The Economist", which has no interest in exaggerating the greatness of the labour assault — it means that class stands against class. When however class marches against class, it is an important stage in the political fight, for the action of a gigantic mass numbering millions, of a whole class is no longer the problem of a fight against an individual capitalist nor even against individual groups of capitalists, but it threatens the power of the State itself. The situation created by the fact of the general strike could not be anything else. What should have been done from the point of view of the Government and of the bourgeoisie? The only thing to be done was to bring into action the whole apparatus of the mobilised forces of the bourgeois regime, and this is what the Government did by proclaiming a state of emergency and mobilising the army, the police reserves and the strike-breaking machinery.

From the standpoint of the working class, the energy of the masses had to be brought into play, the fight intensified and carried forward. An advance in this fight meant guiding it into political lines, issuing more challenging slogans, not being afraid of a collision with the mechanism of Government

nor of even raising the question of the seizure of power.

The following situation arose: the General Council was faced by the necessity of entering into this fight with the masses, and that implied entering on the revolutionary path, for a collision with the Government, a fight against the Government, in the circumstances which prevailed at that time, involved turning the fight on to political lines which, sooner or later, would inevitably have led to the question of power. The General Council which of course did not desire this, resisted the onrush of the masses in every way, but was nevertheless compelled to tread this path of a political fight. When for instance, it began to call into being a department for the distribution of food and of electricity, for information etc., it was going almost as far as the position taken by the Petrograd Soviet in the first half of the summer of 1917, when it practically organised a "double government" by creating these departments; on the one hand, the Government organises its information service, distributes food, rules over the masses, on the other hand, side by side with it, grows up a mass organisation which gradually begins to take over these functions.

Two Forms of Treachery.

The more clearly and distinctly the contours of a transition to the political fight and to the raising of the most acute question in the class war became visible, the more headlong the retreat of those persons was bound to be who are not such good revolutionaries as, let us say, our present chairman, Comrade Uglanov. (Laughter.) It was from this situation that the fact of the treachery of the "leaders" arose, this treachery finding expression in two forms. We must look at these two forms of treachery without any illusions.

In the General Council there were at first two wings; the Right wing with Thomas at its head and the Left wing with Purcell at its head.

Thomas, as a Privy Councillor of the King, has sworn an oath in which he pledges himself to use all his powers to suppress and annihilate anything which is injurious to his Majesty's interests. Thomas has more than once betrayed the working class and, after the so-called "Black Friday" in 1921, he stated before the court that he was prepared to frustrate any strike which could serve the cause of revolution. This group, in my opinion, quite deliberately worked for a defeat; it betrayed the strike quite consciously at the moment when it had reached its highest point and quite deliberately joined with the class enemies of the strikers, liquidating the strike through an order of the General Council.

It is hardly probable that the "Left" wing was in direct touch with the Government or that it was bought by the Government (even politically and not financially), nevertheless, through its fundamental attitude "against revolution", with its dread of a fight and of revolutionary measures, this "Left" brought things so far that, although it could have had the majority in the General Council and could have exercised a decisive influence on the resolutions of the General Council, it was actually in the power of Thomas and his followers, and carried out his policy, while some of these "Lefts" arrived at a very interesting position, as for example Hicks, who spoke of the "damned Russian money".

What are we to think of the tactics and of the behaviour generally of these Reformist leaders? In my opinion, we have in the case in question to do with two peculiarities. One of them is deliberately treacherous and the other is a matter of capitulation. If however judgment is passed as to the political responsibility of these different groups, it can by no means be said that the "Left" wing is politically any less responsible than the Right.

The Left wing indeed bears a greater responsibility, firstly because, thanks to its "Left" position, it had more influence on the revolutionary workers, and secondly, because it might, had it so desired, have had the majority in the General Council. We must therefore, in exposing their treachery, aim our blow with no less force at the "Left" leaders of the General Council than against the Right. We must — as in many other cases — not start from the subjective views of the persons in question, but from their objective activities. The objective action of the Left trade union wing however, which had the majority in the General Council, was much more injurious because it submitted to the Right minority; its responsibility is a greater one than that of Mr. Thomas, the great shareholder.

Mobilisation on the Home and Foreign Fronts.

It can be said that two pronounced features characterise the treachery of these people: firstly their refusal to direct the fight on to political lines and secondly their refusal to accept financial help from the international proletariat. Whilst the Government sent troops against the strikers, mobilised the fleet, called up the police reserves; whilst arrests and threats to confiscate property were being made, i. e. whilst the Government openly emphasised the political character of the strike, these "Lefts" declared: "It is out of the question for us to direct the fight into political lines." Its encouragement of the rejection of a political fight was as good as a capitulation, implied complete disarming of the proletarian forces, as the bourgeoisie very well understood what to do in such a situation. It declared the strike to be illegal, concentrated all its forces in one fist, aimed a blow with this fist at the working classes and made no effort to conceal the political character of its action. On the part of the trade union leaders, the procedure was quite different; the bourgeoisie developed an attack, but the General Council issued the order: "Not a step further!" The former mobilised all its forces, the latter disarmed. This was the one line of capitulation and demobilisation of the proletariat within the country.

At the same time the General Council carried out a demobilisation of the proletarian forces on the outer front. When it refused help from abroad, this rejection, which expressed the dread of "disloyalty" to the bourgeois State, meant nothing more nor less than demobilisation of the proletarian forces in the international sphere.

When the bourgeoisie was deprived of the printing works in London, it had its papers printed in Paris, as it was clever enough to understand that the international solidarity of one's own class can be made use of. When however the international proletariat came to the leaders of the trade unions to offer help, the latter said: "You have come to the wrong shop."

A communication published in the Press reveals the internal mechanism of this refusal. After the publication of the facts, there is no longer any doubt that they declared that it was "inconvenient" to accept our help for the simple reason that the Government had forbidden them to accept it.

The leaders however preferred to conceal these facts from the workers. They might openly have said: "Our best thanks to the workers of the Soviet Union for their help, but the Government refuses to allow the money to come into the country." Instead of this, they screened their imperialist, bourgeois Government and took all the blame on themselves, concealing from the working class the fact that the Government had forbidden the banks to pay out to the General Council the money sent them by the Central Council of the Soviet trade unions.

These two lines of treachery, the lines of internal and of external treachery, have, in essentials, decided the fate of the general strike.

The Miners' Fight.

It would however be quite wrong to regard all the events in England as a defeat and nothing more. Above all we must not for a moment forget that the magnificent fight of the miners is still going on. The prospect of this fight developing further is by no means out of the question and it is not impossible that the masses of workers will again join in on a new basis in support of the miners. We have received a telegram to-day to the effect that the International Miners' Secretariat has resolved to give help to the fighting English miners. If the Reformist brutes who are at the head of the Secretariat, have resolved to help the miners, it is a sign that the cause of the miners is on a fairly solid basis. If there were any clear signs that the strike was doomed to failure, the Reformist leaders would abandon it, as rats abandon a sinking ship. We must not for a moment imagine that the fight in England has come to an end, that the wind has dropped. The miners' strike is still shaking the economic life of the whole country to its foundations, it is still a revolver pointed at the head of the bourgeoisie. The miners remain and will continue to remain steadfast. The chief task, not only of the Communist International as a whole, but of every single functionary of the revolutionary movement, of both the political and the economic functionaries and, in the first place, of every single Communist, is now to help the miners with all means in their power.

The development of the miners' strike, the efforts to enlist other troops of the working class in support of the miners, this is the practical, the immediate task of the day, this is the conclusion which we must, in the first place, draw from the analysis of events in England.

The General Strike as a Means of Struggle.

I pass on to the analysis of some problems which are bound up with the lessons of the British strike, of some problems which in recent times have been matters of dispute in our Party and in the Communist International, which, in view of the resolutions of the C. C. of our Party and of the resolution of the Communist International, have lost their character of matters of dispute. In the theses which were passed unanimously by the Executive of the Comintern, these questions were answered clearly and unequivocally.

First of all a few words on the strike as a method of fighting. A campaign is at present being carried on in England with full steam, not only on the part of the bourgeois Press but also on the part of the Reformist Press and of the General Council etc., a campaign which can best be described as a concentrated assault on the idea of the general strike. Not only big guns, but medium-sized and small guns are being employed, but the aim remains the same: that of destroying the idea of the general strike and of discrediting it in the eyes of the workers.

A whole number of "arguments" of all shades could be mentioned, with which the attempt is made to discredit the general strike. These considerations are based on a weak-kneed fear of a revolutionary fight on the part of the Philistines. Some of them point out with justification, that the general strike places the masses of workers in opposition to the Government. The Philistine conclusion which they draw, is that none but a madman would dream of a victory of the masses over the Government. Such a Philistine, such a narrow-minded point of view is of course by no means binding for us. We say, it is not the general strike which is bankrupt but the Reformist methods of carrying on the general strike. What has always been an axiom for every Communist, is now once more confirmed by the course taken by the English strike.

One of the lessons of the English strike is that, thanks to the specific conditions of the fight which prevail among the working class in England, the general strike has, just in that country, far greater significance than in any other country. This, in my opinion, is the result of two circumstances which were fairly clearly expressed in the recent fight.

The first circumstance is connected with the social-economic structure of England: an enormous proletariat which represents the overwhelming majority of the population, an extremely low percentage of peasants, a high percentage of workers organised in trade unions, and a Communist Party which is still comparatively weak.

The second circumstance relates to the military. In England the centre of gravity of the armed forces is not in the army but in the navy. In a civil war or in decisive conflicts, the navy cannot take a large immediate share, as civil war does not so much take place at sea but rather on land and, to the regret of the English Government, the navy is anything but mobile on land. (Laughter.)

This of course does not mean that the strike should not be carried on in higher forms of struggle. I will only say that, if we regard the relations between the general strike and other, previous methods of fighting, more weight must be attached to the general strike in England than in any other country. In England more than in any other country, the general strike is a necessary preliminary to a victorious fight of the working class. This, I believe, is the first conclusion we must draw, and it is explained by the special peculiarities of the English Labour movement and by the specific conditions of the fight.

The Part Played by the Trade Unions in England.

The second problem concerns the trade unions. Lenin taught us to devote the greatest attention to the trade unions just in England. When he insisted on our studying the significance of the trade unions from all sides, when he pointed out the enormous part played by these organisations in the whole Labour movement of Western Europe etc., he underlined these instructions with regard to England three times. The facts

are as follows: the general strike was carried on by the trade unions, it was carried on — though in a treacherous way — by the General Council of the trade unions; in the provinces the great majority of the committees of action and of the strike committees were organs of the trade unions. The organising power of the working class has shown itself particularly on these lines. No other organisation could enter into competition with the trade unions either in extent or in significance.

And now, in connection with this conclusion, we must point to a third lesson of the strike. This is that the English working class approaches the question of the power of the State, i. e. of the revolution, in an original form, not in that form in which it was approached in our country or in Germany but, as I have said, in a peculiar form which is due to the peculiarities of the English Labour movement. I have already pointed out that the whole strike was carried on by the trade unions. In those cases where the movement has already outgrown the limited framework of an economic fight, the framework into which it was pressed during the whole time by the leaders of the General Council, this fact of outgrowing its limitations, has found expression in a number of truly interesting facts, slogans, actions etc. In several localities the organs of the trade-unions actually had the leadership of the smaller towns, i. e. the power was in their hands.

Let us consider the slogans! In several districts the slogan was proclaimed: "All power to the local Committees of Action!" This slogan brought the trade-union organisations, as far as their function was concerned, near to the Soviet organisations as they were during the period immediately preceding the fight for power. Our Communist brother-party issued the slogan: "Down with the Baldwin Government that supports the capitalists!" And then: "All power to the General Council!" Without doubt, this slogan was in the beginning intended to mean that the movement should be centralised and the leadership of the movement be concentrated in the hands of the General Council in order that isolated disorganising actions might be avoided. The more, however, the developments exceeded the bounds of the economic fight and the more the trade-union movement in the course of the strike took on the character of a political fight on the part of the workers against the State machinery of the bourgeoisie, this slogan developed even objectively into one which resembled the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" For, insofar as the elements of a double government were created, and insofar as the General Council was, against its own will, surrounded by organisations which resembled our Soviet organisations at the moment immediately preceding the fight for power, the slogan "All power to the General Council!" grew into a political slogan.

Why, however, were no Soviets formed in England, but only Committees of Action? Why was the slogan "All power to the Soviets" not issued? For this reason; because the working class in England, in contrast to other countries, had taken a path which was in a certain measure peculiar. As a consequence of its whole history, as a result of the tremendous importance of its Trade-Union organisation, and on account of its historic traditions the English proletariat did not take up the question of power by circumventing the Trade-Unions but through the Trade-Unions themselves. I believe this is a very unique fact. Lenin always demanded from us the analysis of the special traits, of the peculiar characteristics of every individual period and every country, and not merely the constant repetition of one stereotyped formula valid for all times and for all circumstances. When we put the question, what are these specific and peculiar features of the English Labour Movement, then we must draw the conclusions which at the same time constitute one of the greatest lessons of the English general strike, i. e. that the English working class will approach the question of power through the Trade Unions.

This of course does not mean that it would be binding for all time, nor yet, let us say, if the labour movement in England suddenly came to a halt to revive again in ten years time, that it would repeat its present experience.

We must record this lesson, because it has a bearing upon several conclusions which I shall mention later. A number of comrades fail to appreciate this question of the peculiarities of the English labour movement. I believe however that we must not underestimate them if we wish to understand the English

labour movement and the peculiar and special lessons of the General Strike. From the standpoint of a Leninist and Marxist analysis we are obliged to treat the question in this manner.

The Communist Party of Great Britain and its Critics.

I now proceed to the question of the Communist Party, its part in the fight and the conclusions which we must draw from its activity.

