

Bela Kun: After the Sentence in the Rakosi Trial.

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Birkenhead Follows MacDonald.

By M. N. Roy.

In reply to the interpellation of the Labour Lord Olivier, the Secretary of State for India, Birkenhead, declared in the Upper House of the British Parliament that his policy of repression in India is the continuation of the policy of MacDonald. It should be remembered that just before its fall the MacDonald Government authorised the British government of India to pass extraordinary laws in order to suppress the revolutionary movement. Acting on the authority of the democratic Labour Government the Indian police arrested seventy-two (72) leading nationalists in the Province of Bengal. Among the arrested men there were at least three members of legislature. The Chief Executive officer of the Municipality of the City of Calcutta was also among the victims. The arrests were made at the end of 1924. Since then all these men have been in prison. They were never tried. They have not even been informed as to why they were arrested. The government simply declared that they were suspected of relations with secret revolutionary organisations and "Bolshevik agents". The government was repeatedly challenged to prove their case before the Court;

but it refused. The prisoners went on hunger strikes without any relief. Many of them are today dangerously sick owing to the bad conditions they are kept in in the jails. One prisoner has recently committed suicide. This was MacDonald's parting gift to India.

Of late the repressive measures have been becoming still more severe. In the beginning of the year nineteen men were arrested in Calcutta in connection with the discovery of a so-called explosive factory (a room with a few bottles of chemicals) in a suburban town. Although it was revealed during the trial that provocateurs had played a great role in the whole affair, all the arrested men were heavily sentenced (five to life imprisonment and the rest to long terms of hard labour, five to fifteen years). While awaiting removal to the penal settlement (island in the Indian ocean — Indian Siberia) the prisoners were maltreated. The same police officer, who had employed agent provocateurs to produce the "explosive factory", was still busy endeavouring to extract statements from the prisoners which could be used to trap others. The

fellow while visiting the jail was beaten to death by some of the prisoners. All the men under such a heavy sentence were again tried for murder. Three were sentenced to death and eight to life-long imprisonment. This barbarous repression (more barbarous than the policy of a head for a head), Birkenhead declares is the continuation of MacDonald's policy; and he is right, because it was MacDonald who gave extraordinary powers to the Indian government to suppress the revolutionary movement.

The discovery of terrorist organisations, which serve as the pretext for intensifying repression, is largely thanks to the services of agent provocateurs. Since the collapse of the non-co-operation movement, the nationalist politics have moved steadily towards the right. This caused great dissatisfaction among the petty intellectual and student masses. Not finding an adequate political expression this revolutionary discontent naturally makes for underground organisation with a terrorist programme. But actual acts of terrorism are very few and far between. Arms and explosives can be secured with very great difficulty. Besides, the political crystallisation of a left wing inside the Swaraj Party and the National Congress has, of late, been a counter-attraction to the futile and unrealisable terrorist programme. Therefore, such brutal measures to suppress terrorist organisations are unwarranted. These measures are directed not against terrorist organisations, but against the entire nationalist movement.

The struggle for national freedom is entering a new stage. The depression which followed the collapse of the non-co-operation campaign is over. Signs of renewed activity are noticed on all sides. The organisation of a bourgeois bloc with the object of making a united front with imperialism to fight the revolutionary tendency in the nationalist movement is hastening the process of class demarkation inside the nationalist forces. The petty-bourgeoisie (particularly the revolutionary intellectuals) are freeing themselves from the deadening grip of bourgeois nationalism (constitutional agitation) on the one hand and from the reactionary cult of Gandhism on the other. The more they break away from the bourgeoisie, the closer they come to the masses. A strong left wing has grown inside the Swaraj Party which demands that the party activities should go beyond the legislative Councils and be devoted to the carrying out of the more important clauses of the party programme, namely, organisation of the workers and peasants. In one word, the nationalist petty bourgeoisie and the revolutionary intellectuals are seeking "the way to the masses".

In order to attract the masses the Swarajist programme included "village reconstruction" and "organisation of labour, industrial and agricultural". Of course, these points of the programme were never acted upon. Now the left opposition crystallises on the demand that these points should be acted upon. The left wing has grown so strong as to repudiate a pact that the leaders made with the right wing dissidents as regards the acceptance of office. That was an extraordinarily significant incident. In India the veneration for the leaders approaches medieval patriarchal concepts. The followers may grumble, but respect for the personality of the leader gains the better of political judgement. This was the secret of Gandhi's power and popularity. This being the case, it is an ominous sign when a pact solemnly signed by a number of the great leaders and sanctioned by the Mahatma himself is thrown into the scrap heap.

Soon after the repudiation of the act of the leaders committing the Swaraj Party to the policy of open compromise with imperialism, occurred another event even more startling. The president of the Bengal Provincial Conference declared that the "road to freedom lies through revolution". Besides, for the first time in the history of the Indian nationalist movement through him it was proclaimed from an official platform that "our object is to conquer complete national independence without any connection with the British Empire". This was a repudiation of the programme of self-government within the Empire propounded by all the leaders including Gandhi and Dass. The president of the Bengal Provincial Conference condemned terrorist activities on moral grounds. The Conference vehemently protested and obliged him to retract his statement.

These new developments in the nationalist movement naturally alarm imperialism. Repressive measures must be taken to head off these developments before they are too dangerous.

The left wing is attacked on the pretext of their relations with secret terrorist organisations and communist sympathy. This relation cannot be established unless there are terrorist organisations. Therefore, agent provocateurs are employed in hundreds to set-up "explosive factories" and trap discontented young men.

Another consideration dictates the policy of repression. The reforms granted in 1919 are due to be extended in 1928. A school of tory imperialists headed by Birkenhead and others advocate that instead of extending them, the Reforms should be withdrawn. They argue that representative institutions are not suitable for India; that the Indian people are not fit for self-government. They need the protection of a strong hand. In support of this argument the Hindu-Moslem riots have been fomented. Imperialist agents are busy in mobilising the reactionary Moslem opinions against democratic institutions on the plea that a democratic regime would place the Moslem minority under the tyranny of the Hindu majority. The existence of a wide spread revolutionary organisation will also be used as an argument against the extension of reforms. By fomenting the inter-communal and religious conflicts, discovering the existence (with the help of agent provocateurs) of wide spread terrorist societies and by enforcing repressive laws it is sought to create such a situation as would give the statutory commission the pretext to declare the country unfit for further reforms. Such is the sinister conspiracy to keep the Indian people under the Imperialist yoke. The conspiracy is so cold-blooded and its methods are so barbarous that some sections of the British Labour Party find that their democratic and liberal pretensions would be untenable if they did not protest. But the whole Labour Party is irretrievably compromised by the super-imperialist policy of the short-lived MacDonald Government. To any protest from the Labour members the tory imperialists can cynically reply that they are following MacDonald's policy!

THE TRIAL OF RAKOSI AND COMRADES

After the Sentence in the Rakosi Trial.

The Declaration of War of the C. P. of Hungary.

By Bela Kun (Moscow).

