

# The Trial of Rakosi and his Comrades.

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## The English Miners' Struggle, the A. D. G. B. and the German Workers.

By Fritz Heckert (Berlin).

The English mining slaves have been steadfastly holding out for more than ten weeks. Every worker realises that a defeat of the English miners would be followed by a new offensive of the employers of all the capitalist States against their working class, the effects of which it is impossible to calculate. The leaders of the Amsterdam International and of the Miners International are also quite aware of this. For this reason they have solemnly and repeatedly declared that all forces would be exerted in order to support the English proletariat, in order to preserve from destruction the last bulwark of the European trade unions. What value is to be attached to the decisions of Amsterdam we have learnt already on the occasion of the Ruhr occupation in 1923. This experience is also Amsterdam's ex-

perience, and because the after-effects of this betrayal on the part of this "unvanquishable great power" of the workers is still fresh in memory, one could have expected that Amsterdam would this time better fulfil its words and pledges. This was a false conclusion: The I. F. T. U. failed in 1926 just as in 1923. Or better said, it even surpassed itself. Let us record the most striking facts:

1. Amsterdam defends and justifies the treachery of Thomas and MacDonald.
2. The leaders of the miners who are still continuing their struggle are slandered by the reformist leaders not only in England but in all Europe on account of their brave attitude. Cook in particular was represented as one not responsible for

his actions and who, by his irreconcilable attitude, is seriously injuring the English miners and with them the rest of the workers. (Declaration of Schiff before the Berlin trade union functionaries.)

3. In spite of all the high-sounding promises no steps were taken to prevent the export of coal to England. In the Ruhr district, in German and Polish Upper Silesia, work is being carried on at high pressure "in order to take advantage of the favourable situation". In Duisburg-Ruhrort, in Emden, Hamburg, Stettin, Danzig the export of coal is in full swing. The export of coal has doubled and tripled. In spite of the fact that no fresh miners have been employed at the pits (in the Ruhr area the number of workers employed was even reduced by 1700 in June), the output of coal, according to the figures of the Ruhr coal Syndicates, has increased by 20%. At the same time the stocks of coal at the pitheads have fallen by 50%. The German Miner's Federation, the Transport Workers Federation and the Railway Union did nothing in order to preserve the German working class from this monstrous shame. On the contrary, many trade union leaders have directly encouraged the workers to perform this work, which could be regarded as nothing else than blackleg work.

4. At the 25th General Meeting of the German Miners' Union now taking place, the reformist majority, under the leadership of Husemann, prevented a broad discussion of the tasks of the German miners in support of the English struggle. On the other hand, in the organisation, members who are agitating for the exercise of solidarity are threatened with expulsion under the charge of "seeking to carry out fraction work in the unions".

5. The Executive of the A. D. G. B. (German General Federation of Trade Unions), as the institution which was set up by the German trade unions in order to represent the interests of the German working class as a whole and which bears the responsibility in the Amsterdam International for the failure of the German trade unions to support their English brothers, is chiefly responsible for the betrayal of the English fighters. Grassmann, Leipart Splied, Tarnow, etc., after the betrayal of Thomas and MacDonald, hastened to point out that, with the exception of collections, all relief action for the English struggle must cease.

6. As regards the collections to maintain the resistance of the English miners, the efforts of the German trade unions in this sphere are really pitiable. Communist proposals that all members of trade unions be called on to subscribe a quarter of a day's wages as an extra contribution for the support of the English miners were scornfully rejected.

On the other hand, these very same people who have done so little to support the English miners — who are also members of the Amsterdam International —, had the brazenness to belittle in the eyes of the German and international working class the relief action of the Russian trade unions, which places any other solidarity action carried out hitherto completely in the shade.

Such an attitude on the part of Reformism only redounds to the benefit of reaction; for the workers, it only means further discouragement and disappointment. Those who do not want English capital to defeat the miners must energetically seek to induce the workers, regardless of the cowardly and miserable leaders, to carry out the most simple acts of solidarity, i. e. to concentrate all forces in order to prevent the export of coal to England and to collect funds in order that starvation shall be successfully combated in the ranks of the fighting English miners. In addition to this every class conscious worker must fight along with the Communists in order to purge the labour movement of the spirit of reformism and to drive the treacherous leaders out of the leadership of the trade unions.

## POLITICS

### Questions of the International Revolutionary Struggle.

By N. Bucharin.

#### II.

The British Communist Party has published in one of the recent numbers of its newspaper the "Workers' Weekly" an article by Comrade MacManus directed against this tendency and pointing out that it is a mistaken and suicidal policy. The tendency expresses the feeling of certain revolutionaries or pseudo-revolutionaries who do not possess sufficient backbone and who are afraid to face the difficulties to be encountered in capturing the Trade Unions. Though it might be possible in some other country to bring up this question with a certain hope of some sort of success, in the case of England, with its huge Trade Union machinery, with its strong hold on the masses through the Trade Unions and with a Labour Movement which is relatively slow in its development despite the magnitude of the events, such a putting of the question is absolutely incorrect. Such an attitude must be combated with determination.

In this connection, Comrades, I must touch upon the following subject in order to make the situation clearer. It is maintained that the General Council met its 4th of August at the time of the capitulation; in other words, it has become quite as bankrupt as was International Social Democracy on August 4th, 1914.

Wherein lies the similarity of the one event to the other? In the fact that in the one case as in the other the leadership had become bankrupt. And wherein lies the chief difference? In the fact that in the former case it was a question of a political party, while in the second it was a question of Trade Unions. Why must this difference not be overlooked? Because, if this difference is not appreciated, absolutely false conclusions may be drawn.

When the bankruptcy of International Social Democracy came about — what action did the future Communists take? They not only demanded the exposure of the treachery, but they went as far as withdrawing from the Social Democratic Party; in short they issued the slogan of a split. In this manner we brought the matter to a head and our action was an absolutely correct one. At that time we had to face the task of gathering the progressive section of the workers under the banner of the Communist Party. This is the elementary prerequisite for the development of the Labour Movement upon relatively right lines, right in the sense that it follows the revolutionary path at the smallest cost.

Let us look at the second case, the bankruptcy of the leaders of the Trade Union Movement and their treachery. Can one mechanically transfer the slogan of the split from the political party to the Trade Unions? Let anybody in our circle venture to make the following recommendation: "We must now issue the slogan of the split of the Trade Unions." Such a man would be out of his senses, for this is just the aim of the bourgeoisie and of the reformist leaders. They themselves have not the power to throw us out, for the masses, despite the fact that they are under the influence of the reformist tradition would protest: "Even if they are Communists, they are decent fellows who belong essentially to the working class and they must not be thrown out of the Trade Unions." If, however, the Communists — 5000 Communists among 5 million strikers — were to leave the Trade Unions they would be very foolish. It is as clear as day that we should be cutting ourselves off from those masses among whom and upon whom Communists must work in order to bring them up to their level. The withdrawal of the Communists from the ranks of Social Democracy was a necessary step which has been completely justified, for it meant the creation of an entirely independent lever and the segregation of a vanguard with a clear-cut political physiognomy and with its own organising machinery. The creation of an independent revolutionary party is the first condition of a successful fight on the part of the International Proletariat. But if this lever is removed from the position in which it is designed to work, it immediately becomes scrap-iron. In Lenin's book on "Left Wing Communism" we are reminded that one must even employ every sort of wile and strategy in order to penetrate into this citadel of reformism, the Trade Unions, and capture them.

### Do not withdraw from the Trade Unions but capture them.

The trade unions, embracing as they do huge numbers of workers with diverse political aims, form that sphere, that basic organisation, within which a revolutionary party, i. e. the Communist Party, must capture the masses. For this reason, we must not react to the bankruptcy of the trade Union leaders with a policy of withdrawal from the trade Unions but rather with the advocacy of more intensive work within the trade unions and for their capture.

The question of our tactics in regard to the trade unions may be approached from a different angle. One may ask oneself the question, what is the phenomenon, known in Leninist strategy and tactics as that link in the chain which must be grasped in England at the proper moment in order to gain control of the whole chain? When the question is surveyed in its broadest aspect, it is clear that this link is nothing more or less than the capture of the working masses. If a more exact description of this link is demanded, without doubt the answer is that under the conditions at present obtaining in England the link is to be found in the trade unions. That we should grasp this link, i. e. proceed to the capture of the trade unions and make this task the focus of our endeavours — this is demanded of us by the present situation of affairs. All the other extremely important tasks which face our English brother-party are closely connected with this aim. It is, for instance, quite clear that they will never capture the trade unions without exposing the leaders. It is quite incorrect to regard the question, as many do, as being whether the leaders should be exposed but the trade unions not captured, or whether the trade unions should be captured and then the criticism of the leaders be rendered more mild.

On the contrary, in order that the Communist Party may capture the trade unions, i. e. in order that the revolutionary element may secure the leadership of the trade unions, it is necessary that the revolutionary vanguard of the English working-class should at all costs destroy opportunism in the ranks of the English labour movement. The most ruthless, the strictest, the most devastating criticism can in no case be regarded as ballast, or as a brake, or as a hindrance, from the standpoint of the capture of the trade unions, for the Communists have no desire to capture the trade unions "in general" but as revolutionaries.

In order to be able to capture the trade unions the revolutionaries must discredit the reformist leaders and drive them out of the trade unions.

It is quite clear that through such a conception of the question of the capture of the trade unions and of the exposure of the reformist leaders all the other tasks of the communists are prescribed. Most important of all, it is necessary to combat every tendency to quit the trade unions as well as the tendency towards slackness in regard to the trade union movement, irrespective of the origin of these tendencies. The Communists must declare war upon both of these tendencies, otherwise they will not be able to seize the most important link in the whole chain: the problem of the removal of the reformist leaders, of the shunting of the trade union movement on to a fresh line, of the capture of the trade unions by the Communists, of the transforming of the trade unions into a powerful, effective revolutionary lever in the hands of the working-class.

### The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee.

In this connection there is a concrete question concerning which a certain difference of opinion exists among us. This difference of opinion has already been settled by the resolutions of the Central Committee of our Party and of the executive of the Communist International.

The question is as follows: what should we do with regard to the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee in view of the situation which has arisen? Some comrades hold the view that the present revolutionary line consists in our taking the initiative for withdrawing from the Anglo-Russian Committee, i. e. we should undertake the dissolution of the Committee. The chief arguments of these comrades run roughly as follows:

The leadership of the trade unions is bankrupt, we call the leaders of the General Council "traitors", "capitulators", "allies of the bourgeoisie" and other designations which are even less flattering. Furthermore, these people have refused to accept the brotherly help of the Soviet Union. After this, how can we possibly sit with them in a common institution such as the Anglo-Russian Committee?

Or another variation of the same false argumentation: the English working-class must be convinced of the necessity for an abrupt change of direction. This should find expression not merely in words. We say that this man and that man are traitors. That is not enough. It is necessary not only to expose and to criticise; definite action must be taken in order that a deeper impression may be made. If we emphasize the exposure and criticism of the leaders by the demonstrative action of withdrawal from the Anglo-Russian Committee, and fully justify the withdrawal, we shall thereby show to the English working-class the necessity for a real change; if we neglect to do this, our criticism amounts to nothing more than words.

That is roughly the argumentation developed by those comrades who take the line of withdrawal from the Anglo-Russian Committee. This standpoint has been rejected by the Central Committee of our Party. The E. C. C. I. has also rejected it.

I am of the opinion that this practical difference rests upon a certain difference in the evaluation of the trade union movement. Will the argument about treachery stand criticism under the present case? Does it suffice to say that the leaders of the General Council are traitors in order to draw the conclusion that it is incumbent upon us to withdraw from the Anglo-Russian Committee? For my part, this appears totally inadequate, for there is absolutely no contradiction between our judgement of the leaders of the General Council and of the English portion of the Anglo-Russian Committee, on the one hand, and, on the other, the refusal to take the initiative in dissolving this Committee. And why? Permit me, Comrades, to answer this question in conjunction with my statements in the first portion of this article.

What is the Anglo-Russian Committee? It is an institution of the English trade union movement and the English General Council, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the trade union movement of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. And if I am right in my contention that we cannot, on the basis of a simple analogy, mechanically transfer the principle of our withdrawal from the Social Democratic Party to our tactics in the trade union movement, I believe that we must also draw a similar conclusion in regard to the Anglo-Russian Committee. If a simple conviction of treachery sufficed to induce us to adopt the policy of withdrawal from the Anglo-Russian Committee, a similar argument would be valid in relation to the trade unions. It might be said: You maintain that both wings of the General Council are composed of traitors and capitulators, and then declare: "No withdrawal from the trade unions." How are we to reconcile these two things? In my belief we can and must reconcile them. As I have repeatedly stated, the Communists must react to the treacherous tactics of the leading groups in the trade unions not with the cry for withdrawal from the unions, but with the slogan "Depose the leaders and capture the trade unions".

What sort of institution is this Anglo-Russian Committee? I have repeatedly put the following questions to a number of comrades: Suppose for a moment that there is a single English Communist on the English side of the Anglo-Russian Committee, a thing which is by no means impossible — what would now be his duty? Should he retire from the Committee? I think that he should not do so. If such is the case for him, is it possible to imagine a situation in which our Party would say to its members "Withdraw"! and the English Party would say to its members "Remain on the Committee"! Let us assume that the English Communist would be compelled to retire from the Committee. If he withdrew from the Anglo-Russian Committee, could he possibly remain a member of the General Council? It would indeed be nonsensical to retire from the Anglo-Russian Committee and remain on the General Council. There would be no logic at all in such action. We must adopt a clear and logical view: If you retire from the Anglo-Russian Committee, then withdraw too, from all the leading organisations because their leaders are dastardly. This would mean withdrawal from the General Council; also from the local executives of the trade unions which are also tainted with the treachery. What would be the necessary consequence? And what would then become of the policy of capturing the trade unions?

From this point of view, the slogan of withdrawal from the Anglo-Russian Committee would in reality be — whether we wish it or not — objectively nothing but a signal, which would promote the present harmful tendency of withdrawal from the trade unions.

### The "Apparatus" Point of View and the Leninist Point of View.

In the above-mentioned differences of opinion lie concealed the differences in the fundamental attitude towards the Anglo-Russian Committee. I will try to give in quite sharp outlines the points of view which are possible in this respect.

One point of view is that the Anglo-Russian Committee is really an "apparatus". It is a leading organisation, a bloc between two small groups of leaders, the trade unions of the Soviet brand and the trade unions of the trade unionist brand. Why was this "Bloc" organised? Because from this point of view the English Reformists are said to be better than the German and French. On the other hand it is said that they were better up to a certain time, until these or those events, and then, they had become not better, but worse. For this reason the whole game has lost its significance, for this reason it is desirable to secede from the Anglo-Russian Committee.