In an article published in the "Pravda" it was maintained that the English labour movement has an over-developed organisational apparatus and that this over-developed apparatus in its various forms — in the trade unions and in the parties, including the Communist Party — has proved itself to be a "brake on revolution". In simple language this idea may be expressed as follows: there is an English working class which is treading the path of revolutionary development: it has various organisations: trade unions, a Labour Party, an Independent Labour Party, a Communist Party, etc.: all this is "apparatus". That is altogether the standpoint of "universal apparatus" every thing is apparatus. From the standpoint of such a mechanical conception that small part of the machinery represented by the English Communist Party is, along with the other parts, a portion of the brake on revolution. I believe that this standpoint is absolutely false and that it is refuted by the facts of the case. This is not a question of theoretic considerations which can be conjured up out of nothing, but a matter of analysis of facts. The facts contradict this theory. The theory is also contradicted by the earlier and the present resolutions of the Communist International.

First of all, is it right to assume that the Labour Party, the trade unions, the Independent Labour Party and the Communists are all in the same boat? I believe that this is by no means true. And this view cannot be maintained by anybody.

Our Communist Party in England is conducting a correct policy on the whole. While still a young Party it encountered serious difficulties; it was confronted by gigantic tasks and it stood the test with honour. For this reason we are prepared to defend the Party against anybody who maintains that it forms a portion of the "apparatus of the brake on revolution".

Has the Party made any serious blunder? I do not think so. It deliberately made preparation for the Miners' Strike; in conjunction with the Minority Movement it mobilised all its available forces in support of the strike; it issued at the right time the slogan of a General Strike in support of the miners; it issued the slogan for an immediate transition from the defensive to the offensive, because "a general strike which merely defends itself and does not attack is doomed to defeat"; it also issued the slogan: "Down with the Baldwin government which supports the capitalists!"; it issued the call for "All power to the General Council!" Is that not a correct line?

I must admit that I personally was somewhat surprised at the immense political tact with which our English brother-party acted. Let us take, for example, the slogan: "Down with the Baldwin-Government that supports the capitalists". That is a very clever slogan. It does not simply confine itself to the utterance: "Down with the Baldwin government", because great numbers of the English working class entered this fight with strong prejudices concerning the classes and because many of them still regarded the government as something great, standing above the classes. Whether consciously or unconsciously, I cannot say, but the English Communist Party certainly successfully repeated our Bolshevik tactics employed at the time of the development of the events following upon the February revolution. As Lenin said, it was with great caution that we at that time approached the "honestly mistaken masses". For some time we did not merely say: "Down with the whole provisional government", but we said: "Down with the capitalist Ministers!" The English Communist Party adopted a similar line of action. Subsequently the Party went further and issued such slogans as: "All power to the Committees of Action!" "All power to the General Council!" etc.

The slogan: "All power to the General Council" arose, as we have already mentioned, out of the need for a centralised movement. "Power" in this case means the leadership of all organised proletarians. The more this fight became a political fight the more significant became this slogan. More and more it came to resemble the cry: "All power to the Soviets!"

On the economic side of this fight the Party rightly advocated the nationalisation of the mines without compensation. It

was right in its judgement that the report of the Coal Commission was a "declaration of war on the working class". It called for a desperate fight against this report; it exposed the traitors of the Right as well as the "Left" traitors and muddle-heads: it called for the organisation of a proletarian united front with a concrete fighting programme. These tactics were entirely based upon the principle of transition "from defensive to offensive". This was the proper line to take.

The Minority Movement was under the leadership of the Party and fought alongside it. The reports and communications which we have received show that the Communists, despite their small numerical strength, were represented on practically every committee of action, that every one of these committees in which the Communist element was stronger followed a correct policy, that in every case where an active fight arose the Communists were in the forefront, that the number of Communists arrested was considerable, etc.

I must dwell for a moment upon that criticism of our English Party emanating from several ultra-Left sources and from persons expelled from the German Communist Party.

The group formed by Katz, Korsch and others excluded from the German Party is now issuing leaflets in which it is stated that the strike has failed on account of betrayal on the part of the Communist Party and of the Comintern. In the platform of our ultra-Left comrade Urbahns, one of the leaders of the opposition inside the German Communist Party, it is stated that in the strike period the Communist Party completely disappeared and was nowhere to be found. We should very much like to prescribe spectacles for these dear friends of ours, although in general people who are totally blind do not use glasses. This same comrade Urbahns accuses the English Party of being in agreement with the proposal of the bourgeois Coal Commission. Such an accusation is a stupid calumny, for as a matter of fact, the Communist Party has consistently and repeatedly declared that the proposal of this Commission, which could only result in an aggravation of the miners' position, amounts to a declaration of war on the working class. What can the object be of this intentionally dishonest criticism? Its aim is to open the attack against the activity of the Comintern and directly against our Party. In order to hit this "institution" it is necessary to shoot from the side, and in order to be able to shoot from the side it is necessary to invent arguments if none are otherwise available. To regard the Communist Party of Great Britain as a revolutionary skid-pan, is to fly in the face of the facts — apart from a great number of other considerations. This in itself is sufficient to damn the criticism.

The ignoring of the Trade Unions in the search for "new revolutionary organisations" outside and in opposition to the Trade Unions leads us to a fresh question in connection with the lessons of the General Strike.

The following view has been put forward in our Press: If ever the present forms of the English Labour Movement should constitute a revolutionary brake it would be necessary to seek "new revolutionary forms". This means that we should have to create some new kind of organisation to take the place of the Trade Unions.

Among the people who are developing this ingenuous idea are the leaders of the opportunist Independent Labour Party of England.

One of them, Wheatley, writes, for instance, in an article, entitled "Survey of the Great Capitulation":

"Now, that the Trade Unions are letting themselves be bound by their enemies it is possible that the creation of a new form of organisation may prove necessary".

The leadership of the Trade Unions showed itself to be bankrupt: let us therefore create in the place of the Trade Unions real revolutionary Trade Unions and real revolutionary organisations! How beautifully simple it all seems!

There are two fundamentally different lines of conduct, two completely different kinds of tactics: the one which aims at the entry of fresh masses of workers into the Trade Unions, the reorganisation of the Trade Unions, and their capture by the revolutionary elements; and another which advocates the policy of forsaking the Trade Unions, which attempts to replace the Trade Unions by fresh organisations etc. One can choose either of these two lines of tactics, but one cannot vacillate between the two. A definite choice must be made. This question has now been raised in its entirety after the liquidation of the General Strike and we must deal with it thoroughly and give to it a

definite answer which shall clearly mark out the line we intend to take, so that every worker may know our attitude towards this question.

First of all a few preliminary remarks. The heroes of the Independent Labour Party have brought forward the problem of the search for new forms of organisations. It would appear as though they took up a revolutionary standpoint. But what is the actually case? In reality they are making a common attack upon the idea of the General Strike. There is the article by Brailsford, who discovered ten days after the capitulation of the General Council that one of the General Councils greatest mistakes was its interference with the freedom of the Press, which antagonised the bourgeois journalists; a consequence which, in Brailsford's opinion, was bound to have fateful effect upon the result of the strike. I might also quote the words of other similar troubadours of the new revolutionary organisations. Their conduct, in reality, is merely a running away from the problem of the fight, as well as from the solution of the extremely difficult task of attracting fresh millions of workers into the Trade Unions, and of capturing the Trade Unions in the interests of a successful execution of real actions. These big talkers of the Left will expatiate upon new forms and thereby get out of touch with the main current of the movement, but the movement in thus remaining a captive of the Right will inevitably suffer a serious defeat.

It is of interest to observe that after the defeat of the General Strike, which was undoubtedly caused by the treachery of the leaders, a tendency to withdraw from the Trade Unions was noticeable in all the disappointed sections of the working class. It is not a difficult matter to understand the arguments of these workers: "Those scoundrels, the leaders of the General Council, have let us down; it's no use trying to get them to do anything; let's leave the Union!" Such simple psychology has often been met with in the history of the International Movement; it is nothing new. A similar tendency to leave the Trade Unions was particularly strong in Germany after 1923 and you, comrades, who follow the work of the Comintern can appreciate the tremendous effort it cost us to put a stop to the danger. You are aware that even the former Central Committee of the German Communist Party was obliged to expel from the Party a considerable number of comrades, because they refused to work in the reformist Trade Unions and advocated quitting the Trade Unions. We believe that this otsovist boycott movement isolates us from the main body of the working class; it isolates us from that environment into which we should do our best to penetrate, in which we should get a footing at any cost and attack position after position and from which we should under no circumstances retire in order to set out after any "new" organisations. (To be continued.)

THE MINERS' STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

The Manoeuvre of the General Council against the Miners' Struggle.

By A. Lozovsky.

Heavy clouds hang over the strike of the British miners. Behind the backs of the strikers, negotiations are taking place, agreements and mutual concessions being made, the purpose of which is perfectly clear. The fight of the 1,200,000 miners is again in danger, not because the pressure on the part of the bourgeoisie is being continually increased, nor because the Churchill and Birkenheads are spitting out venom and threatening all and sundry. No, it is not this that is endangering the miners' fight, but the fact that the General Council have once again openly declared that they are going to adopt measures to "support" the miners. They have already once "supported" the miners in the same way as the hangman's rope supports his victim. They are once again beginning to display an interest in the miners' struggle; and this reawakened interest "happened" to coincide with the Conference of Trade Union Executives at which the General Council would have had to answer for their shameful conduct.

There is a rather curious story connected with this conference of the Trade Union Executives. The General Council were to have convened this conference immediately after the

general strike in order to give an account of their actions to those who had entrusted them with full powers. The General Council postponed the conference until June 25, in the hope that by that time the miners' struggle would have been ended in one way or another and that it would then have been possible to deliver the report in a "peaceful" atmosphere, i. e. simply to bury the painful debate and receive a general amnesty and absolution. The miners, however, still continued their struggle, in spite of all the machinations of the General Council. The leaders of the General Council fully realised that it would be a difficult job to come forward and submit an account of their actions during the general strike while the miners' struggle was still going on. It would have meant stating plainly under what circumstances the strike was called off, what "guarantees" the General Council had received etc. The miners' struggle is a crying refutation of all the talk and chatter, both of the Right and the so-called Left leaders in the General Council as to how they succeeded in concluding an honourable peace. Thus it came about that the miners' struggle appeared as an unexpected disturbing factor in the plans of the politicians in the General Council.

When it was seen that the miners were still holding out and would still be holding out even during the conference, the General Council began to manoeuvre, to retreat and to attempt to obscure the issue. Two days before the conference the General Council decided to make a further grant of £ 10,000 to the miners; thereupon the General Council began to work on the Miners' Federation and to persuade them to agree to a postponement of the conference. This manoeuvre was crowned with success. The declaration of the General Council regarding the postponement of the conference of the Trade Union Executives states:

"The General Council and the Miners' Federation consider this (the postponement) imperative so that a united policy may be adopted to resist to the fullest possible extent the Government's action... The General Council and the Miners' Federation regard it as of the greatest importance at this juncture that all sections and parties should avoid statements, either in speech or writing, which create friction and misunderstanding and divert attention from the purpose in view."

Every single word of this declaration is a real gem. It appears that the General Council consider it necessary that "a united policy be adopted". But upon what basis? The submission of the miners to the mineowners? Obviously. For the sentence, "to resist to the fullest possible extent the Government's action", contains nothing concrete. At the present moment the fundamental question of the struggle is — the miners' lock-out. Nothing is said regarding this question, but instead it is strongly emphasised that it is necessary to "avoid statements, either in speech or writing, which create friction and misunderstanding". What speeches are meant here? Speeches directed against the policy of the General Council. The General Council regard criticism of their actions as exceedingly injurious, as this would "divert attention from the purpose in view". What is the "purpose" that the General Council have "in view"? To help the miners? If they had wanted to do that then there would have been no need for them to call off the general strike. It is the "purpose" of the General Council to cloak and conceal the treachery they have committed. Speeches and articles however would hinder this purpose.

In return for a vague promise of indefinite support the General Council demand complete silence and the cessation of any criticism. In whose interest is this? If we did not have enough information in this respect English justice would have furnished an answer. English judges are now sentencing workers to imprisonment for criticising the General Council. The defence of the "purity and innocence" of the General Council lies therefore in the, if not particularly clean, nevertheless very firm hands of the English Courts "which stand above the classes".

This transparent manoeuvre on the part of the General Council, which is obviously being carried out at the expense of the miners, unfortunately found support and sympathy with the Executive of the Miners' Federation. This is a very alarming symptom for the fate of the miners' struggle. According to Cook, the postponement of the Conference of the Trade Union Executives is dictated by the desire to set up a united front of the trade union movement to ward off the attack on the Soviet

Union. We do not share in this opinion. The fight against the attack upon the Soviet Union can be conducted along with the attack on the treachery of the General Council. In order to protect the Soviet Union from attacks it is not by any means necessary to grant an amnesty, an absolution to the traitors and capitulators in the General Council.

The General Council gave the miners the most vague promise to raise the question of placing an embargo on coal. What do the General Council demand in return for this promise? According to Cook, the General Council request the Miners' Federation to forget the past in view of the serious threats against the whole labour movement.

We see, therefore, that the General Council demand very much for their promise which does not bind them to anything. To forget the past means to forget the treachery of the 12th of May. Why should the miners forget Black Wednesday? What do they receive in return for this general amnesty? A resumption of the general strike? Oh, no! A stoppage of the transport of coal? By no means. The miners are rewarded with a new interference by the General Council in their struggle. This means an attempt at a compromise, an attempt at an understanding at all costs, further parleyings with Ministers, miserable talk and, in the final end, the old treachery dressed up in new phrases.

The interference of the General Council in the affairs of the miners is already beginning to bear fruit. The chairman of the Miners' Federation has already declared that he would prefer a reduction of wages to a lengthening of hours. A strange declaration, to say the least. The fight is still going on against the reduction of wages and against longer hours. What sense is there in making such declarations which suggest capitulation? Will the mineowners, perchance, regard this declaration as anything else than the commencement of a surrender? Certainly not. Such are the first beneficent results of the "united front" between the leaders of the General Council and those of the Miners' Federation.

The events now taking place in the fight of the miners deserve the greatest attention. What do these millions of workers get who are deceived by the General Council? Nothing, absolutely nothing, except a further deception. And finally, what do the 1,200,000 miners get who have already been fighting for 10 weeks. Thanks to this manoeuvre they will get a new Black Friday. This is the real meaning of this united front between the leaders which is directed entirely against the miners and against the whole proletariat of Great Britain.

