

Arthur Rosenberg: The Rákosi Trial and the English Conservatives.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 6 No. 53

22nd July 1926

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schlessfach 213, Vienna IX. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

CONTENTS

- Arthur Rosenberg: The Rákosi Trial and the English Conservatives.
- The Trial of Rákosi and his Comrades.
G. Zinoviev: The Rákosi Trial.
Bela Kun: The First Lesson of the Rákosi Trial. Letters from Budapest. I, II, III, IV.
- The Miners' Struggle in England.
Convocation of the Anglo-Russian Committee.
S.L.: The Sympathetic Action of the Chinese Workers in Support of the English General Strike.
Solidarity Action in the Soviet Union.
- Union of Soviet Republics.
Dzershinsky: Questions of Work and Wages in the Industry of the Soviet Union.
- Politics.
A. Stirner: The Position in Mexico and the Fight against the Catholic Church.
The Trial and Sentence of Visny, the Hungarian Agent Pro- vocateur, in Moscow.
- The Balkans.
P. Friedländer: Henri Barbusse: "The Executioners."
Vasile Spiru: An Important Congress of the Bessarabian Peasants' Party.
- The White Terror.
K.L.: A Fresh Victim of the System of Provocations in Poland. A Second Communist Trial in Hungary.
Rescue Sacco and Vanzetti from the Electric Chair!
- The Labour Movement.
Wm. Z. Foster: Trade Union Life Insurance in the United States.
- The Women's Movement.
Sonia Croll: Work among Women in America.
- The Youth Movement.
Resolution on the British General Strike and the Y.C.L. of Great Britain.
- Proletarian Commemoration Days.
Viatch Polonsky: Michael Alexandrovitch Bakunin.
- Book Reviews.
Erich Gentsch: John W. Brown: "The Problem of Migration and the Working class."

On the 20th July, at 4-40 p. m., there occurred in his home the sudden death, from heart failure, of our

Comrade Felix E. Dzershinsky,

Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council of the U. S. S. R. and Chairman of the G. P. U. A man of extraordinary energy and complete devotion to the cause of the revolution, Dzershinsky was taken from his responsible post in the full tide of his activity, and it is this activity which has consumed him.

Death overtook Dzershinsky three hours after his rousing and informative speech at the Plenum of the Central Council and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The entire Plenum listened with the most intense eagerness to its beloved Comrade. The Soviet Government which has suffered the sudden death of one of its most eminent men, finds no words to express the severe loss it has sustained by the passing away of Comrade Dzershinsky. There has passed away a man who not only promoted the development of the Soviet national economy, but who was one of the heroes of the October Revolution and has continually guarded its achievements.

Born in 1877, Dzershinsky entered the Social Democratic Party in 1895, and was fiercely persecuted by the Tsarist government for his revolutionary activity in Lithuania and in Poland. He was several times banished and condemned to hard labour, and in all spent 12 years in prison. In 1906 he took part in the Party Conference of Stockholm which elected him as member of the Central Committee. During the October Revolution he was one of the chief leaders of the uprising. After the Bolshevik revolution Dzershinsky was entrusted with the organising of the fight against counter-revolution. He organised the Tcheka and was appointed its President. Later, Dzershinsky filled the post of People's Commissar for the Interior, for Transport and, finally, that of Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. He was at the same time Chairman of the G. P. U.

The Rákosi Trial and the English Conservatives.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

Comrade Rosenberg was present at the proceedings during the first week of the Rákosi trial. Ed.

On Friday last, the 16th inst., the Budapest law court which has to pronounce judgement on 55 Communists and socialists, completely exposed its character when the President imposed a monstrous disciplinary punishment on Comrade Rákosi. Comrade Rákosi received two days' confinement in a dark cell with a plank bed, without food, as a "punishment" for a few harmless remarks, which should have only called forth a warning from even the most spiteful class judge.

This procedure is not to be explained as due to the fact that the President suddenly lost his nerve, or, in a sudden fit of rage, wished to vent his spite on the hated political opponent. For the President of the Court, Dr. Szemak, who is conducting the great Budapest Trial is a very calm and deliberate man, who knows exactly what he is doing. I have for many hours watched the way in which Dr. Szemak is conducting the trial. He can be very polite and matter-of-fact — when he wants to be. If such a judge resorts to such monstrous measures, then he does so for special political reasons; he is acting on the instructions of his government.

It is quite clear what the Hungarian rulers are aiming at with this torturing of Rákosi. The Hungarian working class are following the trial with the most eager attention. The heroic behaviour of the accused communists and Left socialists is making a tremendous impression upon the masses. That is very painful to the Hungarian rulers. Equally disagreeable to them is the attention which the Rákosi trial is arousing every where abroad among the whole international working class, and beyond them to all the advanced intellectuals and even among liberal sections of the bourgeoisie. The presence of foreign members of parliament and journalists who have come to attend the trial in Budapest, is proof of this.

The Hungarian government now wishes to show that it can snap its fingers at the international public; it wishes to prove that it is master in its own house and, in spite of the foreign spectators, will deal with the accused as it wishes. Only thus can the shameful disciplinary punishment of Rákosi and the other accused be understood. After this prelude one can to some extent imagine what the sentences will be if the storm of indignation from all countries does not compel the Hungarian government to abandon its intentions.

But the Prime Minister, Count Bethlen, would not venture to allow this trial to be conducted in this cynical manner, were he not convinced that he has powerful helpers in London. It is quite clear in Budapest that the Rákosi trial is a part of the great campaign of the English Conservatives against the Soviet Union. The Hungarian government papers are publishing, precisely during the trial, every possible inciting article by the English Conservative politicians against Soviet Russia. The telegrams of the "Times" against Rákosi are readily reprinted in the Hungarian government press. English aristocrats have been coming to Hungary in the last few days in order to fraternise with the Hungarian nobility on the occasion of a so-called Boy Scout Rally. We put the direct question: **What role is the English Ambassador in Budapest playing in this trial?**

In addition to the obligation of the entire International working class to do every conceivable thing for Rákosi and his accused comrades, there is the special obligation of the English proletariat and of all circles in England who do not approve of the policy of Baldwin and Chamberlain. There are two facts which entitle the Budapest trial to a special place among all the great political trials which have taken place in Europe in the last few years.

First, it is a classic example of a trial purely for the holding of opinions. The accused Communists are only charged with the fact of being communists. The accusation, apart from some intrusions of the passport laws, is based upon

no other delinquency. No acts of violence, no incitements to acts of violence, no incitement of the army — absolutely nothing. Only the acknowledgment of Communism and the holding of a Party School at which lectures on imperialism and similar things were delivered. On this basis it is intended to condemn dozens of people to long years of imprisonment. The Police President of Budapest, Dr. Hetenyi, told me quite definitely, in the presence of an English journalist, that in Hungary the mere acknowledgment of Communism is punishable. Communism however, as is known, is nothing more than the old Marxist theory. Whoever in Hungary adheres to Marx is sent to prison. Will the English government venture to justify such crazy justice before the masses of the English people?

The second fact, which cannot be sufficiently emphasised, is the following: along with the Communists there stand in the dock the functionaries of the Left Socialist Vági Party. The Bethlen government not only wants to hold down the Communist Party of Hungary, but to render impossible any workers' party which severs itself from the corrupt leaders of the old Hungarian social democracy. There exists the well-known agreement between the Hungarian government and the social democratic leaders. It was a business affair on both sides. Count Bethlen tolerates the social democrats, in return for which the social democratic leaders undertake, among other things, not to carry on socialist propaganda in the country districts. The small peasants, and the land workers of Hungary, who constitute the majority of the population, are, under this pact, handed over by the social democratic leaders to the feudal nobility. A social democratic party leadership as agent of the feudal nobility is a somewhat strange phenomenon even for the Second International.

As the social democratic leaders are carrying out their obligations under the Pact, Count Bethlen is also fulfilling his part of the bargain: he screens the social democracy and shields it from any disagreeable competition. In the Rákosi trial the President at once energetically intervenes if any word of criticism is said against the social democrats. The indignant Hungarian workers, when they learned of the treacherous Pact of their leaders, founded the Left Socialist Vági Party. The Vági Party is now to be strangled by decisions of the court. For this also the English government must take over the responsibility. **Will the English working class actually tolerate this shameful game?** The Rákosi trial is not a question of the fate of individuals. It is a question of the political existence of the entire working population of Hungary.

THE TRIAL OF RAKOSI AND COMRADES

The Rákosi Trial.

By G. Zinoviev.

The English Conservatives have given the counter-revolutionaries of the whole world the signal to start a new offensive against the Labour movement. In England the ultra-conservative Home Secretary throws the Communists and the revolutionary miners into prison "for the glory of freedom and democracy". The Government publishes a Blue Book on the Communist documents which have been seized, and the Die-hards move a resolution in the House of Commons, proposing to the Government that, until relations with the Soviet Union are broken off, the Communist movement in England be suppressed with every possible means.

The English National Conference of the Conservative party demands a revision of the laws of 1906 and 1913, regarding the rights of the trade unions, and a Commission of the Conservative party for home affairs demands that this "reform" be carried

out in the current year. The Die-hards demand a breach with the Soviet Union and the "well bred" English Ministers let themselves go in invectives against the first proletarian State. At the same time the offensive against the national movements for liberation in the East is being continued, a new advance is being prepared against the people's army in China, a campaign of agitation is being carried on against the Swarajists in India and against Zaglul's adherents in Egypt etc.

The English Conservatives have given the signal for a general attack on the Labour movement.

"The young pigs grunt like the old sow". The Die-hards of England believe that the suitable moment has come for a general offensive both against the Communists and against the trade union movement, and the Conservative elements in every country are following the example of their English masters and tutors. In Finland, the Youth League is being dissolved and its members thrown into prison. The Pilsudski upheaval in Poland has not opened the doors of the Polish prisons with all their horrors. On the contrary, trials of Communists are following one another in quick succession and the "revolutionary", Pilsudski is suppressing the peasant movement by means of punitive expeditions. In Bulgaria, the cruel Liapcheff regime is regarded as not sufficiently severe. There is already talk of Zankoff returning to power. In the United States preparations are being made for the execution of the honest revolutionaries Sacco and Vanzetti. Yugoslavia, Roumania, the Baltic States are still "solving" the Labour question by terror. The small Die-hards are carrying the favour of the big Die-hards and wish to prove themselves to be protectors of "civilisation" against the Bolshevik danger. English and American loans are granted according to the rate of interest, the guarantees and the hostility of the Governments in question to the Soviet Union and the Labour movement.

The Hungarian Government is also yearning for the favour of its English masters. They have already made one attempt to hand over the splendid revolutionaries, the Communists Rakosi, Weinberger, Oery, Gögös and Katharina Haman to the executioners, but the protest of the workers in all countries stayed the cruel hand of the Hungarian counter-revolution.

Comrade Rákosi was People's Commissary of the first Hungarian Soviet Republic, was one of the founders of the Communist party in Hungary. He had gone to the Hungary of Horthy and Bethlen in order to build up the Communist party and to gain the sympathy of the Hungarian workers for the Communist movement, in order to bring organisation into their sympathies for the glorious traditions of the Hungarian proletarian revolution, in order to turn this potential energy into an organised force. Comrade Rákosi had gone to Hungary in order to unmask Bethlen's allies, the leaders of Hungarian Social Democracy, before the eyes of the workers, in order to help the Hungarian workers to create their class organisations in common with the Hungarian Communists. For this reason, and for this reason alone, are Rákosi and his comrades before the Court.

The Bethlen Government needs a Communist trial at the present moment. The "reconstruction" of Hungary, under the wing of the League of Nations, has led to an unprecedented crisis in the national economy: unemployment, bankruptcy, agrarian crisis. The masses of peasants are demanding real agrarian reform. The forgery of French bank notes with the help of the authorities has finally compromised the counter-revolution. Bethlen openly joined the camp of the adherents of the restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy. The League of Nations has not abandoned its control over Hungary. The Government is handing over the interests of the Hungarian national minorities to the Roumanian Boyars and the South Slav reactionaries. The masses of workers are becoming more and more revolutionary, opposition in the trade unions is gaining in strength. The Government must save itself and show itself to be the "saviour of society."

This is why the Rákosi trial is being staged.

There is no lack of provocation in the previous history of this trial. After the shameful pact made by the Hungarian Social Democratic leaders with the Bethlen Government had been unmasked, a split took place in the Social Democratic party. The honest social democratic workers of Hungary left the party of the open accomplices of Horthy and formed the "Hungarian Socialist Labour party." We do not know the leaders of this party. It does not belong to the Comintern. Its representatives

took part in the Congress of the 2nd International in Marseille and succeeded in getting their party admitted to the 2nd International. To please the Hungarian Social Democrats, the Hungarian Government linked the Rákosi trial with the trial of the leaders of the Socialist Labour party in order to prove that the Socialist Labour party is a Communist party. This contemptible manoeuvre, this common provocation is to give the Government an excuse for dissolving the Socialist Labour party.

This is the meaning of the provocation on the part of the Government.

Every worker should raise his voice in protest against the trial of the honest Hungarian revolutionaries.

The First Lesson of the Rákosi Trial: Revolutionary Fight for the Legality of the Communist Party.

By Bela Kun (Moscow).

The first phase of the Rákosi trial is ended. The accused communists in the trial have all been heard. There follow the accused socialists, the leaders of the "Socialist Labour Party" which belongs to the Second International, and whom it is sought to label as communists.

During the proceedings the President of the court has liberally meted out disciplinary punishment to the accused: confinement in dark cells, chains, plank bed and deprivation of food. But when the President of the court ordered comrade Rákosi, who not only underground but also in court is the leader of his comrades, to be kept out of the court during the further proceedings, he was obliged to withdraw his order in face of the demonstration of the accused. If ever there was a trial which constituted a part of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, this trial is certainly one: not only as regards Hungary, but also on an international scale. And this because a Communist Party, which has been forced to work underground, is conducting in and through this trial a fight in order to break the fetters of illegality. The Communist Party of Hungary is conducting a fight before the bourgeois court, not in the form of liquidating the underground movement nor based upon illusions of legality, but with revolutionary real politics.

The basis of this revolutionary real politics is the Leninist teaching that, in order to win the leadership of the masses, it is necessary to make use of legal means and possibilities, even when the terror of the bourgeois is seeking with all its force to bar this way. This problem is today not only a problem for the Communist Party of Hungary. In South East Europe and in Eastern Europe (Poland and the Border States), there are, in all, about 80 million people living under the rule of the white terror. In all these countries the Communist Party is completely, or almost completely forced into illegality. This illegality is rendered more severe owing to the fact that — contrary to the illegality in Tsarist Russia, which affected not only the Bolsheviks but also the Mensheviks — the parties of social treachery, the social democratic parties are legal parties. They are not only legal as political parties, but they everywhere have influence over the majority, or over a considerable minority of the trade unions and other workers' organisations. This circumstance renders the struggle — the revolutionary and not the liquidatory struggle — all the more necessary. This fight for the legality of the Communist Party is one of the most important phases of the fight in order to break the power and influence of the social democracy.