We do not share this point of view. It is wrong, it is contrary to facts, it is based on an estimate of the subjective virtues of Purcell, it is based on the conception that there was a Bloc between the leaders of the Russian trade unions and the "better" part of the Reformists.

I maintain that we did not approach the question in this way when we formed the Anglo-Russian Committee. We were guided by entirely different considerations in solving this problem. We did not adopt the point of view that Purcell was better than the French or German Reformists. We were guided by quite different considerations, namely, that since the English capitalists have got into a tight corner, since English capitalism has entered on a period of steady and uninterrupted decline, there will be, in accordance with the iron law of history, now and in the future, an inevitable trend towards the Left of the masses of workers and, under the pressure of these masses of workers, the Reformists in England who are subjectively neither better nor worse than all other Reformists, will be compelled to take a different point of view from that of all other Reformists.

This was the other standpoint which we held and continue to hold. It is not based on the subjective estimate of individual leaders but of the objective estimate of the circumstances under which the mass movement of the English working-class is developing. For the sake of this mass with its trend to the Left and in order that it might grow, there was tied that knot which is known as the Anglo-Russian Committee. There existed a deep connection with the whole Communist tactics of the united front, with our endeavours to win over the trade unions in the fight for trade union unity etc. If we thus start from the point of view of the processes which are taking place in the class movement and not from the valuation of persons, it is impossible for us to maintain that there were previously no traitors in the Anglo-Russian Committee but that they have now been guilty of treachery and that for this reason we must secede from the Anglo-Russian Committee. We must link up our concrete tactics in the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee with the general estimate of the English mass movement, with the chief task of the Communists, which is to win over the trade unions of England.

The Communists are replying to the slogan of withdrawal from the trade unions, that Otsovist boycott slogan, with the slogan of the greatest possible intensification of work in the trade unions, with the object of winning over the trade unions, of replacing the present trade union leaders by others. They are sticking firmly to this line on all fronts of the trade union fight, particularly with regard to the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Communists say to the English workers: "We believe that it is your duty to depose this General Council and to elect another one, it is your duty to change the composition of the Anglo-Russian Committee by choosing other representatives. The Communists must call upon the workers to change the composition of the General Council and the representatives of the General Council in the Anglo-Russian Committee.

Can this point of view be described as wrong opportunist tactics? No, they are truly Marxist, truly Leninist tactics, the only ones that are possible in the present circumstances. Those comrades who do not agree with this, forget a number of lessons that we ought to learn from the international Labour movement.

If the Communists were now to give the signal for secession from the Anglo-Russian Committee, we cannot doubt for a moment that it would objectively be a signal for secession from

the trade unions. We cannot advocate this course being taken. We believe that the tendency to secede from the trade unions is, in the present circumstances, the most obnoxious tendency.

There is not the least contradiction in the fact that the Communists propose unmasking the leaders. This contradiction is just as vital a contradiction as the contradiction implied by the Communists describing the upper stratum of the General Council in the strongest language but on the other hand opposing a split in the trade union movement. Thus it is a very relative contradiction, which is necessary for the further winning of the masses by the Communists, for unmasking the Reformist leaders.

For this reason we can in no circumstances consent to secession from the Anglo-Russian Committee being the path chosen. I repeat: the Communists would be opportunists of the deepest dye, were they to remain in the Anglo-Russian Committee at the cost of limiting the extent of their campaign. If then we call a spade a spade, if this was even done by such an organisation as the Central Council of the Soviet trade unions, which has otherwise always been careful in its choice of words, if it has employed this whole arsenal — traitors, strike-breakers, Opportunists — how can we, in view of this situation, express a fear that the English working class would fail to understand our valuation and our tactics.

### Trade Union and Soviet.

There is another argument which is brought up by some Comrades as their whole heavy artillery. "By remaining in the Committee", they say, "you are helping to maintain the authority of the bankrupt leaders". This argument was brought up against us by the Otsovists, when we raised the question as to whether we should or should not secede from the National Duma. The Otsovists said at that time: "You are supporting the authority of the National Duma." When Comrade Lenin maintained that we must work in the reactionary trade unions, the reply was made: "In doing so, you are supporting the authority of the reactionary trade unions. Possibly — I cannot tell — we did support them, but just about in the way that a rope supports the person hanged by it. I do not believe that this support agreed with them particularly well, but if anyone chooses to describe the process of "driving out" as a process of "support", let him do so. I believe that the policy which we defend is, in the present circumstances, the only right one.

In the theses adopted by the Communist International, there is a passage which calls forth from some comrades a certain doubt and ironical smiles. Among others, the theses quote the following analogy: in the middle of the summer of 1917 the situation in Russian was such that the Soviets disarmed us and forbade us to demonstrate; the Petrograd Soviet was even in direct alliance with the counter-revolutionaries. Things went so far that, — as we correctly judged at that time — the Soviets turned into a mere appendage of the counter-revolutionary State. That was at the time when Comrade Lenin proposed to withdraw for the time being the slogan: All Power to the Soviets! But did we ever preach or raise the question of seceding from the Soviets? Never! At the time in question we regarded them as a counter-revolutionary organisation, as an appendage of the counter-revolutionary State, and that is what they actually were. Perhaps there are some comrades present who can remember what happened in Moscow in the July days when the Moscow Soviet forbade our demonstrations, when we nevertheless appeared in the Red Square and the bourgeois public nearly lynched us, while the soldiers from the Chodinka field came to our help. Remember these fights with the Menshevist leaders of the Executive Committee, they would gladly have turned us out of the Executive and out of the Soviets altogether. We however, did not encourage secession from the Soviets, but, thanks to this campaign of exposure, we wormed our way into the Soviets and finally captured them by aiming powerful blows against the Mensheviks and the S.R.s. The same must be done with regard to the English trade unions, among other reasons, because in the critical moment the trade unions play the part of the Soviet, as I have been trying, and I believe not quite in vain, to prove. It follows from this that our line of action is confirmed more than ever by our own experience.

We did the right thing when we used our campaign of exposure as an instrument for capturing the Soviets. We must behave in just the same way, towards the trade unions. If

we are to proceed in this way, we must refrain from every signal, every gesture which though when looked at from without may seem very heroic, brilliant and even monumental, turns in reality into a phrase which may indeed be brilliant but is harmful, because it would objectively support the tendency which is most obnoxious in the present situation, i. e. the tendency to secede from the trade unions.

With this, comrades, I can conclude the analysis of the lessons to be learnt from events in England. Finally, allow me to mention that in Moscow various rumours are in circulation with regard to the so-called incorrect point of view of the Central Council of the trade unions of the Soviet Union etc. Thanks to the Communists God, we have a document of the Central Council of the trade unions before us, a document which was passed at yesterday's plenary session of the Trade Union Council. Anyone who has eyes and can read and understand documents, will find in it the standpoint of the Trade Union Council clearly and exactly formulated. On the whole it amounts to the standpoint which I have defended here, and contains a sharp criticism of the "Left". It proposes to the English workers that they remove these Reformist leaders from their posts, calls on the revolutionary elements to capture the English trade unions and calls for a reconstruction of all trade union bodies, among them the Anglo-Russian Committee.

At the conclusion of this part of my report I will venture to emphasise once more that one of the most important of our central tasks is to support the struggle of the British miners, and that it is necessary to take a number of measures in this connection. We must emphasise this particularly because the Comintern is of the opinion that our Communist brother parties have not done everything that could have been done in support of the miners, and that a definite change must be made in the form of a greater extension of the campaign in support of the miners.

## EVENTS IN POLAND.

### A Crisis which Borders on Disintegration.

I believe you are all well acquainted with the economic, political and international crisis through which Poland is passing. To put it briefly: Poland, as a State organisation is writhing under the enormous burden of the unproductive outlay for the army and police and for the maintenance of the apparatus of State, which is out of proportion to its powers — all of which arises from the tasks resulting from the ambition of the Polish bourgeoisie to act as a Great Power and from the difficulty of solving the problems which are connected with the existence of the working class and of national minorities. This is why the crisis, which might even be described as a definite condition of disintegration of the Polish State, its economics and its apparatus, has become extremely acute in recent times. This economic situation has also led to chaos in social conditions; we see large numbers of persons who have become declassed and of unemployed, numbers who have lost their sharply defined class character, numbers who have become socially separated from their own class, as is usually the case when there is a permanent crisis which accompanies the condition of ruin in any country whatever.

In such a situation there are objectively two possible paths of development: either the dictatorship gets into the hands of the working class, or a "firm power" of the bourgeoisie "arrives" in that position. The Polish bourgeoisie, in the greatest variety of combinations, has more than once tried to overcome the crisis which has taken on the form of a creeping decay, but no single one of these combinations has proved reliable and permanent, not one of them has appeared as an organisation of the Power of the State, which would enable Poland to get over the crisis, to lead it into a definite channel and to organise the national and political life of the country. This vast social fermentation resulted in extraordinary and remarkable attempts being made to find an issue. I refer to the coup d'etat, which was conducted by Pilsudski.

Who is Pilsudski? In my opinion, Pilsudski is by no means a clown, by no means a fool, but a very clever politician. I am not sure whether he determines his own tactics or whether he has English advisers behind him to inspire his tactics; what is of objective importance however, is not this but the political significance of the steps and the manoeuvres he undertakes. It

seems to me that the latter are far from being the tricks of a clown, and that, up to the present, Pilsudski has fooled everybody, to a certain degree even some of the leaders of our Communist party. It seems to me that it has now become strikingly clear that we should regard Pilsudski as something closely resembling a Polish Mussolini.

We must recall how Mussolini came into power. Italy was in a condition of extreme decay. The attempt of the Communists and the workers with communist views to take possession of the factories and the works had suffered a severe defeat. In view of these chaotic conditions and this semi-decay, there was vast discontent in the depths of society, among the peasants, the working class, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia.

How did Mussolini proceed at that time? What was the programme with which he appeared on the scenes? Did he ride to Rome on a pure-bred bourgeois horse? Nothing of the kind. He put up a national-radical programme and issued a number of very attractive slogans. In this way he allured the petty bourgeoisie, a section of the workers and a section of the peasants; this was all the easier because of the mistakes of the Communists who had not grasped the great importance of the peasant question; he carried with him part of the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie, some of the many who had got adrift in consequence of the social collapse, the declassed, the slum proletariat etc.

He was in a position to organise a few shock troops and with them he marched on Rome. This is one of the characteristic features of Fascism. After he had seized power, he organised the peasants and carried on his game with a section of the workers for a time, and then gradually slid down the slope to become what he is now.

What is Pilsudski doing? He is relying on a wide diversity of elements, he is trying to make use of all these elements. He is turning to account the discontent of the soldiers and non-commissioned officers; he is turning to account the strength of the cadre of Polish officers and of Polish generals who are in danger of being turned out of the army, he is turning especially to account the fermentation among the peasants and the discontent of the working-class, he is making use of the various dissensions within the Right parties and groups, he issued "general national" slogans, which at first glance appear only too "elementary". He knows that Poland is suffering from waste of time, robbery etc., and he cries: "Long live the unity of the nation! Down with the talkativeness which prevails in Parliament!" At the first glance, such slogans may appear stupid, but as a matter of fact they are by no means stupid from the point of view of ensuring success, of gaining influence over as large numbers as possible in order to get into power.

Why was the coup d'etat necessary for him? As a preliminary to gaining power. Why did he have to appeal to the Sejm? In order to prove that he was not a revolutionary. Further, what does he do in order to put an end to this democratic system of talkativeness? He "plays the fool", but in such a way that he fools many people, while retaining his own shrewdness.

We need only take the question of the presidential election. In this respect, he staged a farce of vast dimensions, he forced the people to elect him as President, he forced the official institutions, against which he had fought, to recognise his authority. Having accomplished this, he said: "Thank you very much for electing me as President but I have no time to concern myself with such superfluous matters". This means that he has climbed up to the next step. Thereupon begins the bargaining as to the new presidential election. He says straight out: "This post requires no sage, it only remains therefore to elect Moscicki". The consequence was that he got what he wanted and Moscicki occupies the Presidential chair. Then came the oath allegiance to the Constitution. As a rule, the President must go to the Sejm to take his oath, but Pilsudski said: "Why should I? Kindly come to me, to the Royal Palace." And they actually all went to him.

Have you forgotten which party groups had helped him to aim a blow at the old government? Hardly however had he consolidated his power than he kicked the S. P. P. out of his way. In this way he becomes more and more acceptable to the Right groups; he is a "strong personality", he has declared war on all idle talk etc. But what is he really doing? He has made himself a dictator on Mussolini's lines, he is forming a Bloc with the Right. He is putting workers under lock and key.

These facts cannot be explained by Pilsudski having at some time or other done time in a Czarist prison. Exactly the same happened with Mussolini; he also was a Socialist at one time, he was even in the Left wing of the Socialist party of Italy.

### The Tactics of the Communist Party of Poland.

Let us now discuss the tactics of the Communist party of Poland. Pilsudski takes action against the counter-revolutionary Government of Witos and is supported by the S. P. P. and by a large section of the Polish workers and peasants. What should the Polish party do in these circumstances? In my opinion, it should act somewhat as we did in the Kornilov days. Kerenski also was "ripening" into a kind of Mussolini, but he did not quite reach maturity. We broke the brunt of his attack. He had, it is true, Bonapartist tendencies, but he did not possess just those personal qualities which are necessary for a character of this kind.

What were our tactics at that time? At that time we solved the question by saying that we could not remain neutral in the fight; we said that we would fight against Kornilov, that we would act on parallel lines with the Mensheviks and the S. R., but that we would do this not in support of Kerenski, not in support of the Mensheviks and the S. R., not in support of their armed fight, but that we would do it in order to destroy Kornilov, in order to achieve our revolutionary aims. In doing so, we unmasked all who stood in our way. These were our tactics. I know that I myself made such a statement in the name of the fraction of the Moscow Soviet shortly before the Kornilov days, when it had become necessary to take steps to that effect.

The present situation demanded that our Polish comrades should take a similar attitude. The situation was, of course, extremely complicated in their case because they had to proceed against an openly revolutionary clique, side by side with individuals, with tendencies, with groups, which themselves were ripening into Bonapartist "circles". This complicated situation contributed towards the Polish Party making the worst political mistakes. They adopted the right idea, that it is impossible to remain neutral in this fight, i. e. they adopted the idea that it is essential to fight against the openly counter-revolutionary Government, but they did not grasp the real essence of this whole manoeuvre, i. e.: stretch out your hand and seize as many rifles as possible, take possession of the chief positions, but do not for a moment lose your own physiognomy, be prepared at any moment, supported by the capture of a new position, to turn the assault against those with whom you have so far fought side by side. They however declared: "We cannot remain neutral and that is why we support Pilsudski's revolutionary soldiers."