The Fight of the English Miners in Danger.

By John Pepper.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Unions has requested the General Council of the English Trade Unions to convene the Anglo-Russian Committee for the purpose of supporting the miners in their struggle.

This step which has been undertaken by the trade unions of the Soviet Union is of tremendous international importance.

The English miners who are fighting with heroic endurance, are confronted with all the combined forces of the enemy. In spite of the entreaties of the leaders of the Labour Party, the English government has brought in its bill for the extension of the working day in the mines to eight hours. The Right trade union leaders are now endeavouring to induce the government at least to lay before parliament for discussion the bill for the reorganisation of the coal industry. But the Conservative government pays not the least regard to the requests of these "leaders". It has already long forgotten the terms of the Coal Commission's Report, just as it never for one moment considered the Samuel Memorandum seriously.

Ever since a suspicious "contact" has begun to be established between the General Council, the leaders of the Labour Party and the leaders of the Miners' Federation, the entire English bourgeoisie has been full of hope and has been broadcasting the joyful tidings of an approaching "peace".

Even Cook is inclining more and more to the leaders of the General Council. First he gave his consent to the postponement of the Conference of Trade Union Executives which should have taken place on June 25th — in other words, he gave his consent to a postponement of the criticism of the treachery of the General Council. He has now taken a further step in this direction. He has issued a declaration which is directed only

against the lengthening of the working day of the miners. He threatens that, in the event of the introduction of the eight hour shift, there would be such an outburst of indignation that the Conservatives and English capitalism would be swept off the face of the earth. These high sounding phrases, however, only serve to mask his capitulation to the standpoint of Herbert Smith. Thanks to this declaration, Cook has, for the first time since the outbreak of the great struggle, allowed himself to be guided by the principles of the Report of the Coal Commission. At the same time the official leaders of the railway workers and transport workers have declared that their hands have been tied as a result of the capitulation which followed on the general strike, so that they cannot support the fighting miners by preventing the loading and transport of coal.

The fighting English miners are therefore threatened with great dangers. But even on an international scale there is not sufficiently energetic support to be seen for the struggle of the English miners. The opportunist leaders of the international labour movement have prevented the mobilising of the proletariat in the most important coal areas and ports. In the German mining industry overtime is being worked. Coal is being exported to England from Holland and Poland. At its recent sitting the Bureau of the Second International only dealt with "inner organisatory questions", and displayed not the least interest in the strike. The I. F. T. U. and the Miners International are conniving at the manoeuvre of the reformist leaders of the miners who are doing all they can to take advantage of the favourable situation created through the strike. At the recent Conference of the Miners International in London, no mention was made of an international miners' strike, in spite of all the high-sounding words and heroic gestures of the trade union bureaucrats. The question of material support for the miners' struggle was deleted from the agenda, as it was declared that, as in any event it would be impossible to raise the amount of money actually required, it would be better not to do anything at all. The gentlemen who call themselves "leaders" of the international mining proletariat have done nothing in order to prevent the export of coal to England.

Regarded both from the national and the international point of view, the struggle of the English miners is threatened with great dangers. In these circumstances it is quite natural that the Central Council of the trade unions of the Soviet Union has demanded the convocation of the Anglo-Russian Committee. This is all the more necessary as a number of representatives of the English miners have already declared themselves in favour of this convocation.

What, however, can the Anglo-Russian Committee do under the present circumstances? Do there exist any prospects of success? Will the English come to the Conference? Can one, after the treachery which was committed in connection with the General Strike, sit at the same table with those who are guilty of throttling the General Strike? It is, of course possible that the leaders of the General Council will simply sabotage the work of the Anglo-Russian Committee. It is, of course, also possible that, just as they previously refused the material help of the Soviet trade unions, they will also reject help for the English miners. Moreover, it is possible that the representatives of the General Council will turn up in full strength but will not adopt any serious decision. We must keep all these possibilities in view.

In spite of the shameful treachery of the leaders, the General Council is still the leader of the English labour movement. It is still possible for the General Council, by means of a single appeal, to mobilise the whole of the English working class in support of the fighting miners. It is still possible for the General Council to prevent overtime being worked in the Ruhr area, to hold up the export of coal from Rotterdam and Danzig, to prevent the English railway workers, transport workers and dock workers from touching blackleg coal. The Anglo-Russian Committee will be convened for the purpose of inducing the General Council to resort to all these measures. The Trade Unions of the Soviet Union will fulfil their international duty right up to the end. The matter now rests with the General Council of the English Trades Union Congress.

Women's Life in the English Coalfields.

By Katherine B. H. Cant.

In the great struggle which is at present being carried on by the coal miners of Great Britain, one new fact has been strikingly evident. That is the growing presence of a militant spirit amongst the women, especially amongst the miners' wives. In nearly all previous strikes and lockouts, the women concerned have rightly been regarded as more or less of a drag on the men. In this strike however, the miners' wives have shown themselves as eager for the fight as the men. In these areas women have been driven by low wages, high food prices and wretched housing conditions to a realisation that revolutionary action is the only thing that can change their lot, and their suffering has been such that they are no longer afraid of revolution, but eager for it. A new militant spirit is growing up amongst them, shown by the increase in the numbers of women members of the Communist Party in the mining areas and by the new interest and active participation of the women in the activities of the trades unions, the Labour Party and the Strike Committees of Action.

During the General Strike and for about a week after, I was down in the South Wales Coalfield. A little later I paid a visit to the Scottish coalfield in Lanarkshire, and in both these areas I had an opportunity of witnessing how the miners' wives and children are facing the struggle. After the treachery of the cowardly leaders of the Trade Union Congress the miners have been fighting alone. Their courage is unbroken, though a very bitter spirit against those who deserted them is prevalent, but they are determined to carry their fight to victory even though it should last many months.

The conditions of the British miners before the strike started were the most wretched I have ever seen anywhere. Wages in cases I know were so low that a man after working a full week had to apply to the Guardians for money to buy food at the end of it. Unemployment which up to 1921 had been rare was beginning to be prevalent. The conditions of work and the dangers to the life of the miner were becoming worse. His housing is the worst in Great Britain. Things were so bad that in Scotland I have more than once heard a miner's wife say "We are no worse off on strike than we were before. We may as well starve above as below ground."

Since 1921 the wages of any actual coal hewer have never been more than £ 3.10 per week. The average wage of the miner is £ 2.10; 45/- is a good wage and I have repeatedly been shown pay dockets totalling 33/-, 40/-, 37/-, and so on. Sometimes for an adult man with a family for a full week's work £ 1.-. It is seldom owing to the nature of his work that a collier works a full week of 5 shifts. Sometimes he stands waiting for trucks to fill with coal. Sometimes for timber for the roof or for repairs. If his place is a bad one — and they have to work raked in water, lying down, in cramped positions, or have to crawl miles through narrow passages, — he may not be able to stand it more than 3 days per week. In that case he is only paid for 3 shifts. He is never paid for small coal — only for the large coal. He is not paid for the time taken up in getting from his place to the shaft when he knocks off at the end of his shift and that may take him an hour or more. The purchasing power of these wages is very low. Before the strike in an average miner's home food was all that could be bought with the wages after the rent had been paid, and very poor and insufficient food at that. Usually they had meat about once per week. The other days they subsisted on potatoes, bread, and margarine. Butter is absolutely unknown in almost any worker's home in Britain. In Scotland they use a good deal of oatmeal porridge, but in England, tea, bread and margarine with perhaps a little cheese is their most typical meal. The family's clothes are provided by the "tally man", who calls once a week and is paid at the rate of 6d or 1/- or at most 1.6 per week. His goods are poor and shoddy, but the miner must take what he can get.

The housing in the coal areas is the worst in Great Britain, especially in Scotland. In Wales, which is not such an old coalfield, it is slightly better. But I have never seen anything nearer absolute savagery than the life in the miners "rows" in a Lanarkshire village. The "house" consists of one room, never very large. In the wall of this room, locally known as a "single end" there are one or two set in beds in which the whole family sleep. A curtain or a door on this dark recess gives the only privacy one can have. The windows are small and look out on the opposite row or on a rubbish heap as the case may be.

There is no water in the house. Every drop has to be carried from one tap in the centre of the row of 20 or 25 houses, where the only lavatory for the row is also situated. There may be anything from 200 to 300 people living in the "row", in many cases more, because miners have huge families, but the one water closet and tap has to provide for all. On the huge fire that is always burning, there is always the great pot of water heating for the men to bathe when they come home. Such food as they can get has to be prepared at all sorts of odd times because their shifts begin and end at different times each week, and the children come home from school at different times from the fathers too, so the women's work is never done. The men have to bathe as best they can on the kitchen floor in a huge round wooden tub. The tub and the pot are the dowry of every miner's wife. In similar houses in Wales each has its own tap and water closet, but I have never yet seen one of the latter that worked properly or was anything but a danger to the health of the inhabitants. The air is always full of the smell of pit clothes wet or pit clothes drying. Over the miner's wives everyday hangs the fear of what may happen at any time. Not only in great disasters like the Sengenyald Explosion when 300 men were killed in South Wales or the Cambrian pit where nearly as many were drowned, but everyday in the mines of Britain men are killed and maimed. The roof collapses, the cage rope breaks, a journey of trams runs away and some family is left to the tender mercies of the owners compensation or a parish relief.

In most mining areas the coal company is also the owner of the miner's houses and rents are deducted from wages before the men are paid. The rents are very high in proportion to the wage. In Scotland they range from 8/- to 15/- per week and in Wales they are a little higher. This system has one good point—when miners are on strike they pay no rent. But that does not compensate for the loss of wages.

During the coal strike Councils of Action have been set up all over South Wales, in the hands of which all the conduct of this struggle is placed. On every council of action, I saw there were women comrades and many Communist Women comrades. Under the command of these councils of action are all the active women of each district who are detailed for work as they are needed. In the Rhondda Valley where I was, the Council of Action was the Local Soviet and had charge of the District at least during the General Strike. They said which safety men were to work in the mine. If the owners agent wanted a man they had to ask for him from the Council. They settled all Union disputes and business. They arranged pickets. But the work which they specially delegated to our women comrades was that of feeding and not only feeding, but amusing and encouraging and keeping the miners all on strike and their wives and children, as well and cheerful and courageous as could be. During the strike in all mining areas, the children from 5 years up are given one meal a day at school. The quality of the food and the quantity varies. Bread and butter is always available, and in most cases soup of some kind. The more militant districts have better food, because the women on the Council of Action insist on it. In the Rhondda they were given sometimes meat and potatoes. Sometimes, fruit, bananas and apples and bread and butter, and sometimes eggs. These meals were prepared sometimes in the schools, but in most cases in the vestries of the churches. The teachers were in charge of the children during the meal hours. The money for this feeding comes from the local Guardians. Under the "Necessitous Children's Act" teachers are empowered to feed from the public funds children whom they consider need it.

Children under five are allowed milk foods as the authorities consider it necessary from the Child Welfare centres which are also run by the Guardians. In some places the women on the Council of Action have forced the Guardians to allow these little ones to go with their elder brothers and sisters to the school feeding centres, but in other they have only the welfare milk. It is not too much to say every miner's child on strike is suffering from under-nourishment. The only fund which has been opened for the feeding of these children and women is the Labour Women's Fund, which was started by the Labour Party. The W. I. R. is also doing good work among the Kent miners, but the funds only mean a drop in the ocean. There are nearly a million men on strike. Enormous sums would be required to feed the children adequately, and it is not only the children who require feeding.

The Parish Authorities in Britain may not grant relief to any able bodied man on strike. At present in Wales the wives of the miners receive 11/- per week from the Guardians. They have only been granted this after signing a promise to refund the money after the strike is over. In Scotland — Lanarkshire, the amount is 12/- slightly more.

The grant of 11/- or 12/- per week is all the money that comes into any miners house during this strike. The money which trade unions of Britain, the Miners Federation itself and the Trade Union Movements in Russia and other countries have contributed is being used to give at least one good meal a day to the men on strike. In some places non-Unionists are asked for a pledge that after the strike they will pay up their dues and become union members.

The women of the Party in these areas also carry on a continued propaganda amongst the other women drawing as many as possible into the work of these kitchens. In these areas, the feeding of the ration practically goes on at the Communal Kitchens and a system of food supplies has been set up that in a revolutionary crisis would prove invaluable. The supplies for the feeding come from the Cooperative Societies as a whole and in the Guilds of these bodies also our women are at work.

The Party carries on women's meetings everywhere and committees of the miners' wives which report to the women's meetings have been set up in some areas to inquire into various questions connected with the industry. In some places there is talk of maintaining an organisation of wives in connection with the union even after the strike is over. This would render the women more conversant with the politics of the coal industry, would make them understand not merely that there is a strike, but the why and wherefore of any strike. I think it would help the men to fight more courageously if they were sure of the support of the women.

The chief reason of course for the spirit amongst miners' wives is that their conditions will be so dreadful if they lose the strike that they simply cannot face the possibility. If they lose they stand to accept a reduction of from 20 to 33% of their previous wages. In many cases it is simply unthinkable. The possibility of a defeat has turned many into the Communist Party. Their former indifference has completely disappeared. They recognise the class struggle and know clearly which side they are on.

The Coal Strike in Britain and the Young Miners.

By W. Williams (South-Wales).

The struggle that is now being waged in the mining industry in Britain is one that requires the closest attention of the international working class youth; for the young miners alongside the adult comrades, are struggling to maintain even their present miserable standard of existence. The conflict is being fought out with grim determination by the miners, because they realise that if they are defeated, the terms that will be imposed upon them by the coalowners will make their position intolerable.

In the present dispute, as in those of the past, little has been said about the position of the young workers in the mining industry. With the sole exception of the Y. C. L. of Great Britain no organisation has directed attention to the special problems of the pit lads. This has been remedied to some extent by the campaigns which have been carried out by the Y. C. L. of Britain. But much still remains to be done in this direction, before the actual conditions of the young miners are brought into the light of day.