What is very instructive for the international proletariat in the attitude of Rákosi is not only his heroism, his firm, unshakable communist character, but the 100% revolutionary content of the political line which is to be traced in all the sentences which he utters before the court. This political line aims at enforcing the legal activity of the Communist Party. The pre-requisite for the achievement of this aim is, of course, not only the heroism of Comrade Rákosi, but also the pressure of the working class. This pressure will be strengthened as a result of the attitude of Rákosi, which constitutes one of the most famous pages in the history of the Communist Party of Hungary, which even apart from this is not lacking in fame.

The international significance of the Rákosi trial — apart from the fact that, under the pressure of the English Conservative

government, it was intended to convert this trial into a Soviet trial — consists in the fact that it has raised before the court and in the face of the State power, the demand for the legal activity of the Communist Party. It is quite certain that the bourgeoisie will not easily give way to such demands. On the other hand, however, there is not the least doubt that an attitude like that of Rákosi and his comrades cannot remain without effect upon the working class, and even upon its less class-conscious masses, and that the bourgeoisie of those countries, the stabilisation of which is very shaky and whose social equilibrium can be upset at any moment, will not be able for long to withstand the pressure of the masses.

When Comrade Rákosi, in reply to a question of the President, stated that the Communist Party, under all circumstances — even when and where the laws do not prohibit its activity — will develop an illegal activity in the interest of revolution, he provided an example of how one must fight for legality, without a trace of liquidationism. The Hungarian Communists and not they alone, will continue this fight even if it demands the greatest sacrifices from them. For this fight is a fight for winning the masses.

Letters from Budapest to the "Inprecorr". First Day of the Proceedings.

Budapest, July 12, 1926.

To-day there commenced before the Criminal Court the trial of Rákosi, Vági and Comrades for high treason. The proceedings are being held in a Court room decorated with wood panelling, marble and frescoes, as well as a bust of the late Emperor Franz Joseph. On the benches which are usually reserved for the Jury there sit, instead of the "twelve judges from the people", twelve of the defenders, as the table for the defence only offers three places. The whole space between the Judges' table and the spectators is occupied by the fifty five accused, each of whom sits between two soldiers armed with rifles and fixed bayonets.

There were present to-day in Court among the spectators, Comrades Karl Kreibich from Prague, and Stefan Major from Bratislava (Pressburg), both of them members of the Czechoslovakian Parliament. In addition there are expected, Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld and Pohl from the German social democratic party, Arthur Ponsonby M. P. from London and Comrade Barbusse from Paris.

The Court buildings, and especially that part in which the Jury Court is situated, are strongly occupied by Police in uniform and plain clothes. Also in the immediate neighbourhood of the Court once notices that double guards have been posted.

Among the defenders there is the eminent lawyer and former member of parliament, Dr. Zoltán Lengyel who is defending Rákosi.

* * *

The ascertainment of personal particulars regarding the accused shows that the majority of them are workers, although there are also among them a number of intellectuals. A whole number of the accused, on being asked by the President as to whether they had been soldiers, proudly replied that they had served in the Red Army of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Weinberger in particular emphasised this. Johann Kalman stated that he had been a Red Guardist; he afterwards joined the French Foreign Legion and fought in Morocco, from whence he deserted and returned to Budapest where he entered the Communist movement. Many of the accused stated that they had already been persecuted before.

After the reading of the Indictment, in which the accused are charged with high treason, in that they attempted to alter by violent means the existing order of society, there began the cross-examination of the accused. The first to be cross-examined was

Comrade Karl Oery.

a joiner's assistant.

His replies are definite, firm, courageous and clear. In the plain, simple words of a class conscious revolutionary proletarian, he admits, as a matter of course, having taken part in revolutionary activity. He states:

During the Dictatorship he was in the Red Army; he was arrested after the fall of the Dictatorship, was set free again, after which he went to Vienna. There he attended a Communist Party School. In 1923 he returned to Budapest with a false pass. On the instructions of the Communist Committee he devoted himself to propaganda. He at first worked with the opposition in the Trade Unions and then joined the Vági group.

President: How did you become acquainted with Rákosi?

Oery: I refuse to answer that question.

President: Don't twiddle about with your hands!

Oery: I must move my hands while speaking.

President: For that answer I order you one day's strict fast.

Oery: You can do that, because you have the power.

President: Did you succeed in organising the Communist movement?

Oery: I cannot reply to that question.

President: What did you want to do?

Oery: To organise the unemployed movement. But the social democrats persecuted me by accusing me of being a spy.

President: With whom did you come together in Vienna?

Oery: I do not make any statement regarding that.

President: What was taught in the Communist School in Vienna?

Oery: How the social democratic leaders falsify the teachings of Marx and Engels.

Regarding the Party Conference of the Communist Party of Hungary and other events, Oery made only general and indefinite statements.

President: Was there a legal and a illegal Communist movement?

Oery: Yes.

President: Was it decided to carry on Communist propaganda in the Vági group?

Oery: That was not exactly the decision. Such propaganda could, in fact, be carried on in the social democratic party.

President: But then you would have been expelled from this Party.

Oery: No doubt, for the social democratic leaders are the lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

President: You have two aims: the fight for the every day demands and the final aim?

Oery: Yes. I fight for the every day demands, but my final aim is the transformation of the present order of society into the Communist order of society. Now, however, only the fight for the every day demands is immediately possible.

President: You say, the laws do not apply as far as you are concerned?

Oery: Certainly, for they are the laws of the ruling class.

When the president called the attention of the accused to the protocol of his preliminary examination by the police, he replied:

The protocol is not valid, for the authorities have written down there what they wanted and not what I said.

President: Have you anything else to say?

Oery: The present legal system is the legal system of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie . . .

President: I forbid you to say another word.

Comrade Rákosi

escorted by two soldiers is now brought into the Court.

Now, when he stands alone before the Court, one can observe him more closely. He is perfectly unbroken. One cannot observe any change in him. His bearing is upright, courageous, and not in the least embarrassed. He replies promptly and readily to the questions put to him. He delivers a speech on the objects and tasks of the Communist Party as if he were speaking in a Party School and not before the Court. He replies to the interjections of the President as if he were engaged in an interesting discussion, and not as if it were a question of many years of imprisonment. In short, Rákosi stands before this Court with the courageous bearing of the class fighter, of the revolutionary, and with the skill and clearness of the trained Marxist.

Questioned regarding his past, Rákosi states:

I was a prisoner of war in Russia. During the Károlyi regime I returned home and was active as a member of the C. P. of Hungary. I was arrested along with Bela Kun. During the Commune I was People's Commissary for Trade, but when the Soviet Republic was engaged in war I went to the front, because as a Communist I felt it to be my duty to fight in the front ranks.

President: With whom were you in connection abroad?

Rákosi: With various emigrants, but I cannot give the names, because I do not wish to compromise them with the police of the various countries.

President: You were sent to Hungary?

Rákosi: No, I came voluntarily.

President: You are an official of the Comintern?

Rákosi: I ceased to be such when I devoted myself to work in the Hungarian Party.

President: From whence was the movement supplied with money?

Rákosi: There are in Hungary, in emigration and also in Russia, sufficient Hungarian workers who are eager and ready to make the greatest sacrifices in order that a Communist Party shall be built up in Hungary.

President: If you speak in that tone I shall have to adopt measures against you.

Rákosi: I will endeavour to reply calmly.

President: There was a legal and an illegal movement?

Rákosi: It was my endeavour to transform the illegal movement into the legal movement.

To the reproach on account of the unlawful and terrorist character of the movement, Comrade Rákosi replies by briefly dealing with the history of the bourgeois revolution in Hungary, which was also illegal and terrorist. Was not a certain Count Zichy shot in July 1848 by the Hungarian revolutionaries because he conspired with Austria?

Comrade Rákosi now delivers a lecture lasting almost an hour on the teachings of Marx and Engels, their origin and further development, on the Paris Commune and on the history of the labour movement and the social democracy up to the world war. Comrade Rákosi replies to the repeated remonstrances of the President to be more brief, with the remark that it is only possible to understand the objects and the policy of the Comintern in these connections.

Comrade Rákosi then describes the world war and the time following the world war, as the period of the decline of capitalism and of bourgeois society. The role which the social democracy has been playing since the world war as the support of the capitalist society, condemns it likewise to decline. Its leading section has been bought and corrupted by the bourgeoisie. The Hungarian social democracy, in particular, has become utterly rotten.

The President hereupon calls upon comrade Rákosi not to say insulting things against the Hungarian social democracy.

Rákosi: I do not insult the Party as a workers's Party, I only refer to the character of its leaders. The latter were corrupt and treacherous long before the war; that was proved by the compromise with Kristoffy, Andrássy, Wekerle, Khuen-Hedervary, Tisza and Huszar, as well as the exclusion of Alpári from the Party in 1910, which was carried out because Alpári fought against this political corruption. Rákosi then describes the Károlyi era and the sham democracy of that bourgeois-social democratic coalition. During this "democratic" era the C. P. was persecuted, its leaders were imprisoned and the Party could not even publish a legal organ. It was only the fact that this regime did not feel strong enough, and that Bela Kun had a harder skull, that the latter, in spite of severest mishandlings, did not suffer the same fate as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The "raid" on the "Nepszava" which, as a matter of fact, was a senseless uproar between two groups of defenders of "Nepszava" who took each other for enemies, was charged against the Communists in order to be able to persecute them. But these persecutions disintegrated the social democracy and strengthened the C. P. From behind the prison walls the C. P. of Hungary captured the masses of the working people. When this became obvious the social democratic leaders came over into the camp

of the Communist movement, but not out of conviction, but because they saw they would otherwise lose all influence with the masses. By this they only proved their utter lack of character.

At this point the President adjourned the proceedings and ordered that they should be resumed tomorrow, Tuesday, at 9 a. m.

Second Day of Proceedings.

Budapest, July 13, 1926.

Today there was concluded the cross-examination of Comrade Rákosi. It occupied a further two hours.

Comrade Rákosi

dealt with the causes of the collapse of the Soviet dictatorship.

The fusion with social democracy was an outward fusion, without inner unity. The greatest mistake was that the social democratic leaders were given the most responsible posts. It was thought that they would thereby be firmly committed and deprived of any possibility of retreat, but they practised sabotage and treachery. Outwardly they solemnly declared, like the trade union leader, Jászai, that they were in favour of the dictatorship. Now, however, they declare, in their writings like Payer, that they did everything at the time to undermine the dictatorship and the position of the Communists. I do not know if they were lying then or if they are lying now.

President: Do not make use of such expressions.

Rákosi: Well, I do not know when they were not speaking the truth. Vanczák, the leader of the metal workers, today declares that he was never prepared to support the dictatorship; but when it was a question of concluding an alliance with the bourgeoisie and supporting them, he was quite prepared for that. Böhm occupied the very responsible position of a leader of the Red Army, but he later published a book in which he declared that he did everything in order to bring about the overthrow of the dictatorship and the Communists. This is how the foremost leaders behaved who were under our direct control. One can imagine what the subordinate leaders did, who could not be controlled.

The second mistake of the dictatorship was that it did not divide up the big estates among the peasants. This was omitted as a result of the objections and the pressure of the social democrats; the big estates were given to the co-operatives which were not ripe enough to take them over.

The Red Army, it is true, fought victoriously, but it was disintegrated by the counter-revolutionary doings of the bourgeoisie.

Another mistake was that Slovakia was evacuated.

Comrade Rákosi then went into question of the Peace of Trianon and the attitude of the Comintern to the national question. He described the role of the Comintern as the guardian of the small and suppressed nations.

The Peace of Trianon is the fruit of the treachery of the Hungarian bourgeoisie to the nation and to the country. Out of hatred against the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Hungarian bourgeoisie allied itself with the Czechs, and particularly with the Roumanians, and delivered Hungary over to them. It played the same role as the Hungarian aristocracy of 1849, which allied itself with the Tsar against the revolutionary Hungarian bourgeoisie. The revolutionary Hungarian bourgeoisie at that time defended itself against this treachery, just as the revolutionary French bourgeoisie of 1793 defended itself against the treachery of Louis XVI. and his followers, by means of terror. The revolutionary proletariat had the same right against the treacherous bourgeoisie.

The Indictment maintains that we communists wish to destroy civilisation.

Public Prosecutor (interrupting): That is so!

Rákosi: The decline of the ruling bourgeois classes is also the decline of bourgeois civilisation. The Hungarian aristocracy of 1848 opposed Petöfi and the others who established a new culture. In the same way the bourgeoisie of today opposes the new proletarian culture.

Comrade Rákosi then deals with the achievements of the Soviet regime in Russia in the sphere of culture and points to the jubilee of the Leningrad Academy of Science, on which occasion bourgeois German scholars and scientists had to acknowledge the great cultural work of the proletarian dictatorship.

His speech then reverts again to the terror and the murders during the dictatorship. Comrade Rákosi made short work of these charges:

The suppressed class must resort to the means of terror if the ruling class renders it impossible for it to realise its uprising by other means. During the "democratic" regime of Károly and the social democrats there were more people killed than during the dictatorship, and after the fall of the dictatorship the acts of murder were many times more numerous. The social democrat Payer had, in the Ministerial Council, along with the bourgeois Ministers, voted for the execution of Otto Korvin, and in the course of the proceedings against us the social democrat Horovitz went to the police in order to denounce Vági and his followers as Communists.

President: That was not a denunciation, it was his duty.

Rákosi: There are two kinds of duty; bourgeois duty and proletarian duty.

To the accusation of having come to Hungary with a false pass, Comrade Rákosi replies:

Every illegal movement has to work by means of false passes. One can read in Eduard Bernstein's works under what various false names political refugees travelled.

President: With whom did you work after your return to Hungary?

Rákosi: I refuse to make any statements on this point.

President: During the examination before the police you made statements regarding this.

Rákosi: I only did this because I knew that my comrades were being ill-treated in order to extract statements from them. I wished to put an end to their tortures. I could do this all the more as the police protocol, even apart from this, is worthless.

President: Do you consider yourself bound to abide by the decisions of the First Congress of the Comintern?

Rákosi (Raising his voice): Yes!

President: It is stated there, however, that the proletariat must also fight with weapons.

Rákosi: That was in place at that time, in the immediately revolutionary situation of 1919. Today the situation is different, and other tactics are therefore necessary.