This is the chief law, according to which neutrality is rightly condemned, but in which the factor which determined the further line of action of the Party was the absolutely wrong, monstrously wrong talk of supporting the "revolutionary troops of Pilsudski."

It is quite natural that in such a situation various steps were taken which would lead to still greater mistakes. Sometimes the Polish comrades realised that they were making mistakes and tried to put them right, but they only drifted into the same channel again.

Whilst recognising their faults (even though not completely) they repeated them at once in that they proposed to vote for Pilsudski in the presidential election, justifying this proposal with the following arguments: if we do not vote for Pilsudski, we shall detach ourselves from the masses, for the masses "will not understand us". But when did we propose to vote for Kerenski? When did we propose to make Kerenski President of the Russian Republic? Had we proposed anything of the sort, it would have indicated that we had simply gone mad.

### Mistakes in the Application of the Tactics of the United Front.

We see then that the most glaring errors were made in the application of the tactics of the united front in Poland. The tactics of the united front by no means consist in our Party having to abandon its own point of view when applying them. On the contrary, in all stages of the revolutionary tactics of the united front, the first thing to be considered must always be the peculiar revolutionary physiognomy of the Communist Party.

With a situation such as prevailed and still prevails in Poland, we must take into consideration that supporting Pil-

sudski, who is maturing into a Mussolini, the slogan of such support and the tendency to support him is a ruinous line of action for the Communist Party. The hope may be expressed that our Polish comrades will learn to correct this line of action much more thoroughly than they have done up to the present. The objective prerequisites which are necessary for a decisive change in their attitude exist, since Pilsudski's physiognomy becomes more clearly distinguishable every day. Though there has until recently been some excuse for illusions, now that Pilsudski has openly formed a Bloc with the Right elements of "ordered society", as he has released all Fascists and thrown Communists into prison, it is not even necessary to possess one eye in order to see the "turn in the path" at which he has arrived and how he is maturing into a Polish Mussolini. The correction of the most serious mistakes by the C. P. of Poland will mean a certain revolution in the whole Labour movement in Poland, for it is indispensable for the correct development of the whole Labour movement in that country that the leading staffs of the Polish proletariat should be on the right path. We have no reason to conceal our own line of action, we need not be afraid to expose it clearly, for our line of action is the correct one and for a correct line of action we must fight at any movement and against any opponent. This is the only way in which we can lead our whole Party, the only way in which we can lead the Communist International. (Loud applause.)

## The Attempt at Sanitation in France and the Proletariat.

By P. Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

The Report of the Experts, which is to bring about the sanitation of national economy in France, now occupies the forefront position in the debates in the French parliament and in the press.

The report must be regarded as it appears, as the experts wish it to appear to the propertied classes, as the Minister of Finances, Caillaux, wishes to impose it in parliament and for which purpose he is demanding extraordinary powers.

The proposal of the experts constitutes, under the pretext of stabilisation and sanitation, the most brutal declaration of war on the proletariat and on the middle classes.

In addition to this, it represents the first official proposal for the sale of the French proletariat by its lords and masters to oversea's capitalism.

The bourgeois journalists are raising a great cry of triumph that, with the application of the experts' report, politics have finally come to an end. That of course is quite false. On the contrary, the experts' report represents a very definite, carefully thought out policy, directed mainly against the workers. It is the policy of capitalism which is triumphing over the hypothesis of the Left Bloc.

Reduction of taxes on property, restoration of freedom of movement for capital, increase of taxes for the propertyless, a far-reaching remission of taxes on fortunes — this is what the experts' report is offering to the rich. Increase of customs duty on sugar and wine, increase of the turnover tax and of railway rates, further heavy taxation of articles of necessity — that is what the experts' report offers to the propertyless.

But what is the object of the attempts to balance the budget at the cost of the consumers? In order to receive Anglo-American credits, which, along with the ratification of the Mellon-Béranger-agreement, will mean the enslavement of the French workers by Anglo-American bankers for more than half a century.

All this is to lead to stabilisation. But it will only remain an attempt at stabilisation. Stabilisation is to be brought about without the least sacrifices on the part of the propertied classes, but exclusively at the cost of the working masses.

In addition to this, as the experts themselves admit, economic crises, unemployment, war on the immigrant workers, abolition of the eight hour day, low wages and high prices are necessary in order to bring about a reduced consumption. Production however, is to be increased with all the means of modern technic of exploitation. The whole cost is to be exclusively borne by the workers.

The "experts" know that the capitalist organism, in order to be able fully and entirely to resume its cruel functions, must

have free room for movement. The enslavement of the proletariat and the corrupting of the labour aristocracy will allow it to return to this free play of forces.

The great lesson which is to be drawn from the two years of existence of the Left Bloc is the following: capitalism is a machine in which all parts are dependent on one another. If the machine is disturbed for a moment by sham measures of "equitable taxation", the machine nevertheless sooner or later again wins the upper hand.

The proletariat, in view of the monstrous proposals of the experts and which Caillaux is sponsoring, is adopting the slogans of the Communist Party:

stabilisation at the cost of the propertied classes! Workers' and Peasants' government! Nationalisation of the Banks! Foreign Trade Monopoly! Capital Levy! Annulment of all war debts!

## The Movement for Autonomy in Alsace-Lorraine.

By H. Stenger (Metz).

### I.

The Alsace-Lorraine question is to-day a more burning one than ever. At Locarno the imperialists tried to wipe it out once for all. It is not without good reason that, hardly nine months after Locarno, the French imperialists are concerned as to the stability of the Locarno Pact just where Alsace-Lorraine is concerned. The movement in Alsace-Lorraine against the economic and political oppression of the French imperialists has since then reached a quite unexpectedly high level.

Large numbers of the working class and of the disappointed petty bourgeoisie have joined the ranks of the anti-imperialist front. The causes of the progressive movement against the "liberators" of 1918 in Alsace-Lorraine are: the suppression of the German mother-tongue in schools, before the Courts and in the public services, the low wages of the workers and officials, the high taxation which is three or four times as high as in France itself, the brutal way in which the police apparatus is set in action in order to maintain the positions of French imperialism, the way in which the large industry of Alsace-Lorraine is handicapped and shamelessly taken advantage of by the capitalists of the rest of France, the Black List system etc.

The struggle of the people of Alsace-Lorraine has nothing, absolutely nothing in common with the aspirations of the German nationalists and imperialists. Alsace-Lorraine needed no other lesson than that of its 45 years' experience under the military heel of Prussia to teach it clearly that its interests are the concern of neither one imperialism nor the other. The struggle in Alsace-Lorraine is an anti-imperialist one and as such is directed equally against French and German imperialism.

### II.

When, after the elections of 1924, Herriot, the first Prime Minister of the Left Bloc, in his Government programme, held out hopes of an early introduction of civil legislation in Alsace-Lorraine, a great wave of indignation broke out in the clerical camp in Alsace-Lorraine.

At that time, the autonomist petty bourgeois elements (who are largely under clerical influence) founded a weekly paper "Die Zukunft" ("The Future"). We must admit that they understood how to give expression in their paper to the discontent of the broad masses at the suppression of nationality.

It was only after the Worker and Peasant Congress that the petty bourgeois movement ventured to make a definite demand for administrative autonomy. From this demand, the "Heimatbund", which brought a manifesto before the public for the first time early in June, proceeded to a demand for political autonomy.

The "Heimatbund" was founded by the same people who founded the weekly paper "Die Zukunft". At their head is Dr. Ricklin, the President of the former "Landtag" of Alsace-Lorraine. Even he is to-day mainly under clerical influence; his adherents are chiefly recruited from petty bourgeois circles (officials, peasants, the lower ranks of the clergy). They continue to see their salvation in autonomy under the supremacy of France and hope for satisfaction from the French imperialists.

In Lorraine, the clerical "Union Republicaine Lorraine" has split ideologically over the Alsace-Lorraine question. The German speaking section under the leadership of those grouped round the "Lothringische Volkszeitung", stands up for autonomy, whilst the chauvinist French wing (Hirschauer, de Wendel etc.) with its Press "Le Lorrain" and "Messin" is carrying on violent propaganda against the autonomists in favour of French imperialism.

In spite of this it can be said that the overwhelming majority of the clerical party in Alsace as well as in Lorraine (I mean the members who are recruited from the workers and from the petty bourgeoisie) are in favour of autonomy.

The Radical Socialist Party in Alsace has passed through severe internal struggles in consequence of the Alsace-Lorraine question. Its Strasburg group under the leadership of the Oesinger group, which is most closely allied to the party centre in Paris, has carried on a consistent policy of assimilation, especially since the Left Bloc took the helm in France. The Georges Wolff-Dahler group defeated the said group a few weeks ago at their Party Congress by a large majority; the former understood the signs of the times which indicate that all those who swim against the "Alsace-Lorraine current" will perish in it.

The Alsatian Social Democrats have remained Social Democrats, true servants of imperialism here as in every other country. Here also they consistently form a front against the working people of Alsace-Lorraine under the lead of Grumbach, who is only too well known, and of the social patriots Pairotes, Weill, Suibs and their partners. To-day they take exactly the opposite view with regard to this question to that which they took before the war. At that time they stood up for autonomy, because they were Frenchmen and bourgeois Democrats; to-day they are opposed to it because they have remained fervent patriots, true watch-dogs of the bourgeoisie.

The Alsatian Social Democrats deny both the existence of a national movement in Alsace-Lorraine and also of a demand for the right of self-determination.

The Communist Party, which ever since the split at Tours has with all energy opposed French imperialism in the Alsace-Lorraine question, took a clearly defined attitude as to this question at the Worker and Peasant Congress in Strasburg. Since then, it has there and in all its declarations, faithfully maintained the attitude of the Communist International in the national question; for instance in the manifesto of the Strasburg Congress, in the manifesto of the Conference of the Communist Parliamentarians in Brussels on November 10-12 1925, in the declaration of the Enlarged Central Committee of the C. P. of France on Feb. 1st 1926 and in the manifesto of the Party Congress at Lille on June 26th 1926. It demanded the right of self-determination for the people of Alsace-Lorraine, even as far as the right to detach themselves from imperialist France, thus winning the sympathy of large numbers.

As regards the petty bourgeois demand for autonomy, the party has declared itself willing to support it because it regards it as a challenge to French imperialism and because it has been made by broad masses who might be won to the revolutionary cause. In doing so it has not forgotten to state that political autonomy in a capitalist State brings neither political nor economic liberation to the workers. This liberation can only result from the social revolution which will grant us the autonomy which the Russian Soviet Republic after the revolution gave to the peoples who had been under the yoke of Czarism.

### III.

From the very beginning of the movement, the paid chauvinist Press of Paris and also of Alsace-Lorraine has demanded that the Government should interfere against the "subversive elements" in Alsace-Lorraine. The last Briand Government made the publication of the manifesto of the "Heimatbund" and the question put by the committee of action of the Worker and Peasant Congress the excuse for giving provisional notice to a number (40-50) of those who signed both documents in so far they were State officials, railwaymen, customs officials, public notaries, clerics, mayors, adjuncts: a later decree will decide whether they are to be finally dismissed and thus condemned to starvation.

These "sanction proceedings" of the Government rendered it possible to distinguish friend from foe — and opened up a new prospect for the C. P.

Whilst the C. P. immediately took up a strong attitude against this infamous action of the Government, both in its Press and in public manifestations, there was great confusion in the camp of the "Heimatbund".

In the clerical camp, treachery revealed itself in its crassest form. The Provincial Presidium of the Alsatian People's Party in a declaration, dissociated themselves from the autonomists and emphasised that its programme had nothing to do with the "Heimatbund" — and that in spite of the fact that a large number of its party members are members of the "Heimatbund" and that amongst those who were reprimanded were 14 Catholic priests. The bourgeois (some of them clerical) deputies as well as the "Socialists" Peirotes and Weill acted in solidarity with the Government and refused to intervene in the Chamber in favour of those who had been reprimanded.

Since this action of the Government, the perspective has become distinctly clearer. It has not restricted the movement but has given it fresh impetus. The masses of workers and the petty bourgeois elements have now learnt to know, and will have still further revelations of the treachery of their leaders. Under the leadership of the Communist Party which, by its consistent fight, is daily gaining more of the confidence of these broad, oppressed masses, they will carry on the fight which has begun, to a final victory over imperialism.

## The United States and the Breakdown of the Tacna-Arica Plebiscite in South America.

### MANIFESTO OF THE ALL-AMERICA ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE.

(Liga Anti-Imperialista de las Americas.)

The United States government has precipitated another crisis in Latin America.

After more than a year of pretense at preparing a plebiscite in the Tacna-Arica region of South America between the contending claims of Chile and Peru, the U. S. representative on the commission now comes forward with a motion declaring a plebiscite to be impossible!

General Lassiter's motion constitutes a categorical condemnation of everything the United States government has been doing in Tacna-Arica. But it is the form of the motion that has precipitated the crisis. It is not the formal withdrawal of an "impartial arbiter" but a savage attack upon Chile. In terminating the plebiscitary proceedings, the U. S. representative has gone out of his way to further inflame the hostile passions he has pretended to assuage, and has even gone so far as to suggest that "it might be impossible to prevent the outbreak of war between Chile and Peru".

The motion — as well as all the subsequent conduct of the U. S. representative — is deliberately provocative. By openly baiting Chile and at the same time hinting that trouble is bound to ensue between Chile and Peru, the United States government is making a deliberate attempt to provoke trouble.

We are not here concerned with the correctness or incorrectness of Chile's claims in the Tacna-Arica controversy. Neither is the government of the United States — for it has engaged in aggressions against Peru as well as against Chile. The entire plebiscitary adventure carried on by President Coolidge through the "military diplomats", Generals Pershing and Lassiter, was an attempt to secure a base of operations for American imperialism on the west coast of South America. It was a manoeuvre not only against Chile, nor against Chile and Peru, but against every South American country.

The reason for the provocative character of General Lassiter's motion is plain. It is not by any means due to the mere collapse of the plebiscite, which the United States government has systematically obstructed and which it never intended to go through with anyway. It is due rather to the fact that in spite of all efforts including the despatch of innumerable military "aides" to Tacna-Arica and the stationing of a U. S. battle cruiser in Arica harbour — American imperialism has been unable to impose completely its authority in the disputed area. This is the "diplomatic defeat" about which North American newspapers are now editorialising so sorrowfully.

Consequently the spokesmen of Wall Street and Washington now provoke a situation which will enable them to play a further role in the affairs of the South American countries. The present

attitude of the United States government shows conclusively that it does not propose to leave South America alone upon the termination of the Tacna-Arica plebiscitary proceedings.