The conditions under which the pit-lads work are such that their vitality is sapped away in the hey-day of their youth. The hours of labour in the coal-mining industry we are told, are seven per day. But let us look beneath this blunt statement of fact to see what it all implies. The lads in the mining industry have, in many cases, to walk several miles to get to the pit, and as every man must be down the shaft before seven o'clock in the morning, winding operations have to commence at 6 o'clock in the large mines. Therefore, as a general rule the miners, and this includes young lads from the age of 14 years, have to rise at 5 o'clock, and

in some cases earlier, and trudge to work in the early hours of the morning. There is no more revolting sight than to see young lads of tender years, small, undersized, and under-nourished, wearily trudging up the mountain sides, to the collieries in the cold blast of a winter's morning. It is no less revolting to see them off to work in the summer time, to labour in the darkness of the mines when they should be enjoying the sunshine.

The raising of the men commences at two o'clock in the day, and this means again that it is 3 o'clock before the last man reaches the surface. By the time they walk home, have their food and bath, it is four o'clock and in some cases five o'clock. What we are told is a seven hour day is in reality anything between an 8 or 9 hour day when these things are considered.

When we come to deal with wages, however, we find it is not easy to give a very clear picture of the position owing to the complicated nature of the method of paying wages in the mining industry. There is no general rate of wages for each grade applicable for the whole of the coalfields in Britain, on the contrary, the rates payable are different in each of the twelve different coalfields. In all the coalfields, however, wages are made up in the following manner. Basic rates have been arrived at in the various coalfields, but on these basic rates a percentage is payable, the amount being determined by the proceeds of the industry in each of the coalfields. These percentage rates, therefore, are fluctuating constantly, although under the terms of the 1921 and 1924 Agreements, a national minimum percentage was arrived at below which wages could not fall.

It will be clear therefore, that while wages are not the same in the different coalfields, owing to the differences in the basic rates, arrived at before the war, yet the minimum percentage in these areas are determined nationally. To this extent only can the miners agreement be said to be a national agreement, and it does not mean that uniform wages are paid throughout Britain.

Some idea of the wide differences in the amounts paid in the various districts can be gathered from the following figures:

Age	Lowest Paid District		Highest Paid District	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
14 years	1	10 per day	3	5 per day
16 years	3	8 per day	5	4 per day
20 years	4	8 per day	8	1 per day

The above figures serve to show the position of the lads in the highest and the lowest paid district, but it must be remembered that in the other districts the wages paid come somewhere between the two figures given above. If we strike an average for all the coalfields we can say that the average daily wages paid to lads in the age groups given above, are as follows: at 14 years, 2/11 per day, at 16 years 4/- per day, and at 20 years 5/6 per day.

This was the wages position of the young miners before the present dispute broke out. Wages were only 33 1/2 per cent above these paid in 1914- while the cost of living figure stood at 74 per cent above that of 1914. Since 1921 there has been a progressive deterioration in the standard of existence of the young miners. And it must also be remembered that, consequent upon the decline in the British coal trade, unemployment and short time has become a feature of the coal industry. How serious the problem of short time has become can be seen when it is pointed out that it has become general for the whole industry, and that in many collieries only three and four days per week were worked.

Now what were the proposals of the coalowners that led to the present dispute? The demands of the coalowners can be set out as follows:

1) National minimum of 20% upon standard of 1914 (present minimum 33.5%).

2) District agreements.

3) Working hours to be increased from 7 to 8 per day.

Let us analyse these proposals and see what they actually mean.

Put into concrete form the coalowners proposal means the following reduction in the average wages of young workers.

Lads at 14 years of age would receive 27 1/2 per day instead of 2/11d, a reduction of 3 1/2d; at 16 years of age 3/7 instead of 4/- per day, a reduction of 5d per day; and at 20 years 5/4 instead of 6/5 per day, or a reduction of 1/1 per day.

But the second point in the demands of the coalowners, namely

a return to district agreements is even more devastating than the first, because it aims at breaking the unity of the miners' national organisation and would ultimately have the effect of splitting the miners up into districts, thus reducing the miners to impotence. Wages and conditions of labour would be settled on a district, instead of national basis, and this would enable the coalowners systematically to crush down the miners still further by attacking them district by district. Thus the coalowners hope so to weaken the resistance of the miners that after a brief period, possibly six or twelve months, they would be able once again to open an offensive with a greater prospect of victory.

The third point in the proposals of the coalowners, namely, an increase in the working day from seven to eight hours, is one which must be fought with vigour. From the pit-lad's point of view, this is one of the danger spots in the present struggle. Eight hours exhausting toil in the coal mines would leave them with little time, energy, or inclination for any sort of recreation, and the young miners know this, hence their bitter opposition to any lengthening of the working day. In addition, a lengthening of the working day must lead to greater unemployment in the mining industry, and consequently more suffering for the lads in the mining areas.

These are the points around which the struggle is being waged in the mining industry in Britain. If the miners are defeated in the present struggle, the prospect will not be a happy one for them. Furthermore, a defeat would be a defeat not merely for the miners, but for the whole working class. This is the meaning of the strike of the British Coal Miners and is the reason why they should be supported by the international working class movement.

For the Convocation of the Anglo-Russian Committee.

Moscow, June 30, 1926.

An article in the "Pravda" points out the international significance of the proposals of the Central Council of the Labour Unions of the U.S.S.R. to call together the Anglo-Russian Committee immediately for the purpose of supporting the British miners.

The labour unions of the U.S.S.R. recognise the dangers which threaten the struggle of the miners and have taken the initiative to ward off these dangers. The danger for the moment is in the attitude of the miners leaders who are in contact with the General Council and the Labour Party. Cook's declarations against the eight hour day are actually a disguised preparedness to take up negotiations including wage reductions upon the basis of the report of the Coal Commission. The strike is also threatened internationally because the international support campaign is not sufficiently strong. The coal industry of Germany is working overtime, Poland and Holland are exporting coal, the Second International simply ignores the struggle, the Amsterdam leaders are sabotaging the question of an international miners strike and neglecting the material support of the British miners.

The demand of the Labour Unions of the U.S.S.R. for the calling together of the Anglo-Russian Committee coincides with the declarations of a number of representatives of the British miners upon the necessity for this step. . . . It is possible that the leaders of the General Council will simply sabotage the activities of the Committee but the chief thing is the struggle of the miners which peremptorily demands a mobilisation of all forces to save the strike from the dangers which are threatening it. Despite its treachery the General Council remains the leader of the British working class and has still the possibility by an appeal to mobilise the whole British working class to assist the miners. It can also cause the international movement to assist the miners by appealing for the abolition of overtime, the export of coal to Great Britain and the export of coal inland. The Anglo-Russian Committee ought to be called together for the purpose of taking these measures.

The labour unions of the U. S. S. R. are prepared to fulfill their duties according to the slogan of international solidarity and to take determined measures to support the struggle of the British miners. The struggle can however only be saved by a mobilisation of all the forces of the British and the international working class movement. For this reason the labour unions of

the U. S. S. R. propose the calling together of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. It is now for the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress to speak.

The British General Council on the Proposal to Convene the Anglo-Russian Committee.

Moscow, July 3rd 1926.

In reply to the proposal of the Soviet Trade Unions that the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee be immediately convened, Citrine, the Secretary of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress has sent a telegram to Comrade Dogadov, the Secretary of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, in which he acknowledges the receipt of the proposal and states that the General Council will discuss this matter and will send a reply to the Soviet Trade Unions as soon as opportunity affords.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE BRITISH FIGHTERS

Solidarity Action of the Russian Metal Workers.

Moscow, 29th June 1926.

The Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Metal Workers Union of the U. S. S. R. which is at present in session in Moscow adopted the following resolution concerning the results of the assistance of the metal workers of the Soviet Union for the miners of Great Britain.

Collections have been carried on since the beginning of the lockout in the British mines, in all local organisations of the Metal Workers Union, the contributions have ranged between a quarter and a half days pay. The results up to the 28th June were 500,000 Roubles, including 30,000 Roubles from the Central Committee and 10,000 Roubles from the Leningrad district committee.

These sums will be sent through the central council of the labour unions of the U. S. S. R. to the British miners.

In this way 780,000 metal workers have proved their loyalty to the ideal of the international solidarity of the working class.

In the name of the whole membership and having regard to the appeal of the struggling British miners the Central Committee declares that the metal workers of the U. S. S. R. will continue their assistance despite the protests of the conservative government of Great Britain.

We protest energetically against the attempt of the British government to intervene in the internal affairs of the Soviet government. We promise the British miners that we will do everything in our power to prevent the capitalists starving them, their wives and their children.

Fight on and guard yourselves against treachery!

The Metal Workers Union of the U. S. S. R. appeals to the Berne International of Metal Workers and to all its affiliated organisations to create an international fund immediately so that the British miners should not be forced back to work through hunger.

Long live the victory of the British Miners!

Long live the international solidarity of the miners and the metal workers!

THE TRIAL OF RAKOSI AND COMRADES

Release Rakosi from Prison!

By Clara Zetkin.

After the bourgeois Revolution in Hungary — which should have brought national independence — was crushed by the ruling Habsburgs with the support of Russian Tsarism, its much-lauded leaders soon abandoned the idea of letting loose the forces

of upheaval in the country. They hastened to seek the aid of "democracy" and appealed to the West. Their revolutionary energy confined itself in general to representing in more or less phantastic national costumes the Hungarian people, and winning applause for the revolution and themselves at public meetings.

It was otherwise with the leaders of the venturesome Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919, which was drowned in streams of blood with the active assistance of Western democracy. Many had the happy fate of falling in the fight, and almost equally large numbers were murdered by the Horthy bandits after the most barbarous tortures. The survivors have gathered together in the revolutionary advance-guard of the international proletariat. With burning zeal and with self-sacrificing devotion, they live for the purpose of again rallying behind this advance-guard a firm, well-equipped, army corps of Hungarian proletarians and peasants allies. In spite of the constantly raging white terror, they are wrestling on their native soil with the counter-revolution for the souls of the enslaved and exploited, undeterred by the terrible price they have to pay: severest sacrifices, unexampled dangers, liberty and life itself. They do not shine brilliantly on the surface of social life, they work earnestly, noiselessly in its depths. As the embodiment of such inexorable, revolutionary energy, our comrade Rakosi will stand before a court which possesses not the least competence to sit in judgment.

It is the most elementary duty of every worker to raise his voice in order to wrest this brave, loyal champion of the disinherited from the claws of the bloodstained, accursed crew. It is his duty even if in his soul, class consciousness is only first beginning to rise as a flickering flame of hope for the emancipation of the proletariat from capitalist wage slavery, — that supreme aim, for the realisation of which comrade Rakosi has fought and worked with firm unshakability.

It was the proletariat of the bourgeois States alone which, during the fearful crushing of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, in one front with the Russian Soviet Republic which was fighting for its life, esteemed and defended the honour of humanity. Everywhere the bourgeoisie, morally and politically, showed its sympathy with the monstrous thirst for blood with which the counter-revolutionaries sought to wreak vengeance for the period of fear in which they trembled for their possessions and power. The proletariat will also now remember the class duty which it has to fulfil for its own cause and for its bold, upright champions. The greed of the hangmen must be thwarted by the demonstrations of the mass will of the proletariat. The result of the trial is of symptomatic significance in the days when the English democracy is showing itself in all its naked brutality as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; when Pilsudski is following in Mussolini's footsteps; and when the President of the German Republic is coming forward ever more shamelessly as the guardian of the crowns and the money bags of the dethroned German princes.

The international proletariat must anticipate the judgment of history and must render it immediately effective. Snatch Rakosi from the dock, wrest him from the hands of his jailers! Place in the dock the governing and ruling murderers, robbers and banknote forgers!

To the Aid of Rakosi and his Comrades.

Resolution of the Fifth Party Conference of the C. P. of France.

The band of Hungarian assassins and franc forgers of Horthy-Bethlen are preparing fresh acts of violence against the advance-guard of the Hungarian labour movement who are constantly exposed to the cruelest persecution.

Comrades Rakosi, Weinberger and others have only committed the crime of having attempted to organise a Communist Party in Hungary. They are now in the hands of the Hungarian hangmen. In a few days they will appear before the court of the Hungarian bourgeoisie.

The class justice which was so indulgent towards the franc forgers will be all the more cruel and furious towards our comrades. Their lives are in danger.

The fifth Party Conference of the Communist Party of France confirms its full brotherly solidarity with the bold champions of the working class of Hungary. It protests most emphatically against the persecution to which the Hungarian proletariat, which is deprived of the most elementary political rights, is exposed. It emphasises the necessity of energetic action in the days which still remain before the shameful trial.

in order to stay the hands of the Hungarian hangmen. It stigmatises the attitude of the Hungarian social democracy which, by its co-operation with the bourgeoisie, constitutes the greatest hindrance to the emancipation of the proletariat of Hungary. It demands the release of Rakosi and his comrades. It demands the greatest political freedom for the working class of Hungary.

Long live the Communist Party of Hungary!

Down with the White Terror!

Long live the Communist International!

POLITICS

An Attempt at a Counter-Revolutionary Coup d'Etat in Turkey.

By S. Iranski.

A great counter-revolutionary organisation has been brought to light in Turkey. The conspirators had planned to start by murdering Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the President of the Turkish Republic. Although the attention of the Turkish Press has been concentrated on this circumstance, it is perfectly clear that in this case it was not a question of a political act of vengeance, but of preparations for a big coup d'etat. Events of a similar nature which had taken place in Bulgaria, Greece, Poland and Portugal were to be imitated in Turkey. A simple enumeration of the participants in the conspiracy which was disclosed (former Ministers of the Sultan, deputies and so on) proves that the planned upheaval made use of the discontent of those circles of officials and social groups who had lost their privileged position under the national regime of the new Turkey.

As the Turkish newspapers maintain, the abortive revolution was based, as far as foreign interests played a part, on the interests of those States the foreign policy of which was not in harmony with the independence and the free national development of Turkey.

The conspiracy originated in the heart of the so-called "National Progressive Party", which had been formed in 1924 when class contradictions began to assume a particularly acute character in Turkey, after the Treaty of Lausanne came into force.

The Turkish National revolution is a revolution of the peasantry of Anatolia against the bourgeoisie who were either foreign or of foreign extraction, and relied on the Turkish bourgeoisie and the officials of Constantinople, Smyrna and other large maritime towns.