The Communist trial in Hungary is not ended. That which has taken place in the court in Budapest, including the total of 75 years imprisonment imposed on the accused, was only a preliminary. The Hungarian ruling classes themselves are aware of this. Comrades Rákosi, Weinberger, Gögös, Oery and Katharina Hámán, and along with them all the accused communists, have, in the name of the Communist Party of Hungary, declared open war on the Hungarian bourgeoisie. They have, in the name of the Communist Party of Hungary, proclaimed to the Hungarian bourgeoisie, Horthy and Bethlen and all their lackeys, that the Communist Party has, in the first phase of its further fight, made it its aim to break through the limits of illegality. This means that the Communist Party of Hungary — may the judgment declare a hundred times that the mere holding of communist opinions is punishable — will act. It will act in order to break through by the power of the masses the portcullis of illegality by means of which the white terror, after the overthrow of the Hungarian Socialist Republic, forced the Communist Party to the ground. Hitherto the Communist Party has only raised head, as best as it could, through the breaches in this portcullis. It will now endeavour to widen these breaches and then, in full armour, with open visor, at the head of the masses, take up the fight against that system of legalised white terror which is represented today, in the first place, no longer by Horthy, but by Count Bethlen.

The declaration of war on the bourgeoisie was at the same time a summons to the working class of the whole world and to its communist advance-guard. A message that, after the seven bitter years of white terror, the Party of the Communists has appeared, open and organised, at the head of the masses of the working class, even if, for the time being, only in the judgement hall.

This declaration of war was also at the same time a message to the Hungarian Social Democracy, which, at the cost of the most shameful treachery in the world, **exclusively enjoyed the monopoly of legality** after the overthrow of the Hungarian proletarian dictatorship. This trial has decisively broken through, **in two directions**, this monopoly gained by treachery and by denunciation of the revolutionary working class. First: the court was compelled — after the speech of Stefan Vági, who deserves the sympathy of all honest workers — to state in its judgement regarding the Party of the Left workers who are still vacillating to and fro, — the Hungarian Socialist Labour Party —, that this Party is a legal political party. Yet the Left socialist workers who are organised in this party, and of whom we cannot yet say whether they all understand that the only way of the class struggle is the way of revolution, or whether they will not be still misled by the various manoeuvres of the Social Democratic Party, will be wise not to have too great confidence in this judgement pronounced by the court regarding the legality of their Party. The bureaucracy of the Social Democratic Party have shown that they are capable of anything. The recent visit of the two social-democratic leaders, Peidl and Györki, to the representative of the Prime Minister immediately after the trial, shows that a new pact, similar to the old one, is being prepared, or is even already completed. There is not the least doubt that the Social Democratic Party, which in the first Pact undertook not to organise the land workers and railway workers, will endeavour to bring to an end "the toleration" by the government of the Left Socialist Labour Party.

Secondly: The fact that the Communist Party, supported by the sympathy of all sections of the Communist International, one can say by the sympathy of the working class and the most honest-minded intellectuals of the whole world, could expose the Horthy-Bethlen regime and one of the active and passive main supports of this regime — the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, before the great public, means the breaking down of the monopoly of the Social Democratic Party. The open declaration of war of the Communists after the first phase of the proceedings marked the conclusion of this exposure. The Communist Party of Hungary has hitherto carried on the organising of the struggle underground. It did not have the opportunity of making its declaration of war before a big public. This declaration of war now pledges the Party before the entire Communist International. It pledges it to uninterrupted work and struggle in the spirit of Bolshevism, not only to win the majority of the masses of the industrial and rural proletariat — we already undoubtedly possess the sympathy of these sections to a very considerable extent — but also to organise these masses in order that they also will be capable of leading those masses of the peasantry who are waiting for this lead.

The Hungarian Social Democracy has brought the Hungarian trade union movement to the edge of the abyss. Even in the worst times of the white terror there still remained, of the nearly one and a half million organised workers under the dictatorship, about 450,000 trade union members. After the Pact of the social-democratic leaders with Bethlen the Left workers, who however had not yet arrived at revolutionary class consciousness, abandoned with loathing the one time so prominent fighting organisations now led by traitors. The Communist Party of Hungary will know how to convert into organisations for fresh struggles these fighting organisations which are now lying prone. The trade union of the landworkers, which alone at the time of the dictatorship numbered 750,000 members, today has not more than 1000 to 1500 members. Before the harvest this year there wandered from village to village, led to a great extent by their class instinct, rural workers' agitators, and over the plains of Hungary there appeared the spectre of a strike of the harvest workers. Here and there the land workers have already succeeded in conducting successful wages struggles. The Communist Party of Hungary will know how, in the near future, to divert the stream of these movements into the dried up river-bed of the land workers' union.

In spite of all the faults which we have committed in the peasants' question, the small-holding section of the peasantry already clearly perceive the necessity of an alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The Communist Party of Hungary will know how to raise the consciousness of the necessity of this alliance to the level of the hegemony of the proletariat.

The fragments of the democratic parties of the petty bourgeoisie, the majority of whom are demanding the restoration of the Habsburgs and allow themselves to be led by the nose by the legitimists, have now united. They have thereby finally abandoned the demand of democracy and of the Republic and glided into the backwater of a sober Liberalism, with Horthy at the head, capable of taking over the government. The Communist Party of Hungary will also be able to show the petty bourgeois masses that the question of fighting for the so-called democratic rights and liberties is bound up with the question of legalising the Communist Party.

The declaration of war will be followed by an increase in the struggle. The Communists, in their fight, will take fully into account the present realities, but will nevertheless carry on this fight inexorably, with determination and revolutionary will. There is no sacrifice — except any sacrifice of principle, even if it be the slightest — which the Hungarian communists would consider too great when it is a question of organising and bringing together that sympathy and that confidence which the industrial and the rural working class and the peasantry have shown towards them.

No matter what the answer may be to the declaration of war, no matter how the bourgeoisie may persecute the Communists, the Communist Party of Hungary has confidence in the growing consciousness and in the power of the Hungarian working class; it is also confident that, even under the further persecutions, not a single honest class-conscious worker will forget the message to the proletariat of the world which was proclaimed in the judgement hall simultaneously with the declaration of war on the bourgeoisie — the message that the Communist Party of Hungary is alive and is at work.

The Shameful Sentence in the Budapest Trial.

By Willi Münzenberg.

Comrade Münzenberg was staying in Budapest during the last days of the Rákosi Trial. Ed.

The verdict and sentences that were pronounced on Wednesday the 4th inst. in the Rákosi trial have called forth the greatest surprise among the general public, which has followed the trial with the greatest interest.

During my stay in Budapest I had the opportunity of speaking with several bourgeois journalists and with the defenders and also with the accused themselves. Their unanimous opinion as to the result of the trial was: Acquittal for all the accused belonging to the Vági Party, and mild imprisonment for some months, or at the most a few years for the accused communists. The monstrously severe and quite unjustified sentence of the criminal court aroused, therefore, all the greater surprise.

What were the reasons which led public opinion to assume that the court would decide on acquittal or on quite mild sentences?

There were, in the first place, two reasons which gave rise to this assumption in Budapest. On the one hand there existed not the least doubt among those directly involved, and also among the Budapest public, that the legal farce of a "normal trial" was nothing more than a piece of camouflage in view of the international protest movement. All Budapest was, and still is convinced that the trial of Rákosi was instigated by the government itself. The government, which, when it proceeded to bring Rákosi and the other accused before the Special Court, was compelled to give way before the the spontaneous outburst of the international protest movement, has now attempted to take revenge. I was repeatedly informed from several quarters that the Minister of Justice followed with the greatest attention the daily proceedings and every day gave his instructions to the court. The result of the trial shows that the Hungarian government is still continuing its reactionary anti-labour policy.