Both Chile and Peru are members of the League of Nations, and the great fear in Wall Street and Washington is that the Tacna-Arica question may be handed over to this body for settlement. Already there is talk of the "danger to United States prestige in Latin America" that would result from such a development. The threat of the Monroe Doctrine is again hovering over the scene.

Interference by the League of Nations would bring to a climax the clash of interests in Latin America between the United States and Great Britain — for Great Britain, the dominant voice in the League, has big interests in Chile and has all along played a secondary but none the less careful and active role in the Tacna-Arica affair. It would also dramatise the inherent conflict between the United States and Europe. U. S. imperialism bristles with anger at the mere thought of European interference in what it considers its own monopolistic domain of Latin America.

War dangers are undeniably on the horizon. It is not a war between Chile and Peru that is presaged — although that too is possible if the Latin American brother nations continue to allow themselves to be used as catspaws — but war on a world scale. It is the war of imperialistic pirates fighting over the right of exclusive domination over the weaker peoples everywhere in the world.

Chile, Peru, Latin America as a whole, cannot afford to allow the Tacna-Arica question to become the plaything of our imperialist enemies. Undoubtedly the greatest menace confronting Latin America today is the imperialism of the United States, powerful, determined, militant, pushing steadily farther and farther south along the American continent, striving to beat us into submission with the club of the Monroe Doctrine. The Tacna-Arica affair should never have been placed in the hands of President Coolidge for "arbitration" in the first place. By this act the governments of Chile and Peru committed treason to their own peoples, and to all Latin America. The All-America Anti-Imperialist League warned of the consequences months ago.

The United States cannot solve Latin American problems precisely because the solution lies directly in opposition to the aims of American imperialism. The League of Nations does not offer a way out either. To turn the Tacna-Arica question over to the League of Nations would be to run from one enemy into the arms of another.

The All-America Anti-Imperialist League proposed some time ago that the Tacna-Arica affair be investigated by an impartial Latin American committee and finally arbitrated in accordance with the recommendations of the committee. Providing this plan proves acceptable, it is proposed that the investigating committee be named by the Union Latino Americana, the Federacion Regional Obrera Uruguaya, the Junta Ibero-Americana de Intelectuales and the All-America Anti-Imperialist League. We do not insist on the plan as proposed by us. The important thing is that some plan be adopted for settling the difficulties in the way of Chilean and Peruvian friendship, and that this be left exclusively in Latin American hands.

Latin America must stand as a unit. Division in our ranks only makes the tasks of our imperialist enemies lighter.

Latin America must repudiate every attempt of misguided, vacillating or corrupted elements to cooperate with the imperialist powers. Our only allies in the imperialist countries are the revolutionary sections of the exploited working class and the oppressed races — Negroes, etc.

Latin America must realise it is in a life and death struggle with the imperialistic United States. It must mobilize all its forces for this struggle.

### ALL-AMERICA ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

Cuban Secretary, Jorge A. Vivo  
 Porto Rican Secretary, J. Neryares Bager  
 Mexican Secretary, Salvador de la Plaza  
 Colombian Secretary, J. Espeleta  
 Venezuelan Secretary, Gustavo Machado  
 Peruvian Secretary, Luciano Castillo  
 Ecuadorian Secretary, Juan F. Karolys  
 Brazilian Secretary, Eduardo Mattos  
 United States Secretary, Manuel Gomez



## CHINA

### Advance of the Revolutionary Armies and Disintegration of the Reactionary Cliques.

By Tang Shin She.

During the past month the revolutionary armies in China have commenced a fresh advance against the reactionaries. The Canton government organised a great expedition to the North in order to drive out its opponents from the Yangtse district, and before all to annihilate Wu Pei Fu's headquarters in Hankow. They chose two routes: through the province of Kiangsi and through the province of Hunan. The provincial troops of Kiangsi and Hunan and also those of the neighbouring province of Kwei-chow, placed themselves under the command of the Canton government. At the same time the Kuomin armies in the North undertook a fresh attack against Shansi. They intend to penetrate through Honan to Shansi in order to unite there with the revolutionary Canton troops. The Kuomin armies have already captured North Shansi, by which the Peking-Chyuan railway from Nankov fell into their hands and which thereby secured their food supplies. But the revolutionary Canton troops, as well as the Kuomin armies must at present refrain from carrying out fierce attacks in order not to destroy the harvest. The decisive steps cannot be undertaken until the end of September.

The three chief leaders of the reactionary cliques are: Chang Tso Lin, Wu Pei Fu and Sun Chuan Fang. Although outwardly they appear to be allied with one another, they are fiercely quarrelling among themselves: Sun Chuan Fang is fiercely opposed to Wu Pei Fu, while the latter is opposed to Chang Tso Lin. They are fighting each other so fiercely that up to the present none of them has been capable of forming a government, which nevertheless is their greatest desire, as their masters, the imperialists, would then be very willing to grant them credits or to end the customs Conference with the result that they could again impose higher customs duties. It has already been reported that Wu Pei Fu, on the 1st of June, dismissed his chief support, General Chin Yuen Ngo. The reasons for this step have now become known: Wu Pei Fu had discovered that Chin Yuen Ngo had formed an alliance against him with Sun Chuan Fang and also with a portion of the Manchu troops. Such is the situation in the "Anti-Red" company with which the imperialists wish to entrust the rule over China.

But it is not only the chief leaders of the various reactionary cliques who are at loggerheads; the greatest disunity is to be seen even within every single clique. We see that Wu Pei Fu possesses no troops of his own, that his army consists of various elements, as, for example, the defeated second and third people's army and the treacherous troops of Chang Tso Lin. It is well known that these troops are thoroughly unreliable and will today support this ruler and tomorrow some other ruler.

As regards Chang Tso Lin, it has always been maintained that his clique is better organised than that of Sun Chuan Fang and Wu Pei Fu. This is no longer the case today. It is quite obvious that there are two different troops, the real Chang Tso Lin group, known as the Mukden army, and the Chang Tsung Chang and the Li Djin Lin group, known as the alliance troops. Originally Chang Tso Lin fought against both leaders of the alliance troops. Later on he allied himself with Chang Tsung Chang and both fought together against Li Djin Lin up to the dissolution of the latter's army. At present Chang Tso Lin is again at loggerheads with Chang Tsung Chang. He wishes to deprive a supporter of Chang Tsung Chang of the post of governor of Chili, and put in his place his son Chang Tso Niang. Nor is everything in order within the Mukden group. Chang Tso Lin is fighting there against the governors of the provinces of Kirin and Hailungkiang. There have been numerous mutinies on the part of his troops in Shantung, Chili and Manchuria, because the soldiers have not received any pay for a long time.

The lack of food and the high prices which have for long existed in their territories is causing considerable trouble to the reactionaries. Prices of food in these territories have, on the average, increased to five times that of the 1924 prices.

For this reason, in spite of the worst measures of terror, there has prevailed since the winter of last year a great wave of strikes in Manchuria and in the Yangtse district, and in particular in Shanghai. As result of the constant war and the disturbed conditions, and also because they have been deprived of their draught animals, the peasants have for long been unable to cultivate their land as previously. In addition to this, this year there prevails a terrible drought, especially in Manchuria, in Chili and in Shantung. As a result the situation at the end of the year will be even more serious than at present. In Canton, on the other hand, the economic situation, just like the political situation, is much more favourable than in the territories of the reactionaries. The crops last year were very good and a very favourable harvest it to be expected this year.

The financial situation in the territories of the counter-revolutionaries is likewise very bad. In the Yangtse district the cost of the upkeep of the army is met out of the revenue from the opium trade. In Shantung, Chili and Honan depreciated paper money is being employed. There has been inflation in Manchuria for two years. Last year the Manchurian dollar still possessed 50% of its nominal value; this year it only possesses 20%.

If we consider the situation of the three military rulers: Chang Tso Lin, Wu Pei Fu and Sun Chuan Fang from all sides: from the political, from the military, from the economic and from the financial side, the outlook is anything but rosy! Their masters, the imperialists, it is true, can supply them with money and arms to carry on war, but they cannot remove the whole economic crisis in the countries of their lackeys. As improvement of the whole situation in the territories of the military rulers is out of question, there are certain to be great disorders and disturbances in the Autumn of this year. The further advance of the revolutionary Canton troops and of the Kuomin armies can also be expected at this time.

## THE TRIAL OF RAKOSI AND COMRADES

### A New Crime is Being Prepared in Hungary.

By B. Smeral (Moscow).

In the first days of November of last year there was arrested in Budapest, the capital of White guardist Hungary, our comrade Rákosi. We were assembled together in Prague at the Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia when the telegram arrived conveying the news of Rákosi's arrest. I at once interrupted my report and conveyed to the Congress the news which had just come to hand. There was a minute of earnest silence. We live in the immediate neighbourhood of Hungary. We see the brutalities of the Horthy regime from the near distance. Every worker present at the Party Conference knew what Comrade Rákosi was threatened with. The telegram stated that he was to be brought before a military court which could only pronounce the death sentence.

I have rarely experienced such an elementary outburst of indignation as when, after a minute of earnest silence on the part of the Congress, the protest was raised against the preparation of the murder of Comrade Rákosi. When, on the following day, the fact of the arrest of Comrade Rákosi and the immediate danger of his being hung was made known through the newspapers to the broad public, the indignation and the excitement spread to the broadest sections of the workers. Protest meetings were immediately held in all the great towns. Along with us there protested the sympathising intellectuals, university professors and artists. The protest resolutions adopted were sent to the Hungarian Embassy, the buildings of which were protected from the demonstrations of the Prague workers by a cordon of police.

Owing to our nearness to Hungary the protest movement began with us. In two days, not only the Communist workers and advanced intellectuals, but all the class conscious workers in all Europe raised their protest. The protest movement also spread to America.

This elementary protest movement stayed the hand of the executioner which was already uplifted to commit murder. The trial began. Rákosi conducted himself before the military court like a hero. The cry of protest of the international proletariat

penetrated into the court. The judges did not dare to pronounce sentence. It was evident that they had come to realise what mood the announcement and carrying out of the death sentence would call forth in the vast Soviet Union. The proceedings were postponed. The hangman, who had been summoned to Budapest and had already set up a scaffold in the prison yard, was not called upon to complete his task.

The trial of Rákosi and his comrades which has just commenced, is not taking place before the military court, but before the civil court; but this time on a much broader political basis. The whole labour movement of Hungary which will not allow itself to be drawn into the service of the Horthy regime by the treachery of the social democratic leaders, is to be tried and sentenced along with Rákosi. The second Rákosi trial is intended to be a trial of the Communist Party of Hungary, but at the same time of the Independent Socialist Labour Party founded by Vagi. A new Crime is being prepared. Fresh protests are necessary: in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia, in Germany, in the Soviet Union, in the whole world. The danger is imminent! The sections of the Communist International will also now fulfil their duty.

## Rescue Rákosi and his Comrades!

### Appeal of the International Red Aid.

The Horthy government, which bestially murdered over 10,000 workers and peasants, interned over 20,000 in concentration camps, and caused sentences to be passed on over 80,000, is now continuing its bloody work by this new trial of 58 proletarians. Rákosi's case is now being connected with the trial of the Vagi group, who are accused of having made use of the Socialist Labour Party of Hungary, formed and led by them, as a cloak for communist propaganda. The crime of these workers consists in having, after the betrayal of the working class by the leaders of Social Democracy, created their own workers' party. The Horthy government is bringing against the Vagi group the cynical accusation, which is given special prominence in the indictment, that this group is carrying on opposition against the Social Democracy. By means of this trial the Hungarian government is paying the Social Democracy for its services and is honestly settling its account by persecuting the opponents of the latter within the working class — honest workers who can only be accused of criticising the corrupt leaders. The whole responsibility for the sentence of the court of the Hungarian Republic will rest equally upon the leaders of Hungarian Social Democracy as upon the Horthy-Bethlen government.

The Executive of the International Red Aid calls upon all workers in whom there exists the feeling of regard for the most elementary human rights, which are trodden under foot in fascist Hungary in the most monstrous and savage manner, to take part in the protest action against the Budapest comedy of justice. Raise your voices in defence of the victims! Stigmatise the shame of the handful of suppressors of the Hungarian workers! Social Democratic workers! Raise your voice of protest against the judgment against honest proletarians which is being organised by the Hungarian bourgeoisie with the direct support of the social democratic leaders! Rákosi and Vagi and Comrades must be snatched from the hands of the hangmen!

Moscow, July 9th 1926.

The Executive of the International Red Aid.

## The Hungarian Communists do not Defend Themselves before the Court — They Accuse!

### Chains and Starvation as Precursors of the Bloody Sentence.

The beginning of the Rákosi Trial is already casting the shadow of the sentence before it. The hangman of the Horthy regime in wig and gown perceives quite clearly the helplessness of the reactionary system in face of the approach of the revolution and in face of the unbending attitude of the heroes of the proletarian revolution. He realises that he cannot bend them, and is therefore trying to break their strong, unbroken revolutionary will. In this he has succeeded so little, that up to now he has been unable to induce those members of the Hungarian Communist Party who have worked in Hungary even to defend themselves against the accusations. They have declared as one man that they do not regard themselves as

the accused. They are the accusers, and declare in the face of the Hungarian ruling class: "You can do what you like with us, the Revolution will be victorious! Your dictatorship will give place to the revolutionary dictatorship of the Hungarian proletariat, which will be better organised than the first!"

They are the accusers who — in fulfilling the charge bequeathed by the soldiers of the Hungarian Red Army, who with weapons in hand shed their blood under the blows of international imperialism and who after the defeat were murdered wholesale — summon to a new civil war.

The answer to this heroic attitude is solitary confinement (in Hungary this means being chained hand and foot) and no food.

One can imagine what sentence will be pronounced by these hangmen if the pressure of the international proletariat is not exerted to the utmost in order to curb them.

For Rákosi and his comrades the judgment hall is a battle field for the class struggle: an armourer's workshop for the forging of weapons for the new proletarian revolution: the far-echoing tribune of the Communist International in a country in which the outspoken communist word is replied to with imprisonment, starvation, fetters and often with the gallows. The accusing, attacking, revolutionary language of the courageous heroes of the revolution must be reinforced by the loud protest of all the battalions of the international working class!

Protest against the class justice of the Horthy hangmen, who cause their victims to be loaded with chains and deprived of all food!

Rescue Rákosi and his heroic comrades from tortures during the trial and from the contemplated bloody sentence!

## THE MINERS' STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

### For the Convocation of the Anglo-Russian Committee!

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union to the General Council and to the Miners Federation of Great Britain.