The deep-reaching social-political regroupings which had taken place in Turkish society and which had been a decisive factor in the obstinate fight of the Anatolian peasants for national self-assertion, found expression both in the political and the economic field. In the political field, the old political institutions of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, as well as the capitulations (privileges granted by treaty to certain foreigners) were abolished; the Church was separated from the State, the Republic was proclaimed and a Democratic Constitution established. In the field of economics, measures were taken to improve peasant agriculture, railways constructed from the central districts of Anatolia to the sea, so as to make it possible to convey agricultural products directly to the foreign markets, State monopolies of petroleum, sugar, matches and tobacco were introduced, co-operative organisation of the peasants and the industrialisation of the country were promoted, attempts were made to regulate foreign trade by the State, the burden of taxation on the bourgeoisie on the sea-ports was increased and, finally, resistance was offered to the attempts of foreign capital to get a footing in the country under conditions which would have meant the enslavement of Turkish national economy.

As regards the bourgeoisie of the sea-ports, its economic prosperity depended in the past on trade with the West, where it sold the foreign manufactures of Turkey. In the new Turkey, this bourgeoisie, which was, for the time being, as it always had been, cut off from the interior of Anatolia by the lack of roads, proved itself incapable of establishing connections with the interior of Anatolia and adapting itself to the needs of the peasantry; on the other hand, owing to the abolition of the capitulations and the strict regime introduced by the National Government with regard to foreign capital, it began to lose

its connections with this capital and to decline economically. Hence its attitude of opposition to the new regime and its counter-revolutionary aims.

As long as the war with Greece continued and peace negotiations were being carried on which afterwards led to the Treaty of Lausanne, it was not possible for Kemal's Government to steer a perfectly clear and firm course in economic policy; the elements which were discontented with the Kemal regime, grumbled, though sometimes under their breath, but they remained in Parliament, under the name of a second group of the National Unity Party. The discontented elements always hoped for the collapse of the Kemal regime. As however the trend of the economic policy of the Angora Government only made itself clearly felt after Lausanne, and as the new regime was firmly established at the same time, the discontented elements revolted and resolved to bring their programme before the public. In the hope of meeting with greater success, they proclaimed the formation of a new party under the high-sounding name of "Progressive Republicans". Their plan was to hide their reactionary intentions under ultra-Left slogans. In the true demagogic way they pointed to Mustapha Kemal's "usurpation" of the rights of the people and opposed the centralising action of the Government.

The bourgeoisie of the commercial towns and the agrarians of the Eastern Vilayets (provinces) formed the social basis of the party; their most active elements were recruited from the ranks of the old officialdom and the higher officers, who were joined by a few of the leaders of the national freedom movement, who had personally broken away from it.

The party started a campaign against the ruling National party, against the Government and, finally, against the President Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

The London "Times" of November 14th 1924 hastened to praise the new party for its criticism "of every step taken by Mustapha Kemal" and to associate with its success hopes for the "protection of British interests in Turkey".

When on February 13th 1925 the Kurd revolt broke out, the "Progressive Republican party" began to put all possible obstacles in the way of the Government's fight against the Kurds. Thus on March 4th, the party voted in Parliament against the Ismet Pasha Cabinet being granted emergency rights for the suppression of the revolt; on March 8th it proposed a resolution to remove Mustapha Kemal from his position as President of the Supreme War Council of Turkey; on March 31st the party protested against the introduction of courts martial with extraordinary powers in the zones affected by the insurrection; but in April it protested against the prolongation of the state of siege in Kurdistan. At the present moment the party Press is engaged in anti-Government, clerical propaganda in order to discredit the Government in every possible way.

The more the insurrection was suppressed, the more decisive were the measures taken by the Government against the "critics of every step taken by Mustapha Kemal". When, in the trial of Sheik Said, the leader of the Kurd revolt, it was proved that the "Progressive party" had taken part in the insurrection, it was dissolved by an order of the Government dated July 3rd 1925. The "Progressives" resorted to illegality. They occupied themselves with mobilising the most irreconcilable "ideological" reactionaries, strengthened their connections with the reactionary emigrants and with their foreign protectors. It was not by chance that they chose the present moment to appear on the scenes.

In Angora the agreement with regard to Mossul, which is absolutely contradictory to previous declarations of the Government, has just been signed; thanks to the introduction of monopolies, the prices of some foodstuffs have risen considerably for the time being; a certain rise of prices can be observed in consequence of a number of measures of the Government which were entirely expedient and necessary in the process of defending economic independence; the construction of railways and other economic measures of the Government have been retarded in consequence of the unfavourable foreign trade balance and of difficulties with the currency. All these growing-pains of young national Turkey were turned to account by the supporters of "facilitating foreign trade" in order to "gain the confidence of foreign capital". Had the conspiracy succeeded, it would have meant the "Bulgarisation" of Turkey in its internal politics, its return to the times of the Sultan as regards its internal regime and externally, its becoming a link in the chain of Locarno combinations. Fortunately, this did not happen. The failure of

the conspiracy proves that the internal and external political situation of Turkey on its new national basis has become so far stabilised that no efforts of the internal counter-revolution can succeed, even though it be supported by foreign interests.

The Workers and Peasants Party in Japan.

By Sen Katayama.

The Japanese bourgeoisie first arose after the revolution of 1868 which overthrew the feudal regime and set up a constitutional monarchy, and was first fostered in its growth and development by the government.

Almost all the important industries, including the mines and railways, were first built up and worked by the government. Even to-day the government is the biggest employer of labour.

Japan has passed through a long, protracted economic crisis which started with the financial crisis of March 1920 and which was followed by an industrial crisis. In addition there came the disastrous earthquake and fire in September, 1923, which destroyed financial organs together with the wealth and industries of Tokio and Yokohama, amounting to over five milliard yen. This disastrous blow to the economic life of the country set back its financial and economic recovery for several years. This is shown by the continued adverse balance of Japan's foreign trade. In 1923 imports exceeded exports by 534 million yen, in 1924 by 646 million yen; but in 1925 the unfavourable trade balance had decreased to 260 million yen as a result of the depreciation in the value of the yen. In the meantime, however, the yen has again risen, which will reduce the possibilities of export.

All the parliamentary parties are afraid of the new elections under the new election law, according to which the number of the electors is increased from three millions to twelve millions, which means that the workers and peasants who previously had no vote will now exercise the franchise.

The present members of Parliament who were returned by means of election bribery and corrupt election campaigns have very little chance of being re-elected. Nevertheless they wish to cling to power under all circumstances. While fighting among themselves, these corrupt parties have formed a solid united front against the workers and peasants, and all of them voted for the laws for the suppression of the workers and peasants. Under such circumstances the workers and peasants are awakening to the necessity of defending themselves. In addition to their trade unions they have formed the Workers and Peasants Party (Rodo Nomin To.)

This workers and Peasants Party was preceded some months ago by the Peasants and Workers Party (Nomin Rodo To). The latter party however, had a very short life, namely, three hours. It was suppressed by the government under article 8 of the Public Peace Police Law. The new Party was formed on the 5th of March 1926. In the Organisation Committee of the old Party centrist unions were more strongly represented along with Left wing sympathisers. But in the new party the Right and Centre have an absolute majority.

On March 5th there was held the inauguration Conference of the Workers and Peasants Party at which it was decided:

1) The workers' and Peasants' Party aims at emancipating the proletarian class, both politically, in accordance with the existing conditions of the country.

2) The Workers' and Peasants' Party aims at reforming by legal means: the existing system regarding land, industry and distribution of wealth.

3) The Workers and Peasants Party aims at supplanting the bourgeois parties which represent the interests of the privileged class and reforming fundamentally the present parliament.

The programme of the Party contains eighteen points, among them being: abolition of all anti-proletarian laws and all laws against colonial people; freedom for press, speech and organisation, and the right to strike; reduction of armaments and reform of the military system; abolition of customs tariffs and in-taxes on articles of consumption and of daily necessity, and introduction of high progressive taxation on property; people's diplomacy; establishment of right to cultivate land; minimum wages; prohibition of night work and work in dangerous trades for women and children; revision of factory, mines and seamen's laws etc.; abolition of all measures restricting women in the

selection of their occupation; insurance against unemployment, sickness and accidents etc.

The Party rules provide for individual membership and also collective affiliation. In regard to the membership qualification two proposals were submitted. The first proposal provided for the exclusion of all members of four left organisations, until the party membership amounted to over 200,000. The second proposal provided for the acceptance of members by local organisations, and in cases of dispute the decision to rest with the Executive. The second proposal was adopted by one vote which constituted a success for the Left wing.

The Party contribution is sixty sen, of which the half goes to the Central Executive Committee and the other half to the local organisation.

On the 30th of April there commenced the formation of local groups, which is proceeding with great success. As all the existing parties are deeply compromised by the cases of corruption which have led to the most scandalous scenes in parliament in the last few days, the new Party finds a favourable soil. The growth of the Workers and Peasants Party is frightening the government and the capitalists, and the government has therefore already declared in the press that, if the Communist elements in the Party gain the upper hand, the government will suppress it.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Victory of the Opposition in the Metal Workers Union in Berlin.

By Erich Gentsch (Berlin).

The election of delegates to the Congress of the German Metal Workers Union which is to meet on August 2 in Brömen, has resulted in a magnificent victory for the Opposition in the Berlin administrative area. In spite of the fact that the entire apparatus of the local Amsterdam administration and of the Social Democratic Party was placed at the disposal of the Amsterdamites, the Opposition list obtained a majority of 3400 votes, and will thus send all 13 Opposition Delegates to the Congress. The list of the Opposition received 13,625 votes, that of the Amsterdamites 10,195. The participation in the election amounted to 39% of the 61,500 members. As compared with the election of delegates to the trade union congress in 1925, the participation in the election has increased by 19%. At the election in 1925 the Amsterdamites received 7,866 votes, the Opposition 6,884 votes. The recent election is therefore a welcome proof of increasing activity and growing participation in the affairs of the Union.

The Amsterdam local administration in Berlin of the German Metal Workers Union already once suffered a similar defeat, but without drawing the consequences and submitting themselves to an election. In July 1923, when 50% participated in the election, Amsterdam received 22,900 votes against 54,000 received by the opposition. The flouting of the will of the members at that time in connection with the generally treacherous policy of the trade unions in the inflation period, the refusal to conduct any wages struggles, the treachery during the strike against the Cuno government and in the October fights, the surrender of the eight hour day by the Emergency Powers Act — all this led to a wholesale exodus from the Trade unions, from which the German Metal Workers' Union in Berlin was not exempt. The Berlin local administration which in the year 1921 had a membership of 170,000 had sunk by the end of 1925 to 62,349 members, that is below the 1913 level which amounted to 88,000 members.

Among the workers who had withdrawn from the German Metal Workers Union there were undoubtedly many good revolutionary elements which, as a result of the unbounded treachery of the Amsterdamites, had lost all belief in successful trade union work. The result of the election is, therefore, to be appreciated as indicating that the Communist Party of Germany has successfully come through the prolonged discussion of trade union questions, which was conducted right up to the end with the last recalcitrant Party comrades. The slogan: "75 per cent of the Party work is work in the trade unions", has borne its first fruits.

The excuse of the Amsterdamites, that the success of the Berlin Opposition is due to the bad economic conditions will

not hold water. There is no doubt that the great crisis with its wholesale unemployment has driven many one-time reformist workers into our camp. But our success is mainly due to the clear and unambiguous attitude of our fraction in the general meeting, in the meetings of the electoral bodies and branches, who clearly recognised the crisis and indicated the way out. Right at the commencement of the crisis the Communists pointed out its special character. They declared that the conception of the reformists, according to which no struggle must be conducted so long as there was no improvement in trade, was a cowardly submission to all the plans of the employers; that the Rationalisation accepted by the reformists as unavoidable means a stabilisation of wholesale unemployment. Events have proved our statements to be only too correct. The trade unions, including the German Metal Workers Union which is one of the biggest organisations, must entirely change their fighting strategy, must oppose the well organised employers by forming big fighting alliances, must more than ever place in the forefront the struggle for a socialist economic order. Before all, however, it is necessary for the German Metal Workers Union to draw into the fighting front the huge army of unemployed by granting easier conditions for their acceptance in the Union, and, last but not least, by coming forward boldly on behalf of these masses who have been excluded from the process of production.

Our victory in the greatest trade union administrative position in Germany is, however, only the first step to further advances. There exists not the least doubt that the Amsterdamites will still cling tenaciously to their posts. It is therefore the task of the Opposition, by means of unwearied, self-sacrificing every day work, to capture every functional position, even the most insignificant. These functional positions still remain the strongholds of the reformists and, along with an unscrupulous interpretation of the local statutes, form the basis of their majority in the Berlin General Meeting.

No chicanery and no exclusion from responsible co-operation in the work of the Union, no matter how deliberately carried out, will hold back the Opposition from their purpose of completely winning the greatest administrative positions. Berlin has, in round figures, about 250,000 men and women employed in the metal industry. To organise these, if possible, 100 per cent in the German Metal Workers Union, and along with them to convert the Union into an iron, class conscious bulwark against the insolent and incapable employers, is the aim of the Opposition.

The example of Berlin must serve to indicate the direction in which we must work in the whole the country. We have retained in our hands numerically equally important positions such as Stuttgart, Solingen, Essen, Hanau Plauen, Halle and others. But the reformists still have very many strongholds in the country. It is necessary to win these also.

The victory in Berlin and the progress in the country generally are also to be welcomed from the point of view of International Trade Union Unity. The Opposition has carried on a tenacious fight for the acceptance of the Russian Metal Workers Union in the (Berne) Metal Workers' International and for the sending of an official delegation from the Union to Soviet Russia. To continue this fight, with definite and conscious aim, in the sense of a big left bloc in the Labour Movement, will be the further task of the oppositional metal workers.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Confirmation by the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. of the Expulsion of Korsch and Schwarz.

Moscow, July 2nd 1926.