It was a political trial instigated by the Hungarian government and having as its object to strangle the Communist move-

ment and the Left socialist movement. This would have led one to assume beforehand that the sentences would be particularly severe. But on the other hand, the opinion generally prevailing in Budapest was that Hungary is now faced with a "twilight of the gods". The home and foreign policy of the Bethlen government, which is defended by Horthy, has proved bankrupt. The economic difficulties are increasing. One industrial collapse follows the other. The epidemic of suicides in Hungary, which in recent times has demanded hundreds, in fact thousands of victims, particularly among the workers, employees and officials, has now recently broken out even among leaders of industry. In one night during my stay in Budapest, three well-known Hungarian captains of industry, among them being the well-known "Bean-king", ended their lives by suicide. Dozens of other leading men in Hungarian industry — factory-owners, grain dealers, bank directors — have in recent times committed suicide.

In addition to the economic difficulties there are the difficulties in foreign and domestic politics. The prospect of developing under the protection of one of the great Powers is continually diminishing. Along with this there is proceeding a rapid revolutionising of the Hungarian working class. The Vági Party which, although it is formally legal, is prevented from issuing newspapers, or holding meetings, today numbers 30,000 members.

The trial of Rákosi and his comrades, the object of which was to throttle the Left movement, has had the exact contrary effect. The Rákosi trial has furthered the revolutionary movement in Hungary in a most unexpected manner.

All these phenomena have had as a result that serious political circle in Budapest are reckoning on a change in the government policy, with a stronger tendency to an Eastern orientation in foreign politics and with certain, even if insignificant, liberal concessions at home.

Everybody was convinced that the government, which is now beginning, even if hesitatingly and tentatively, to make a new orientation according to these principles, would emphasise this its intention by mild sentences in the Rákosi trial.

Another reason for this view was the fact that the examinations of the accused by the police, which were carried on for many months with the most brutal and barbarous means and the most cruel tortures, were absolutely without result. Neither the prolonged, nerve-racking imprisonment during examination, nor the court proceedings which lasted for several weeks, have produced an atom of evidence as to any crimes intended, let alone committed, by either one or more of the accused.

In order to appreciate fully and entirely the sentence, one must compare it, not with that with which the accused were threatened at the time of their arrest, by a criminal attempt of fascist circles, but one must compare the sentence with the results of the investigations carried out against the accused.

We repeat, neither the preliminary investigation nor the court proceedings have produced a shadow of evidence of any "crime" or "misdemeanour" committed by the accused.

What were the reasons given for the arrest of the accused?

The government declared that they had found traces of communist conspiracies, aiming at re-establishing the soviet dictatorship by means of armed force. The accused were alleged to have formed terrorist groups and to have stores of weapons at their disposal. In short, the Hungarian government, by their reports, created the impression that Bela Kun, along with thousands of heavily-armed communists, were at the very gates of Budapest. As against all this even the Public Prosecutor was obliged to declare, and the court in pronouncing judgement confirmed it, that no evidence could be produced to show that the accused had prepared an armed revolt. The judgement openly and cynically states: The accused have not committed any crime or misdemeanour, but they are communists, and therefore they must be condemned. The judgement does not even state that the accused had carried on communist activity, but is based solely and exclusively on the fact that the accused held certain opinions. The accused were only condemned on account of their political opinions; and for this reason Rákosi is to languish in prison for 5 1/2 years. An unheard-of judgement, that must not be tolerated under circumstances, but must be quashed.

If already before the pronouncement of the sentence millions of workers protested and thousands of the most prominent in-

tellectuals in Europe and in the world expressed to the Hungarian government their horror and revolt at the way the proceedings were being conducted, then this wave of protest must, after the pronouncement of this scandalous judgement, develop into a storm which shall sweep away the shameful judges and those who are behind them and restore the prisoners to freedom.

Special Telegraphic Reports to the "Inprecorr".

Twelfth Day of Proceedings (Continued).

Budapest, July 28, 1926.

In the second part of his speech Dr. Lengyel deals with those arguments of the Public Prosecutor which were intended to prove that the action of Rákosi and Vági, though not directly preparative of immediate armed rebellion was still directed towards an armed revolt. The Public Prosecutor bases the whole of his accusation upon statements made to the police and upon confidential reports. The amount of weight which can be given to police examination was illustrated by the defending counsel by means of a typical case. Karl Visny, a very doubtful character, was not only commissioned by the police to create secret connections between the Vági-Party and Moscow, but also to collect Communist moneys in Vienna and in Moscow, and in this manner to fabricate as agent provocateur proofs for the police. Amidst great excitement, the defending counsel, Dr. Lengyel, read the protocol of the case and also the judgement against Visny, whereby Visny's role as agent provocateur is proved by documentary evidence. He further refers to Samuel's work as agent provocateur and also to the methods by which the police extorted statements from the accused. Under such circumstances no value as evidence can be attached to any part of the material elicited during the examination.

Dr. Lengyel then read the sworn protocol of the former People's Commissioner, Josef Haubrich, which was sent from Moscow and in which Haubrich states that he has exact knowledge that the Rumanian troops were called into the country by the Friedrich-Government. Whatever one's opinion about the Dictatorship of the Proletariat may be, so much is certain, namely, that it fought against Rumania. Under such circumstances it shows great ill-will to stigmatise the Communists in this old-hand manner as national traitors.

The defending counsel objected vigorously to the tone in which the Public Prosecutor spoke of the accused. The accused have possibly chosen a wrong path; it is eminently clear, however, that they are altruistic idealists. Revolution cannot be avoided by wildly upbraiding the accused, but only by proper Government measures towards an improvement of the position of the masses. The whole world is diseased and the spectre of revolution menaces everywhere. The workers and the middle-class of Hungary are living in extreme misery. Is the remedy to be found in the depreciatory tirades of the prosecuting counsel or, rather, in wise measures taken on the part of the Government? The holding of opinions cannot be punished by law, and the Public Prosecutor has not yet succeeded in bringing home to the accused a single action in contravention of the paragraphs cited.

The defending counsel, Dr. Lengyel, protests against the tendency to have Hungary, as represented in this court, become the prison-warder of the world, instead of giving a legally founded judgement. The Public Prosecutor is unable to advance any really damaging evidence and he, therefore, drags before the court all the Communist parties, Soviet Russia, Socialism and the whole Labour movement.

In contradistinction to the invective phrases of the Public Prosecutor, Dr. Lengyel, at the conclusion of his speech, quotes the words of the great Hungarian poet, Emerich Madach: "Fight, man, and be steadfast in your faith!" And he addresses these words not only to the Public Prosecutor, and not only to the court, but also to the accused.

The other defending counsel will speak to-morrow.

Thirteenth Day of the Proceedings.

Budapest, July 29, 1926.

At to-day's sitting of the court, four defending counsel delivered their speeches, partly on behalf of the Communists and partly on behalf of the members of the Socialist Labour Party.

Dr. Akusius Györy pointed out the absurdity of the Public Prosecutor's suggestion that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Hungary was responsible for the Peace of Trianon and for the misery now prevailing in the country. The greatest horror in the history of the world, the world-war, was accountable, not only for the privation in Hungary and in the other defeated States, but also for the misery in the victor States. The fact that under such circumstances a political movement should arise to proclaim the collapse of Capitalism and to advocate a new order of society in place of the old one, is an easily comprehensible one. The accused Communists have done nothing more than make this announcement, propagate their remedy and found a party on its basis. There is no justification for refusing legality to the Communist Party on the ground that there was at one time a Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Hungary, for this regime was the necessary outcome of the reactionary regime which preceded it.

There is no proof that the accused members of the Socialist Labour Party are Communists and that they have been connected with the Communists. The defending counsel, Dr. Györy, made a vigorous attack upon the methods of examination employed by the police and protested against the taking of a single word of this information as evidence.