Moscow, July 8th 1926.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union sent on July 3rd the following telegram to the Executive of the Miners Federation of Great Britain:

In connection with your message of July 1st which was received by the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, and the reply telegram of the General Secretary of the General Council Citrine on June 29th, the Central Council sent today the following telegram to the General Council:

In the name of the Presidium of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union I have to inform you of the following:

Your telegram of June 29th was received. The vagueness of our answer somewhat surprises us. It appears to us that the state of affairs demands a complete and clear presentation of the measures of relief for the miners, including the question of the convocation of the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Workers of the Soviet Union and also the entire international proletariat are following with eager sympathy and interest the continued struggle of the British miners. The conditions into which the struggle has brought the miners at present arouse fears as to the issue and the result of the struggle. The leaders of the British Miners sent on the 1st July the following communication to the Central Council of the trade unions of the Soviet Union:

"The English miners repeat their warmest thanks for the help which has been given and apply to you to send further help as soon as possible, as the government and the mine-owners are endeavouring by means of starvation to force us to surrender:

Smith, Richards, Richardson, Cook."

The bourgeois government which is undertaking the most energetic steps in order to throttle the struggle of the miners, does not even hesitate to threaten the Soviet Union and to make possible international complications. The leaders of the Amsterdam International, a considerable portion of the English trade unions and the international professional

organisations are carrying on a passive, and in many cases a treacherous policy in regard to the struggling miners. The lack of adequate support for the miners, the pressure of the government, of the mineowners and the whole bourgeoisie can lead to a defeat of the miners' struggle.

A defeat of the miners in England will seriously hit the whole international labour movement, and therefore places a heavy responsibility on all labour organisations which act from the class standpoint and stand for the unity of the international trade union movement. The workers of the whole world, and in the first place the workers of England, are interested in the victory of the English miners.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, inspired by the sincere desire to afford help to the English miners, and in fulfilment of their class duty of international solidarity, propose to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress the convocation of the Anglo-Russian Committee in order to discuss the question of giving help to the miners. The fight for the unity of the international trade union movement is to be carried on, not by words, but by acts which strengthen this unity. The result of the strike will to a great extent depend on the nature and the promptness of the necessary help for the struggling English miners.

It is urgently necessary to expedite the decision of the General Council regarding the convocation of the Anglo-Russian Committee, both in connection with the fight for the real unity of the international trade union movement and the successful struggle of the English miners.

With fraternal greetings

Dogadov, General Secretary of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union at the same time express the firm conviction that our proposal to convene the Anglo-Russian Committee for the purpose of increasing the relief action for the struggling miners completely coincides with the opinion of the leaders of the heroic struggle of the English miners. We have received a communication through representatives of the miners of the Soviet Union, which precisely proves the fact that the opinion expressed in our message to the General Council of June 28th and repeated in the above-quoted text of our telegram of today, is shared by the leaders of the British miners.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union declare with full conviction that the task of supporting the English miners is a duty of the entire international proletariat, in whose ranks the workers of the Soviet Union will do everything possible in order to defend the interests of the proletariat from the attacks of the capitalists and the bourgeois government who are protecting them.

Brotherly greetings,

Dogadov, Secretary.

## Increase of the Relief Action in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, July 9th 1926.

Today the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union issued an appeal to all members of trade unions in the Soviet Union in which it calls attention to the heroic struggle of the British miners which has already lasted ten weeks and to their increasing need. All the forces of the bourgeoisie and their state apparatus are proceeding in a firm united front against the English miners. The appeal further points out that at the same time the Amsterdam leaders, a considerable portion of the trade union leaders and the International Federations are conducting a passive and in many cases treacherous policy towards the struggling miners. The export of coal to England and the transport of coal in England are proceeding unhindered. The financial aid of the reformist trade unions for the miners is ridiculously small.

Immediate and large-scale help is necessary precisely at the present moment, when the mineowners and the government are endeavouring to break the front of the English miners, for inadequate help can lead to the defeat of the miners' struggle. The miners are defending not only their wages and their working day, they are defending the interests of the whole English wor-

king class and the interests of the workers of all countries. For the capitalists in the whole world are conducting an offensive against the working class. The defeat or victory of the British miners means the defeat or victory of the workers of the whole world. The working class of the Soviet Union has, since the beginning of the struggle helped the miners by deeds, and no threats on the part of Chamberlain and Churchill could prevent them from doing this.

The working class of the Soviet Union know what it is to fight against the capitalists and how much this struggle requires support, and the working class of the Soviet Union will help the British miners so long as the struggle lasts. The Central Council of the trade unions of the Soviet Union have remitted to the Miners Federation of Great Britain a further 370,000 roubles out of fresh sums which have come in and calls upon the working men and women of the Soviet Union to continue their contributions on behalf of the British miners. The Central Council of the trade unions of the Soviet Union especially call for support for the newly formed working women committees for relieving the families of the locked-out miners. The British miners must know that the proletariat of the Soviet Union will support them right up to the end.

Long live the fight and the struggle of the British miners!

Long live the brotherly alliance of the working class of the Soviet Union and Great Britain!

Reports of the bourgeois world press as to the alleged approaching stoppage of relief action in the Soviet Union for the British miners and regarding an alleged prohibition of contributions from wages on behalf of the locked-out miners, are provocative and infamous lies, which aim at creating confusion in the ranks of the fighting miners. There is not a particle of truth in these reports.

The relief action is being continued in all the Soviet Republics with unabated enthusiasm. Enthusiastic resolutions are being adopted in the workshop meetings to continue the deductions from wages for the miners during the whole course of the strike. In the next few days the artists trade union is arranging performances in all the theatres of the Soviet Union on behalf of the strike funds.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union have set up a working women's committee under the chairmanship of comrade Tichomirova for the purpose of conducting relief action for the families of the English miners.

## The Workers of the Soviet Union and the General Strike in England.

By K. I. P. (Moscow).

Even before the miners were locked out and before the proclamation of the general strike in England the workers of the Soviet Union were intensely interested in the events which were developing.

In April the local organisations of the Miners' Union of the Soviet Union brought up the question of assistance for the English miners. The central committee of the Ukrainian miners informed the central committee of the Soviet Union that they "considered it their fraternal duty to render assistance to the English miners in view of the approaching conflict". The Congress of Miners of the Far East telegraphed to the Central that the miners of the Far East were watching with keen interest from distant Siberia the heroic struggle of the English miners and send them their warmest fraternal wishes for success in the fight. The Central Committee of the Miners of the Soviet Union sent the Executive of the Miners Federation of Great Britain a telegram to the effect that the Miners Union of the Soviet Union were following with the greatest interest and sympathy the struggle of the English miners against a cut in wages and an increase in the length of the working day, and that the miners of the Soviet Union were prepared to help their English brothers in their severe struggle with all the means which lay in their power.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union telegraphed to the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress that all the affiliated organisations declared their proletarian solidarity with the fight of the English miners and were ready, if circumstances demanded, to fulfil to the very last their duty of rendering all-round brotherly help to the English miners.

And then came the memorable days of May. The news is received by wire concerning the unprecedented action of the English proletariat. The miners have rejected the coal owners' terms and are locked out. The General Council has declared a general strike in support of the miners. In addition to a million miners there are about four million workers of other trades on strike. All the resources of the English bourgeoisie with its powerful machinery of State are being mobilised against the workers.

The general strike in England grips the attention of the whole of Soviet Russia. The working masses eagerly await each fresh report which arrives from the fighting line in distant England. The affairs of the English workers are of the utmost importance to them, they are their affairs, too. The enemy of the English workers — the English bourgeoisie — is the common enemy. Did not the English bourgeoisie seriously molest Soviet Russia during the years of the civil war? Did they not support Koltchak, Denikin, Wrangel, Judenitch and all the White armies? Did they not ravage Archangel in the far North and Baku in the South and mow down the flower of the Russian proletariat? And are they not even to this day the very soul of all the machinations which the international bourgeoisie devise against the Soviet Union?

Throughout the Soviet Union there is a wave of impressive meetings at which the events in England are discussed with great eagerness. This wave extends to the smallest villages and the remotest corners of the Soviet Union.

#### Financial Aid.

On May 7th the Central Council of the trade unions of Soviet Russia appealed to all the workers in the Soviet Union to rally to the aid of the English proletariat and contribute a single quarter of a day's pay. The answer to this appeal developed into a magnificent demonstration of fraternal solidarity on the part of the workers of all nationalities in the mighty Soviet Country with the struggling English proletariat. The workers and employees without exception willingly made the sacrifice. One and all surrendered a quarter of a day's pay. In many works the workers and employees even went to the extent of resolving unanimously to contribute a half or the whole of a day's pay.

The conference of the representatives of 14,000 metal-workers at the "Profintern" Works in Bjeshitze, convened in connection with the general strike in England, resolved to contribute half a day's pay. Of the 36 textile enterprises in Moscow province ten concerns handed over half a day's pay, two factories a whole day's pay, two factories worked ten hours overtime and the remainder gave a quarter of a day's pay. The railwaymen at Tomsk surrendered a whole day's pay. Quite a number of mining-industry concerns in the Ukraine contributed a day's pay, while others gave a half day's pay. The Sergiyev-Works handed over a day's wages, as also did the miners of Stalingrad, the Spartak-Works in Jekaterinoslav, the saw-mills of Shoshino, the Glass-Works at Bolshe-Wishera in the Novgorod district etc. Numerous other works gave up a half day's pay.

In addition to these contributions from the trade unions there was a large accumulation of individual gifts sent to the newspapers and in connection with collecting sheets. Some contributions took the form of cigarette-cases, watches, rings etc. On June 27th the sums collected by the "Prawda" amounted to 74,958 roubles 86 copecks.

#### The Co-operative Societies.

Out of their funds the cooperative societies of the Soviet Union gave handsomely towards the collections. They furthermore endeavoured through their representative to get the International Cooperative Alliance to do something towards helping the miners during their struggle. But the Cooperative International, led as it is by petty bourgeois elements, refused even to bring the question up for discussion and advanced as an excuse the explanation that the Alliance is non-political and must, therefore, observe the strictest neutrality in compliance with its rules.

#### The Peasantry.

In the beginning the movement was confined to the towns and to the industrial districts, but later on the villages, too,

began to play a part. The peasantry did not remain aloof. For instance, the peasants of the village of Gamuna, an isolated spot away in the Ust-Kulomsk District of the autonomous province of Komi, organised a big meeting and collected money and produce from the individual farms. The agricultural labourers and the gardeners in the Astrachan Government arranged "Communist Saturdays" and handed over the proceeds to the English miners. The following letter was received by the "Pravda" from the peasants of the village of Polivanovska:

"When we heard over the wireless Comrade Lozovsky's broad cast account of the events in England, we discussed the situation and resolved to send a brotherly greeting to the English coal-miners and to collect for them what monetary help we could gather." ("Pravda", May 30.)

In Jasnaya-Polyana, after a report of the English events, the peasants collected 9 Pud (1 Pud equals 40 pounds) of wheat and one hundred eggs for the miners. The Local Committee of Komarinski sent the following gifts from the peasants to the Red Trade Union International: 6.43 roubles in cash and 8 pud 11 lbs of grain which was sold for 9.93 roubles, making a total of 16.36 roubles.

The whole country was swept by a movement to help the English workers in their hard fight.

#### Solidarity Measures of the Workers of the Soviet Union.

Immediately upon receipt of the call from the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union for help for the English workers, the Central Council of the water-transport workers and of the transport workers issued common instructions to the sailors and transport workers in the Soviet Union to refrain from loading with freight and fuel all ships bound directly for England or touching that country in the course of their voyages. Freight could leave for England only with the approval of and upon instructions from the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress — a fact which was communicated to the latter body by the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

In compliance with these instructions the water-transport workers and the transport workers ceased the loading and dispatching of all ships bound for England. The 5000-ton English steamer "Penrose" was held up in the harbour of Cherson and could not put to sea. The "Valette" and "Luminous" were kept in Batum and two English steamers were held up in Vladivostok. In addition, a number of steamers of other nationalities were prevented from continuing their voyages to England.

#### The General Council's Refusal of Help from the Workers of the Soviet Union.

It was made known on May 9, that the General Council — under the leadership of Right Wing leaders — had refused to accept the 2½ Million Roubles sent by the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

The refusal of brotherly proletarian help was a threatening symptom of the shortly following treason of the General Council against the interests of the English proletariat. This refusal was meant to demonstrate a conciliatory attitude by which the General Council wished to render homage to the English bourgeoisie. This refusal which although very polite in form was in fact an unheard of insolence, did not influence the movement among the millions of workers in Soviet Russia. They contributed their last copecks, not for the sake of the General Council, but for the sake of the great cause of the English and the international proletariat.

The Central Council of the Trades Unions of the Soviet Union, besides fulfilling the primary duty of proletarian solidarity, incurred special obligations through its agreement regarding the united front between the Trades Unions of Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and the establishment of an Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. The refusal on the part of the General Council to accept the offered assistance, could of course not release the Soviet Union Trades Unions from their proletarian duty towards English miners. Therefore the Central Council of Trades Unions in the Soviet Union decided to continue collecting for the English miners and to establish a special emergency fund for miners which, at the first appeal, should be placed at the disposal of the General Council or of the Miners' Federation.

This resolution was adopted on May 10, and a few days later the treason of the General Council became an accomplished fact. The General Council called off the general strike and thereby left the coal miners to their fate. The new situation thus created only strengthened the feeling of solidarity with the English miners among the working masses in the Soviet Union, and the collections for the miners are still increasing.

After the shameful treachery of the General Council, the miners continued their struggle alone. All the funds collected in the Soviet Union are sent to the British Miners' Federation which gratefully accepts this brotherly help.

Up to June 9, the English miners had received about £ 384,000, that is about 3,820,000 roubles from the workers of the Soviet Union.

#### **An Avalanche of Resolutions: "The Workers of the Soviet Union stand solid with you!"**

In the resolutions which were pouring in like avalanches from all parts of the Soviet Union, there was a continual reference to the debt which our workers have to pay to the English proletariat, which, through its fight, saved the young Soviet Republic in the years of intervention and especially in 1920, when Lloyd George tried to intervene in our war with Poland and to side with the Poles.

"We are in debt to you, but we will repay our debt a hundredfold" declared Comrade Ugarow at the Enlarged Plenum of the Leningrad Government Trades Union Council, amidst the loud applause of the entire audience. "We will not remain in debt to the British workers, who defended our interests during the time when the bourgeoisie endeavoured to suppress the October Revolution", stands in the resolution of the workers of the "Maslozentr" factory. The resolution of the workers and employees of the printing office "The Thought of the Printer" states: "We remember the days of civil war, when you, fellow workers, helped us by prohibiting the transport of weapons to the White Guards and the Entente troupes."