The "Pravda" publishes the following decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. of June 22nd:

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. resolves to confirm the expulsion of Korsch and Schwarz from the C. P. of Germany and to refuse their invitation to Moscow, as Korsch and Schwarz, in their information sheet "Kommunistische Politik", in public speeches and in the sitting of the German Reichstag of 10th of

June 1926 have carried out a number of direct counter-revolutionary attacks against the Communist Party of Germany, against the Communist International and against the Proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. At the same time they have continued and emphasised their anti-communist views and actions on account of which they were rightly excluded from the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany. They are enemies of Communism against whom every honest Party member must conduct the sharpest struggle.

The "Pravda" welcomes this decision of the E. C. C. I. as the confirmation of the breach which has long existed between Bolshevism and this group of ultra-Left petty bourgeois.

Korsch and Schwarz have gone along the path of Philistines who have become crazy and have returned to the bourgeoisie. They have rapidly and consistently passed through the stages of ultra-Left Communism up to the wildest social-fascism. Nobody will regret this loss, except a few ultra-Left groups in the C. P. of Germany (Ruth Fischer and Urbahns) and in a few other parties (Bordiga, Italy; Donski, Poland), i. e. only those groups which right up to the end befended Korsch before the German Central. The Comintern will not allow itself to be misled by the outcry of these allies of Left social-fascism. As was to be expected, the E. C. C. I. confirmed the expulsion of Korsch and Schwarz. Before the whole international working class we send them the following farewell greetings: "Go and eat the bread of the bourgeoisie!"

The Berlin-Brandenburg District Party Conference of the C. P. of Germany.

By P. R. Dietrich (Berlin).

On the 3rd and 4th July there was held the District Party Conference of the Berlin-Brandenburg organisation of the C. P. of Germany. It was the second district Party Conference since the appearance of the Open Letter from the E. C. C. I. The first district Party Conference which took place in November of last year, effectuated openly and completely a break with the Maslov-Ruth Fischer group which for years was able to play a leading role in Berlin. It was this that constituted the political importance of the November Party Conference. The November Party Conference also arrived at important decisions in regard to organisation. A plan was adopted for a thorough reorganisation of the entire organisation, of the district executive and of its apparatus. Along with these advances however, there was also to be seen a number of shortcomings and weaknesses which found expression in the treatment of some personal questions. The object of the conduct of many comrades in the question of candidates for the leading positions was to form a bloc between the remnants of the Maslov-Ruth Fischer group and the Ultra-Left. There was to be seen a revival of the methods of double book-keeping.

After the appearance of the Open Letter and after the Session of the Enlarged Executive, it was the task of the second District Party Conference to complete the last step which the November Party Conference had not taken. This year's Party Conference has completely fulfilled this task.

The District Party Conference was preceded by a broad and thorough Party discussion in the Berlin-Brandenburg organisation on the decisions of the Enlarged Executive. In this discussion the opposition which was represented by the Ruth Fischer-Urbahns group, by the Weber group and by the group of the "out and out Left", was signally defeated. For the District Party Conference there were elected in Greater Berlin 83 delegates who adhere to the decisions of the Enlarged Executive, while the Urbahns group elected 11 delegates, the Weber group 12 and the group of the out and out Left 3 delegates. In the province of Brandenburg the majority elected 34 delegates, the Urbahns group 3 delegates, while the Weber group elected only one delegate. At the Conference the three opposition groups had together 32 delegates, that is 20% of the total number of delegates. The representatives of the Youth at the District Party Conference adopted the standpoint of the majority.

It was ascertained by means of the questionnaire forms submitted at the Party Conference that, of the 155 delegates, 70 had formerly been organised in the Socialist Party of Germany and 101 in the Independent Socialist Party of Germany; 29 delegates were not politically organised before entering the

C. P. of Germany; 5 delegates had come to the Party from the Youth organisation; 15 delegates had been members of the C. P. of Germany for 8 years, 20 delegates for 7 years, 81 delegates for 6 years, 18 delegates for 5 years, 9 delegates for 4 years, 9 delegates for 3 years and 3 delegates for 2 years.

66 delegates had been members of trade unions since the pre-war time, 20 delegates since the war and 63 delegates since the post-war period. With regard to the social origin of the delegates, it was ascertained that 130 were from the ranks of the working class, 15 from petty bourgeois circles, 8 were from the peasantry and 2 belonged to intellectual circles.

The course and the decisions of the Party Conference show that the Berlin-Brandenburg organisation has made a great step forward in the consolidation of the Party and in the strengthening of the Bolshevik ideology since the November Party Conference. The attacks of the oppositional groups against the policy of the Party since the appearance of the Open Letter and against the inner Party course which has been carried out on the basis of the Open Letter and of the decisions of the Sixth Enlarged Executive, were decidedly defeated by a compact 4/5ths majority of the Party Conference. The attitude at the Party Conference of the group led by Urbahns showed that they had learned absolutely nothing from the past. Their purely negative criticism of the work of the Party, which even deliberately denied the obvious successes of the Party in the recent great campaign for the expropriation of the princes and at the election of delegates to the Metal Workers Conference, consciously aimed at discrediting the policy of the Party in the eyes of the working class. The Party Conference recognised the whole poverty of the leadership of this group and clearly demonstrated that in the future the Berlin-Brandenburg organisation would no longer tolerate the disintegrating work of the Urbahns-Ruth Fischer group. It was characteristic of the attitude of the Party Conference to the leadership of this group that when one of the delegates called out to Urbahns: "You have thoroughly acquired a love of truth from your ruler and mistress Ruth Fischer!" that the Party Conference greeted this interjection with the greatest applause.

The Party Conference has further unequivocally declared that an end must now be made to factioneering, and has expressed the determined will of the Party for unity, as the prerequisite for the fulfilment of the great tasks which now confront it.

The Political Resolution submitted by the District Executive was adopted by 115 votes against 32. The inner Party resolution, which sharply condemned the factional and destructive activity of the Urbahns Ruth Fischer group, was adopted by the same majority. The resolutions submitted by the opposition groups were overwhelmingly defeated, each only receiving 17 votes. The resolution of the so-called "out and out Left", that small group in the Party which still recognises the leadership of the renegades Korsch and Schwarz, received only 2 votes.

The new District Executive which consists almost exclusively of representatives from the workshops, was elected with only 30 dissentient votes. The nominations for the secretaryship were adopted with the same majority.

The Party Conference of the C. P. of France.

SPEECH OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE E. C. C. I.

Lille, June 26th 1926.

At the evening sitting (12th sitting) of June 25th — after the conclusion of the political discussion — the representative of the Executive, greeted with tempestuous applause, addressed the Conference as follows:

Comrades,

I bring your Congress the fraternal greetings of the E. C. C. I.

Your Congress is being held at a time which is a very serious one as regards both the national and the international situation, and which is pregnant with the possibility of very significant developments.

In the course of the political discussion, the characteristic features of the present situation and the broad outlines of the tactics which we should pursue have already been expounded by some of the speakers.

We must be quite clear as to the attitude we are going to take and the tactics we decide to adopt, both as regards the objective and the subjective factors of the situation.

As regards the objective factor, i. e. above all our judgment on the condition of capitalism, on imperialist contradictions, on the situation of the bourgeois States etc., let us remember that even at the III World Congress we anticipated a slower process of development in the direction of complete ruin, than we did originally, immediately after the termination of the Great War. At the V. Congress and the meetings of the Executive which followed it, the objective factor was characterised as one of "relative stabilisation" of capitalism, i. e. that capitalism has received its death blow, that it is perishing, but that in this process there are certain breathing spaces in various countries.

As regards the subjective factor of the attitude of the working masses, the III. Congress of the C. I. also recorded a certain backflow, a certain standstill of the revolutionary wave.

In view of these two sides of the situation, the Comintern defined the tactics of the Communist Parties as early as at the time of the third Congress: get at the masses, penetrate into the masses, win the majority of the proletariat, mobilise the broad masses by means of every day demands! At the congresses and meetings of the Executive which followed, these tactics were further developed and more precisely defined as tactics of the united front, as a fight for the establishment of a worker and peasant government, as a fight for trade union unity (Anglo-Russian Committee etc.). The chief aim of our whole tactics was to get nearer to the masses.

If we study more closely the present general situation, we arrive at the conclusion that the stabilisation shows itself more and more clearly to be a relative and a vacillating one, that the difficulties and crises are becoming more acute in all States, in England, Germany, Poland etc. Thus, as regards the objective factor, we can speak of an accelerated development towards revolution. This applies particularly to France, as was repeatedly emphasised at the last Conference of the Enlarged Executive and in the French resolution.

As regards the subjective factor, the present situation shows us:

Firstly: a re-grouping of the masses away from Reformism and towards the Left (the Left wing of the Amsterdam International and in a number of Socialist parties etc.);

secondly: a growing activity of the oppressed colonial peoples in the Near and Far East.

Thirdly: an awakening of the fighting activity of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, to which the general strike in England above all, but also the quite recent wave of strikes in France bear witness. It is true that these movements are on the whole still of a defensive nature, that they have not yet the significance of a great offensive against the bourgeoisie, that it is a case of struggle for wages and against longer hours, in general a case of defending the standard of living of the proletariat.

It is, however, of course impossible to draw a definite border-line between the defensive and the offensive. The great English strike, immediately after its outbreak, changed its character from that of an economic defensive to that of a political offensive, though this character was on the whole only recognised by the bourgeoisie and the Government, who arranged their plans accordingly, whilst the Reformist leaders would not carry on the fight but shamefully betrayed it.

We must admit that the awakening proletariat, that the awakening colonial peoples have suffered defeats, — in the British general strike through the treachery of the leaders, but also in China, the Riff and in Syria.

What should be the tactics of the Communist International in view of the present situation in which we are experiencing an intensification of the crisis of capitalism? None other than a continuation of the tactics of the III. Congress, — getting into touch with the masses, mobilisation of the masses in the daily fight. These are the general tactical principles by which we must judge both national and international questions.

At this Party Conference — chiefly in the corridors — a question has been raised with regard to the Anglo-Russian Committee, as to whether its existence should be continued in view of the treachery of the leaders in the British general strike. This question is answered if we regard keeping in touch with the masses as our guiding line. The Anglo-Russian Committee came into being through the pressure of the masses, it is bound up with the masses, it must therefore continue to exist. Our task, however, is to give the Committee an impetus towards the

Leit. We must of course exercise criticism, must speak the truth, must say that it is the "Left" trade union leaders who are chiefly responsible for the defeat of the British general strike who, having roused the hopes of the masses that they would maintain a really Left attitude, are guilty of double treachery. At the same time we must insist on the Anglo-Russian Committee being maintained, on its continuing its existence and not being broken up; we must however appeal to the workers to send revolutionary representatives of their cause to this Committee and, if the Reformists wish to break it up because of our criticism, we must oppose them with all our energy.

Comrade Treint has accused the International of having no perspective. We realise the value of Treint's accusation. But what of Treint's perspective? He has been sufficiently criticised by some speakers for the point of view from which he sees things — Anglo-Europe against America. It has been demonstrated that Treint overlooks all the great contradictions in capitalism, that he leaves the factor of the Soviet Union entirely out of consideration. Comrade Treint! The plane on which development will take place in the future, is not your Europe against America, but the Soviet Union against America, Socialism against capitalism, this is how the Comintern sees it. (Frantic applause.)

If we take these two poles into consideration, we see certain facts in a different light from that which Treint sees them. Locarno appears before all to be a weapon of imperialism against the Soviet Union, which Treint, from his point of view fails to recognise; the League of Nations also assumes a different aspect from that under which Treint sees it. The conclusion to be drawn from Treint's point of view is that the League of Nations would become an institution for liberating the European States from America! Were this the case, we should indeed have to change our attitude and jump into the train for Geneva; but this view of the League of Nations as an organ, not of imperialism but against imperialism, is a dangerous Social Democratic conception (hear! hear!), as it implies the supposition that capitalism is actually stabilised.

The last session of the League of Nations showed us on the contrary that it is anything but a peacemaker and an instrument for liberation. It was just within the League of Nations that the contradictions in Europe were brought into high relief on the occasion of the fight for a seat in the Council for Germany, Poland etc. Thus we see that the League of Nations is not an instrument of stabilisation, but one of internal contradictions and disintegration. Did we not take this for granted we should have, logically, to recognise a super-imperialism, which would be entirely false.

What is our perspective? What is our slogan? Not the League of Nations, not Locarno, not the bourgeoisie, but the United States of Socialist Europe! The European proletariat is bent under a double yoke, that of the European and of the American imperialists. Consequently, there is only one possible perspective — the revolutionising of the European proletariat, the overthrow of the European bourgeoisie, so that the united Socialist States of Europe may carry on the fight against American capital.

Now a few words as to the dangers in the Party from the Right and Left. The Comintern has always carried on a fight against Right and Left. Against the Right, which arises when revolution is delayed and in this situation becomes a great danger. Against the Left, which isolates us from the masses, thus preventing us fulfilling our chief task, and in consequence becoming an equally great danger. This is why we said to our French comrades at the last session of the Executive and in the French resolution: against Right, against Left and for the straight line.

Let us now turn to recent events in France. In the Briand-Caillaux Government we have a new stage in the development in France, a Government with a strong hand against the working class, a Government which is prepared for street fighting and intends to keep "order" in the streets, which wishes to set its seal to the misery of the workers. Well, if the Government focuses its attention on the streets, we must do likewise. The street is our field of action. (Applause.) The development in France must put the workers in motion. The increasing inflation brings with it a terrible rise in prices, but so does stabilisation which means adaptation to world prices and brings with it an enormous crisis and wholesale unemployment. Stabilisation will take place at the expense of the proletariat after the example which Mussolini has given in Italy.

It must be said that the Party Congress has not taken this situation sufficiently into account, that the pulse-beat of the factories, that the fact of the wave of strikes in France have not found sufficient expression in it. The Communist Party is all the less justified in neglecting this side of the question, since it alone forms the vanguard of the proletariat; for the Socialists only act as brakes to the revolutionary movement, as accomplices of the bourgeoisie, in spite of the comedy of opposition which they are now performing in Parliament.

What should be the tactics of the Party in France in view of the concrete situation? Tactics of a united front, trade union mass movement, a fight for trade union unity, the winning of the unorganised masses, the gaining of new allies!