Counsel for the defence, Dr. Desider Kolimann, showed on the basis of the declaration of principles and of the programme of action of the Socialist Labour Party that the party is not a Communist party, and that the members were consequently not liable under the Law for the Protection of the State. The agrarian programme of the Socialist Labour Party provides for a solution of the land question in agriculturally feudal Hungary in the sense of the revolution of '48. It is a welcome fact that there is a party desirous of regulating the land question in the sense of '48. The agrarian conditions in Hungary are insufferable. Hungary is on the brink of an agrarian revolution. Under such circumstances can one condemn as revolutionary a land programme providing for the sequestration against State indemnity of all property in land exceeding 100 joch (about 107 acres), and this land policy is the chief principle of the Socialist Labour Party. It is incompatible with the conception of State order that people can be punished for the propagation of an idea. Even propaganda for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not come under the provisions of the Law for the Protection of the State. The Protectors of the Race make open propaganda for dictatorship and there is not a court in Hungary that would condemn them for this propaganda; indeed, a number of judges in the country support this propaganda.

(The Public Prosecutor, Dr. Miskolczy, rises excitedly.) The President calls the defending counsel to order.

The defending counsel, Dr. Andor Domokus, proves that the court in this case is really defending the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary. The Social-Democratic Party everywhere stands on the basis of the class struggle and proclaims the abolition of private property. If their practice deviates now and then from these principles, it is, nevertheless, absolutely inadmissible to differentiate between Socialists and Socialists in the criminal court. The juridical quintessence of the whole matter is that Vági is being prosecuted on account of his resignation from the Social Democratic Party. Vági withdrew from the Social Democratic Party because of a pact between the leaders of Social Democracy and the Government, which pact is objectionable even from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, for the Social Democrats bind themselves under this agreement to do their utmost to weaken bourgeois Democracy and thus render possible the absolute rule of reaction. The fact that the Socialist Labour Party is a labour party and that this Party desires to help the peasants to procure land cannot serve morally or juridically as ground for prosecution.

The defending counsel, Dr. Alexander Bárdoly, reads to the court the poems of the accused, Paul Juhász, which clearly reveal his idealistic convictions. Juhász earned his living by hard work, and the defending counsel protests energetically against the

prosecuting counsels' aspersions against Juhász and the other accused. The court cannot pass a legal judgement upon the theory of Socialism.

Neither participation in a course nor yet in a congress can be regarded as action punishable under any paragraph of the Hungarian penal law, and least of all, under a paragraph the deciding criterion of which is recourse to violence.

The other defending counsel will speak to-morrow. Afterwards the accused will open their personal defence.

Fourteenth Day of Proceedings.

Budapest, July 30th, 1926.

At to-day's sitting of the Court all the defending counsel spoke.

The defending counsel, Dr. Heinrich Vámos, argued with the prosecuting counsel and expressed the opinion that it was a queer sort of Nationalism that with the assistance of Rumania, perpetrated the worst of horrors in Transdanubia. At that time every Jew was treated as a Bolshevik; now the endeavour is to stigmatise as Bolshevism every political tendency to the left of Social Democracy. This illustrates no great certainty of purpose, as also does the fact that, for fear of Bolshevism, no relations are entered into with Soviet Russia, although such relations would be of vital importance to Hungary. The Public Prosecutor has probably learned during this case that heavy punishments in this matter do not act as deterrents, for several of the accused have declared that they have become Communists during their imprisonment.

Defending Counsel Dr. Geza Admeto points out that 55 accused have been put into the dock and that the Public Prosecutor has failed to bring a single concrete proof against any one of them.

The defending Counsel, Dr. Josef Révész, Dr. Nikolaus Timár and Dr. Emerich Bárd, have still to speak.

In the course of his utterances, Dr. Révész states that Prime Minister Bethlen's announcement that he is considering a change of attitude towards Soviet Russia and that recognition is to be granted presently may be regarded as the proper rejoinder to the Public Prosecutor's defamatory speeches against Soviet Russia. This gives the coup de grace to the main ground of accusation, viz. that propaganda for the recognition of Soviet Russia and for relations with Soviet Russia is high treason.

Dr. Timár contends that, as Hungary has surrounded itself by a sort of Chinese wall, as the works of Marx are banned, as the writings of Brandes and the Hungarian classic, Kazinczy, are confiscated, it is not surprising that those who are eager to learn now attend foreign courses; and attendance at these courses cannot under such circumstances be regarded as a punishable offence.

Dr. Emerich Bárd maintains that, in view of the appalling misery prevailing in Hungary at the present day it is not at all surprising that extremist political tendencies crop up. The defending counsel, without exception, insist that as no concrete proof is forthcoming the accused must be acquitted.

Comrade Mathias Rákosi will speak to-morrow.

Fifteenth Day of Proceedings.

Budapest, 31st July 1926.

Today there spoke Comrades Rákosi, Oery, Gögös and Haman. Before comrade Rákosi commenced his speech the President pointed out to him that he did not wish to restrict him in his liberty to speak, but that he must be brief.

Comrade Rákosi gave in his speech a broad analysis of the present situation in Hungary. He tore to pieces and refuted with sober facts the speech of the Public Prosecutor. Unfortunately he was only able to deliver a part of his speech. The President put the closure on him in the middle of his speech.

Comrade Rákosi

stated:

The Public Prosecutor considers the existing social order in Hungary as the Ideal, that must be defended with fire and sword. In this bourgeois society he sees the surest basis for culture and the condition for the further advancement of humanity. What is the actual state of affairs? In Hungary a few

thousand big capitalists and big landowners exploit the rest of the population numbering eight million. Exploitation and suppression also prevails in other countries where the means of production are likewise the property of those who do not work. But nowhere is this so shamefully carried on as in Hungary. Capitalism in the old world is declining, is going backwards, ever backwards. Nowhere is there any progress to be seen. Everywhere there is dissolution and collapse. But in no country is this so striking as in Hungary where we are sinking from day to day with terrifying speed into misery, poverty and lack of culture. Is this society to be our ideal? No, the working people will have nothing to do with that.

The Public Prosecutor demands that we be severely punished because we wished to deliver a blow at the happiness of millions. But where are the millions of bourgeois people whom the Public Prosecutor wishes to protect and in whose name he stands here before the court? In Hungary there are scarcely 10,000 land owners, 2000 factory owners, employers and big business people, about 2000 to 3000 smugglers, profiteers and speculators whom we can designate as bourgeois. That is at the highest, 15,000 to 20,000 persons. The present regime is nothing else than the dictatorship of a few thousand exploiters over the millions of working people. When, on the other hand, the Public Prosecutor views the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, then he must see that by this dictatorship there has been realised true democracy, the democracy of the workers. Lenin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union set up the dictatorship and the Soviet power based on the will of the majority of the population. This is the real, the true democracy. The Public Prosecutor has no need to defend human culture against this rule, which has abolished illiteracy, which guarantees to the workers the sure advance to well-being and has given land to the peasants. This regime creates the real foundation for the progress and for the culture of humanity.

The Public Prosecutor adorns patriotism with a halo and abuses internationalism. There is only one sound patriotism and only one sound internationalism, namely, that which secures for the workers a decent existence and freedom and culture. In Hungary, patriotism is an insurance for the ruling class, which it is not even attempted to conceal. The People and the Nation here have always been two different conceptions. The "Soviet imperialism" attacked by the Public Prosecutor is patriotism and internationalism at the same time, as it secures to the workers at home increasing prosperity, freedom and culture, and serves as an example to the workers of other countries as to how they are to fight for their well-being, for their freedom and for their culture. How much the patriotism of the ruling class in Hungary is worth was shown by this ruling class themselves when they attacked the fighting Red Army in the rear and called the foreign imperialists into the country, and when they sold the economic independence of the country to the foreign capitalists for a few pieces of silver.