Thereupon the President concluded the hearing of Rákosi, declaring that he has spoken enough yesterday.

Comrade Ignaz Gögös

was now brought before the Court. He admits having come illegally to Hungary in 1923. At first, however, he did not work for the movement. It was only later that he worked illegally in the social democracy.

President: You decided, along with the Vági group, to split the social democracy?

Gögös: No, we worked independently, just as the Vági group was also an independent movement.

President: You declared before the police that you received money from Vienna.

Gögös: Everything I said there is untrue. I was handed over by the chief of the political secret police, Hetenyi, to the detective Hein with the words: "Gögös is a Hungarian, he must be dealt with specially!" Thereupon I was fearfully ill-treated.

The President caused a medical certificate to be read according to which Gögös showed several injuries.

Gögös now describes how he was mishandled. The police bound him hand and foot with leather bands, hung him up by the bands and flogged him until he could no longer hold out, and said various things in order not to be further ill-treated.

Gögös wishes to give further details as to the ill-treatment to which he was subjected.

President: Don't talk any more of that! Tell us about the money that you received for the Communist Party.

Gögös: I am prepared to speak of this if the Hungarian secret patriotic organisations are prepared . . .

President: Silence! That is out of place here!

Gögös: If nothing must be said regarding that, then I will also say nothing regarding our money.

Regarding the Congress of the Communist Party of Hungary Gögös only made general and indefinite statements.

President: What tasks did Katharina Hamann have in the movement?

Gögös: The women's movement and the municipal policy. I am very much surprised that . . .

President: You are not to be surprised here.

On another occasion the President said to Gögös: Do not give such impudent answers!

Gögös: I am not able to speak in a manner agreeable to the bourgeoisie.

President: For this reply I order you a day's rigorous arrest without food.

This concluded the hearing of the third accused.

The statements of

Comrade Katharina Hamann

are, unfortunately, owing to her hoarseness, very difficult to hear from the spectators' benches. Before the dictatorship she was a railway clerk and member of the Communist Party. She fulfilled her duty to the dictatorship, and after the dictatorship carried on opposition within the social democratic Party.

President: Why are you no longer a social democrat?

Hamann: Because the social democracy is the ally of the bourgeoisie and does not fight for the emancipation of the proletariat.

President: You declared before the Public Prosecutor that you do not condemn the activity of Bela Kun but approve of it. I ask you: Do you now refuse to answer this question or do you confirm that declaration?

Hamann: I do not refuse to answer. I fully and entirely stand by my statements regarding the activity of Bela Kun. I approve of the activity of Bela Kun. I fully and entirely approve of the actions of the Communists during the Soviet government, and I am proud that I myself took part in this work.

Third Day of Proceedings.

Budapest, July 14, 1926.

The first accused to be heard to-day was

Comrade Weinberger,

a still young, but none the less undaunted and determined fighter. He states that already, after the overthrow of the dictatorship, he was condemned to 15 years hard labour, but was liberated through the exchange of prisoners arranged by the Soviet government. He then lived in Russia. In May 1925 he returned to Hungary with a false pass, under the name of Hegedüs, in order to work along with Rákosi in the illegal movement.

President: With whom were you in connection at that time?

Weinberger: I have never betrayed anybody and never will betray anybody.

He then set forth his views. He proudly declared: No persecution and no tortures can frighten me from fulfilling my revolutionary duty. I will continue to fight until the present regime of the capitalists and big landowners is overthrown.

President: What was the purpose of your work here?

Weinberger: To create a legal Communist Party in Hungary, a party such as already exists in all civilised countries. Even in Italy and in Poland, where the Communist Party is

forced into illegality, the Communists have the possibility of sending representatives to Parliament.

Rákosi (interjecting): Communist papers appear there as well.

President (to Rákosi) I call you to order. You are only to speak when you are questioned.

Weinberger then dealt with the mistakes that were made in Hungary in 1919. The greatest failure was that there was no big Communist Party which organisationally embraced the masses.

President: Do not speak so generally, but concretely, of what you are accused.

Weinberger: I must speak of general things, for the accusation is based on them. No other evidence could be brought against me than that I came to Hungary with a false pass.

Weinberger then described the treachery of the social democratic leaders during the dictatorship. The social democrats at that time played the role of house thieves.

President: I call you to order on account of this expression.

Weinberger: The social democratic leaders proceeded against the revolutionary-minded workers by first driving them out of the Party, then handing them over to the police, and finally having them dragged before the Court. The formation of the Vági group was a natural step in this development. The working class could not be content with the policy of the social democracy; they had to oppose the social democracy. But the Vági group had nothing whatever to do with the Communist Party. The social democrats took part in the first counter-revolutionary movement which executed numerous communist leaders and workers. The two editors of the "Nepszava", Somogyi and Bacso, were murdered, but the social democratic leader Vánczák shook hands with Regent Horthy and offered to conclude a Pact with him. The social democracy also concluded a Pact with the Bethlen government, which was even condemned by Kautsky. The social democrat Horovitz denounced workers to the police.

President: That is an insult!

Weinberger: Then there cannot be a greater insult than to be called a social democratic leader.

The conditions of living of the Hungarian working class, continued comrade Weinberger, are worse than those of Chinese coolies. They possess no political freedom whatever. Many hundreds of our comrades have already been brought before the class court; in spite of this ever fresh comrades return from emigration in order to build up a Communist movement here, regardless of what awaits them. They are moved to do this not by material motives, but by conviction.

Questioned regarding his activity, Comrade Weinberger admits that he worked in the Youth organisation in order to educate the youth so that they might expose and remove the social democratic leaders. I did this in accordance with the trust bequeathed by Lenin who said: "Those who wish to be victorious in the revolution must win the youth."

President: Is the Vági Party a Communist Party?

Weinberger: No.

President: What was your object?

Weinberger: Our sole object was to build up a legal Communist Youth movement. So long as this object has not been achieved, we must continue to work illegally.

Thereupon

Comrade Paul Juhasz

was brought before the court.

He had taken part in the Party School and in the Congress. For the rest, he says almost as good as nothing. He related that the Public Prosecutor stated in reply to his declaration that he wished to create a legal Communist movement: "Your beard will reach below your knees before you achieve that!"

Comrade Joseph Mitterer

declares that he entered the Vági Party because there was no Communist Party. He already before belonged to the opposition

in the social democracy. He did not consider the Vági Party as a Communist Party.

President: You told the police something different!

Mitterer: Because I was ill-treated there in such a manner that I got a bad throat, discharges from the ear and internal injuries.

President: There is nothing of this in the medical certificate.

Mitterer: But I had to be treated by the prison doctor for two weeks.

President: But you made the same statements before the Public Prosecutor.

Mitterer: Because I was afraid that otherwise I should be handed over again to the police.

Comrade Peter Szabo

worked in the Vági Party and was in the organisation of the landworkers. The Vági Party is not a Communist Party.

President: You told the police something different!

Szabo: The protocol was already written out when I was brought forward for examination. I was beaten until I signed it.

Comrade Albert Lakatos

had likewise attended the Party school.

President: Did you become convinced from this that the Communist Party is following the right aim?

Lakatos: Yes!

Lakatos also disputed the correctness of the police protocol: His statements had been extorted from him by ill-treatment.

President: But nothing of this was found at the medical examination.

Lakatos: This examination was all part of the same business!

The President calls the accused to order for this remark.

Comrade Karl Kis

likewise speaks of the ill-treatment by the police.

President: But the police doctor did not find anything wrong with you.

Kis: Naturally, for two weeks after the ill-treatment there remained very little to be seen.

Comrade Kis attended the Party School, but has not worked in the illegal movement. But he expressly proclaims himself to be a Communist.

Comrade Stefan Keller

likewise attended the Party School.

President: Why did you leave the social democratic Party?

Keller: Because they make pacts with the bourgeoisie.

President: Do you know the aims of the Communist International?

Keller I know the history of the I. and II Internationals and have also studied the history of the III. International.

President: Do you know that the Communist International wishes to emancipate the proletariat by means of armed force?

Keller: Naturally, because every suppressed class can only emancipate itself by means of force, with weapons in hand.

President: Do you fight for this idea?

Keller: Yes, I am a fighter for these ideas!

President: Did you receive instructions?

Keller: I promised to organise the Party.

President: And have you organised it?

Keller: No, for I was immediately arrested.

President: If you had not been arrested, would you have organised it.

Keller: Of course.

President: Was anything spoken regarding Vági in the Party School?

Keller: No.

President: You stated before the investigating judge that the Vági Party is an illegal Communist Party.

Keller: At that time I was quite beside myself on account of the death of my father, I did not even know what I said and wrote.

Comrade Nicolas Petri

declares that he left the social democratic Party in April 1925, because it is not a proletarian class party, but the Left wing of the bourgeoisie and helps it to suppress the proletariat. He was a member of the Central Committee of the social democratic Party in Kispest. He attended the Party School. At first he considered the Vági Party to be a real fighting Party, but he soon became convinced that it is not.

Comrade Petri also said that he had been mishandled by the police. But he was less upset by these mishandlings than by the fact that the police called his mother a "whore".

President: But you said the same things before the Public Prosecutor as you did before the police.

Petri: At that time I had been on hunger strike for a week and did not know myself what I signed.

Fourth Day of Proceedings.

Budapest, July 16, 1926.

Today the cross examination of the accused was continued. This time members of the Vági Party are also cross-examined.

Geza Vajnar

declares that he withdrew from the Social Democratic Party and went over to Vági because the social democracy made pacts with the bourgeoisie. He was elected to the Central Committee of the Vági Party and took part in the Vienna Congress.

Kolomon Bonzidai

organised the youth in the Vági Party. The protocol which was taken by the police he declares to be invalid, because the statements it contains were extorted by means of mishandlings.

President: But you said the same things before the Public Prosecution as you did before the police.

Bonzidai: Because I was threatened at the police station that otherwise I would be brought back to the police.

Ladislav Weissenhoffer

admitted that he had been a soldier in the Red Army and had taken part in the Vienna Congress.

Stefan Nemet

was also at the Vienna Congress.

Julius Nemet

returned from Russia, after being a prisoner there for six years, and immediately entered the Vági Party. He was induced by Oery to do this, who also sent him to the Party School in Vienna.

Matthias Fekkel

entered the Vági Party in 1925 and was in the Vienna Party School.

The President refers to his statement before the police.

Fekkel: As if all what was said there were true!

President: Why then did you sign it?

Fekkel: Because I had to suffer terrible mishandlings.

Stefan Winkler and Joseph Ganez do not say anything of importance.

Franz Czeiner

was in the Vági Party, but declares himself to be a communist. And this because, as he already said before the Public Prosecutor, he considers bolshevist agitation necessary in the interest of humanity. His aim was to build up a legal C. P. Parliamentarism will not bring the emancipation of the working class. He did not attend the school in Vienna.

He had been beaten by the police and threatened with even worse mishandlings if he made other statements to the Public Prosecutor than he had made to the police. The police wanted at all cost to obtain his signature to the statement that the Vági Party is a Communist Party. It was therefore written down beforehand in the protocol that the Vági Party was only the legal cloak for the illegal Communist Party.

Josef Szilaggi

declares he had been beaten by the police. Now he has been placed in solitary confinement and has become so nervous as a result that he can no longer concentrate his thoughts. That is characteristic of Hungarian conditions.

President: Silence! You are not to speak here regarding Hungarian conditions!

In further cross-examination the accused admits having edited the illegal paper "Munkas Hirado" (Labour Reporter).

Johann Kalman

President: Are you a Communist?

Kalman: I was not a Communist, but became a Communist in prison.

The President refers to his statements before the police.

Kalman: I was forced by blows to sign the protocol. I received relatively mild treatment however, as I only had my ears boxed three times.

President: Are you a social democrat?

Kalman: I was one, but I had to become a communist, because the present order of society compels us to become communists.

President: Why did you not inform the authorities when you learned of the Course being held in Vienna which is dangerous to the State?

Kalman: A good Hungarian does not even betray his enemies, much less his friends.

Josef Bozoki

is asked by the President why he did not remain in the social democratic Party.

Bozoki: Because I will not pay contributions to a Party which uses the money of its members to introduce police into the trade unions.

President (suddenly to Rákosi): Rákosi, do not keep smiling and do not behave rudely!

Rákosi: I smile but I did not behave rudely.

President: I punish you for this remark with one day's confinement in a dark cell.

Rákosi: I have stood enough already, so I shall be able to bear this trifle.

President: I order you two days in a dark cell with a plank bed.

Rákosi: I shall reply to this administration of class justice by going on hunger strike.

President: I order you to leave the court for the rest of the proceedings.

This declaration of the President arouses the indignation of the accused and also of the defenders. Dr. Zoltan Lengyel on behalf of the Defence protests against the limitation of the rights of the Defence.

Thereupon the Court retires in order to discuss the matter. When the discussion is ended the President declares: I withdraw the last order regarding the exclusion of Rákosi from the further proceedings.

During the cross-examination of Comrade Bozoki there are further scenes. The president orders Comrade Ludwig Bozoki 24 hours in a dark cell for being disrespectful.

Bozoki: I protest most emphatically against this arbitrary action of the class court.

President: For this protest you will receive a further 24 hours confinement in a dark cell with a plank bed.

Stefan Vig

does not say anything of importance.

Eugen Lukacs

declares that he was beaten by the police and thereby forced to sign the protocol. Regarding the proceedings before the investigation judge he states:

The investigating judge said to me when questioning me regarding the Vienna Party School: A poor person does not need any knowledge of science; it is sufficient if he can reckon on his fingers how much he earns.

The accused again reverted to the ill-treatment. At the time of his arrest in his house his family were ill-treated. He himself was beaten by the police to such an extent that he became unconscious.

President: Have you anything else to say?

Lukacs: Yes, that hitherto I was a socialist, but have become a Communist in prison.

The proceedings were adjourned to Monday, July 19th.

Comrade Dr. Arthur Rosenberg of the C. P. of Germany has arrived here from Berlin.

THE MINERS' STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

Convocation of the Anglo-Russian Committee.

Moscow, July 16, 1926.

The General Council of the British Trades Union Congress has proposed to the Central Council of the Trade unions of the Soviet Union that the Anglo-Russian Committee be convened for July 26th in Paris, in order to continue the work of the session held in last December and to judge the recent events in connection with the movement for international trade union unity.

The Sympathetic Action of the Chinese Workers in Support of the English General Strike.

By L. S. (Canton).