What is the most important prerequisite for winning the masses? That the right political line should be taken. (Applause.) There has been much talk of the Party losing members, and this has been attributed chiefly to reasons of organisation. The loss of members however is to be explained above all by the fact that, in the first place, the C. P. of France steered a wrong political course; it issued slogans which the masses did not understand, so that it isolated itself from the masses instead of winning them over. The question of organisation only comes into consideration in the second place. Secondly, the C. P. of France has often misapplied the tactics of the united front. There were open letters and manifestations in common with other parties in plenty but the tactics of the united front were not applied sufficiently on the basis of the workshops, they were not applied as they should have been, among the workers in the large factories.

One of the important question is that of the limits of the united front. We must of course draw limits, but they cannot be absolutely rigid ones. It is however clear that we cannot form a united front with certain organisations, as for instance the "League for Human Rights" referred to by Comrade Coste. It is above all decisive for the tactics of the united front, that, as Comrade Semard has already mentioned, we, the Communists, must develop the necessary activity and initiative and must not let other organisations get in front of us. We must tell this especially to the provinces where much has been lacking in this respect. We must never yield up our right to criticise, never hide our face, never give away our political line of action. This holds good both as regards the petty bourgeois organisations, with which we could on occasions form a united front, and as regards the Socialists. We must never maintain silence regarding the treacherous part played by the Socialist leaders, otherwise we should be pursuing the same path as the Left Bloc, otherwise the united front would turn into a front of confusion.

We must try to win over as allies certain petty bourgeois strata such as the technicians, who are sinking deeper and deeper into distress and, disillusioned by the Left Bloc, are turning away from it. This applies quite especially to certain economic organisations of the petty bourgeoisie.

Let us add a few words as to the most important task of our Party, the work amongst the trade unions. The Party Conference is quite clear as to the fact that it is necessary to bring about a wholesale trade union movement, the Party must however study in a very concrete way the methods by which to bring about such a movement. The problem of the reorganisation of the trade union movement is bound up with this question, and here the Party must work with the C. G. T. U. of France. What we must concentrate ourselves on especially is, as has already been said, the winning over of the large factories. In this respect also, we must above all study the means by which to arrive at our end.

More attention should be directed to the wave of strikes! The weakness of our nuclei is that we do not take sufficient share in the strikes, let alone lead them, though this indeed should be our mission.

Now to the last problem, that of the Party leadership and the internal life of the Party! This problem is all the more significant because the party in France is now faced by colossal tasks.

The difficulties in the French Party spring from the same roots as in all other parties — the youth of the Party. The difficulties in France are all the greater because the Party has been formed from various tendencies and bodies.

What is needed is a homogeneous Party leadership. It is not our duty here to brew a ministry, but to create a party leadership which has the confidence of the Party and can guide it. For this reason a very wide C. C. should be formed. Those who are most efficient should be placed at the head of the

Party, on the basis of the political programme which was laid down by the resolution of the E. C. C. I., and which conforms with the lines established at this Congress. No leadership which consists of fractions and groups, but a leadership, the members of which work collectively and openly with one another. (Applause.)

In conclusion, I would remark that in the first days of the Party Congress there were certain pessimistic views, there was a great deal of self-criticism. It was a Congress at which we poured out our hearts. We must say to ourselves that this Party Conference has shut the door on the past; from now onwards we must seek to win the confidence of the broad masses by our increased activities.

This Party Congress has shown up the mistakes of the past and defined the outlines for our work in the future. The French Communist Party must now show the French bourgeoisie that it is the section of the Communist International which is leading the proletariat to victory. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

REPORT BY COMRADE SEMARD ON THE SITUATION IN FRANCE

(The following is a detailed report delivered at the Eighth Session on 23rd June 1926.)

The first thing we have to do is to be clear as to the changes which have taken place in the structure of French capitalism. Since the war we see that industrialisation has been strengthened owing to the requirements of the war and the reconstruction of the devastated districts. Added to this, France has acquired the industrial district of Alsace-Lorraine. Before the war, French national economy was characterised by small and middle industry, but now the type of large capitalist industry prevails. An alliance is taking place between coal and iron, and thus large industrial concerns come into being. We have the Iron Works Committee, the Mining Committee, the Textile Concern, the Railway Committee. Nowadays certain industries are completely under the thumb of financial capital.

In consequence of the enormous development of financial capital and of its connection with large industry, small industry and retail trade is becoming more and more absorbed by the large monopolies which combine into cartels and into national and international trusts. French industry to-day is on a much higher level than in pre-war times, both as regards the technical perfection of the means of production and the amount produced. Thus, the production of coal has risen from 14 million tons in 1914 to 48 million tons in 1925. In 1920, France met 42% of its home demand, but in 1925 as much as 64%. In 1914, 203,000 workers were engaged in mining, but in 1925 315,000, amongst them more than 100,000 foreign workers. France's production of iron has correspondingly risen by 20% from 1913-1925. If we take the total industrial activity of France in 1913 as being equal to 100, it amounted to 110 in 1924, 120 in 1925 and 128 in the first quarter of 1926.

During the same period great changes have taken place in the conditions of ownership. The petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry have lost five sixths of their property. The middle classes have lost about 100 milliards of gold francs, which is about one third of the national wealth. More than ten million persons have become victims of inflation, more than half of them are faced by ruin and are becoming more and more proletarianised. The state of agriculture has changed considerably. Only half a century ago 75% of the whole population of France was engaged in agriculture, to-day only 40% are so occupied. In consequence of this lack of hands the area under cultivation has steadily decreased. Thus, the area under corn has decreased by a million hectares in the course of 10 years. Though the harvest of 1925 still sufficed to supply our needs, the unfavourable weather this year allows one to draw the conclusion that the harvest of 1926 will no longer be enough to supply the demands of the country. Speculation with bread and flour has brought the price of bread up from 1.50 fr. to 2.25 fr. in the course of a year.

The significant changes in the national economy have naturally affected the grouping of the classes. The old Republican-Democratic France has turned into a country where large industry and the financial world are ruling, where class contradictions have become extremely acute and where the ruined and proletarianised middle classes are becoming more and more radicalised. On the other side is the large bourgeoisie

which aims at imperialist expansion. The large bourgeoisie was responsible for the occupation of the Ruhr and the colonial wars in Morocco and Syria. In close alliance with the large banks, it dictates its will to Parliament, it creates crisis after crisis and is preparing to apply extra-parliamentary measures.

The large bourgeoisie realises that the power of the proletariat is increasing; it is not in a position however to remove the evils which have arisen through the war, it cannot overcome the crisis which threatens the ruling system. This is why the large bourgeoisie regards the establishment of its own class dictatorship as its only salvation. This is why it forms Fascist unions in order to maintain its power by force. Things have already gone so far that the Fascist unions and legions use force against the proletariat. Their declarations and demonstrations leave no doubt as to their intention to crush the working class. It is only quite recently that the National Congress of the Fascist leagues was held at St. Etienne under the presidency of General Balfourier.

Another Fascist Congress is taking place in Rheims to-day. The danger therefore is a serious one, and the proletariat must unite as a class to fight against Fascism.

On the other side is the proletariat, destined to play a decisive part in the great settling up which is impending. Since the war, the industrial proletariat in France have tremendously increased. At the present time there are more than 3 million foreign workers in France who represent an alarming reserve army for the capitalists, should the native French workers strike. We can only change this if we get hold of the foreign workers in our political and trade union organisations, and if we demand the same political and trade union rights for them, as the French workers possess.

Between these two social forces stand the vacillating middle classes. They are more and more realising how the Democratic parties which they support are losing power from day to day. At first the middle classes supported the Left cartel which came out on top at the elections on May 11th 1924. The failure of the Left Bloc in the fight against large capital has to a large extent driven the middle classes out of the camp of the bourgeois Radicals into that of the Socialists. It is now the duty of us Communists to make these petty bourgeois masses, who are becoming disillusioned, allies of the proletariat, so as to prevent them falling into the grasp of large capital and of Fascism.

The consequence of this re-grouping of the classes was a regrouping of the parties. Just as the English Liberal Party is disintegrating we can trace the dissolution of the French Radical parties. The Radical party has for a long time been torn by internal dissensions. At important political divisions in the Chamber, the Radicals usually split into three divisions. The Franklin Bouillon group is moving in the direction of the "new majority." It is willing to take part in a ministry of civil peace in order to save the franc. The middle parties are fated to disappear, and thus we see the formation of larger political groups as the result of amalgamation. The party of the "Republican Socialists" for instance has fused with the French Socialist party. On the other hand, the Socialist party is becoming more and more a party of the petty bourgeoisie. The Socialists, it is true, still have a proletarian foundation in the large industrial districts, but since they formed a cartel with the Left Bloc, numerous petty bourgeois elements have joined them. Under the pressure of the proletarian elements in the party, which again are influenced by us Communists, the Socialist party was compelled to abandon its policy of coalition. At the Party Conference in Clermont, a large majority was in favour of the resolution of Blum and Paul Faure rejecting participation in the Government, but it declared itself ready to support a Government of experts which is ready to solve the financial question in accordance with Socialist views.

The financial crisis proves that capitalism is drifting more and more towards revolutionary convulsions. Since the war, the petty bourgeois Governments have been racking their brains as to how to bring order into the State finances. Under the pressure of large capital, they are piling the whole burden of taxation on to the shoulders of the working masses. In 1925 it proved impossible to restore equilibrium to the national finances, and consequently the political disease could not be cured. Five governments and eight Ministers of Finance followed one another without the financial problem being solved. The political factor has undoubtedly had its share in the de-

preciation of the franc. But the manoeuvres of the English, American and French bankers are chiefly responsible. The Anglo-Saxon financiers have promoted French inflation in order to force their financial scheme on the French. France's foreign debts can only be settled if France submits to the rule of Anglo-American capital.

France will have its Dawes plan thrust upon it, for the franc can only be stabilised with the help of foreign credit. This means an immediate danger to State monopoly and the eight hour day in France. The "Great Union" of French producers has declared that it is prepared to take over the State monopolies in common with foreign capitalists and that, although the 8 hour day will be maintained on principle, the actual hours of work must be prolonged in all cases in which the interests of production demand it. The existence of short-period Treasury Bonds to the value of 60 milliards forces the Government to act with the consent of the holders of these bonds, i. e. the bankers. The "crisis of confidence" which prevails in France at the present moment, may turn into a revolutionary crisis.

The large bourgeoisie is making use of the so-called crisis of confidence, but it dreads the revolutionary crisis. For this reason it is endeavouring to force the Government towards the Right, it hopes to form a government of national unity which will leave the apparatus of State in the hands of the large bourgeoisie. The "Bulletin Quotidien" for instance, the organ of the Iron Works Committee, demands a policy which would above all guarantee complete security to capital in France.

This is the sense in which the Briand Government has granted unlimited power to the commission of experts of the large capitalists.

In spite of all these concessions to large capital, the franc continued to fall. Peret, the Minister of Finance resigned and proclaimed the necessity of forming the famous Cabinet of national unity which alone would be able to regain the confidence of the people. Thereupon the whole Briand Government resigned. A new Cabinet will be formed to-day or tomorrow; probably a Briand and Caillaux Cabinet. We must then ask ourselves the question: are we approaching inflation or stabilisation? I believe that we shall soon see a stabilisation of the currency. First of all however we shall see a fairly strong inflation which is due to the requirements of the Ministry of Finance. At the moment of stabilisation, the situation will be far more critical — an economic crisis, unemployment, Labour fights. The groups surrounding Caillaux also anticipate this. For this reason they demand extraordinary powers for Caillaux so that he might restore peace and order to the State at the expense of the workers.

In this last crisis our Party did just the same as it did last November when the Painlevé Ministry fell and the question arose of the Socialists entering the Government. The Party declared itself prepared to defend against the attacks of reaction and of the bankers any Left Government which was seriously willing to tax capital and to solve the financial crisis at the cost of the bourgeoisie. The Party claims complete freedom to stand up for its own financial programme. This programme includes among other things a progressive levy on capital, the nationalisation of the banks and the large capitalist monopolies and the introduction of a monopoly of foreign trade. The workers must be brought to realise that only a worker and peasant government can realise this programme.

The Morocco war has come to an end in the Riff since Abd el Krim's capitulation, but the fight is beginning afresh in other parts of French Morocco. In Syria, peace is still being introduced with fire and sword. That optimistic weather prophet, M. de Jouvenel, prophesies every day that peace will arrive tomorrow, but nevertheless the fight goes on. These colonial adventures only benefit the bankers and the large industrialists, and they cost France millions of francs and thousands of human lives.

In Alsace-Lorraine, where the movement for autonomy has reasserted itself, the internal peace is seriously endangered. A reactionary and clerical organisation, the "Home League", has just issued an appeal in which it demands complete autonomy for the national minority in Alsace-Lorraine under the supremacy of France. The Government answered by reprimanding the signatories to the appeal. This only strengthened the movement for autonomy which is especially active in the country districts.

In consequence of the financial crisis the material position of the French worker has grown worse and worse. The fall of the franc leads to a constant increase in the cost of living. According to official statistics, retail prices have risen in the course of 1925 from the index figure of 404 to 463. In May of this year the figure of 528 was reached. The poor population is particularly hard hit by the increase of the price of bread.

This is how it comes about that there has been a succession of strikes during the past few months; in May alone there were 80 strikes and 9 lockouts in France. Of these movements, 61 ended in an increase of wages. The movement amongst the officials is also steadily gaining in intensity; the officials are showing their discontent by street demonstrations and passive resistance. They show a decided will to fight for a sliding scale of wages whilst the State offers them a rise of wages by 12%. The bourgeois Press demands that the severest measures be taken against the officials.

The question of the 8 hour day is steadily gaining importance. The Washington agreement has not yet been ratified by France, who makes her ratification dependent on Germany's attitude. Germany on her part, refuses to be bound by any international law; she insists on retaining the right to alter her conditions of labour independently at any moment. England is also opposed to ratification; the attitude of these three Great Powers has the effect of, for the time being, preventing the Washington Agreement coming into force. A short time ago a conference was held in London of the Labour Ministers of Germany, England, Belgium, Italy and France, on the question of the eight hour day. This Conference framed resolutions which were theoretically in favour of the 8 hour day. Whilst insisting upon the unrestricted 8 hour day, we must demand that the Washington Agreement be finally ratified by the Senate and that a law to that effect be put into force.