The Former Secretary of State Pekár declared in the year 1924:

"I would prefer to be a patriot in a still smaller Hungary than call for the help of Democrats like Herriot and MacDonald."

He was afraid that in return for this help, which might, perhaps, have led to the emancipation of millions of Hungarians from the foreign yoke he would have had to make some democratic concessions. This proves as clear as daylight that the Hungarian patriots only need a "native country" where they can exploit and rob the workers without restriction.

The Public Prosecutor reproaches the Communists with merely playing with revolutionary phrases, while they have no concrete programme by means of which the misery of the working people could be abolished. Good gracious! As a matter of fact it is only the Communist Party that is fighting seriously for the every day interests of the workers; it is only the Communist Party which has a real programme for the workers. I will mention here the immediate aims for which we are fighting in Hungary.

In the first place we are fighting for decent wages in town and country. The standard of living of the metal workers has fallen to 52% of the pre-war standard. The miners are perishing from hunger and are marching on Budapest. On the other hand, the balance sheets of the employers are showing enormous and unexampled profits. Down with profits and up with wages! That

is the logic of the situation, at least as we communists see it; and we communists wish to help this logic to victory.

The greatest portion of the land in Hungary is in the hands of a few big landowners. Prince Eszterhaszy owns 96,000 hectares. The Erlau charitable foundation 90,000 hectares, the Archbishopric of Kalocsa 65,000 hectares, Count Pallavicini 56,000 hectares. On the other hand, 1,100,000 land workers do not own a square foot of ground. We wish to parcel out the big landed estates among the landless peasantry without compensation. The Communist Party of Hungary has realised that it committed a big error during the dictatorship in not dividing up the land. We see what results the dividing up the land in Russia has produced. Under Tsarism the Russian peasant had all the burdens and sufferings. He sought opiates in the vodka shop and in the church in order to mitigate his sufferings. Today he has land, he has a school and culture. In Hungary, according to the words of the leader of the big peasants, Szabo of Nagyatad, even the most modest land reform was rejected owing to the resistance of the big landowners. The division of the land in Hungary will only be carried out by the Communists.

The President interjects: Rákosi, do not be a prophet! Keep to your defence; do not carry on agitation here and do not inveigh against the existing order of society!"

Comrade Rákosi continues:

"In present-day little Hungary over 27,000 police and gendarmes are keeping guard over the present social order, whilst in old Hungary only 16,000 were necessary. With this enormous number of guardians of the existing order it is only natural if they puff up and exaggerate the smallest movement. How otherwise could they pose as saviours of the country and prove their indispensability? This only shows that the present order of society, which corresponds to the interests of the big landowners and big capitalists, itself performs for us the work of stirring up the population, and that we have only to make a very modest contribution to this work.

One of the chief demands of our programme is, proper support and opportunity for work for the unemployed! The bankrupt mill-director Bacher immediately had 200 millions placed at his disposal in order to put him on his feet again. This was in the interest of big capital. But there is not a penny to spare for the 100,000 unemployed. When we fight for the recognition of Soviet Russia, for establishing trade relations with Soviet Russia, we are fighting to provide work for the Hungarian proletarians and against the government which gives the proletariat no opportunity to work.

We are fighting for the right to freedom. In Hungary the proletariat is oppressed in the most brutal manner. It has no right of combination nor to hold meetings. It has no universal suffrage and no freedom of the press. The social democrats sold the remnants of the right of combination and to hold meetings in the Pact with the Count Bethlen. The theory of Social Democracy was formulated by Gabriel Horovitz in his statement before the court, when he declared that theory and practice are quite different things. The practice of Social Democracy has been shown to us by the social democratic member of parliament Hebelt in his statement, when he declared that he considered it understandable, under the conditions prevailing at the time, that the social democrats caused Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to be slaughtered. In a word: the social democratic theory means: Karl Marx, the social democratic practice: Gustav Noske.

We are fighting for the overthrow of the present regime. The Communist Party, basing itself upon the masses, wishes to set up a new and better dictatorship. We are fighting against the present transition regime; but we are fighting equally energetically against the return of the Habsburgs. For us the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a final aim but only a means to the final aim. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarian State, will wither away when there are no more parasites who wish to subjugate the workers. In every society hitherto force has served as a means for upholding and for perpetuating class rule. The employment of force in the dictatorship of the proletariat is the first employment of force in the history of the world the final aim of which is the abolition of all class rule, including that of the proletariat, in order that, after the abolition of classes, the classless society, and with it the real history of humanity can begin, — human history without compulsion and without oppression.

The Public Prosecutor demands severe punishment for the accused as a warning in order to deter the Communist movement from developing in the future. A strange way of thinking! Is not the Public Prosecutor aware that it never has been possible to suppress a movement for freedom by punitive measures, and has he not learned himself that we communists are not frightened back by punishment? As a matter of fact the authorities themselves do not believe that they can hinder the Communist movement. Why otherwise do the police so anxiously protect their spies? Why was it that they would not hand them over to the court? Obviously in order to be able to use them again in the future. They would not even hand over Ludwig Samuel, although he has shot his bolt. He can no longer injure us.

The Public Prosecutor characterises the Communists of all countries as pack of hooligans, rascals and God knows what. This kind of insult does not make the least impression on us. Conscious of our communist dignity I simply hurl these insults back. Thousands of Russian Communists have died as martyrs. They had no other aim than the emancipation of the proletariat. Hungarian Communists have likewise sacrificed their lives, solely in order to be able to help in the emancipation of the proletariat. Of the 46 communists with whom, I was locked up in the collecting prison in March 1919, sixteen died as martyrs in the same year. They exposed and still expose their lives to danger, solely in order to build up the Communist Party. Those whom the Public Prosecutor describes as rascals and a pack of hooligans, the Communists of all countries, brave the prisons and the gallows, and in their absolute renouncement of self are shining examples for all workers. There is not one of us who would not brave the gallows for the Communist Party and for the ideal of Communism. Certainly we have not to learn unselfishness from the bourgeoisie.

Foaming at the mouth, the Public Prosecutor speaks of the cruel deeds of the revolution. Yes, the revolution is not made with rose water. Yes, it is accompanied by cruel deeds. But the same Public Prosecutor has a fine understanding: he approves and glorifies the monstrous, cruel deeds committed by the white bandits in Orgovány and Siófok.

President: I forbid you to speak of Orgovány and Siófok!

Comrade Rákosi: My trial here plays only a very minor role among the many more important trials in which, not a single person, but the whole of the working people of Hungary have to fight. There are among them trials which have been going on for a long time.

The first trial is the trial of the people of Doszas. The big landowning class, in the year 1514, had Georg Doszas, the leader of the peasant revolution, burned alive. They placed on his head a crown of red hot iron. They divided his burnt flesh among the serfs who had been kept starving for this purpose. Doszas is dead, but his people, the working and impoverished peasantry, which has bled for the defence of Hungary on thousands of battle fields, has carried on since that time a bitter trial against the landowners, against those oppressors who do not work, who refuse to carry any burden for the State, who are continually conspiring with the enemies of the country, with the Habsburgs. The Hungarian peasant is conducting the trial for his land, and if there is no court which helps him to obtain his rights, then the peasant will take the land himself.