The news of the betrayal called forth deep indignation among the workers of the Soviet Union. At numerous meetings resolutions were passed which brand the treacherous leaders with shame. The workers and employees of the "Samolet" Works addressed themselves to the English workers and expressed the hope that "this lesson of treachery will serve you, as just such an example as Gapon and Subatow (provocateurs in the Russian Labour Movement) did us, and that later you will declare: "We have no leaders, they are leaders of the capitalists, but not ours." The workers and employees of the State Electric Light Works sent the following appeal to the English workers: "Clear out the Privy Councillors, MacDonald, Thomas and Co. who disgracefully suppress the strike and help to enslave still more the British proletariat." "With a lancet of English steel remove that malignant ulcer, the MacDonalds and Company" says an appeal of the workers of the Boring-Tools Factory "Wodo-Kanal".

The workers of the Soviet Union who have overthrown the capitalists and are building up a new life with their own hands, passionately wish to see the English workers efforts succeed, and they advise them to follow the example of the Russian October. They endeavour through their compactly worded resolutions to convey to the English workers their rich experience in the illegal fight against the Czarism and in the October Revolution. The working women of Krassnaja Pressnaja (part of the City of Moscow) are sending to the women mine workers and the miners' wives a flag which bears the following inscription: "We, the women workers of Krassnaja Pressnaja have proceeded to victory over the barricades of 1905. May your heroic struggle be a presage of the speedy victory of the working class over the capitalists." The workers and employees of Losowaya (Ukraine) declare: "The struggle of the English proletariat will unavoidably sooner or later turn into a struggle for power, because there is no other possible solution."

The workers of the glass factory of Bolsche-Wischera declare in their resolution: "We, the pupils of Lenin, know that only the General Strike, accompanied by an armed upheaval ensures the victory of the proletariat."

The Congress of the Miners of the Soviet Union describes in a short paragraph of its resolution the abyss which separates the capitalist world from the Soviet world:

"We, the miners of the Soviet Union, who, together with the entire working class of the Soviet Union, have overcome the capitalist order, have settled once for all with our mine owners by taking over the mines without compensation. The mines of the entire Soviet Union are the property of the workers of our country. The miners of the Soviet Union have practically shown that the mine owners are superfluous factors in mining work, that they are not only unnecessary, but hamper the national economy. We hope that through an energetic and determined struggle and the assistance of the workers of Great Britain and of the whole world, you will repulse the assault of capital and rid yourselves of your mine owners just as the miners of the Soviet Union have freed themselves from theirs."

The general slogan of all the resolutions is: "The workers of the Soviet Union stand solid with you. Your struggle is our struggle. Your victory is our victory, but your defeat is also ours."

On the occasion of the capitulation of the General Council, the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union — as is known — issued an appeal to the international proletariat, in which it gave an estimate of "Black Wednesday".

#### **The British Government and "Russian gold".**

The powerful and effective action of the proletariat of the Soviet Union has roused the fury of the English bourgeoisie. Its Press undertakes a furious agitation against the Soviet Union and raises a howl over the "Red Funds" sent from Moscow. Supported by "public opinion" which is artificially made by the magnates of the English Press, the Lords Rothermere, Weaverbrook and Berry, the English Conservative Government openly proceeds against the Soviet Union.

The first assault takes place in connection with a partial strike proclaimed in the ports of the Soviet Union. The British Mission in Moscow, in a verbal note to the Public Commissary for Foreign Affairs on May 26, asks for the reasons for the stoppage of loading up of English ships in the ports of the Soviet Union, as well as "what persons or organisations are responsible for this holding up, and what steps have been or will be taken to put an end to it". In its note in reply the Public Commissary for Foreign Affairs draws the attention of the British Mission to the fact, that "the law guarantees full freedom of strike to the workers of the Soviet Union, and that therefore the Government of the Soviet Union, which represents the power of the workers and peasants — owing to the very character of the Soviet power and the legislation of the Soviet Union — of course does not interfere with a strike of workers, organised by the Trade Unions, and especially not with sympathetic partial strikes, undertaken by seamen and transport workers in the ports of the Soviet Union.

The partial strike has not so much aroused the indignation of the English Lords as the substantial Red Aid for the miners, pouring in like a stream from the Soviet land. The "Daily Mail" and the other organs of the English bourgeoisie have raised a cry that these funds are not sent by the workers of the Soviet Union but by the Soviet Government itself from secret funds. The "Daily Mail" asks for a break off of diplomatic relations and the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Soviet Union. This paper has threatened the publication of documents which, it claims to have in its possession and which would prove that the money is sent to England by the Soviet Government. Comrade Dogadov, General Secretary of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, has, in answer to this, shown the ridiculousness of this assertion by producing an extract from the books of the Trade Unions and the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions.

In touching harmony with the yellow Press, the Ministers Birkenhead and the notorious "Jix" (Joynson Hicks) repeat these foolish accusations of the "Daily Mail" and menacingly shake their fists at the Soviet Government. The extreme conservative members of the English Government wish to break with the Soviet Union, but their less stiff-necked colleagues understand that a rupture with the Soviet Union would rouse the entire English working class, and have therefore called Birkenhead and "Jix" to order. The result was that the mountain gave birth to a mouse and that the short memorandum of June 12 of the English Government is, as the "Daily Mail" stated "curiously gentle".

### Hands off from the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

The memorandum of the English Government called forth an outburst of indignation among the broad working masses of the Soviet Union. This attempt at interference with the inner affairs of the Soviet Union in order to restrict the freedom of action of our Trade Unions encountered the resistance it deserved. The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union in its manifesto of June 16 to the workers of all countries, protests against the interference of the English Government and declares that "the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union have helped, are helping and will continue to help, the striking English Workers; for the cause of the English workers is our cause". Huge meetings are taking place in the whole country, and powerful demonstrations of protest are being organised, the slogan of which is: "Hands off the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union".

The Leningrad Trade Unions and the Provincial Trade Unions Council state in their resolution: "May the King, the Ministers and the Lords of bourgeois England know that the Soviet Union is not an English colony, and that the workers of Leningrad and of the Soviet Union are not colonial slaves of English capital, without protection or rights."

The workers of the Soviet Union have shown by their generous help to the English coal miners that the international proletarian revolution is not a mere empty phrase, but a real, vital struggle.

### What the Wives and Children of the Fighting English Miners Need.

By G. G. L. Alexander (Moscow).

In view of the reports from various localities as to the cessation of feeding of the miners' children by the school authorities, the appeals for collections in order to provide for the children of the miners become more and more urgent. But it is not only necessary to provide food for the children; there is also a lack of clothing and underlinen. The Women's Committee for the Relief of Miners' Wives and Children, 11, Tulton Street, London, has set up local committees which are engaged in the first place in the caring for mothers with newly-born children. A special fund has been set up for this purpose. The Committee appeals to all who are in a position to send baby linen, clothes and night dresses for the mothers, cloths, napkins, towels etc. Numerous letters have been sent to the Committee which bear witness to the terrible distress prevailing.

The strike plainly reveals to all the world the tremendous poverty and the low standard of living of the English miners. Their wages, after deducting rent, only suffice to purchase the poorest food: bread potatoes and margarine. Nothing is left over for clothes, underclothing, household utensils, etc. Under the pressure of this extreme misery the wives of the English miners are this time actively taking part in the fight, in fact they are showing the same determined resistance as the men.

A miner's wife wrote in a letter, which is typical of all those received by the Women's Committee:

"I am expecting a baby next month, and do not know what I shall do. We have only 17.6 d. to keep four of us and it will be my death if I have to go into the work-house."

In addition to hunger in the colliery districts there is the lack of clothing and of vitally necessary things.

It is therefore necessary, besides collections of money, to arrange collections of clothes and baby linen, and for this purpose also to arrange house to house collections, which usually bring in a good deal. Material collected should be made into articles of clothing in sewing circles. Such relief will be necessary for many weeks even after the struggle has come to an end, for the need, and before all the lack of clothing, does not vanish with the resumption of work.

It is best to send all collected things to the local collecting stations of the International Workers' Relief or direct to the "Women's Committee" for the Relief of Miners' Wives and Children, 11, Tulton Street, London, or the offices of the Miners Federation, 55 Russell Square, London, W. C. 1.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

### The Economic Situation in the Soviet Union in the First Half of the Economic Year 1925—1926 and the Measures taken by the Soviet Government.

#### Preliminary Remarks:

The documents reprinted here will be read with the greatest interest by all who wish to be informed as to the economic position of the Soviet Union. The bourgeois Press and the ultra-Left are spreading the most fantastic rumours as to the catastrophic position of Russian economics. Without presenting things in a too favourable light, but without exaggerating the difficulties, the resolutions of the Soviet of the People's Commissaries and of the Council for Labour and Defence give an exact picture of the real difficulties and of the measures which the Government has taken to remove them.

The way in which the Soviet Government tackles the questions of the economic life of the country is an excellent example of how the proletarian dictatorship renders it possible to regulate economic life in the interest of the workers themselves. The fact that the whole of large industry and the most important sections of all other branches of industry, transport, wholesale trade and the banks, are in the hands of the proletarian Government, makes it possible to recognise in good time and to regulate the fluctuations in economic affairs, under which the workers suffer so severely in capitalistic countries. That such fluctuations still exist in economic affairs and that some features of economic life are still beyond the control of the systematic intervention of the leading organs, is explained by the fact that the Soviet Union is still surrounded by a capitalist world economy and that our economic body itself is composed of several forms of economy pertaining to various stages of development, the most important of which, socialist State industry and agriculture in private hands are diametrically opposed to one another.

Though these documents make it clearly evident that the Soviet Union is still only on the way to socialism, they show on the other hand to what a degree the proletarian Government has already succeeded in introducing system into economics.

One of the most interesting examples of this is the policy of the Government in the question of the circulation of money (section I, § F of the document). The economic difficulties which arose through the plan for raising corn which had been drawn up for the previous economic year not being carried out, led to symptoms resembling inflation at the end of the winter; the Chervonetz fell a few points on the internal money-market. The proletarian Government knows from the experience of other countries how disastrous is any inflation for the workers in town and country. Consequently it devoted the whole of its attention to the immediate removal of these symptoms.

The symptoms of inflation in the Soviet Union resulted from the fact that, in consequence of the said circumstance, the quantity of goods did not increase as had been anticipated and in accordance with which expectation money had been put into circulation. This led to a disparity between the quantity of goods and the pecuniary resources. As a rapid increase of the goods in circulation was outside the bounds of possibility, the Government had to resort to restricting the money in circulation. The Government actually succeeded in carrying through this restriction in the second quarter of 1925-26 and in withdrawing 64 million roubles from circulation. In this way the symptoms of inflation were gradually removed and can to-day be regarded as overcome.

Where is the capitalist Government which even thinks of much less succeeds in removing symptoms of inflation in its country in so short a time, and that in the interest of the working strata of the population?

Each of the following measures of the Government gives us similar examples of how the proletarian Government is mastering the mighty mechanism of the economic life of the Soviet Union.

## Resolution of the Council of the People's Commissaries and of the Council for Labour and Defence.

### I.

On the basis of a survey of the economic position in the first half of the economic year 1925/26, and on the basis of the provisional data with regard to the economic position in April and May, the Council of the People's Commissaries and the Council for Labour and Defence state:

#### a) In the Domain of Industry.

In the domain of industry, the first half of the current economic year is characterised by a considerable increase of industrial production.

A summary of the economic plan for the whole State industry for 1925/26, confirmed by the Council for Labour and Defence on April 26th, 1926, has been carried out up to 50.1%; in the branch of heavy industry it was completed up to 44.6%, and in the branches of light industry up to 55% (in the cotton industry it was fulfilled by 58% of the programme for the year).

The month of April has shown a further increase of production by 3.3% as compared with March, the chief growth being in light industry.

On the basis of the data for the first six months, we can rely on the industrial plan, which has been confirmed, being fulfilled even without the supplementary import of textile goods, leather and raw materials, which was approved by the Soviet for Labour and Defence even beyond the original plan for export and import. If the supplementary import is carried out, uninterrupted work is guaranteed in the cotton and leather industries, and in this case it is possible that the programme laid down for these branches of industry will be to a certain extent exceeded, which in its turn will make it possible to enter the approaching corn season this year with a larger store than in 1924/25. But even if the supplementary import of raw materials for the textile and leather industries should prove impossible, the quantity of goods put on the market in the second half of the current year will, according to the data of the Supreme Soviet for National Economy, be higher by about 250 million roubles than the quantity of goods in the second half of 1924—1925.

In the course of the period reported upon, the stocks of fuel and raw material for industry have decreased. At the same time it may be observed that there is a superfluity of workers in a number of works as compared with the scheme. The process of a fall in the cost of production of industrial products has continued, but at a slower rate which does not correspond with the presuppositions of the scheme. In a number of enterprises a considerable increase of the cost of production (metallurgy) can be seen as compared with the plan.

The productivity of labour has increased in the past six months, but at a slower rate as compared with the first half of the past year and with the assumptions of the plan; this is to be explained by the accession of new cadres of unskilled workers, by the use of equipment which is getting more and more worn out and more and more technically out of date, and, finally, by deficiencies of organisation and administration in industry.

In the first six months of the year 1925/26, the accumulation of capital in industry was, on the whole, supported by the money and credit provided for in the Budget. The difficulties in carrying out the plan of capital outlay depended to a large degree on the difficulty of deriving the means for industry out of the turnover in the measure which had been provided for in the scheme for financing the work representing capital expenditure and also on the difficulty of distributing those means within the industry.

Further, the delay in receiving foreign equipment in accordance with the plan of importation inevitably made it impossible to carry out the plan of capital outlay arranged for in those branches of industry the building up of which was mainly dependent on imports. At the same time it became evident that supplementary capital outlay was necessary in other branches of industry (metal, coal, paper and electro-technical industries). On the other hand we have to record individual cases in which the capital outlay exceeded what had been planned (the trust of the Ivanovo-Wosnessensk, the sugar trust, chemical industry, coal etc.).

The short-term credits for industry provided for in the plan which had been agreed upon for the whole of industry and in the plan for capital outlay during the first six months, was on the whole carried through (a yearly increase of the indebtedness of industry to the banks to the amount of 390 million roubles had been provided for and, in the first six months, industry received about 165 million roubles in the form of short-period credits).

When we take into consideration that in this period, on the one hand industry had improved conditions for settling accounts with those with whom it entered into contracts, and on the other hand the current accounts of industry did not yield the increase expected, we must appreciate the fact that the amount of the short-period credits to industry mentioned satisfied its requirements during the first six months.

The financial difficulties which had set in in some branches of industry in the third quarter of the year, could not be removed completely and in good time by granting a sufficient increase of credit, because the money market was permanently in a tight condition and it was therefore necessary to restrict the bulk of money in the country.