We are at present in a period in which the fights of the workers for an improvement in their conditions of living has received a fresh impetus. The proletariat feels the danger which threatens it and therefore again resumed the class fight. This is a position which may very quickly lead to a revolutionary situation and in which our Party has numerous tasks to perform; the chief of these are:

1. Cooperation with the C. G. T. U. in order really to organise the whole mass of workers on trade union lines.
2. To strengthen our influence among the masses of workers and peasants and to increase the numerical strength of the Party, so that we may become a real mass Party.

3. To gain the sympathy of the middle classes, of the proletarianised petty bourgeoisie, so that these strata may become the allies of the proletariat in the revolutionary fight.

In order to achieve this end, we must systematically promote trade union unity, apply the tactics of the united front steadily and correctly and, in all cases where it is possible, conclude temporary alliances for definite objects with the middle classes and the organisations of the Democratic bourgeoisie.

If class war is to be carried on, it is absolutely necessary to organise the masses of workers in the trade unions; for it is impossible as a permanency that out of 14 million workers only one million should be organised in the two trade union federations. Further, it is imperative that the organisation of the 3 million foreign workers be carried through.

The fight for national and international trade union unity must be carried on at the same time in the fields of agitation and organisation. In doing so we must make full use of the Left wing within the old trade union federation (C. G. T.) and within the Amsterdam International, which sympathise with the idea of unity. In this way we must support the English minority movement and lead the movement for unity within the Amsterdam International.

The connection with the middle classes and the peasants can be improved by creating associations of artisans and petty bourgeois; the French Peasant Council should work in the same spirit. It is essential for us to win over those strata which should be the allies of the proletariat at the decisive moment.

In order to make it possible for the Party and the C. G. T. U. to win over the large unorganised masses of workers and peasants, to unmask the Social Democratic leaders and to withdraw from their influence those workers who still belong to the Socialist Party and the C. G. T., we must make the best and most effective use of the tactics of the united front. We must

make use of the experiences of the past and take into consideration the improvements made by our Party Conference of December 1st and 2nd of last year. At the present period our Party must, in the first place, advocate the immediate demands of the workers: a sliding scale of wages, the 8 hour day, social insurance against sickness and unemployment, a fight against taxation and the rise of prices, the solution of the financial crisis at the expense of capitalism, the fight against reaction and Fascism. On the basis of such a programme, our Party must endeavour to substantiate the united front by creating unity committees in the factories.

If these essential tasks are to be carried out, our Party must steer a good course in its internal affairs as well. Every organisation, from the nucleus up to the district executive, must show an active political life. Purely mechanical methods must disappear. A good democratic centralism must prevail while communist discipline is maintained. A close connection and good collective work between the Party, the trade unions and organisations of young workers must be ensured. The Party must particularly support the youth organisations in every respect. Finally, the Party must be consolidated by putting an end to the quarrels with regard to tendencies within the executive, and all comrades who express their approval of the theses and resolutions of the Comintern and of the Party must be enlisted in work and in the responsible leadership. If our Party acts in the spirit of this programme and fulfils these tasks, it will be at the head of the masses of workers and will be in a position to represent the slogan of the worker and peasant government with all its force. It will organise the great masses of workers and peasants and will lead them, together with the middle classes, into the revolutionary fight against the bourgeoisie and, when the time comes, will complete the seizure of power by the proletariat. (Loud applause).

TELEGRAPHIC REPORTS OF THE 9TH TO 14TH SESSIONS.

Ninth Session.

Lille, 24th June 1926.

The discussion upon the speech of comrade Semard upon the "national and international situation and the tasks of the Party" was continued.

Comrade Cat described the financial situation of France and declared that the only solution was to be found in the confiscation of large fortunes, the setting up of a foreign trade monopoly, the nationalisation of the banks, the disavowal of foreign indebtedness and proletarian control.

Comrade Treint described the developing antagonism between Europe and America and declared that in France the situation was intensifying and that a revolutionary situation was being approached. It would be necessary, he declared, to clarify the necessary national and international tactics to be followed.

Comrade Rappoport pointed to the intensifying contradictions of the capitalist system and argued against Gauthier, showing the significance of the Russian revolution.

Tenth Session.

Lille, 24th June 1926.

The tenth session dealt with the report of the Credentials Commission after which the representative of the Communist Party of Germany comrade Dengel spoke. He pointed to the development of the German Party and described the recent crisis in the Party and concluded his speech by analysing the situation in Germany and pointing out the tasks of the Party.

After the speech of comrade Dengel the discussion upon the political report was continued. Comrade Perceval (North East district) analysed the questions of inflation and stabilisation and drew conclusions for the tactics to be pursued. After speeches from comrades Bossary (Limoges) and Humbertot, the session was closed.

Eleventh Session.

Lille, 25th June 1926.

The discussion upon the political report of comrade Semard was continued. Comrade Cremet in contradistinction to Treint

pointed to the contradictions between the European states and inside the various European states and stressed the importance of the Soviet Union as a political factor. The tactic of the united front had as its aim, declared the speaker, the winning of the masses.

Comrade Costes expressed in the name of the Paris district his agreement with the report of Semard. He pointed to the limits of the united front tactic and declared that the Communist Party must never drag the chariot of the left bloc along.

Comrade Charles read a declaration in the name of the Alsace-Lorraine delegation which stressed the subjective factor in the drawing up of the perspectives and demanded a concentration of forces in the present Party secretariat.

Comrade Jerram described the tactics of the C. P. of France towards the socialist workers. The present slogan of the C. P. must be, declared the speaker, stabilisation at the cost of the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Doriot opposed the theses of Treint by showing the primary importance of the contradictions in Europe itself. He pointed to the rivalry between the various European states and to the conflicts caused by America. The Soviet Union, he declared, to be an important factor in the struggle of the proletariat in all countries and in the struggle of the colonial peoples.

After the speeches of comrades Garein and Barbe, comrade Susanne Girault was given the word. She recognised her past mistakes, accepted the political line of Semard and declared herself against Right digressions.

Twelfth Session.

Lille, June 26th, 1926.

Comrade Dupont made the report on behalf of the control commission.

The last speakers in the discussion upon the political report were Tacco (Nice) and Ernest Girault. After correction by Rappoport, Treint then made his standpoint once again clear.

In this closing speech Comrade Semard described the new political situation in France. The cabinet Briand-Caillaux intends to restore French finances at the cost of the working masses, if necessary with an illegal use of force, declared the speaker. He then went on to describe the forms which the united front tactic could take under the given circumstances. It was necessary to form a Left wing in the Socialist Party to act as a further point of support for the revolutionisation of the masses. The daily struggle should be carried on in connection with the practical slogan of a workers and peasants government.

The representative of the E. C. C. I. then examined the objective and subjective factors which determine the setting up of the perspective. The objective factor is the progressive decay of the bourgeoisie. The subjective factor is that after theebb of the revolutionary wave a new rise is to be observed which expresses itself in the Leftward pressure of the masses, in the growing colonial movement and in the strike wave. In this situation the tactic of the Comintern is a close connection with the masses arising from the decisions of the Third Congress of the Comintern and the mobilisation of the masses through the tactic of the united front for the slogan of the workers and peasants government and the United States of Socialist Europe. The speaker then argued against Treint and described the nature of Locarno and the role of the League of Nations. The Soviet Union and America, socialism and capitalism, were, he declared, opposite poles. After a concrete analysis of the French situation and a criticism of the political line of the party the speaker summed up the tasks and the role of the new party leadership. The speech was greeted with great applause.

Thirteenth Session.

Lille, 26th June 1926.

The thirteenth session dealt with the reports of the commissions. Comrade Duclos reported upon the question of the war victims, comrade Aly upon the colonial programme of the Party, comrade Faussecave upon the women's question and comrade Maranne upon the co-operatives.

The representative of the Italian Communist Party then addressed the Congress and expressed the wishes of his Party for the success of the deliberations.

At the same time the **political commission** was sitting to work out the political resolution and the proposal of the Executive Committee.

Fourteenth Session.

Lille, 26th June 1926 Evening.

Comrade Cremet spoke upon the **trade union question**. The leading consideration in this work, he declared, would have to be systematic work to win the broad masses of the workers, particularly in the large scale factories.

Comrade Thorez spoke in detail upon the **organisational question**. He described the structure of the Party and the tasks of the communist fractions.

A short discussion followed each speech.

Reports were delivered upon the question of **workers sports** and upon the **work of the red relief**.

The proposal of the **political commission** in connection with the election of the **Central Committee** was then introduced by comrade Semard.

Comrade Semard proposed in the name of the political commission to enlarge the Central Committee of the Party to 80 members thus giving both Paris and the provinces the necessary guarantee that the leadership of the Party would be in accord with the spirit of the membership. The Central Committee he declared, should be a concentration of all the former tendencies, certain comrades, however, who had been definitely responsible for certain mistakes would not be included. **Susanne Girault** and **Treint** would also be members of the new Central Committee and also two representatives of the centrist opposition, but not **Humberdot** or **Morin** personally, and also the representative of the right **Engler**, but this latter with reservation. The proposal of the political commission was then **unanimously adopted**, two delegates refraining from voting.

Comrade Semard announced the composition of the **political bureau** which according to the proposal of the political commission should be elected at the first session of the new Central Committee:

Semard, Cremet, Cachin, Thorez, Doriot, Bernard, Maranne, Monmousseau, Nidol, Renaud Jean, Sellier, Dudilleux and Racamond.

The congress raised no objections to this composition.

After hearing a few further reports and adopting the political resolution and a manifesto to the population of Alsace-Lorraine, the Party Congress was closed at 8 o'clock in the evening.

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The Central Committee which then held its first meeting elected the political bureau in its above form. Comrade Semard was elected **General Secretary of the Party**.

THE WHITE TERROR

Rescue Sacco and Vanzetti!

Growing protest movement against the contemplated judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In view of the approaching decision regarding the fate of **Sacco and Vanzetti**, the international protest movement against the contemplated judicial murder of these two revolutionaries has set in with renewed force. In addition to the organisations of the revolutionary working class, the campaign is being participated in by other broad sections of the working population. Wide social democratic, bourgeois, parliamentary and trade union circles, numerous eminent representatives of science and art have joined in the cry of protest of the international proletariat.

Protest telegrams and protest resolutions, chiefly from labour organisations, have been sent wholesale to the American authorities from almost all the countries of Europe.

Among the international protest actions, after the action of the **American working class**, that of the **Italian proletariat** is most noticeable. The action of the Italian proletariat has been led right from the beginning with the greatest energy and the greatest fervour. The Communist Party of Italy has succeeded in almost every town in rousing the conscience of all proletarian and various Left bourgeois organisations. From among the protest demonstrations which took place in the last weeks of June in most of the towns of Italy, we mention merely the following more important actions. The metal workers organisation of **Genoa** has sent a protest resolution to the American Ambassador, protesting against the sentence by means of which the American bourgeoisie is trying to get rid of two sincere defenders of the cause of the proletariat who are innocent of the crime charged against them.

The workers and citizens of **Palmi (Calabria)** sent a telegram to the American Ambassador protesting against American justice which wishes to execute two innocent men.

The workers of the wagon factory of **Fegino** near Genoa adopted at a meeting which was attended by communists, anarchists, syndicalists and non-Party workers, as sharp protest telegram which was sent to the American Ambassador.

At a meeting of workers in **Savona** it was decided to send the following telegram to the American Ambassador:

"The undersigned political organisations give expression to the feelings of the proletariat of Savona and protest against the refusal to grant a new trial to the innocently condemned Italian workers **Sacco and Vanzetti**, and they protest to the whole civilised world against this judgement which is based upon an unfounded suspicion."

This telegram was signed by the **Savonese organisation of the C.P. of Italy**, of the anarchists, the Maximalists, the Italian Labour Party (Right Socialists) and the Republican Party.

A similar protest resolution, accepted by all workers' organisations, was adopted at workers' meetings in **Torino and Como**.

In **France**, **Henri Barbusse** is at the head of a broad protest campaign embracing wide sections of the population.

In **Germany** in the last few days many bourgeois and social democratic politicians, parliamentarians and trade union leaders have joined in the campaign to rescue **Sacco and Vanzetti**. The President of the Reichstag **Paul Löbe**, has sent a telegram to the governor of the State of Massachusetts demanding a new trial. A protest telegram, signed by the following social democratic and bourgeois members of the Reichstag and representatives of big labour organisations, was also sent to the governor of Massachusetts: **Breitscheid (S. P. G.)**, **Dissman (Chairman of the metal workers' Union, S. P. G.)**, **Aulhäuser (General Free Employees Union, S. P. G.)**, **Simons (Shoemakers' Union, S. P. G.)**, **Paeplow (Building workers' Union, S. P. G.)**, **Bender (Transport Workers' Federation, S. P. G.)**, **Schmidt (Land Workers' Union, S. P. G.)**, **Jauscher (Miners' Union, S. P. G.)**, **Lenner (Hirsch-Duncker trade unions, Democrat)**, **Ziegler (Democrat)**, **Schneider (Trade Union Federation of Employees, Democrat)**, **Stegerwald (Chairman of the German Union Federation, Centre)**, **Imbusch (Centre)**, **Johannes Becher (Centre)**, **Traemmel (Centre)**, **Dr. Brüning (Centre)**, **Eberhardt (Centre)** and **Ehrsing (Centre)**.

In **Calgary, Canada**, at a great people's meeting, the following protest telegram to the governor of the State of Massachusetts was adopted:

"We workers and citizens of Calgary, unite our protest with that of all the workers of the world. As **Sacco and Vanzetti** have been kept in prison for six years and are in danger of their lives; as the defence has in its hands the confession of **Celestino Madeiro** which proves that the crime was committed by him, **Madeiro**, and not by **Sacco and Vanzetti**; as **Sacco and Vanzetti** were condemned at a fit of historical incitement against the Reds, but are completely innocent of the crime with which they are charged, we demand that a halt be called to the horrible manner in which justice is being administered and that these two innocent victims be unconditionally released."