The second great trial has been conducted by the Hungarian proletariat since the 21st of March 1919, since the setting up of the Soviet dictatorship, against predatory foreign imperialism which forced millions of working Magyars under foreign rule. The foreign policy of the ruling class of Hungary was always one of treachery. It has in its own country suppressed the non-Magyar nationalities and the Magyar workers. It has at the same time surrendered the country to foreign interests. Since the year 1848 only once in Hungary has a real national foreign policy been conducted, during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Hungarian Soviets fought against the national oppressors not with the mouth, not with cheap insults, but with the Red Army against the Czechoslovakian and Roumanian imperialists, and, at least in the North, drove them out of the country. Thus the proletariat carried on its trial for national emancipation. How was it with regard to the foreign policy of the bourgeoisie? The activity of the victorious counter-revolution commenced with the calling in of the Roumanians. Today, it is true, the imperialist robbers are abused. But no patriotic shouting will ever liberate the suppressed Magyars from the foreign yoke. The big landowners and big capitalists will never

win the trial against the imperialist oppressors. We Communists not only know the end, but also the correct way leading to it. It has been shown us by the Communist International. Only the fight of the Communist International can guarantee the victory of the right of self-determination of the nations. The common fight of the revolutionary proletariat of Hungary and of the Succession States will tear to shreds the scrap of paper of Trianon which was dictated by English and French imperialism.

The third trial which the working population of Hungary has been conducting for almost five hundred years is the trial against the Habsburgs. The Habsburg dynasty exudes blood and dirt from every pore, and although the memory of this accursed dynasty is connected with so much pain, so much blood and so much misery, the ruling classes of Hungary still stand by it, and anyone who in Hungary today raises his voice even for a bourgeois Republic, is ruthlessly thrown into prison. But it is all of no use. This trial cannot be defeated. It can only end with the victory of the working people over the Habsburgs and their lackeys.

The fourth great trial has been conducted by the working people against the present system since the counter-revolution. The Prime Minister Bethlen recently declared that in Hungary today the spirit of revolution and the spirit of counter-revolution are fighting each other. For once I can agree with the Prime Minister. For my part I have nothing to bring against this terminology. Yes, revolution is fighting counter-revolution. The present counter-revolutionary system represents the interests of the big landowners and of the big capitalists. It was in their interest that the Treaty of Trianon was concluded, the sanitation carried out. The sanitation is impoverishing the Hungarian people in an unheard-of manner. The counter-revolution has, therefore, to record as its victories, Trianon, and the enslavement by the League of Nations. But at the same time the revolutionary spirit in Hungary grew and is growing from day to day. The Communist Party is called to lead the new movement of the people. It is its historical mission to appear in this trial as the accuser and the judge, and to enforce decisions in favour of the working people.

The fifth trial, which differs only outwardly from the first four trials, is the trial of the working people against the Social Democratic Party. This party, the only legal labour party in Hungary, have, ever since they betrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat, sometimes openly, sometimes covertly, but nevertheless uninterruptedly, stood on the side of the ruling class. They helped the counter-revolution to bring the heroes of the dictatorship to the gallows. They tolerated the shameful internment of innocent people. In the Pact with Count Bethlen they sold the right of combination of the land workers and railway workers. They hindered every movement of the working people which aimed at improving their position. But the bitterness and the repugnance of the working class against the Social Democracy is growing and the issue of this trial is no longer in doubt, the Social Democracy will be pronounced guilty.

The trials which I have enumerated up till now are being heard before the great Public. But there is still a sixth trial, which you, my Lordships, do not wish to see at all. It is the powerful, underground struggle of the working class against the ruling class, against class justice and its helpers, the bloody judges, against the gendarmes and police, against the courts martial, against Orgovány and Siófok, for the legality of a really revolutionary party, a party working for the emancipation of the working people, for the legality of the Communist Party. You, gentlemen, need not think that Hungary is a little world by itself, and that no legally working Communist Party will arise here. The working people of Hungary have a revolutionary past, they have not been broken by the sufferings of the counter-revolution, and they will carry on this struggle, too, to a victorious end."

Here the president interrupted comrade Rákosi: "Sit down! I permit no agitation against the laws! I do not allow you to speak further."

The next of the accused to speak was

Comrade Karl Oeri:

I was a peasant, and afterwards I became a worker. I have thus had the opportunity of experiencing for myself that in present day Hungary both the agricultural and the industrial workers live in the same want and misery. I have learnt at

the same time to realise that these two classes of workers must be brought to think and to act in unity.

During the course of this trial I have been proud to hear that some workers have become convinced communists as a result of my activity. Strictly speaking, all workers should think on communist lines as a matter of course. What is incomprehensible is that under present conditions there still exist workers who are not with us. The leaders of the social democrats in Hungary taught me this lesson. I saw how little they concerned themselves for the welfare of the workers, how little they worked for the interests of even their own trade unions by which they were supported. Above all, I saw how they endeavoured to destroy the unity of the trade union movement, how they made common cause with the employers, and expelled from the trade unions the class conscious workers who had worked for decades in the trade union movement.

This I observed most clearly in my own trade union, among the wood workers, in the activity of **Gabriel Horovitz**.

There is no country in Europe where the wages are so low, or the workers so bare of rights, as in Hungary. And yet, whether there be inflation or stabilisation, still the capitalists become richer and richer, and the social democratic leaders prevent the workers from fighting for the betterment of their position. This despicable treachery lent me the power to come forward for my fellow workers.

There has never been such a disastrous amount of unemployment in Hungary as since the "financial reform." Of course money can still be found, even under these conditions, for keeping up Horthy's court, and for maintaining the police and the soldiery, but there is no support for the unemployed. And the money intended for investments which were to provide work for the unemployed has been wasted. When the trade union opposition, in view of this dreadful situation, demanded unemployment benefit and the provision of work, this opposition was attacked by the trade union leaders as if it was a gang of strikebreakers. Since this time I have become firmly convinced that the treacherous reformist leaders represent just as great a danger to the working class as the Bethlen system, and as the rule of the large landowners and big capitalists. The Hungarian bourgeoisie can only be attacked over the dead bodies of these leaders. It is not possible to fight for the interests of the workers unless the fight is conducted against these leaders.

The indictment notes it as a great sin on the part of the accused that they called the social democrats the flunkies of the bourgeoisie. I declare myself fully in agreement with this designation, for class conscious trade union unity in Hungary has no more bitter or treacherous enemy than the trade union leaders of the **Jaszai** and **Horovitz** stamp. Every class conscious proletarian must fight for the unity of the trade unions, in order that the trade unions may regain their position as firm pillars supporting the proletariat in its daily struggles, and in its struggle for emancipation. I shall fight for this unity to the utmost of my power. Openly, if it is permitted; underground, if it is not permitted; but in any case uninterruptedly and unwearingly.

It is a piece of unheard of treachery of the social traitors to contend against the unity of the revolutionary trade unions just at a time of socialist revolution. Marx ascertained, on scientific lines, the conditions under which a social revolution will take place. Every worker in Hungary feels for himself that this epoch is now upon us. But the social democrats of Hungary, the trade union leaders choose this moment, when the workers should be fighting with the greatest energy, to proclaim that no fight is possible, because the capitalists are in a bad position. Hungarian reaction finds its best support among the social democrats and the trade union leaders.

Gabriel Horowitz, under the pressure of the Hungarian proletariat, has had to withdraw the denouncing statement made by him to the police. But this circumstance does not alter the shameful fact that the trade union leaders take recourse to the weapons of denunciation and police espionage when honest fighters have exposed their treachery and stand for the revolutionary unity of the trade unions. This struggle is a matter of life and death, and the unity of the trade unions can only be defended against the treachery of trade union bureaucracy under the lead of the Communist Party. The Communist Party alone can bring liberation to the proletariat. And therefore I shall fight to the death for the strengthening of this party in Hungary.