The great English General Strike aroused the sympathy not only of the workers in Europe and America, but also of the workers in Asia, and particularly here in China where the working class have hitherto been regarded as very backward. As soon as Reuter's Telegraph Agency conveyed the first news regarding the strike of the English miners, the workers of Shanghai and Canton displayed the most eager interest. At the III. Workers' Congress and the II. Peasants' Congress which were then being held in Canton, resolutions were adopted calling for sympathetic action for the English strikers. Although Shanghai was the scene of a powerful strike wave on account of the tremendous increase in prices, the Shanghai Trades Council issued on the 8th of May an appeal for practical solidarity for their striking English brothers, i. e. they called for collections of money. The All-Chinese Trade Union Federation in Canton not only called upon the workers, but upon all circles to carry out sympathetic action for the struggling English miners. Thereupon the Kuomintang Party also adopted sympathetic action. On the 7th of June there was held in Canton a huge demonstration on behalf of the English strikers, which was participated in by 560 organisations and a total of 200,000 persons: workers, peasants, merchants and soldiers. At this demonstration one continually heard the cry: The English working class are destroying the headquarters of the world imperialists! The English workers are the allies of the Chinese working masses! The English General Strike will defeat British imperialism! The victory of the English working class is the victory of the Chinese working masses! Unity of the suppressed peoples of the East with the suppressed classes of the West! Long live the British General Strike! Long live the Chinese National Revolution! Long live the World Revolution!

At this demonstration a resolution was adopted promising aid to the English strikers, and a telegram was sent to the General Council of the English Trades Union Congress.

The All-Chinese Trade Union Federation and the Kuomintang Central received hundreds of telegrams from the working class and from the organisations fighting for emancipation, calling for sympathetic action. In Shanghai, where no public demonstrations are allowed to take place, the English General Strike was discussed in the factories and in the workshops. In North China

all labour organisations are forbidden. In spite of this, many expressions of sympathy were received from there in Canton.

It is interesting to note what fear the English imperialists in China displayed at the beginning of the strike. When, after the arrival of the news of the General Strike in England, the English workers in Hongkong also decided to go on strike on the 15th of May, the Hongkong government immediately proclaimed a State of Emergency. A member of the English Labour Party who happened to be in Canton at that time, was refused permission by the government to enter Hongkong. The English Municipal Council of Shanghai prohibited not only the English agencies, but even the Chinese newspapers in Shanghai from publishing any news regarding the Chinese sympathetic action.

Solidarity Action in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, July 17, 1926.

Fresh collections of money for the British miners have been commenced in all parts of the Soviet Union. The contributions of the workers of Moscow and Leningrad exceed one million roubles. The Central Committee of the Metal Workers Union has notified Cook of the despatch of 25,000 roubles. The second collection is proving to be as equally successful as the first. Specially energetic activity is being displayed by the Working Women's Relief Committee which has directed an appeal to the working women to contribute a days' wages for the children of the British miners.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Questions of Work and Wages in the Industry of the Soviet Union.

From a Speech by Comrade F. E. Dzerzhinsky
delivered on July 7th, 1926.

At the present time we are passing through one of the most difficult and responsible stages of the development of our whole national economy in the Soviet Union. These difficulties are undoubtedly difficulties of growth and not of retrogression; for the process of development of our economics has advanced at such a rapid pace that not even the hottest heads among our Soviet functionaries ever dreamed of such a pace. We have accomplished in the course of four to five years what, according to the plans, was to take, if not decades, at least ten years, and it is just this tempestuous growth, this tempestuous rate of development which causes all the difficulties in the zone on which we have entered.

We have exhausted the foundation capital which we took over from the bourgeoisie; it is to a large extent used up, we need re-equipment and at the same time we are suffering from a great hunger for goods. In the same way, our reserves of qualified workers and technical staff are exhausted and we are faced by the immediate necessity of replacing them.

Our heavy industry — not to speak of our light industry — has, in the course of a single year, attracted more than four hundred thousand new workers, who were previously not engaged in the process of production. Tremendous efforts are necessary if these new workers are to be liberated from the psychology of the small owner of private property, so that they may arrive at the psychology of the working class and of a proletariat which is conscious of its class tasks.

In the meantime however we see in connection with this increase in the number of workers that, as regards the productivity of work, we have not even reached the pre-war level. The same is true of wages, if we leave out of the question those branches of industry in which the workers were exploited in a shocking manner, and the wages of whom are at present higher than they were in pre-war times. In heavy industry however we have not yet succeeded, in this period of development, in even reaching the pre-war wages. This applies to the metal industry and mining.

The chief difficulty and the chief contradiction are that we cannot increase the productivity of our labour to a sufficient

degree unless our industry is re-equipped. If we do not increase the productivity of labour to a sufficient degree, it is impossible for us to increase wages, for it must be clear to everyone that the worker cannot get more than he gives.

We must not forget that the peasantry, like the working class, has heavy burdens to bear in consequence of the revolution, the civil war, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the fight for its own freedom. If we take the pre-war relations between the prices for the products of State industry and the products of agriculture, we see that these relations are not in favour of the peasantry. If we compare the prices at which the peasants sell their products and the prices they pay for our industrial products, we find a difference which, for some goods, is not less than 1:3 against the peasant.

We must not therefore speak of a re-equipment of industry at the expense of the peasantry, for the existing relations are already too great a burden on the peasantry.

* * *

We are now faced by the task, not of fostering the bourgeoisie and the large peasantry, but on the contrary of reducing their accumulation of capital and of forcing it into as narrow limits as possible. This is the task of our Soviet administration. We must say concretely and clearly that all the problems with which the working class and the Soviet Power are faced, can only be solved through work, through the organisation of work, through the application of the high technique which has been reached in the capitalist countries and which, applied under our conditions, would produce vast means; for this new technique, this reequipment and these new factories will make it possible to produce ten times better results than to-day.

The deficiencies in the supply and in the technical equipment bring a number of works and lathes to a standstill. In the factories and works, a number of deficiencies are due to the fact that the guiding lines laid down by the Party and the Soviets, which allocate their place in production to the technical personnel, are not sufficiently observed.

With the given organisation of labour, the presence in the factories and works of workers who are unnecessary for production, is a crime against the working class, for every superfluous worker in factory or works gets in the way of the others.

Superfluous workers disorganise the discipline and the production; they consume the means which the workers in question possess only in a limited measure and do not give the works a chance of getting on, of re-equipping themselves and of improving the organisation of production. In this way they retard the rate of development of the factory or works in question. The retardation of the rate of development however in any particular factory, in any particular works means that, if we have a hundred workers too many to-day, we are postponing the time when we can expand our production and take on one, two or three hundred new workers.

We are troubled by unemployment, and that very seriously, but it is impossible for us to combat unemployment by giving a worker a job in a factory where there is no work for him. In this respect it is much more advantageous for production and for the whole national economy to pay allowances to the unemployed from the special fund for unemployment, from the fund for social insurance. It would be more advantageous to restrict the hours of work in order to employ a greater number of workers, if this be necessary, rather than to keep a superfluous number of hands who are not fully occupied.

The discipline in the factories and works has declined in consequence of the circumstance that we have been obliged to enlist hundreds of thousands of new workers. It is therefore the duty of our economists to take measures in common with the trade unions in order to provide these masses of newly employed workers with the suitable, adequate and necessary education.

Work in this field can only be successful, if the apparatus of the works' management, the trust and of the Supreme Soviet for National Economy work on clear and correct lines, if the productivity of labour is on a high level in just these managing bodies. Our system and our practice of administration are one of the greatest obstacles against raising the productivity of labour in those bodies which create material values. It is absolutely necessary that the work should be reorganised from top to

bottom, that the superfluous bureaucratic intermediary links should be removed and that more responsibility should be placed on those who carry out the work.

We shall not be able to fulfil those great and difficult tasks by which we are faced in the field of establishing a norm for wages and in the field of the organisation of labour, until there is a sufficiently firm and powerful connection between the works' management, our economists and those workers who are actually working and fulfilling these tasks. This is the real significance of the Conferences on Production.

We could manage to a certain extent without the initiative of the broad masses of workers as long as we were not faced by such serious difficulties, as long as the foundation capital was not exhausted, as long as our work consisted in using up one lathe after the other, as long as, thanks to this circumstance, we succeeded in increasing the productivity of work, of expanding production and in this way creating a basis for further accumulation, for further re-equipment and for raising wages. Now however, in our present situation, we shall not be able to fulfil the tasks we have set ourselves, without the good will, without the firm will of the working class, of those who work in the factories.

It is impossible to combat loss of working hours and all possible weaknesses simply by commands from above. It is possible to carry out this task of organising work if carelessness, lack of culture and of discipline are opposed by the will and the confidence of the workers. This however is not so difficult in our workers' State. The initiative necessary to improve the situation with the existing means and the existing equipment must come from the workers themselves. Only then will it be possible to carry through those measures which we have provided for, which are to the purpose and which must be taken.

The Conferences on Production may do much good, because at these conferences the workers can speak about all the deficiencies which they see and can make practical proposals for improving the work. If however they make suggestions which are not to the point, this just gives an opportunity of explaining to them why they are wrong. If the workers who work in the factories take a wrong attitude towards production — and we have of course every variety of element — our economists must take into consideration the attitude of mind of the workers, their views and their ideas, which must be guided in this or that direction.

We on our part, must use all our forces and every effort to develop the Conferences on Production all round and to persuade our economists to take a lively interest in them. Only under these conditions can all the difficulties by which we are faced be overcome.

POLITICS

The Position in Mexico and the Fight against the Catholic Church.

By A. Stürner (Moscow).

The present Government of General Calles in Mexico represents the petty bourgeois elements, which have been striving for a number of years to create the foundation for the building up of national industry. The execution of this programme meets with resistance, first of all, from foreign capital, secondly, from the land-owners who fight to preserve feudal and semi-feudal conditions and, thirdly, from the contradictions inherent in petty bourgeois Democracy itself.

In Mexico the fight against feudalism, right in the beginning, took the form of a fight against the Spanish Colonials and against the Catholic Church, the biggest and most powerful land-owner in the country. It was only in the year 1900, after several industries had begun to flourish and a working class had been formed, and after 1910, when a number of revolutions and insurrections, which, although organised and supported by foreign capital, were nevertheless based socially upon the discontent of the peasantry, political rule gradually came into the hands of the progressive elements, i.e. into the hands of petty bourgeois democracy, which had for several years tentatively and

with uncertainty endeavoured to carry through a national economic policy.

The most difficult problem for every Mexican Government is the agrarian question. It is in the first place a question of land distribution, secondly, a question of the promoting and industrialising of agriculture. In short, in Mexico the problem consists of the execution and completion of the bourgeois revolution in a country in which two-thirds of the national wealth is in the hands of foreign capitalists. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries the power of resistance exerted by the old conditions is especially strong, because the kind of industry generally carried on requires no skilled labour, while the technical and administrative staffs are usually drawn from abroad. Furthermore, in Mexico the development of factory industry has been hampered by the long-continued uncertainty of the political situation. The only well developed factory industry is the manufacture of textile goods. Now that the fight between England and America for the control of Mexican mineral wealth and of the Mexican railway system has been decided in favour of America, and the United States need more territory than ever for the employment of their surplus capital, conditions for the industrialisation are more favourable.

In the year 1921 the number of people who could neither read nor write exceeded more than 75% of the total population. Since then the Government has tried a number of means whereby to improve the system of education. Nevertheless, the cultural development of the rural population is even now not much higher than it was at the time of Spanish dominion. It is clear that under such circumstances neither the industrialisation of the country nor the advancement of the peasantry is possible.

Credit must be given to the present Calles Government in that the founding of schools in every district in the country has been undertaken with great energy and with grants of considerable means. Special importance attaches to the agricultural institutes, each of which can accommodate up to 400 pupils for free instruction in the theory and practice of farming. These schools, which are often built in the most backward regions, serve among the peasants as revolutionising centres of culture. It is now evident, however, that the Church is using every means in its power to counteract the work of the Government in the direction of spiritual and cultural enlightenment. The erection of the schools is rendered difficult and even sabotaged, and the population is incited against the teachers sent by the Government. The peasantry is intimidated by the menace of hell-fire.

In conjunction with its civil organisations, the "Caballeros de Colon" (Knights of Columbus) and the "Association de Damas Catolicas" (Association of Catholic Women) the Church, which itself has been constitutionally deprived of all economic and political power, is nothing but the party of the land-owners and all other reactionary and conservative elements in disguise. From this it will be seen that the fight of the Mexican Government against the Catholic Church is a fight of the progressive petty bourgeoisie against the remnants of feudalism and restoration endeavours of the conservative bourgeoisie.

It should be remarked that the Clergy enjoy the secret support of English, Spanish and French capitalists, while the Mexican industrialists tend rather towards the side of the Mexican Government.

Objectively the fight of the Government is a revolutionary one. On the other hand, however, it is a factor in the disruption which is taking place throughout the bourgeois class as a whole, and, further, an element of the clash of interests within the Government itself. Just as is the case with the policy of every other bourgeois Government, the policy of the Calles Government is full of contradictions in regard to all fundamental questions. Concessions to the Right, concessions to the Left; yesterday revolutionary phrases against the big land-owners and partial distribution of ground, to-day the assassination of revolutionary leaders of the peasants. Yesterday, re-expropriation of the land and disarming of the peasants; to-day wild nationalism; tomorrow compromises with foreign capitalism.

The Government not only lacks the courage to carry through properly a policy of land reform; it has not even the desire to do so. The majority of the members of the Government are closely connected with the Mexican land-owners. Obregon himself, who is in general, and especially among the peasants, the most popular personality in the country and the real leader of the National elements, is one of the richest and biggest land-owners.

Under these circumstances, the fight of the bourgeois Government, which is in a cul-de-sac, against the Catholic Church amounts to a fight along the line of least resistance. The peasants demand and press for land, while the workers defend themselves against the construction of a national economy founded upon cuts in wages and lengthening of working hours. The mood of the peasants is revolutionary, while the workers are dissatisfied. Although it has waxed and waned, the civil war in the country districts of Mexico has persisted for upwards of 15 years. The peasantry is well organised and well armed. The many revolutions brought arms and munitions into the villages and gave the peasants ample experience and a certain class-consciousness which the European peasants lack. The workers, too, are comparatively well organised; the majority of them, in the most important industries, such as the petroleum industry and transport, are independent and work against the Reformists in the Government.

The leaders of the Reformist Trade Union Federation, the Ministers and Government candidates of the Labour Party and other "Defenders of the Revolutionary Ideal", fight with blind fury against the Communists and against the members of the Peasants' Union. But the Communists support the Government in its fight against the Church, just as they support the Government whenever it is attacked by reactionary parties or by one of the great Imperialist powers. But even under these circumstances, the Communists still affirm the truth to the proletariat regarding the Government; they still maintain that the path of the Government is that which leads from compromise to betrayal.