The worsening of the financial position of industry which became evident at the beginning of the second half of the year, occasioned difficulties in carrying out both the plan of production and the plan for capital outlay and, in the turnover of industry, caused a further stoppage of excise and payments to the State from the profits, as well as a further fall of the current accounts of industry with the banks. In recent times there have been frequent cases of delay in the payment of wages.

The improving condition as regards the circulation of money ensures the possibility of carrying through in the future the plan for supplying industry with money and credit in accordance with the industrial schemes and the scheme for capital outlay, and also of beginning with it in the second half of the current economic year, in that industry will be compelled to hand over to the State Treasury all the money due to it from excise and profits.

#### b) In the Domain of Transport.

The condition and the work of railway transport in the first half of the year 1925/26 is characterised by a great increase of conveyance which exceeds that of last year by 75%. Thus the total amount carried in the current year is at present, according to estimates, about 7,200,000,000 poods as compared with 6,110,000,000 poods which were assumed in the estimate of the People's Commissary for Transport.

As the anticipated rate of increase of goods traffic was exceeded from the beginning of the current year, there was, in the second quarter, a noticeable lack of technical means on the railway with regard to the quantity of rolling stock, the capacity of certain sections and stations etc., which is further complicated by the circumstance that in the goods traffic there continues to be insufficient and irrational use of the technical means of transport and inadequate regulation of the stream of goods.

The increased goods traffic on the railways leads to an exhaustion of the working capacity of the railways and makes increased demands on the re-equipment, both of the permanent ways and of the rolling stock.

During the period reported on, the stocks of fuel have decreased on the railways just as in industry.

Towards the end of the six months, financial difficulties became apparent in transport because the amount of income on the railways, which just about corresponded with the assumptions of the estimate, only reached this level in consequence of a considerable increase of traffic, which on its part, demanded an outlay which was not provided for in the estimates.

In the second half of the year, the increase of railway tariffs arranged by the Council for Labour and Defence, which ensures an increase of income from the railways, offers on the whole the possibility of carrying out according to the Budget the enlarged programme of work while fulfilling the conditions laid down by the People's Commissary for transport (16 million roubles).

The temporary financial difficulties in transport are partly liquidated by the resolutions passed by the Council for Labour and Defence, while to a certain extent they require supplementary measures.

### c) In the Domain of Agriculture.

In the domain of agriculture the past six months are characterised by an appreciable growth in the production of goods, both with regard to quantity and value, along with a simultaneous reduction of the burden of taxation, which has led to a certain supplementary accumulation in farming and to an increased effective demand for goods.

The world economic situation and the relation of values within the country in the current year have proved to be unfavourable for agricultural production. Owing to the tendency to a decrease of world prices for agricultural products, the State was faced by the question of a technical reorganisation of agriculture in order to rationalise it still more and to reduce the cost of production. Nevertheless the process of the intensification of agriculture which already exists, though for the time being it is weak, is being continued in spite of the inadequate provision of machines for the villages which has become evident. There was revealed a general unpreparedness of the apparatus of the State and of the whole national economy of the country in respect to the export of agricultural products, especially as regards poultry and cattle bred in the country, as well as a technical and commercial unpreparedness in connection with the inadequate development of cold storage, warehouses etc.

### d) In the Domain of Commerce.

In the domain of commerce, the six months are characterised by a hunger for goods and by a considerable excess of effective demand over supply. The difference between wholesale and retail prices increased in the markets where there was a shortage of goods.

Apart from the insufficient production of industrial goods, the following must be regarded as the chief causes of this phenomenon:

- a) the costliness of the co-operative and State apparatus of trade which devours an important part of the accumulation;
- b) the excessive financing of the collection of corn in the second quarter of the previous year;
- c) the high prices of corn which increased the purchasing power of the village;
- d) the increase of consumption in private households.

The sudden increase of actual wages in the course of a short period during the autumn of the previous year together with an insufficient increase in the productivity of labour, had a great effect on the increased effective demand for goods in the towns, whilst at the same time there was a remarkable growth in the number of proletarians engaged in production.

In view of the satisfactory prospects for the harvest and a drop in the demand for goods on the part of the peasants due to the season the measures taken for regulating supply and demand and for controlling the traffic in goods have, at the present moment, produced a certain improvement in the outlook on the market; this improvement opens up justified hopes for a further increase in the course of the remaining months of the economic year, provided that the policy of regulating the turnover of goods is continued. The measures referred to are: the restriction of the expenditure side of the Budget in order to form a national reserve, a definite end being put to the issue of Chervonetz in the second and third quarters, the raising of means of credit from the turnover of goods, measures for organising the trade in corn, restriction of the amount of corn purchased, measures for enforcing economy in all national and industrial bodies, a campaign against excessive additional charges in retail trade etc. The prices of corn are falling almost throughout the country. The index figure of industrial goods in wholesale and retail trade also shows a tendency to fall in recent times.

On the Exchange there has been in the course of the six months a considerable increase of contract business accompanied by prepayment in cash on the part of the trade organisations which shows that they have large sums in ready money at their disposal.

The commercial practice in the past six months has once more most impressively confirmed the overburdening and parallelism in the commercial apparatus of the Soviet Union, both in the field of co-operative and of State trade, the high additional costs, the large number of hands through which the goods pass, the slowness of the turnover of goods and capital, the weakness of the systematic work in the field of commerce as well as the

bad and exaggerated rendering of reports. Thus it seems that our most important task during the coming period is that of rationalising the commercial apparatus.

The share of private capital in commerce both as regards buying operations and acting as agents for distribution has, while increasing absolutely decreased relatively (with the exception of the market in leather, raw materials and meat), the activity of speculation in the goods' market and especially in the currency market having at the same time augmented.

As a result of the rise of prices in the country during the first half of the year and of the simultaneous fall of world prices, some articles of export could only have been sold without profit or even at a loss, and a situation arose which was favourable for the import of certain goods.

The balance in foreign trade remained negative in the first half of 1925/26.

### e) In the Domain of the Budget.

In the process of carrying out the Budget it transpired that the income from the excise on corn-spirits and sugar was considerably less than had been provided for when the Budget was passed. Furthermore, the income of the National Treasury from the profits on industry was delayed. The higher income from other excise still fail to cover the reduced income from the articles mentioned.

These circumstances made it imperative to take special measures to ensure the income from the Budget in order to produce the National reserve provided for in the Budget.

### f) In the Domain of Money Circulation.

The bulk of money has increased in the six months by 61 million roubles (in the first quarter there was an increase of the bulk of money by 125 million roubles, in the second quarter it decreased by 64 million roubles), whilst there was a great increase in the quantity of goods which were turned over in the goods' traffic. Thus for instance the monthly quantity of industrial goods in the first half of 1925/26 was higher by 38% than the average monthly quantity of goods in 1924/25, the increase in the branches of light industry amounting to 40% as compared with the previous year.

In spite of this increase in the quantity of goods it was not possible to arrive at normal relations between the bulk of goods and of money in circulation because of the excessive activity of emission in the last quarter of the past year and the first quarter of the current year.

The index figures of the prices of goods increased in the last six months, the index figure of retail prices more than overtaking wholesale prices in their growth. Beginning with the end of April, the agricultural index figures, and in May both the agricultural and industrial index figures showed a tendency to sink.

## II.

Starting from the above estimation of the economic situation, the Council of the People's Commissaries and the Council for Labour and Defence resolve as follows:

### a) In the Domain of Industry.

1. The financial scheme of industry until the end of the economic year, must be built up on the basis of the following guiding lines:

- a) Security for undisturbed work in all branches of industry and for the prompt payment of wages.
- b) Security for the payment of the excise and levy on profits due from industry.
- c) Security for the investment on the part of industry of the sums fixed for capital outlay.
- d) The balance of credit must not be on the negative side for industry in the third quarter.

2. In view of the obvious impossibility of carrying out the plan for capital outlay in some branches of industry in the current year, and on the other hand in view of the urgent necessity of increasing the capital outlay in a number of other branches of industry (metal, paper, electro-technical and coal



industries) within the current year, the Supreme Council for National Economy is called upon to lay before the Council for Labour and Defence within a fortnight a draft for alterations in the plan for capital outlay which has already been passed, with the corollary that the total amount of expenditure shall not exceed the amount fixed in the plan which has already been passed.

3. As a binding instruction, the necessity should be pointed out of carrying through in the course of the remaining months of the present economic year the resolution of the Council for Labour and Defence of May 18th 1926 regarding the increase of the productivity of Labour.

4. It is demanded that the People's Commissary for Labour and the Supreme Council for National Economy should, within a fortnight, lay before the Council for Labour and Defence proposed measures for combating the loss of hours of work. The People's Commissaries for Labour must especially expound their views as to the necessary alterations in the practice of paying allowances from the Sickness Insurance Funds.

5. All bodies and undertakings of the State are strictly bound to see to it that all the available means of the corresponding economic bodies and undertakings should serve in the first place to ensure the punctual payment of wages.

#### b) In the Domain of Transport.

In view of the necessity of taking measures at once to prepare for the transport by rail and water in the autumn of 1926:

a) the State Bank is called upon to expound, within a week, its views as to the possibility of supplementary credits to the People's Commissaries for Transport for the purpose of carrying out the scheme of credit for the third quarter of the year.

b) in drawing up the scheme for the third quarter, the State Bank and the State Commission for Planned Economy (Gosplan) must take into consideration the necessity of granting short-period credits to the People's Commissaries for Transport for the same purpose, it being understood that the People's Commissaries for Transport will pay their debts at the end of the quarter in proportion to the increase of takings on the railways resulting from the raising of tariffs.

c) it is proposed that the People's Commissaries for Finance and the State Bank should, in the course of 1-2 weeks, lay down to the full the loan provided for economic reconstruction (5 millions) for the purpose of building new railways.

#### c) In the Domain of Commerce.

1. As the campaign for the reduction of retail prices is regarded as the most urgent of all the economic duties by which the State and economic bodies are faced in the remaining months of the economic year, the Central Inter-Departmental Commission for the reduction of retail prices is called upon to intensify its work and, within a week, to lay before the Council for Labour and Defence a system of measures directed towards the solution of this most urgent economic task.

2. It is regarded as essential that the granting of credit to Co-operatives by all banks, including the co-operative banks, should be made dependent on the actual achievements in the reduction of additional expenses and of retail prices and also on the successful work on the part of the members of the Co-operatives for bringing in profits to the advantage of the business.

3. The Centrosojus (Central Federation of the Co-operatives of the Soviet Union) and the Supreme Council for National Economy are in duty bound to present to the Council for Labour and Defence within a fortnight, their views as to the regulation and rationalisation of the network of both Co-operative and State trade, paying particular attention to the greatest possible economy and to the reduction of the total personnel employed in the apparatus of trade. It will be the duty of the People's Commissaries for Commerce to present to the Council for Labour and Defence their expert opinion on the draft scheme of the Supreme Council for National Economy and the Centrosojus.

4. The Centrosojus has to take all necessary measures to limit the number of paid members of the management as well as of the Commissions of Inspection of the lesser co-operatives.

5. The Centrosojus should expound its views as to the steps to be taken to combat the reselling of goods, and measures by which the members of the Co-operatives can be induced to advance money on security in order that the necessary goods may be delivered to them at reasonable prices.

6. The People's Commissaries for Commerce are enjoined to take measures for extending the practice of applying standard prices, to enquire into the possibility of introducing lists of retail prices for a number of new goods and to take measures for combating any infringement of these standard prices.

The People's Commissaries for Commerce have to lay their views before the Council for Labour and Defence within a fortnight.

The committee for standardisation is entrusted with the duty of discussing the possibility of extending the use of standard prices.

7. The People's Commissaries for Commerce and the Supreme Council for National Economy are called upon to lay before the Council for Labour and Defence their scheme for the introduction of industrial goods for the 4th quarter of the year, at the earliest possible moment.

8. The Supreme Council for National Economy and the People's Commissaries for Commerce are entrusted with the task of providing, within the scope of the scheme for the supply of industrial goods, beginning in July and August, in every possible way for the districts in which the purchase of corn begins to increase rapidly and of creating an emergency fund in case an additional supply of goods to these districts should prove necessary.

In the practical carrying out of the scheme of supply the greatest elasticity must be guaranteed in the way of timely consideration of changes in the market conditions in the different corn-growing districts, of acceleration of turnover and transport of goods.

#### d) In the Domain of the Budget, of Credit and of the Circulation of Money.

1. In carrying out the resolutions of the 2nd Congress of the Central Executive Committee of the 3rd Legislative period, the State institutions and undertakings are to be informed that no consideration will be given to requests for accumulation, reduction or respite in the payment of taxes and of other payments due from them to the National Treasury in the economic year 1925/26.

All State institutions and State bodies, on the personal responsibility of their leaders, are called upon to fulfil punctually and without reserve their obligations in respect of paying to the National Treasury the sums prescribed for them and provided for in the Budget.

It should be demanded of the People's Commissaries for Finance that they issue instructions to the local bodies in question with regard to carrying out a vigorous campaign for the liquidation of all arrears of taxation and other payments due to the National Treasury in the last quarter of the year.

2. In view of the slow inflow of national income from State industry and State trading, which is partly to be explained by the work of auditing the balances not being carried through to an end, the Supreme Council for National Economy and the People's Commissaries for Finance should be called upon to complete the work of auditing the accounts of October 1st 1925 by July 1st at latest.

3. A commission consisting of Comrades Rutsutak, Piatakov and Briuchanov is to be appointed to examine all accounts which fail to balance; they are to be instructed to examine summarily, not later than at the most within five days from the time the material which is laid before them, all irregularities already existing, and all which occur in the future. The resolutions of the Commission are to be regarded as final. For the balances of the undertakings under the control of the People's Commissaries

for Commerce, a commission consisting of Comrades Rutsutak, Schleifer and Briuchanov is to be responsible.

4. The managers of State undertakings should be bound to hand over to the National Treasury by, at the latest August 1st of this year, 75% of the share of the profits which they have to pay for the economic year 1925/26, and the other 25% by September 1st at the latest.

5. The People's Commissaries for Finance and the Supreme Council for National Economy should be called upon to examine within a week whether the terms for the payment of excise (for instance tobacco, matches, tea, cotton textiles, naphta, salt etc.) could not be shortened. In the case of differences of opinion, the question should be immediately laid before the Council for Labour and Defence for decision.

6. All State institutions and undertakings, including municipal and cooperatives ones, should be admonished to observe the laws in force as to the regulations concerning the storing up of sums of money and the People's Commissaries for Finance should be entrusted with the task of supervising that these regulations are inflexibly maintained.

7. The People's Commissaries for Finance of the Soviet Union should be called upon to take decisive steps for collecting arrears of the State income, the managers of State and cooperative undertakings, through whose fault arrears have accumulated, being, if necessary, made responsible to the administrative and legal authorities.