Comrade Gögös

states:

"It was in Russia that I became a Communist. When I first went to the war, I was still a patriot like Vanderveelde, although I was only a simple private soldier, while he was a royal minister at the Court of his Belgian Majesty. When I witnessed the horrors of war, I was convinced that we were fighting and perishing for Imperialist interests. I became a prisoner of war and had the opportunity of seeing Russian Czarism in all its hatefulness. A little field-grey patriot I was thrust into the murder-automaton, war, and in Czarist Russia out of the patriotic automaton there crept a Bolshevik. No one, who has become a Communist as I have should have to suffer the reproach that he is acting on orders from Russia or out of self-interest in fighting for the formation of a Communist Party and for the idea of Communism.

It is not out of mere fanaticism that we Communists proclaim the necessity for a Communist Party and the truth of Communism. It is our deepest conviction that the Communist Party alone can emancipate the workers from the terrible exploitation of Capitalism. In this respect we are not in need of orders from anybody.

The Public Prosecutor says that, for us, Communism is a business. The Public Prosecutor can take my word for it that, if Communism in Hungary were a good business, the big landowners, the priests and the exchange-jobbers would have dispatched us long ago by force of arms in order to secure the good business for themselves.

It was in vain that the proletariat and the peasantry shed their blood during the war. Their position after the war is more insufferable than it was before. The workers go about in rags and fight against death from starvation. Many millions of peasants do not own a single yard of ground, and now they have ceased even to dream of having land of their own, their chief concern being to procure a pair of shoes for the coming winter and to provide their hungry children with bread. Such conditions no longer exist in Soviet Russia. There, a worker can satisfy his hunger, the peasant has ground of his own, for in that country the land belongs to the man who cultivates it. Is it a sin on my part to desire that conditions might be the same in Hungary? Where could I have got my notion, if not in Soviet Russia.

Soviet Russia is, therefore, the beacon; therefore, the Communist Party of Russia, which has created these conditions, and Lenin, who led this Party, are symbolic for me; therefore, it is my unshakable conviction that when once the Communist Party gains power in Hungary conditions will become as favourable in this country as they are in Soviet Russia. For this cause it is worth while to suffer, to bear the special treatment of Police-captain Schweinitzer or even to die. The contempt which the Public Prosecutor has expressed for us and for our model, Lenin, rebounds from us.

Our leader is **Lenin**. In place of the lying Katorga-Gaol-Kingdom of Heaven of the Czar, Lenin gave the peasants the land.

While the Czar on his throne concerned himself with nothing but his mistresses, Lenin..."

At this point the **President** of the Court interrupts **Comrade Gögös** and calls him to order for insulting the Czar.

Comrade Gögös continues:

"Comrade Lenin showed us the way which we must follow to the end, regardless of the sacrifices, if it is our wish to rescue the proletariat from Capitalist exploitation. This way leads, under the guidance of the Communist Party, to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Lenin is a land-mark in humanity's course of development. Lenin is our apostle!"

The **President** again calls **Comrade Gögös** to order and threatens to forbid him further speech, if he continued in the same manner.

Comrade Gögös continues:

"I must say all this, because the Public Prosecutor has asserted that we are only demagogues. I, however, wish to show that what we Communists desire, will bring about the real prosperity of the working people.

Is it demagogy to proclaim that the land should belong to him who cultivates it, or, on the contrary, is it not, rather, demagogy on the part of our ruling classes to proclaim that the country belongs to those who have property in land?

In Hungary even technical development means to the peasants and workers further aggravation of their misery and the paralysing fear of unemployment. Is it demagogy to point out that machinery in Russia is the source of increasing prosperity and growing happiness among the workers and the peasants?

Is it demagogy to treat the national question with mere phrases as the ruling class does, or in the manner in which the Communists treat it?

Is it demagogy for us to assert that the Imperial interests, through social and national pressure, bring about a double enslavement of the workers. When Capitalism has been swept away, social and national oppression will be a thing of the past. Where there is no exploitation, there is also no national oppression; witness the example of Russia. If we wish to put an end to the national oppression of the Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia and in Roumania, we must abolish exploitation in general, but this means that we must destroy the dominion of the Hungarian landed proprietors, the big banks and the captains of industry.

The President again calls Comrade Gögös to order.

Comrade Gögös continues: Is it demagogy to advocate and to fight in the interests of the Hungarian working-class for economic relations with Soviet Russia, or is it demagogy to maintain, as the Public Prosecutor has expressed it, that the man who fights for this end is a traitor to his country, because, in the opinion of the Public Prosecutor, Hungary is still in a state of war with Russia, because we, in contrast to the other belligerent countries, have still not concluded peace. I will give the Public Prosecutor an example to prove that it is not we, the Communists, who resort to demagogy in this regard. The Russian general, Denikin, is at present residing at Pestujhely in Hungary. His exact address is Budapesti-ut 24. If the Public Prosecutor maintains that we are still in a state of war with Russia, I challenge him to have this Russian general arrested and interned.

The President again calls Comrade Gögös to order and requests him to keep to his defence.

Comrade Gögös answers: "There is no necessity for me to defend myself, but I still have a few things to say in conclusion. Up to the present I have refused to say where we got the money for our Communist purposes. I will now tell you. We are proud to say, that the International Working Class have supported us. From Communist emigrants we have received Austrian shillings, American dollars, French francs and Czech crowns. Poor workmen and poverty stricken working women have contributed their coppers for the purpose of improving the conditions of the workers in Hungary. How often is this money creased, crumpled and dirty, but we are proud of this external dirt, for it is very different from the dirt which adheres to the money of certain big politicians in Hungary.

Hereupon, the President exclaims: "I forbid you to speak in such a manner!"

Comrade Gögös: "I will prove to you immediately that the whole of the police report is a tissue of lies. For this you may call me a demagogue and a liar. The police state in their report that the detectives, in God knows how many million hours, have watched every step of our movement and were fully informed about it. When I was arrested, I was beaten until I bled to compel me to say where Oery was and where he lived. Oery was, however, one of the most prominent leaders of the illegal movement, and the police did not even know of his existence until the spy Samuel betrayed him and, even then, they did not know where he lived. This mendacity and inefficiency of the police prove how consolidated this country is.

We are fighting for the legality of the Communist Party and declare our solidarity with our leader, **Bela Kun**.

The President thereupon prevented Comrade Gögös from speaking any further.

There now follows the speech of

Comrade Katharina Haman:

I represent the working women in that movement on account of which we are now all in prison. The economic position of the proletariat in present day Hungary has generally been characterised as fearful. What words however shall we find in order to characterise the position of the working women, of the proletarian mothers and young girls, when we consider their misery. The Hungarian vocabulary is too poor to characterise the misery of our women. Our labour power is exploited in the labour market as being cheaper than that of the men. Our young girls, from their earliest youth have to toil as captives of the machines, where they are drained of their life's blood. They are robbed of every right to joy in life and health. How the masses of the proletarian women in Hungary had to suffer in the years of the horrors of the war and in the years of persecutions after the dictatorship! The spectre of unemployment constantly threatens us, and we had to look on and see our husbands, brothers and sons suffering hunger. Our sons were first driven to the slaughter, forced into the trenches, and then thrown into prison. During this time we proletarian women had to suffer a thousand times more than even the rest of the proletariat! Is it, perhaps, not justified when we fight in order that this state of affairs shall be altered? Do you at last now understand when I exclaim: Our fight in the camp of Socialism, in the ranks of the Communist Party is the desperate fight of mothers for the lives and the health of their children!