From May 21st to 27th there took place the IV Conference of the Communist Party of Mexico. For the first time since the Party was founded a sharp discussion was held in regard to all basic principles. The estimate of the economic and political situation, the role of the Party, the attitude towards the agrarian question, the policy in regard to the trade unions, the line to be taken by the Party in the National question and the fight against American Imperialism, the organisation of the Party: all hinged upon the question: A mass party or a sect, workers' party or workers' and peasants' party? The liveliness of the discussion and the passionate disputes, which often became personal, were inevitable; they are characteristics of a party in growth; they distinguish and crystallise the true nature of the movement.

The Conference knitted the Party closer together than ever; in the first place, it created a nucleus of leaders consisting of real workers and peasants belonging to the masses, associated with them in their daily work and proven by years of work to be prepared to give up everything for the cause of the proletarian revolution.

The Trial and Sentence of Visny, the Hungarian Agent Provocateur, in Moscow.

Moscow, July 13th, 1926.

The sensational trial of the Hungarian subject, Karl Visny on the charge of provocation was begun in Moscow to-day before the Supreme Court of Law of the Soviet Union.

It transpires from the indictment that Visny was twice arrested for embezzlement in the years 1919 and 1920; from his last prison he fled to Czecho-Slovakia, where he was supported by the C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia as a supposed political emigrant, being guilty of swindling, he fled to Austria, Yugoslavia and Rountania, where he was repeatedly arrested for similar crimes and for forgery.

In 1924 he returned to Hungary, where he was arrested and where he did service as an informer in the prison, whereupon he was again released. He joined the Left wing of the Social Democratic party and then the later Socialist Labour party of Hungary seeking, at the behest of the police, to establish an artificial connection between the Socialist Labour party of Hungary, the Communists and the Communist International.

Commissioned by the C. C. of the Socialist Labour party of Hungary, he went to Vienna, to organise collections amongst the workers on behalf of the said party. Instead of this, he made a provocative proposal to the International Red Aid that it should finance the Socialist Labour party of Hungary. The International Red Aid refused to do so, as it only helps the victims of the White Terror. Without starting the collections, Visny returned

to Buda Pest, where wholesale arrests of the members of the Socialist Labour party of Hungary immediately began to take place.

At the suggestion of Schweinitzer, a police official, and of Heteny, the chief of the political department, Visny then went to Soviet Russia to establish a connection between the Socialist Labour party of Hungary and the Communist International. In order to avoid arousing suspicion in party circles, he was arrested for a short time, and after his release he told the party members that Schweinitzer had proposed to him that he should become agent provocateur inside the Socialist Labour party of Hungary.

Visny stated that he was commissioned in the first place to find out whom Moscow was going to send to Hungary as a courier; secondly to find out what connections these couriers have with Vienna and Hungary; thirdly to find out in what way the Hungarian Labour movement is financed from Moscow and fourthly to find out what are Moscow's intentions with regard to Hungary. The Hungarian police intended, with the aid of this material, to facilitate the provocation of the section of the Hungarian workers which, because of persecutions, are oppositionally inclined, and to procure evidence of the alleged financing of the Labour movement in Western Europe by the Soviet Government.

In Moscow, Visny posed as a political emigrant and tried, without success, to become a member of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. He proposed to Zoltan Rákosi, Rákosi's brother, that in order to save Matthias Rákosi, the Hungarian ambassador in Vienna should be kidnapped and carried off to Moscow in a military aeroplane of the Soviet Union as a hostage for Rákosi. According to Visny's statements, he wished in this way to procure documents which would compromise the Soviet Government, thus causing a diplomatic scandal of international significance. When he was arrested in October 1925, Visny admitted that he was an agent of the Budapest political police.

When asked by the President of the Court whether he pleaded guilty to the charge of provocative activity in the service of the Hungarian political police-Visny replied in the affirmative. The trial will be proceeded with to-morrow.

Moscow, July 19, 1926.

The Supreme Court of Justice in Moscow has condemned the Hungarian provocateur Visny to five years imprisonment and confiscation of his property. The Court stated that, according to the confession of Visny, the latter came to Moscow in October 1925 as an agent of the Hungarian political police for the purpose of concocting false evidence of alleged connections of the Hungarian labour movement with organs of the Soviet government.

THE BALKANS

Henri Barbusse: "The Executioners."

By P. Friedländer.

Six months ago, Henri Barbusse undertook a journey in the company of Paula Lamy, a Brussels woman lawyer and Leon Vernochet the General Secretary of the International of Educational Workers, to the Balkan countries, in order to see with their own eyes the regime prevailing in those countries and especially to be present, though only for a few days, at the monster trial of 283 peasants from Tatar-Bunar at Kishinev. This journey had a tremendous echo throughout Europe and far beyond the boundaries of Europe. The communications of the delegation, which was only admitted very reluctantly by the Balkan Governments to the various countries (Roumania, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Hungary), stirred up large circles of the bourgeoisie, even outside the Balkans. A wave of protest was raised against the unprecedented, sanguinary reign of terror, against the cold-blooded system of extermination in the Balkans. On the other hand, the various Balkan Governments started a feverish campaign of agitation in the corrupt Press at home and abroad against the "examining judges", who were very inconvenient to them, and roused all the reactionary anti-Semitic instincts against them. It was however in vain. The confidence enjoyed by the

delegation was not affected. Even in the Balkan countries themselves, the Governments had not much luck. Thus the clamour of the Fascist students against Barbusse, artificially arranged by the Bratianu Government in Bucharest was an utter failure, for it was completely swamped by the tremendous spontaneous demonstration of the workers who welcomed Barbusse and called upon him to inform the international proletariat of the ghastly situation of the workers and peasants in the Balkans.

The results of the studies and observations of the Barbusse delegation, are now available in a detailed publication (at present only in French) from the masterly pen of Barbusse himself. The book, which comprises 280 pages, has the laconic title: "The Executioners.") The executioners are the Governments of Bulgaria, Roumania, Jugoslavia, Greece and Hungary. They carry out their executioner's work as the executive bodies of the ruling capitalist class in those countries, which represents a thin layer of the population and can therefore, in view of the economic crises which are shaking those countries to their foundations, only maintain their rule by means of brute force.

Henri Barbusse's report, which consists mainly of notes made during the journey, gives a clear cross section of the economic and political situation in the "hell of Europe", and then, with moving simplicity, describes in an impressive way, the methods and facts of the "physical annihilation" of all opposition to the ruling class. In summing up, Barbusse says: "Those who ask: is it true? must be answered with: the truth is worse." We must raise the alarm: Wholesale murder! (p. 25) Bulgaria, Roumania, Jugoslavia and Greece are dying of the White Terror."

After a comprehensive description, illustrated by statistics, of the economic crises in the Balkan States, of the National Budgets (in which expenditure for military and police apparatus are the most important items), of the standard of living of the workers and peasants in these countries which is far below the minimum of existence, of the unprecedented policy of national suppression, especially in the newly "conquered" districts, such as Bessarabia, the methods of oppression and annihilation of the masses of workers are depicted in a number of chapters. In the Balkan States and in Hungary there is above all the ill-famed "law for the defence of the State", a law which is outside the law. In all these countries, particularly in Bulgaria, it is expressed in such terms that everyone who is not an adherent of the Government, is threatened with penal servitude or even with capital punishment, and that it may serve as a juridical pretext for wholesale slaughter, through which the parasitic governments in the Balkans ensure their rule.

The Balkan countries are under the ban of the wide-spread organisation of the White Terror, in which active officers, reserve officers or former officers are in command. They carry out the wholesale massacres and the individual murders. Hand in hand with them, work the official bodies of the police, such as the "Siguranza" in Roumania, which is a State within the State and which exercises its rule of blood completely undisturbed. In Roumania there are 45,000 gendarmes, in Jugoslavia 60,000 who, especially in the country, practice robbery and violence unhindered.

Bulgaria is the country where the White Terror has celebrated its fiercest orgies and continues to celebrate them. The "Military Convention", the secret organisation "Kubrat" and the ill-famed "Macedonian Committee" (with Protogeroff at its head) have committed thousands and thousands of deeds of blood by which the peasants and workers of Bulgaria have been tortured for years. Organisations of Russian White Guardists (for instance Wrangel's Guards) work hand in hand with these organisations. Barbusse's book takes us into this European hell and describes on more than one hundred pages the massacres and the gruesome, incredible tortures, the victims of which are the workers and peasants in Bulgaria, Roumania, Jugoslavia and Hungary. They do not even respect bourgeois opposition politicians. Thus, among a number of bourgeois journalists, Herbst, the chief editor, was burnt alive in the furnace for the central heating of the police prison in Sofia, shortly after the outrage on the cathedral.

One must read for oneself in the book all the documents, the reports of eye-witnesses as to murders, "shooting down whilst

*) Henri Barbusse: "Les Bourreaux" ("The Executioners"), 280 pages, published by Flammarion, Paris 1926.

in flight", atrocious ill-treatment, the "disappearance" of thousands, plundering by the Government etc. Everyone who reads it must be seized with the determination to take part in the international action against the White Terror.

In the book he points out by a number of facts the complicity of the social democratic leaders in the crucifixion of the proletariat, and that not only of the Social Democratic parties in the Balkans themselves who are the unscrupulous accomplices of the bourgeois bands of murderers and robbers, but also of international Social Democracy, as for instance M. Vandervelde and Dr. Friedrich Adler, both of whom spread the official legend of the Zankoff Government with regard to the alleged Communist "putsch" in September 1923, in order to hush up the blood-guiltiness of the Bulgarian Social Democratic leaders who belong to the 2nd International — and also their own complicity.

We will point out a few of the most important chapters in the book: a description of the campaign against women and children; the persecution of the families of opposition politicians, who were also tortured and murdered in large numbers; the campaign against the intelligentsia and teachers who are not tools of the Government; the systematic forgeries of all kinds which are intended to provide a pretext for the "action of the military and the police" against the workers and peasants. Special chapters are devoted to national oppression in Roumania and Jugoslavia. The Macedonian problem is described. Finally the responsibility of the Great Powers who encourage with all the means in their power the reactionary policy in the Balkans, is shown up.

There is a special description (occupying 80 pages) of the monster trial of Kishinev, at which Barbusse and his companions were present for several days. The atmosphere of the trial, the history which preceded it, the whole situation in Bessarabia, the large number of the accused, the court martial — all these are brought vividly and in a stirring way before our eyes by Barbusse's power of description.

In spite of a change of the Government, the sanguinary persecution of the peasants and workers continues undiminished both in Bulgaria and Roumania as is illustrated by a number of reports. Barbusse therefore calls upon us to join the committees which have been formed in Paris, London and Vienna, for the defence and protection of the victims of the White Terror in the Balkans, and which are carrying on an action of general protest and thus hope to bring about complete amnesty and liberation of all in prison, of political refugees, and finally a change in the regime in the countries in which the White Terror holds sway. The description given by Barbusse in his book, the translation of which into various languages is urgently needed, is in itself a serious factor in the fight which is being carried on in the interest of the workers in the Balkans.

An Important Congress of the Bessarabian Peasants' Party.

By Vasile Spiru (Kishinev).

When, at the Vienna Russian-Roumanian Conference in 1924 the Delegates of the Soviet Union referred, with the help of documents and historical data, to the previous situation of Bessarabia, to the treaties concluded in connection with Bessarabia, and to the temporary character of the Roumanian occupation — originally even admitted by Roumania itself — this was not done with the idea of substantiating the Soviet Union's claims to Bessarabia, but exclusively with a view to proving the incorrectness of the argumentation of the Roumanian Government.

When, however, the Delegation of the Soviet Union demanded that the population of Bessarabia itself should decide whether it wished to continue being part of the Union of the Soviet Republics, or to be joined to Roumania or form a sovereign, independent State, the Roumanian Delegation tried to prove that such an expression of will had already taken place, and that the question of Bessarabia's union with Roumania had been decided by the resolutions of the Sfatul Zerii in November 1918.

Although the legal validity of resolutions adopted by this body have justly been contested ever since, this assertion of the Roumanian Delegation gave Roumania's claims to Bessarabia

its sole, apparent, justification, upon which the Roumanian Government has at all times relied in the Bessarabian question.

The Kishinev Congress of the Bessarabian Peasants' Party, which in its entire personal composition resembled the previous Bessarabian Rump Parliament — the "Sfatul Zerii" — almost to a hair, has unanimously passed a resolution protesting against the intolerable reign of bloodshed and robbery inflicted on Bessarabia since the Roumanian occupation, and announcing the laying down of all mandates by the Bessarabian Peasant Members of Parliament, as well as the political passive resistance of the Party along the whole line.

Under the present conditions of international law in Bessarabia, the extreme importance of such a resolution by any Bessarabian bourgeois party is still increased by the fact that the resolution comes from a party which, during the eight years of Roumanian occupation, has exclusively represented this province in the Great Roumanian Parliament, and that the leaders of the Party — Constantin Stere, Professor of the University, and Pan Halippa — were, under Roumanian rule, President, and Vice-President respectively of the "Sfatul Zerii".

The whole atmosphere of the Congress showed the importance which must be attached to this resolution, not only from the outer-political, but also from the inner-political point of view.

All the Delegates reported of unheard of persecution, torture and robbery, and illegal actions against the Bessarabian population. This historically memorable Congress attained, perhaps, its climax at the moment when an old champion of Roumanian nationalism in Bessarabia — previously the most noteworthy member of the "Sfatul Zerii" — the Moldavian peasant and late Member of Parliament of Soroca, Jon Codreanu, in supporting the proposed resolution exclaimed: "It is impossible that, while we are being murdered for the crime of having joined Roumania, our Members of Parliament keep up connections with the Boyars. From now we say: Bessarabia for the Bessarabians!"

This is language which has nothing to do with political passive resistance; this is language which breathes rebellion and insurrection. The applause, lasting for several minutes, which filled the Congress Hall after this exclamation proved that rebellion and insurrection will soon also be the language of that last small section of the Bessarabian population which up to a short time ago still spoke of a "spiritual unity" with Roumania.

The Kishinev Congress of the Bessarabian Peasants' Party has thus had the effect of a purifying thunderstorm. The leaders of the party who seemed reluctant at the beginning have — if only temporary — capitulated before the masses, and the Roumanian oligarchy knows perfectly well what to expect from Bessarabia.

It is however worth noting that the leaders of the Peasants' Party did not at first oppose the policy of passive resistance because such a policy always implies tremendous danger and paralyses the struggle of the masses, but merely because they feared that the prestige of the oligarchy might suffer outwardly. At present, after having, under pressure, voted for the resolution, they hope to be in a position to continue their old policy of complete passivity with even less danger.