8. The People's Commissaries for Labour and the People's Commissaries for Finance of the Soviet Union should be instructed to fix terms for issuing the money for wages to the employees of State institutions, so that wages can be paid for the time worked.

9. The special Finance Committee should be instructed to examine the draft scheme laid before the People's Commissaries for Finance for the re-organisation of industrial taxation and, in particular the question of the possibility of altering the time allowed for the selection of patents with a view to fixing an earlier selection, beginning with the 4th quarter.

10. In view of the fact that the excise on corn-spirits and sugar is not paid, the Supreme Council for National Economy should be called upon to report at the next meeting of the Council for Labour and Defence on the measures necessary, both as regards corn-spirits and sugar, for guaranteeing punctual payment of the excise duties imposed.

The People's Commissaries for Finance should be called upon to observe strictly the resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union with regard to carrying out the outlay provided for in the Budget only in the measure of the actual receipt of income and in consideration of the necessity of forming a free reserve.

1. The policy with regard to the circulation of money must be directed towards maintaining and increasing the purchasing power of the Chervonetz within the country and towards the absolute maintenance of the gold parity of the Chervonetz. This point of view must be kept in mind in determining the total amount of money in any form which is in circulation.

12. All organs which take part in the composition of the Budget for the economic year 1926/27 should be instructed to provide, in the expenses side of the Budget, with regard to the institutions which appear in the State Budget, for a restriction of the total estimate for these institutions to an average amount of 10%.

These restrictions should be accompanied by the necessary measures in the direction of limiting the total number of persons employed, of improving their qualifications and the capacity of work of the whole apparatus, of maintaining net wages and increasing to the highest degree the responsibility of all managing officials in every branch of the apparatus.

### III. On the Figures for Control for the Coming Year.

The draft of instructions to all offices and organisations for compiling the control figures for the economic year 1926/27, presented by the Gosplan is accepted.

It is suggested to the Gosplan and all offices that the assumptions of the Gosplan for the economic year 1926/27

should only be regarded as provisional and informative and should be defined more precisely as the prospects of the harvest become clearer, and in conformity with the work of compiling comprehensive informative figures and economic schemes.

The Gosplan should be called upon to present the control figures of national economy for the economic year 1926/27, which have to be precisely defined, within the period laid down by the scheme of work of the Council for Labour and Defence which has already been confirmed.

Moscow, The Kremlin, June 28th, 1926.

The President of the Council of the People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union.

A. I. Rykov.

The Secretary of the Council of the People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union.

Gorbunov.

The Secretary of the Council for Labour and Defence.

Maximov.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Employees' International.

By L...ng.

The Amsterdam bureau of the International Federation of Clerical Commercial and Technical Employees publishes a report on the development of the Federation in 1925. According to this, the membership has risen from 625,000 at the beginning of the year to 725,000 at the end of the year (at the Federation Congress held last year, the membership was said to be 800,000). The members are distributed among 41 unions in 19 countries. Five unions, among them the German Foremen's Union with more than 100,000 members, joined the International in 1925. Two unions with only a small membership have resigned from it.

The German Free Employee's Trade Unions (four unions with 360,000 members) have the numerically largest share in the Federation. The second strongest group consists of the British unions (two unions with about 100,000 members). Then come seven Austrian unions with 89,000 members and eight Czechoslovakian unions with 64,000 members. Finally, the French, Belgian, Dutch, Scandinavian, Polish, Jugo-Slav, Rumanian, Hungarian and Spanish employees' trade unions belong to the International; numerically however they are very weak.

The International Federation of Clerical Commercial and Technical Employees is still a mere torso. It is limited to Europe and embraces only a minority of the employees. Thus for instance, the head organisation of the British Employee's Unions is outside the International, although a number of the unions affiliated to this leading organisation belong to the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress. The conditions of organisation in France are still worse.

In spite of all its efforts, the large Employees' Union of the Soviet Union has not yet succeeded in obtaining admission to the Federation. At the autumn Congress of the International mentioned above, Hallsworth (England) moved that the Employees' Union of the Soviet Union be admitted. The motion was not carried. On the contrary, a resolution was passed to the effect that the Employees' Union of the Soviet Union should not be admitted to the League until the leading organisation of the trade unions of the Soviet Union joined the Amsterdam International.

At the Congress, Smit, the Secretary of the Employees' International, was one of the most violent opponents to the admission of the Employees' Union of the Soviet Union. Since then he has to a certain extent modified his attitude. At the very important Conference of the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions, he, in common with Fimmen, Jacobson and the British trade unions, voted against Stenhuis' resolution which — appealing to the February resolution of the Committee — declined any preliminary conference with the trade unions of the Soviet Union and demanded that they should join the Amsterdam International

unconditionally. Smit was violently attacked because of his solidarity with Fimmen and the English, especially by Urban, the super-Reformist chief of the German Z. D. A.

As long as the Employees' Union of the Soviet Union does not belong to the Employees' International, it remains a torso, incapable of action.

The Employees' International has proved its incapability of action only too well in 1925. (The action of the Federation during the general strike of the British workers in May was also pitiful.) The strike of the French bank clerks in the summer of last year was in no way supported by the Federation to the extent that was necessary and possible. The autumn Congress passed all sorts of compromising resolutions which promised nothing. At the same time the situation of clerks in all capitalist countries is bad, and to a large extent wretched. What did the Federation do and what is it doing against the increasing offensive of capital? So far it has limited itself to publishing the results of a — badly conducted — inquiry into the hours of closing of shops in various countries. An inquiry into the Sunday rest and unemployment insurance is to follow.

On the other hand, the leaders of the employees' unions, especially the leaders of the German Afa Union, are concerning themselves with founding so-called trade union banks which differ in no way from purely capitalist banks. Thus for instance, the Social Democrat Bern Meier, Director of the German Labour Bank and the admired darling of all the Afa leaders, belongs to the Board of Directors of an American financial trust company, the foundation capital of which amounts to 17 million dollars. Other directors of this trust are: Green, the ultra-reactionary President of the American Federation of Labour, Schiff the banker, other large capitalists and intriguing politicians and — so that the comic element should not fail — Charlie Chaplin, the film star.

The International Federation of Clerical Commercial and Technical Employees will, as an organisation, not be worthy of respect nor capable of action until it understands how to win over the majority of the employees in all countries (not only in Europe), and to establish national and international trade union unity. It will however only be able to accomplish this when it abandons its Reformist and middle-class point of view and takes up its stand on the principle of the class struggle.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Situation of the Political Prisoners in Bulgaria.

By P. Z.

(Original Report from Sofia.)

In spite of the recent amnesty, hundreds of workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth and women remain in the prisons of Bulgaria. Fresh arrests are taking place every day.

We give the following figures as to the political prisoners in various district prisons:

At the end of April there were 122 political prisoners in Sofia (central prison), among them being seven who are condemned to death and 30 to imprisonment for life. In Widdin there were 24 political prisoners, in Tirnova 19 (including four women), in Russe 18, in Sewljevo 4, in Kustendil 10, in T. Parzardjik 78, in Wartzza 46, in Plowdiv 103, in Ilaskowe 54, in St. Zagora 25, in Plevna 7, in Lem 7, in Sehumen 38, in Varna 22, in Sliven 215 and in Burghas 20.

Exact data are lacking regarding a whole number of prisons. In all there are over 1000 political prisoners in the dungeons of Bulgaria.

The treatment of the political prisoners is very severe and in every respect unbearable. They are treated not as political prisoners, but, under the law for the "defence of the realm", as robbers and bandits, i. e. as common criminals. Even the prison regulations are more severe for the political prisoners than for criminals. Bullies, abuse, punishment and solitary confinement are their daily lot. The entire prison staff consists of spies and hangmen who have often attempted by means of provocation to carry out blood baths in the prisons. Thus twice already in the prison of Varna political prisoners have been

murdered by warders in this manner. Newspapers and books are prohibited. Prisoners sentenced to death are kept for months on end in solitary cells loaded with heavy chains.

The prisoners receive daily a piece of bread (900 grammes) and some soup, consisting of salt and water to which is added a little cabbage or a few beans. As, however, the soup is so loathsome and dirty, the prisoners only eat dry bread with water.

The prisoners do not get soap, tobacco or clothing. Neither are bed clothes provided. Most of the prisons are old Turkish fortresses or towers, without windows, thoroughly damp and dirty. No medical treatment is provided for the sick; they are not taken to the hospital, in case they might escape.

It is only in the last few weeks that the prisoners have been allowed to receive visits from their relatives, and even then only once a month at the most. The visit is only allowed to last 15 minutes and must take place in the presence of a warder.

The misery of the prisoners is terrible.

The sufferings of the great number of children, victims of the white terror, are likewise indescribable. Up to the last few weeks there have been continual cases of suicides on the part of mothers whose husbands have been imprisoned or beaten to death.

Great pains have been taken in order to organise collections. In the towns in particular steps were taken to collect money, clothing, food etc. The result has been very small. This is not due to the lack of solidarity and willingness to sacrifice, but before all is owing to objective reasons, the unprecedented unemployment. All revolutionary workers and employees have been thrown on to the streets. Collections are regarded as illegal activity and the collectors persecuted. In spite of this, the prisoners, particularly on holiday occasions, have been provided with better diet from outside, and by means of collections the money has been raised for various gifts for them such as tobacco, soap etc.

In the country considerable help has been given, especially by seasonal work (ploughing) being done free for the dependents of peasants, communists and members of the Peasants' League who have been killed or arrested.

The international proletariat which hitherto by its powerful demonstrations of solidarity has succeeded in preserving many imprisoned Bulgarian class brothers from the worst horrors, must, therefore, in view of the present situation, not slacken in the fight against the white terror in Bulgaria.

### Resolution of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on Practical Support of the Young Communist Leagues by the Communist Parties.

(Adopted on June 25, 1926.)

The Presidium declares that it is essential for the Communist Parties to give more support in general to the Young Communist Leagues and particularly to support them much more in their everyday work than has been hitherto the case. This is all the more necessary as the Social Democrats have of late made great efforts towards the strengthening and development of the already declining Social Democratic Youth movement (for instance the reorganisation of the Socialist working class youth in Austria under the leadership of Otto Bauer and with the participation of the trade unions, the recent effective support given by the "Vorwärts" to the S. A. J. of Germany, the active participation of the Amsterdam and the Second International in the Congress of the Young Socialist International). The following measures are particularly recommended by the Presidium:

#### I. With Respect to Organisation.

- 1) Formation of local Y.C.L. Groups wherever local C. P. groups exist.
- 2) Formation of Y.C.L. factory nuclei wherever C. P. factory nuclei exist.
- 3) Appointment of young Party members for work in the Y.C.L., particularly in weak local groups and factory nuclei, but also in other organs.
- 4) Exercise of special care when taking over Y.C.L. members into the Party, in order not to weaken the Y.C.L.

5) Practical support for the work of the district executives of the Y.C.L. through Party district executives.

6) Strict adherence to the rule concerning the dispatch of Party representatives into all the organs and committees of the Youth and vice versa. The representatives of the Party in the Youth organs are not only to "represent", but to collaborate in a practical manner.

7) Eventual formation of a special permanent commission in the C.C. of the Party, to watch and support Y.C.L. activity.

## II. Agitation and Propaganda.

1) The Y.C.I. and the C.I. are organising on the occasion of the XII. International Youth Day a joint recruiting campaign for the Young Communist Leagues to be carried on from August 23rd to September 6th. The Communist Parties are also to participate in the Youth Day demonstrations to be held in all the countries on September 5th under the slogans "Against the Imperialist War", "For the Soviet Union", "For the Demands of the Working Class Youth", etc.

To carry out this campaign the following measures are to be taken:

a) During the first week in August lectures are to be held in all the Party organisations on the history of the International Youth Day, the importance of the XII. International Youth Day, and on the role and tasks of the Young Communist movement. Speakers are to be provided by the Party as well as by the Y.C.L.

b) During the recruiting week preceding the Youth Day, public Youth meetings and processions organised by the Y.C.L. and the C.P. are to take place.

c) The recruiting campaign should be accompanied by sales of Communist Youth literature on a large scale. On this occasion the Party too, has to provide literature sellers.

d) Before and during the recruiting campaign youth supplements should be published in the Party press containing articles on the Youth Day, the recruiting campaign and the importance of the Y.C.L. for the Communist Youth.

e) Party members are to be instructed to carry on during the recruiting week individual agitation among the young working men and women of their factories and trade unions, and are to stand up for demands of the Young Communist Leagues.

f) The campaign should culminate in joint demonstrations on September 5th, in which the Parties must whole-heartedly participate. Apart from the political slogans the demonstrations are to be held also under the slogan: "Unity of adult and young workers in the struggle against capitalism."

g) The practical carrying out of the campaign on the part of the C.L. will be in the hands of the Agitprop Department, which is responsible for it and is to send circulars and instructions concerning it to the various Parties. The C.I. will issue later a manifesto together with the Y.C.L. Members of Pre-

sidium are to be induced to write articles for the Communist Parties on the Youth Day and the importance of the Young Communist Movement.

2) The Presidium of the C.I. and the various C.P.'s are to give practical help in the organisation of schools in the various Leagues for the training of a cadre of functionaries.

3) The Parties should allot several places to the youth in all their Party schools.

4) Youth questions and the activity of the Y.C.L. must be always fully dealt with in the Party press.

## III. Trade Union Work.

1) Support of the Y.C.L. campaign for the 100% organisation of the working class youth in the trade unions with full rights and reduced membership dues.

2) Support for the demands of the Y.C.L. in the trade unions.

3) It is essential to draw also young trade unionists into the oppositional minority movements in the trade unions. One of the most important means towards this is: encouraging the election of representatives of the trade union youth to the committees of the opposition movement.

4) Support of Y.C.L. demands for the young unemployed in the unemployed committees and trade unions and also support of the Y.C.L. agitation for the organisation of the young unemployed in the trade unions and on unemployed committees.

## IV. Anti-Militarist Work.

The present situation demands more than ever closer collaboration between the Y.C.L. and the C.P. on this field, and continuous energetic support by the C.P. for the activity of the Y.C.L.

## V. Workers' Children Movement.

1) There should be energetic support by the Communist Parties in the formation of Leagues or organisations of workers' children under the leadership of the Y.C.L. and also in the consolidation and extension of the existing organisations.

2) Special support of every kind for the periodical of the workers' children League which must of course be placed on a very broad basis.

## VI. Support of the Y. C. L. in Parliament, etc.

Hitherto, the questions and demands of the working class youth received but scanty attention from the Communist fractions in the municipal, provincial and national parliaments. Henceforth, this should be different and all Youth questions are to be energetically represented on this field and full support must be given to the Y.C.L. in its political, economic, anti-militarist and other activities.