The oligarchy however is more far-sighted. It realises only too well that the indignant masses will not stop if they once clearly recognise the true character of passive resistance in political matters. It rightly perceives this resolution to be more than a mere manoeuvre of a political clique; it knows that this resolution means in principle an abandonment by the masses of the Bessarabian Peasants' Party of the methods of struggle hitherto employed by them. Thus this resolution signifies for the Roumanian oligarchy at least the raising of the Roumanian State problem in connection with the province of Bessarabia.

The bourgeois-democratic Press of old Roumania expresses the hope that this resolution will bring the Averescu Government to reason. But the new intensified wave of terror which prevails in Bessarabia after the Congress, the wholesale arrests of Moldavian men and women teachers, as well as of functionaries of the Peasants' Party, show what the Averescu Government is really aiming at: the eight years of war against the Bessarabian population is to be continued and intensified.

The near future will show to what new decisions this intensified persecution must drive the opposed party.

THE WHITE TERROR

A Fresh Victim of the System of Provocations in Poland.

By K. L. (Warsaw).

Police provocation has everywhere and at all times called forth acts of retaliation on the part of the workers. It is now again calling forth such acts in Poland, in spite of the fact that the Communist Party of Poland and the Communist International reject individual terror as futile and inexpedient.

It is still less than a year ago since Comrades Hibner, Kniewski, Rutkowski and Botwin paid with their lives for the shameful work of the police, and now again, a young worker, Jacob Szlencki, — this time in Lodz where Comrade Engel in 1924 assassinated a police provocateur — has shot a scoundrel who gave himself out among the workers to be a fighter for the proletarian cause and at the same time received Judas wages in the service of the Police.

Right from his tenderest years Szlencki had suffered poverty and misery. An orphan child, he had worked as an apprentice from his thirteenth year. He saw the hopelessness of his position, the position of his sister who worked for starvation wages in a hosiery factory, the lot of the whole exploited and suppressed working class. Thus Szlencki became a member of the Communist organisation.

The trial of the 41 members of the Garment Workers Union, which took place recently before a military court in Lodz, brought to light a new provocateur: **Rafael Witkowski**, a journeyman tailor, who only a short time ago was himself a Communist and even a functionary of the Young Communist organisation in Kalisz and at the same time a member of the Executive of the Garment Workers Union in the same town. In recent times he was in the service of the political police.

This treachery, for which nearly fifty workers had to pay with severe terms of imprisonment, Szlencki was unable to prevent. But he shortly afterwards struck the vile traitor down. Now he is to appear before a Special Court — with the certain prospect of receiving the death penalty. The enemies of the working class will try him according to the murder Paragraph 453 of the old Tsarist penal code, which "independent" Poland has taken over into its law. As witnesses, Police functionaries will appear who employ the same methods of provocation as Witkowski, and who thereby pressed the revolver into Szlencki's hands.

The case of Szlencki again raises the question of provocation in Poland; for the shameful system of provocation of the secret police has cost thousands of workers innumerable years of imprisonment with hard labour, and deprived Engel, Hajczik and Pilarczyk, Botwin, Hibner, Kniewski and Rutkowski of their young lives. Today the death penalty hangs over the head of the 17 year old Szlencki.

Szlencki is threatened with death under the government, the soul of which is Marshall Pilsudski, the organiser of hundreds of acts of terror.

Death threatens this young worker under the Presidency of Moscicki, who in his youth belonged to the so-called "second" proletariat, and in the year 1892, as a chemist, prepared the blowing up of a church in Warsaw during the celebration of a religious festival.

The demand for an amnesty for the political prisoners in Poland is being raised in all Poland and in the whole world. The working and peasant masses in Poland and in the whole world cry: Release the political prisoners! Away with the murder paragraph of the Tsarist Penal Code! Down with the Special Court!

The international proletariat must also add its voice to the cry of protest.

A Second "Communist Trial" in Hungary.

Simultaneously with the main proceedings in the Rákosi trial, a second political trial was begun and completed in Hungary on June 12th before the Court at Debrecen.

The accused: Alexander Weisz, Nikolaus Frank, Emerich Szabó, Emerich Heber, Wilhelm Svertina, Nikolaus Friedländer,

Emerich Schwarzenfeld and Ludwig Rosmann, members of the Left Social Democratic "Hungarian Socialist Labour party" (Vági party), which belongs to the 2nd International, or rather has applied for admittance to the 2nd International, were charged with having incited to insurrection by distributing "Communist" pamphlets.

The public prosecutor adopted the same tactics towards the accused as his colleague in Budapest employed towards the members of the Vági party who are "involved" in the Rákosi trial; he tried to get the accused branded as Communists in order to have them condemned for incitement. The object of these efforts of various public prosecutors as regards the members of the Vági party was, of course, to establish reasons for prohibiting the "Socialist Labour party".

At the trial all the accused pleaded "not guilty"; they said they had had nothing to do with the Communist Party and had not carried on Communist propaganda. Some of the accused even denied that they were members of the Vági party.

When the President reproached Ludwig Rosmann, one of the accused, with having made different statements when examined by the police, he replied "I was intimidated, as several of the accused have been seriously ill-treated, and I signed everything that was laid before me."

One of the chief witnesses for the prosecution in the Rákosi trial was Gabriel Horovitz, a Social Democrat. In the Debrecen trial, there was also a Social Democrat, the deputy Franz Reisinger, who acted as witness for the prosecution. He stated that he knew the accused to be radical Socialists, who are discontented with the "Social Democratic party", because it has concluded a pact with the Government. He further declared that the pamphlets of the "Socialist Labour party", which were distributed by the accused, had indeed attacked the Social Democratic party, but contained no pronounced Communist propaganda.

In his speech of accusation, the public prosecutor demanded severe punishment on account of incitement. The Court however could not but acquit all the accused, since it was impossible to produce a single piece of evidence of their guilt.

Rescue Sacco and Vanzetti from the Electric Chair!

Appeal of the R. I. L. U.

Moscow, July 15, 1926.

The Red International of Labour Unions has issued an appeal calling upon the workers and peasants of the whole world to come forward again in protest against the shameful sentence of the American bourgeois court of justice which has confirmed the death sentence against Sacco and Vanzetti.

The appeal states:

"Taking advantage of the special circumstances of the economic crisis and of the political reaction under which the working class of the whole world are fighting, the bourgeoisie of the United States of America is again making an attempt to commit by "legal" means a judicial murder of the two revolutionary workers, Sacco and Vanzetti. These two Italian workers, who are courageous champions of the cause of the proletariat, have been kept in the prison in America since the year 1920. They were accused of double murder and robbery. Regardless of the indisputable proofs of the innocence of the accused, regardless of the confession of guilt by the actual perpetrator of the crime, the judges of the bourgeoisie condemned these two honest proletarians to death by the electric chair. This twofold and monstrous death sentence roused universal resentment and enormous indignation among the working class of the whole world. The protest of the international proletariat in the year 1921 caused the postponement of this judicial murder.

The international proletariat must now again mobilise all forces in order to prevent the execution of this shameful sentence.

The Red International of Labour Unions calls upon the workers and peasants of the whole world to demand, by means of meetings, protest gatherings and mass demonstrations, the release of Sacco and Vanzetti and to snatch them from the danger of the electric chair.

Our slogan must be: Out with Sacco and Vanzetti!

Release the innocent victims of American class justice, Sacco and Vanzetti!"

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Trade Union Life Insurance in the United States.

By Wm. Z. Foster.

One of the most pronounced features of the new orientation of the trade union bureaucracy towards an elaborated and intensified class collaboration, is trade union life insurance. This has developed within the past three years. There are the John Mitchell Life Insurance Company, which operates among the coal miners of Pennsylvania, the Union Co-operative Insurance Association, which was founded by the international Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and which confines its business to the members of that union; and finally, the Union Labour Life Insurance Company established by action of the American Federation of Labour and proposing to do a general life insurance business, not only among the ranks of organised labour but also among the unorganised workers throughout the United States and Canada.

This movement for workers' life insurance is an important phase of the trade union capitalism now developing in the unions. Other phases are labour banking, house building, ownership of office buildings, coal mines, etc. It is no accident that the trade union life insurance scheme was first put forth in 1923, just when the labour banking movement was making its spectacular advances. During 1925, ten new labour banks were formed, making the total 35 for the entire country, with total resources of over 200 million dollars.

The advocates of trade union life insurance advertise in season and out that it is co-operative in character. They do this in order to trade on the mass support which is readily rallied around the slogans of the co-operative movement. But such assertions are not true. There is nothing co-operative about the trade union life insurance companies. The control is organised strictly on a capitalist basis. The rank and file of the stockholders and insurance policy holders have no control over the companies. The majority of the stock is in the hands of the trade union bureaucrats entirely.

To anyone who knows the calibre of our trade union leadership, it need not be pointed out that these bureaucrats will use to feather their own nests the enormous sums of money they still collect through this insurance company. Trade union life insurance, like trade union capitalism in general, is an effort of the union bureaucracy to get hold of the workers' savings. There are large numbers of workers who manage to save a certain amount out of their wages. The total amount of such saving is problematical. But it is certainly very large. Matthew Woll claims that trade union members in 1924 paid 125 million dollars for life insurance, which is a very important form of workers savings. If this figure is correct for the 3,000,000 organised workers, then the total of 30,000,000 organised and unorganised workers must now be investing at the very least 750 million dollars yearly in life insurance.

For a long time the employers have been aware of the gigantic sums involved in the workers' savings, and have carefully organised to get control of them through saving banks, popular insurance companies, fraternal societies, stock selling schemes, etc. Now the trade union bureaucrats have awakened to the existence and significance of the workers' savings and are organising, on the basis of their prestige and influence as trade union leaders, to induce the workers to turn their hundreds of millions in savings over to them instead of to the regular capitalists. Hence the growth of labour banks, labour investment companies, workers insurance companies, etc. A great prize is at stake. The trade union capitalists have their eyes on billions, which they hope to assemble through their various schemes of trade union capitalism.

The Union Labour Life insurance Company is firmly in the grip of the old Gompers bureaucracy. The idea of trade union capitalism originated among the so-called progressives, such as Hillman, Johnston and Stone; but the ultra-reactionaries were quick to realise its value as a means to further their personal interests; and they have seized the leadership of the

movement, especially in the field of life insurance. Matthew Woll is president of the Company, and also secretary is Geo. W. Perkins, president of the Cigar Makers' Union, whose chief claim to fame is that for 20 or 30 years he regularly nominated Gompers for President at the A. F. of L. conventions. The Executive Committee of the Company is reactionary throughout, being composed of Woll, Perkins, Steward, Flaherty, Lynch, Ryan and Burke. The Board of Directors is also almost solidly Gompersistic, although a couple of unimportant places are provided for the "progressives" by the inclusion of Johnston of the Machinists and Sigman of the Ladies Garment Workers. The Advisory Committee, headed by the notorious New York labour leader, financier, capitalist politician, Peter J. Brady of Tamany Hall, is overwhelmingly reactionary. Among the 40 members of this Committee are to be found the names of such men as Victor Olander, James Wilson, J. M. Ritchie, W. M. Short, W. E. Bryan, Sarah Conboy, Ed Flore, J. P. Holland, J. P. Frey, J. J. Manning, B. M. Jewell, Dan Murphy, B. A. Larger, etc. Sandwiched in among this galaxy of betrayers of labour are to be found the names of the "progressives" John Fitzpatrick and James Maurer. The Union Labour Life Insurance Company is a united front of the ultra reactionaries and the "progressives", with the former in full control and the latter serving as lures to give the scheme an air of respectability so that it will be adopted by the masses in the trade unions. The whole programme has the unqualified endorsement of the Socialist Party.

Such schemes as the Union Labour Life Insurance Company lead to a great intensification of every phase of class collaboration between the bureaucrats and the employers, by directly linking up the bureaucrats, through their millions of dollars invested with many capitalistic enterprises, most of them violently hostile to even the simplest forms of primitive trade unionism. If it is not checked, trade union capitalism will paralyze the labour movement.

The growth of trade union capitalism will make it increasingly difficult to defeat the controlling bureaucrats in the unions. They will have almost limitless patronage and money at their disposal wherewith to maintain themselves in power. If the new life insurance company is a success, it will create hundreds of fat jobs in the various industrial centres. These will all be appointive, and the price for such appointments will be for the holders to help keep the labour movement lined up in support of the big bureaucrats and their capitalistic programme.

Whenever the left wing becomes threatening in any section of the unions, the bureaucrats, with the enormous funds at their disposal, will be able to put hordes of agents in the field to control the elections, to pack the conventions and otherwise to dominate the situation. Even with their present meagre financial resources, which they use unscrupulously to defeat democracy in the unions, the trade union bureaucrats are exceedingly difficult to displace. But once they get the resources of a whole series of trade union capitalistic institutions behind them, they will become virtually invincible.

The left wing cannot rest idle while the bureaucrats are slipping the noose of trade union capitalism around the labour movement.

The workers must be aroused against the danger of trade union capitalism, with its insidious appeal to the workers' cupidity.

But the left wing campaign against trade union capitalism cannot merely consist in pointing out its negative, destructive features. There must also be provided a solution for the problem which gave trade union capitalism birth, — the finding of a means to handle the workers' savings. These savings exist; their total is enormous; and they are full of dynamic possibilities. The workers themselves must control their own savings through genuine co-operatives, based upon the principle of every member having one share of stock and one vote in the co-operative enterprise. Such must be our programme. We must oppose the foundation of new trade union capitalist institutions; and we must fight against the extension of those now existing. We must demand the severance of these organisations, such as labour banks, insurance companies, investment companies, etc., completely from the trade unions and other organisations. We must fight against the investment

of the workers' funds in any form of capitalistic enterprise. We shall propose investment of those funds in the industries of the Soviet Union.

The reactionaries who organised the union Labour Life Insurance Company, knowing the stand of the left wing against trade union capitalism, and hoping to forestall the rank and file opposition to their present autocratic control, argue in their literature and speeches that any other form than a capitalistic stock company is impossible at the present time. But they say: "When successfully established, the company may easily be converted into a mutual form of organisation." But the workers will do well not to be deceived by such hypocrisy. Once this life insurance company is established on the present basis, the reactionaries who control it completely will never let it go. The time to make the fight for democratic control, that is, real co-operative organisation, is now. Trade union capitalism is the very worst way of meeting the problem of organising the workers' savings. It must be nipped in the bud, or it will bear fruit that will poison the whole body of organised labour.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Work among Women in America.

By Sonia Croll.

As powerful an imperialist country as America is today with its relative stabilisation and its labour aristocracy it nevertheless provides a vast and fertile field for work among women. For behind the bright picture of the well paid workers of America, posed for by the skilled and for the most part "one hundred percent American" white workers has always been the great army of unskilled workers who mostly consist of foreign born, Negro men and women and also "one hundred percent American" women, and whose standard of living in many States has been found to be hardly above the subsistence level.

With the ever increasing development of American industry and the perfection of its machinery more and more unskilled labour is required. The result is that skilled men are thrown out of work and ever more women are being forced and drawn into industry: On the one hand to supplement the family income of their male breadwinners who are obliged to work for a lesser wage as a result of this development and on the other hand to support themselves or their children as well.

Where the womenfolk of these workers remain at home they have the almost impossible task of providing food and shelter out of the meagre wages which means that they must work like slaves from sunrise to sundown. Recent housing investigations made in New York and Chicago have found in many instances two and three families huddled together in one room, and that room unfit for pigs to live in.

The insufficient allowances made by the government for education is continuously arousing hundreds of thousands of women in protection of their children. In New York children were made to walk two miles through most congested traffic areas to save the expense of providing more schools in their own localities. In Chicago portable schools and the platoon system with their ill effects on the children provide one of many opportunities of uniting the women even of the better paid workers and the petty bourgeoisie with the workingclass women and of winning their sympathy and adherence to the Communist Party as the leader of the working class. Outrageously high rents, lack of legislation in protection of women, or where there is legislation the failure on the part of the government to carry out the law, the question of war, and many other such matters are of vital import to all but the parasitic women of the bourgeoisie.

Hundreds of local and national working women's organisations are already in existence under petty bourgeois, liberal or socialist leadership and as the programme for work among women of the Workers (Communist) Party of America states it is our task to penetrate them, to give them the working class viewpoint of the class struggle and to bring them into participation of these struggles, side by side with the men and thereby win them to our leadership, or where necessary to form united front councils for the same purpose.

But organising the more than eight and a half million women workers "gainfully employed" as the federal census puts it, is in

itself a mature, yet, one might say, virgin field for our work. For although it is difficult to ascertain the number of women organised in trade unions, it would appear, from an approximate survey of women in trade unions, made by Alice Henry, an official in the National Women's Trade Union League who exerts every effort to show that women in industry are organised and that progress has been made in their organisation, that there are about 178,000 women in trade unions. Out of these, 107,000 are in the two large needle trade unions, the International Ladies Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Out of 61,000 women in the cigar and tobacco industry only 7,000 belong to the trade union, even according to Miss Henry.

A fact which must be given close attention is that about a fifth of all "gainfully employed" women are Negro women, who if women are "the slaves of slaves" then they are even worse. When Negro women and white women work in the same factory or mill, the Negro women are given the most unpleasant, the most undesirable and poorly paid work. In some instances white women even refuse to work with Negro women as a result of the race prejudice cultivated by the bosses in them in order to retain a source of cheap labour for the meanest work. As women they are very often most shamefully abused by white men.

Out of 572 occupations examined only 35 were carried on without women, yet the highest medium wage paid to women was found to be 16 d. 85 c. per week, South Carolina and Alabama where large proportions of women are employed paying a medium wage of only 9 d. 50 and 8,60 d. respectively.

Only three out of the 13 states that have minimum wage laws have troubled to provide for their enforcement. As for regulations on night work and the length of the working day for women only seven States provide for a 48 hour week, the others having no laws at all or allowing a working week up to seventy hours. It is clear of course that only the organisation of the working women in trade unions can really protect them from the avaricious greed of their employers, nevertheless it is interesting to note these things in a so-called "free country" and to make use of them.

Of late there has been a wave of strikes among women workers. The establishment of a Women's Secretariat in the Party since the last Party Convention in 1925 and its instructions to the Districts, that district councils for work among women be formed has already shown results in some of these strikes.

At present there is the Textile Strike in Passaic, New Jersey in full swing. About half of the 16,000 strikers are women or female children. The strike has brought to light the most deplorable conditions of these unorganised textile workers and has aroused the sympathy of workers throughout the country. It is led by the United Front Textile Committee with a Communist as organiser. Many Heaton Vorse, a well known woman writer on working class life has written many stories for the "Daily Worker", describing the lives of the women textile workers, their needs, their hopes and the miserable wages they receive, in a simple and appealing style. There is hardly a day passing without a woman worker correspondent, appearing in the "Daily Worker" telling about the textile and other strikes and about conditions in their factories, and homes.

In Chicago a strike of millinery workers resulted in the organisation of a women's local of several hundred in their union and a Communist woman as their secretary and also as their delegate to the Chicago Council of the A. F. of L.

In Cleveland the Women Workers' Progressive League was formed through the activity of the Party's Cleveland Council for work among women. This league met in the middle of April "to start work among the working class women in that city, against militarism in the schools, imperialist wars, for fight against monopolies, against child labour, for the promotion of cooperatives and of trade unionism among women."

In Boston, the Mothers' League of New England took part in a parade which was part of a campaign to organise the unorganised, carrying banners with the slogans of "Organise the women workers", "Equal Pay for Equal Work", "Working Women Join a Trade Union", "Down with Slavery for Women" and so on, thereby linking up the workingclass men with the working women.

In New York the United Working Women's Council of New York, one of the first organisations in which Communist women gained influence and leadership and which has made much pro-

gress through "Better Housing for Workers" campaigns, through school strikes against the lack of school accommodation for working class children, through doing picket duty and giving other material assistance in strikes, and other such practical issues, is now carrying on a campaign of collecting funds and winning sympathisers for the Textile Strikers. They gathered or bought with money collected a truck load of food which they drove into Passaic from New York just a few hours distance and opened up a food kitchen for the strikers' children.

Of course these are all beginnings. It is only a few months since work among women has been seriously and systematically undertaken by the Workers (Communist) Party of America and there are immense tasks yet to be undertaken and carried out but we are on the road and have before us the splendid achievements of the work of our Russian Comrades as an inspiration and a goal.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Resolution on the British General Strike and the Y. C. L. of Great Britain.

1. The Executive of the Y. C. I. fully endorses the theses of the C. I. on the General Strike and its lessons. It is essential to popularise these theses throughout the Y. C. I. in order that every member of the Y. C. I. be familiar with them and that the lessons they teach to the entire Communist movement be carefully observed by the YCL.

2. The General Strike and the miners' strike have opened a new chapter also for the working class youth. Apprentices and young workers, organised as well as unorganised, participated in large numbers in the general strike — giving evidence of great enthusiasm and considerable activity — in spite of the difficulties such as the prohibition of apprentices to strike and frequently in spite of the instructions of the reformist trade union leaders. The declaration of the Plenum of the Y. C. I. to the effect that lately an awakening among large sections of the British working class youth had begun and an inclination to join the trade union and political struggle, was fully borne out by events, and the last few weeks testified to a mighty step forward along this path. The miners' strike in which tens of thousands of young miners are involved, contributes further to the consolidation and acceleration of this development. At the same time the practical example of the recent struggles within the working class has helped us to bring home to the workers the necessity of adult and young workers joining forces. Altogether, the ground has been prepared for active participation by the working class youth in the trade union and political struggle, and for the development of a strong and widespread struggle, and for the development of a strong and widespread Communist Youth Movement.

3. The young and numerically weak Young Communist League has come out honourably from its baptism of fire and showed itself equal to the events. It completely identified itself with the Party policy concerning the political extension and intensification of the General Strike and the exposure of the Right traitors and "Left" capitulators. At the same time the Y. C. L. was able to supplement this general policy with the right slogans for the working class youth. These slogans were:

All young workers into the strike. Representatives of the working class youth in the strike committees and Councils of Action. Fraternisation between soldiers and strikers. United front of the working class youth.

The League developed energetic activity for these slogans and was the organising and leading force of the young workers in the strike. Frequently the young workers' participation in the strike was entirely due to the work of the League, and youth representatives were admitted to many strike committees and Councils of Action. In spite of the great difficulties, including persecution of leading functionaries and League members, the League was able to extend considerably its activity during the general strike (for instance, converting the weekly paper into a daily) and to get into close touch with the masses of adult and young workers.

The Executive fully endorses the attitude and activity of the League during the General Strike.

4. The breaking off of the General Strike and the continuation of the miners' strike confront the Y. C. L. of Great Britain with a number of highly important tasks, which are as follows:

a) An energetic campaign must be carried on among the mass of young workers on the lessons of the General Strike in general as laid down in the theses of the C. I. and on the lessons for the working class youth in particular. The particular lessons for the Youth are chiefly: the necessity of united struggle by adult and young workers, 100% trade union organisation of the working class youth, and repeal of all contract clauses prohibiting strikes, the Y. C. L. as the only real representative of the interests of the working class youth, development of Y. C. L. into a mass organisation, intensive agitation among the troops.

b) The League must clearly and continuously expose all signs of opportunism in its various shades, from avowed Right treachery to the more or less disguised vacillating forms of pseudo- "Left" capitulation among the masses of the working class youth, and must fight energetically against them. It must carry on among the working class youth and among its own members continuous educational work against opportunism paying attention to its typical British forms and on behalf of Leninism, making use particularly of the lessons of the last General Strike and the miners' strike.

c) The most important task at the present juncture is indefatigable, energetic participation in the struggle of the miners. The League must endeavour not only to raise the fighting capacity of the young miners and to lead them but must also mobilise the young workers of the other industries, especially the transport workers and railwaymen, to give active support to the miners including renewed strike actions. In view of the miserable conditions of the young miners, our League must ensure that the capitalist offensive be resisted and must over and above this continue the fight for the concrete demands of the young miners and also for the nationalisation of the mines without compensation, under the workers' control, make it clear that nationalisation is the only remedy also for the terrible conditions of the young miners. It is essential to agitate for the general representation of the young miners on the strike committees and Councils of Action and also for the direct representation of the Y. C. L. in the latter. The League should also organise a series of young miners' conferences in the most important mining districts. Everything possible must be done to make the struggle of the miners victorious. The working class youth must be most emphatically warned of the danger that capitulation and another betrayal of the miners' strike is being prepared through the new manoeuvre of the General Council and of a section of the miners' leaders to form a leaders' united front. The united front of the masses must be set against the united front of the leaders and everything should be done to prevent the throttling of the miners' struggle.

Together with the Party the League must work for still greater extension and intensification of the struggle, particularly for the embargo on coal and for drawing also other groups of workers into the strike as this is the only way to bring it to a victorious conclusion.

5. The League is also confronted by the following tasks:

a) The League must fight energetically against the victimisation or dismissal of apprentices and unorganised young workers because of their participation in the general strike. For this purpose the League must first of all mobilise the trade unions and Councils of Action. In connection with this the struggle must be intensified for the abolition of private apprenticeship indentures and of the clause in these indentures prohibiting strikes.

b) The campaign for the 100% organisation received a considerable impetus through the recent struggles. In the interests of this campaign it is essential to organise again a series of trade union conferences for the Youth. Special attention should be paid to the trade unions which participated in the recent strike, and to those who are preparing for new movements. Agitation on a large scale is needed in order to obtain a serious and practical treatment of the question of the 100% organisation of the youth with equal rights at the National Conference of the Minority Movement and at the Trade Union Congress.

c) Great efforts must be made in order to convert the recent growth of the influence of the League into a large influx of new members. As a result of the participation of the League in the General Strike and the miners' strike, the League membership must at least be double what it was before the General Strike. The League must carry out an energetic recruiting campaign throughout the country. In the mining districts particularly, the League must take deep root.

d) While the miners are still on strike, the demands of the metal workers, shipbuilders and builders have not yet been satisfied, and a new movement among railwaymen is brewing, the young workers there being threatened with a lowering of their standard position. It is the duty of the League to continue to agitate for the demands of the young workers in these industries, and to prepare the struggle for them.

e) The leaders of the Guilds of Youth of the I. L. P. and this organisation as a whole miserably failed in the General Strike as well as in the miners' strike. It disappeared entirely from the scene and gave no guidance at all to the working class youth. Its local organisations fought in most cases side by side with the Y. C. L., and followed its slogans. The leading elements of the Central Committee of this organisation attacked the struggling workers in the back, for after the general strike they designated it a la Thomas and MacDonald as a "crude" and obsolete weapon and expressed their sympathy with the strike-breakers for their "good will" and the unselfish way in which "they exposed themselves to great risks". (Leading article in the "Flame", June). According to this policy and sharing the fear of the cowardly and treacherous leaders of the General Council who would have nothing to do with the Russian proletariat during the General Strike, they have also rejected the invitation of the Russian working class youth to participate in a delegation of the British working class youth, whilst and although the local and many district organisations of the Guilds throughout the country have expressed themselves in favour of such a delegation. It is our duty to expose the passive, cowardly and reactionary attitude adopted by the leading group of the Guilds of Youth under the influence of the reactionary elements of the I. L. P., an attitude which is contrary to the views of the rank and file members of these organisations. On the other hand we must make more energetic efforts for the establishment of the united front with the members of the Guilds and of the other labour youth organisations on a local and district scale, especially for joint struggle for the miners, against the victimisation of young workers, for 100% trade union organisation, for the delegation to the Soviet Union, and also to consolidate and utilise the progress which the united front has made during the general and the miners' strike.

f) In view of the new situation in Great Britain the delegation of the British working class youth to the Soviet Union assumes particular importance. The union between the working class of Great Britain and that of the Soviet Union has become much closer, whilst the bourgeoisie is working to break off relations with the Soviet Union. Under such circumstances it is of the utmost importance to establish a real union between the working class youth of Soviet Russia and that of Great Britain. At the same time it is essential for the British working class youth, just because of the defeat of the general strike and the present and imminent struggles, to get acquainted with the position of the working class youth in the Soviet Union. The E. C. welcomes the fact that committees have already been formed in London, Manchester, Glasgow and Edinburgh for the organisation of the delegation in which committees of the proletarian youth organisations and the trade unions participate. The E. C. deems it necessary that the Y. C. L. should conduct and develop the campaign in a manner to ensure the arrival of the delegation at the end of July or at the beginning of August.

g) The League is confronted with the important task to continue energetically and to increase agitation among the soldiers and sailors for unity with the working class and the strikers, in spite of the persecutions of the bourgeoisie. This agitation should be combined with agitation for the special, economic and political demands of the soldiers and sailors brought forward by the League. It is also essential to win over the trade unions, Councils of Action and organisations of the Labour Party for the agitation of the other proletarian organisations.

6. It is essential to pay special attention to the organisational consolidation of the League. Not only must the membership be considerably increased, efforts must also be made to avoid fluctuations, such as have taken place on former occasions, and to retain and educate new members. An impetus must also be given to the training of the Leagues' cadre of functionaries. The League school is to be held this summer. District executives must be consolidated organisationally, and the connection between the local groups, the districts and the C. C. must be improved. The growth of the membership must be utilised for the establishment of a large number of new factory groups and efforts must be made to place new organisations from the beginning on the basis of factory, pit and street groups. The newspaper must remain a weekly publication and its circulation increased which can be achieved by a better adaptation to the requirements and the understanding of the masses.

7. It is essential, particularly with respect to the present struggles and the political situation which increase our responsibilities and demand maximum mutual support and coordination, to establish closer relations between the Party and all the organs of both organisations. For this reason it is also essential to have a permanent Y. C. L. representative in the Party Politbureau.

8. Already before the strike and from the first day of the strike, the Young Communist International began to take serious and successful steps for the support in Great Britain itself and also in the other countries of the struggle of the British working class and working class youth, whilst taking the lead in this struggle. The Young Socialist International, however, completely failed. The proposal of the Y. C. I. to carry on a joint active struggle for the British workers was rejected by it, all it did during the strike was to send a half-hearted welcome telegram to the Amsterdam International (!) in which it pledged itself "to help to carry out all actions which the International Socialist labour movement will deem necessary", knowing full well that this movement had not undertaken any action at all. The Y. C. I., the militant leader of the working class youth movement throughout the world, looks upon the struggle of the British adult and young workers as a struggle of the entire International and will give active support to the struggling young British workers in the difficult fights in which they are engaged and which are still before them. It must be admitted that hitherto very little has been done on the part of the various Leagues with respect to measures of practical solidarity towards the British workers and particularly the British miners. This must be remedied. The Russian League has given a brilliant example of how to fulfil one's duty in respect of international solidarity. The Executive urges all the Y. C. L. s. and young workers throughout the world to increase their solidarity activity to the utmost to assist the British miners in their struggle, to participate more actively in the collection of money, to refuse to work overtime in the mines, and to prevent all transport of coal or fuel-oil for Great Britain.

The Executive Committee of the
Young Communist International.

PROLETARIAN COMMEMORATION DAYS

Michael Alexandrovitch Bakunin.

By Viatch Polonsky (Moscow).

I.

Fifty years ago, Michael Alexandrovitch Bakunin arrived at the end of his revolutionary life in a hospital in Berne.

Bakunin, Marx' opponent, who largely contributed to the collapse of the 1st International, the object of the passionate hatred of a whole generation of Social Democracy, no longer rises in us the disapproval which his activities and his teaching provoked in our predecessors. This does not mean that we have come to agree with Bakunin, it only means that our long past dissensions with him have lost their acrimony and that he has long ago become a historical figure.

II.

Bakunin was born in the Russia of Nicholas I and grew up in that atmosphere. In the year of the Decabrist insurrection he was twelve years old. At the age of twenty-five he went abroad to acquire science and brought back a goodly array of

opinions and impressions which had grown on the soil of foreign countries and taken intensive hold on him. The Empire of Nicholas was welded together by force — he became an opponent of the State; the State was centralised — he became a pioneer of federalism; the State rested on the shoulders of an enslaved population — he called upon the people to rebel; the State was ruled by a monarch — he called for an overthrow of the throne; the Church kowtowed to the Czar — he became an enemy to the Church; it abused the name of God — he began to hate God no less than the State; and both God and the State became his most embittered enemies.

Both in his teaching and in his activities, he put a minus sign where his epoch put a plus, and it can be maintained with full justification that the Russian history of the pre-proletarian period produced no single fighter who denied the foundation on which the edifice of the Russian Empire rested, with such passion, so logically and universally as did Bakunin.

The needs of many millions of enslaved peasants, who were passionately thirsting for liberation, found expression in the unbridled, revolutionary impetus of Bakunin. This is why, in the first period of his activity in the West, he found no echo in the Labour movement of Europe. The revolutionary storms of 1848 did not distract him from his national duties as a Slav. Even the revolutionary Paris of 1848, where he spent two weeks of exuberant, mad happiness (of which he gives a vivid account in his "Confessions"), even Paris did not turn his head; he did not forget his duties to the distant, poverty-stricken, enslaved country, and he moved away from the metropolis, nearer to the Russian frontiers in order to help his people.

Bakunin was acquainted with Marx, Weitling and other leaders of the European revolution, but nothing could tear him away from his idea of the liberation of the Slav nation. Only after he had behind him two death sentences, twelve years of fortress and Siberia and had made his own the experiences of the failure of insurrections — Paris 1848, Dresden 1849 and Poland 1863 — did he cast off the husk of the national revolutionary.

III.

The Polish insurrection of 1863, into which Bakunin had thrown himself with all the zeal of long-restrained passion, was a mile-stone in the history of his life. The collapse of the insurrection, its character typical of the lesser nobility and the bourgeoisie, to which Bakunin shut his eyes, the pan-Slav Utopian ideas, in which he became impacted in his brochure "The People's Cause", his differences of opinion with Herzen and Ogarev, forced Bakunin to reflect upon his national aberrations.

At the end of 1863, Bakunin went to Italy and there, in the years 1864—1867 he altered his general view of the world, renounced the Slav theories and re-examined his attitude to the forms of State and to revolutionary tactics. The idea of pan-Slav liberation was supplanted by the central idea of immediate social revolution, of the destruction of all States and the creation of a society without States on the basis of freedom, work and justice. As early as in 1866 he expounded, in his magnificent sketch of the "Secret International", his whole anarchist system, both in its theoretical foundations and in its practical details.

In the further course of his life, Bakunin devoted himself entirely to the idea of the social revolution. The former nationalist turned into a violent and extreme internationalist. The tactics of the International Labour Association, which he joined in 1868, was not revolutionary enough to suit him. In order to revolutionise the International, he made efforts to found his own secret organisation within it, thus to guide the International invisibly from within, and to lead its activities on to the revolutionary path. At the same time, Bakunin carried on an open campaign against the General Council of the International, against the centralist leadership of the International Labour movement, with the object of depriving the General Council of its leading position and subordinating the international revolutionary movement to his own leadership. He had devoted agents in Italy, Switzerland, Spain and France and tried to form groups in Russia with the help of Sergei Nietchaiev.

He carried on the campaign secretly and in the open, he agitated, organised, preached indefatigably, he sent to his parti-

sans in the various countries endless written instructions, usually in cipher, and forced his opponents who had gathered round Marx, to enter into a decisive fight which was carried on with the greatest acrimony on both sides and which finally led to Bakunin being excluded from the International at the Hague Congress in 1872.

IV.

He was the most extreme of the extreme revolutionaries of his time, of those who took the most distant aims as their practical tasks, aims which were not in any way in harmony with the actual forces of the epoch or with their objective needs. He took as his basis what should be and not what was; his system lacked the necessary elements of realism, his dialectics were idealistic; Bakunin must therefore be counted among the large family of Utopians.

In an epoch of the advance of capitalism, of the break up of small estates, of the pauperisation of broad strata of the population, Bakunin's views made him an ideologist, not of the revolutionary proletariat but of the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie. It is therefore not to be wondered at that he met with his greatest success in Italy, Spain, Switzerland and Russia, the countries which were in the rear ranks as regards economic development. As Bakunin aimed at the immediate destruction of the State, the immediate arrest of exploitation, he took for granted that the unskilled workers and the peasant masses of Italy, Spain and Russia were ready for the social revolution, and that all that was necessary was to organise a series of successful revolts in various places.

Bakunin tried to bring system and organisation into the undisciplined rebeldom of the people. It was for this purpose that he founded his international League of Social Revolutionaries, which was intended to unite the separate revolts and turn them into an international social revolution which would destroy the State and the authorities with all political, juridical, bureaucratic, financial and other institutions.

V.

Bakunin, who was the first to translate the "Communist Manifesto" into Russian, the first translator of "Capital", repeatedly gave expression to his deep respect for Marx' economic system and called himself his disciple, but nevertheless was not able completely to abandon his own backward views. He spoke of work as the only basis of life, and yet was not capable of working himself. He called himself an internationalist and was yet a bitter German-hater and anti-Semite; he inveighed against the dictatorship of the General Council, but himself secretly formed a secret society with dictatorial power etc. In words he professed his belief in the point of view of economic materialism, but in deeds he remained a Utopian and an idealist.

Bakunin's fight in the International does not annul the fact that the development of socialism and of the international organisations in Italy, Spain and Switzerland owes a great deal to him. We cannot refuse to acknowledge this. He wrote a no less important page in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement in the seventies. His book "State Organisation and Anarchy" was, according to the evidence of his contemporaries, a gospel for the young Russian revolutionaries. The "going to the people" is linked with Bakunin's name.

It must not be thought that in the years 1860—1870 Bakunin was an isolated fighter for the social revolution, a seeker of quarrels in the International who prevented Marx from leading the international organisation of the proletariat. Bakunin had many followers amongst the petty bourgeois strata and sections of the badly paid categories of the working class, who had not yet freed themselves from their petty bourgeois past and had not passed through the school of capitalism.

VI.

Bakunin was no theorist. He was not even an author. His strength lay not in theoretical but in practical revolutionary work, and just for this reason, the most valuable part of his writings are his correspondence and some propaganda articles.

In foreign literature, attempts have been made to place Bakunism and Leninism on the same level.

What however was the essential nature of Bakunism? The negation of the State altogether, the negation of the dictatorship of the working class, the negation even of transition forms from

a State order to a State-less order, the negation of the political fight which provides for the making use of the existing forms of State in order to abolish them. This is the main point, the foundation stone of the edifice on which the tactics and politics of Bakunism are built up. It is only by falsification that Bakunism can be compared to Leninism, for the latter takes as the foundation of its policy and tactics the dictatorship of the proletariat, the political fight and making use of the State to aid in a transition to a State-less society.

If we look for the causes of the embittered fight between Marx and Bakunin, we find that the chief points on which their opinions differed were just the State, the dictatorship and the political fight. It is hardly necessary to say that in this great fight history has shown who was in the right. Bakunin did not carry off the victory. The triumph of Bolshevism is the death-knell of Bakunism.

VII.

Some of our comrades are inclined to regard Bakunin as one of the ancestors of social democracy and thus of the Communist Party. This is of course nonsense. In the last years of his life, Bakunin tried to adopt the principles of Marx' teaching, but without success. Bakunin was not an ancestor of our party, but a forerunner of the Russian revolution — there is a wide gulf fixed between these two conceptions.

Leninism has its roots in the proletarian movement of the capitalist epoch; Bakunin however was, in spite of all his radicalism, an exponent of the elementary revolutionary character of the pre-proletarian period of the Russian and the European revolutions.

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Our quarrels with Bakunin are past history. There is however one feature which brings Bakunin nearer to us than for instance Herzen or any other politician of our past. In spite of all the differences and all the hostility which stood between Bakunin and Marx, one common passion, one common feeling brought them nearer together; both wished that the social revolution should occur as rapidly as possible, both strove for the same end, for the final victory over that order of society which was characterised by exploitation, force and distress.

Both these passions bring him nearer to our Leninist generation also. In this sense it can be said that there is something of "Bakunism" in our revolution and in Leninism.

But this "common factor" is the same which brought Marx and Bakunin nearer together and without which there can be no revolution.

BOOK REVIEWS

John W. Brown: „The Problem of Migration and the Working Class“*)

By Erich Gentsch (Berlin).

In the second volume of his report to the so-called World Migration Congress of the Amsterdam and of the 2nd International, J. W. Brown deals with the regulation of migration. In this connection he goes particularly into the details of the question of race. As is well-known, the representative of the Australian Labour party at the World Migration Congress opposed any immigration of "coloured" elements, "Australia must remain a white continent", he said. The report goes on to deal in a detailed way with the restrictions on emigration and immigration practised in different countries, either from the economic, the military or the personal point of view. Not only are the various clauses quoted by which America and other transatlantic countries and also some European ones exclude immigrants, but the races are also given which are excluded by various countries.

*) Volume II, published by the A. D. G. B., Amsterdam. See also "Imprecorr. No. 50 vol. 6.

Further, the report deals with the methods of restricting or of canvassing for immigration, as the case may be in the various countries and the different international treaties on the subject. It also deals in extenso with the international and inter-State treaties which concern the protection of emigrants, the facilitation of their return to their own country, the protection of their savings, compulsory insurance against the risks of travel etc. etc.

Another section treats of the organisation of emigration and the attempts of the Reformist and revolutionary associations in the various countries to organise the immigrants belonging to the working class. There is a special demand for the organisation of the Negro workers in North America because the Communists have already done good work in this field.

One of the main sections deals with the position of the immigrated workers with regard to social insurance. On the basis of extensive material supplied by the International Labour Bureau in Geneva, it has been shown that, in the majority of cases, the treatment of foreigners is founded on the principle of reciprocity, but not on the recognition of complete equality with the indigenous population. This section is of particular interest because it deals almost exhaustively with the rights of immigrants regarding insurance against accidents, sickness, old age, disablement and unemployment. In this connection the statutes and contracts of the International Trade Union Secretariats are also dealt with. Brown, that is to say, the resolution of the World Migration Conference demands "complete equality of treatment for workers who have immigrated from foreign countries.

Furtheron Brown discusses the economic factors of the problem of immigration, examining especially into the reasons why the United States are no longer the great, all-embracing receptacle for emigrants. In a special section, Brown makes it clear that emigration cannot fundamentally relieve the unemployment which is at the present moment rampant in England and Germany. In this connection he deals with particular thoroughness with the restriction of the population with the object of maintaining the standard of living.

The last section deals with the policy of migration of the workers. In this section, he enumerates all that has been done by the I. T. F. U., the Trade Union Secretariats and the centres in the various countries from their point of view in the question of migration. In conclusion suggestions are made for an international migration policy. Even at the Berne Congress, the right of States was, as is well known, recognised on principle to restrict immigration in economic crises, for hygienic reasons and if the immigrants are illiterate. Investigation should be made as to whether these three cases should be extended to the exclusion of workers who, by their low standard of living, endanger the standard of living of the native population, and whether special weight should be attached to the fact that certain races do not assimilate. Brown is of the opinion that the international workers should reject the prominence that is given to race distinctions, as being contradictory to the spirit of international solidarity. He thinks that it would be "wiser", if resolutions are passed at all because of the non-assimilation of members of other races, to base them "on economic grounds." (1)

Furthermore Brown demands the establishment of international and national migration bureaus with a corresponding influence on the part of the trade unions.

In the meantime, the "World Migration Congress" has come to an end without having passed any significant or fundamental resolutions. Not only were representatives from the countries which receive the largest number of emigrants, Argentina, Brazil and North America, absent, but opinions contrary to the whole Labour movement were expressed by Australia and Canada. In treating of the problems of world migration, the necessity for a vast, uniform, revolutionary trade union international embracing the whole world becomes clearly evident. It is a prerequisite, not only for a proletarian policy of migration but also for the victory of the working class altogether that such an International should be formed, including all revolutionary trade unions as well as workers from Asia, Japan, Africa, etc.