On one occasion when I was arrested, I was ordered to show my hands in order to prove that I am a proletarian. I will not now hold up my hands for inspection. I shall now speak to the proletarian women and describe to them the bitter experiences that I have gathered during my life as a worker. I was a worker in the chemical industry, and for a long time I worked as an employee in the chemical workers' trade union. If I had never heard of Socialism nor the proletarian movement, if I had never learned anything from socialist literature, the experiences which I have gathered from the lives of the men and women in the chemical industry, their misery, their sufferings, their anguish, would alone have sufficed to induce me to fight with all my might for the emancipation of the proletariat. I know the pestilential atmosphere of the match factories, the hell of the artificial manure factories, the working conditions which are destructive of health in the dye and colour factories.

Thousands of working women perish in these factories. These factories convert young women in their so-called bloom of youth into hopeless wrecks. The working women in these factories have miscarriages and bring children into the world who are doomed to death at their very birth. As a result of such experiences, I have, in the course of many years arrived at communist convictions for which I now stand before the court. I consider this as my crowning fate as a proletarian woman. Standing here in the dock I feel that I am confronting the whole system which condemns us proletarians to a brutal existence; and from here I ask my proletarian sisters, how long will they still be content to wait and suffer? For the times are past when we stood helpless and bewildered. The Communist Party now shows us the clear path to emanipation.

Formerly, we were rendered desperate when our husbands became unemployed, when they were driven into war, when they became crippled through their work. This desperation, however, was the desperation of passivity. Today when we meet with a similar fate, we reply to it with our firmer adherence to the proletarian movement, with the strengthening of our class consciousness. We have come to realise that we must reply to the blows of capitalist society not by hunger and despair, but by deeds. This knowledge results in the women's movement becoming an ever stronger and more powerful factor of the international revolutionary proletarian movement.

I stand here before the court with the knowledge that I, with many thousands of my sisters, have traversed that path from the proletarian woman who spends her life in the kitchen and in the household, up to the proletarian woman who takes her place in the ranks of the class struggle. Have your Lordships ever thought for a moment that the wives of the ten thousands of unemployed, the many thousands of proletarian mothers must say something to their children when they cry for bread? Can you imagine what a mother must feel in such circumstances? I can tell you, these women have arrived at the point when they are ready to attack with their bare hands

and nails. And do you not believe that these many thousands of mothers are now considering the question: where is the way out of this misery, where is the leader who will show us the way out of this vale of suffering? The figure of this leader is revealing itself more and more clearly and more and more powerfully in the Hungarian labour movement. It is the Communist Party. Thousands and thousands of proletarian women, hundreds of working mothers who are awakening to consciousness will raise the demand that the Communist Party be given the possibility of working legally. Thousands of them will fight for the legality of our Party. The legality of the Communist Party of Hungary is now firmly anchored in the hearts of the fighting proletarian women and will also be won by the active and powerful co-operation of the proletarian mothers.

The Hungarian proletarians have long since regretted that they did not know how really to appreciate the short duration of the proletarian dictatorship. But if at that time they were not capable of completely and clearly appreciating the achievements of these few months, we are now already able to appreciate the news informing us of the constant improvement in the lot of our proletarian sisters in Soviet Russia. In Hungary a pregnant woman has to work in the factory up to the very day of her confinement. In Soviet Russia the proletarian mother is granted four months leave with full pay on the occasion of every child-birth, and during the working time is allowed an hour's pause in order to suckle her child. In Hungary the proletarian children perish in the streets, in the locked lodgings or with neighbours, because their mother must work in the factory. In Soviet Russia there is a crèche in every factory. It is only natural when, under such circumstances, the proletarian woman is an equal comrade of the man in the work of building up the proletarian State. In this country womanhood is freed from the scourge of prostitution.

I await your judgement in the firm belief that we have not fought in vain. The entire proletariat, the working women and the young workers will carry on the struggle in common with the Communist Party. The years lying behind us were the great school of the Hungarian proletariat. We have learned in these years whom we have to believe and whom we must follow. We have also experienced "the freedom" which your bourgeois society affords us! We have also recognised the way which leads us out of this slavery. That is the chief lesson of the years lying behind us. This knowledge will spread more and more every day. To this we have contributed our honest share. That stands to our credit. What we had to suffer for this is very small price to pay. Standing here in the dock I appeal to you, working women of Hungary! If you do not wish your children to perish in capitalist slavery, then come to us and fight along with us in the Communist Party!

Long live the Communist Party of Hungary!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Sixteenth Day of Proceedings.

Budapest, August 2, 1926.

Of the accused Communists there spoke today Comrade Weinberger and of the accused members of the Socialist Labour Party, the members of the Executive, Vagi, Weiszhausz and Hajdu.

Comrade Weinberger

stated: I am 23 years of age and now stand for the third time before the bourgeois court. When the Hungarian bourgeoisie the first time honoured me with 15 years imprisonment I was 17 years old. I spent three years of the so called finest years of life in the best school of revolution, in prison, solely because I was a communist. I am now, a young father of a family, charged with the most serious crime there is in the eyes of bourgeois society. If I mention these facts it is not because I wish to brag about my revolutionary doings but only to show that Hungarian society must indeed be in a very bad way when it has to defend itself against such a 23 year old sinner as myself, who, right from childhood, was the proclaimer of an idea, who then matured in prison and finally attained to manhood before the Special Court.

Hungary is almost the only country where communists are forced to work quite illegally, where the bourgeoisie, as result of special circumstances, is mad enough to believe that it is possible by means of exceptional laws to hinder the development of the Communist Party. I know that the Hungarian labour

movement will, in the near future, bring into being the legal fighting communist Party. It is for this cause that I am fighting with all my powers. That is my great sin in the eyes of bourgeois society.

Two great schools taught me to recognise the role and importance of the Communist Party: the school of a great defeat and the school of the greatest victory up to now of the proletariat. The school of defeat was the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary. During the dictatorship I was unable to understand fully the importance of the leading Party, of the Communist Party. But after the overthrow of the dictatorship, when the Hungarian workers pined under the burden of bloody persecutions, I began to understand what the united revolutionary leadership, the Communist Party, means. I came to realise this fully in the other school — in the Russian Revolution. This realisation of the necessity of the Communist Party is now also dawning upon the masses of the Hungarian workers and peasants. I am proud that the defeat did not shake my will to struggle. I am proud that, immediately after the overthrow of the dictatorship, in 1920, I carried on illegal work. I have, perhaps, thereby contributed a little to the work of the growth and the spread of communist ideas.

The other great school of which I spoke and in which the idea of the necessity of the Communist Party came to full consciousness and ripened into the leading idea, is Soviet Russia, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The State of the Russian proletariat in 1923 freed me from the prison into which your predecessor, Mr. President, had flung me in the year 1921. From the end of 1923 up to the Summer of 1925 I worked in Soviet Russia. It is for me a very touching thought that my son, even if his father is pent up behind prison walls and stands before the inexorable court of the ruling class — that my son is growing up in the free country of the workers, that he will be educated there to become a type of the new humanity, of the Communist humanity. The Hungarian ruling class has done everything in order that the workers of Hungary shall not learn the truth regarding Russia. The "horrors of Bolshevism" are the favourite theme of the press, of science and of the church. Every day the number of suicides in Hungary increases by dozens, and every week by hundreds. The proletariat is perishing. Unemployment and misery are growing. The conflict is becoming more acute. But the Hungarian ruling class has no eyes for this; it does not wish to see all this. On the other hand, however, they see "Burning Russia". Karl Huszar, the Deputy Chairman of Parliament, the apostle of Hungarian despotism, writes a big book on "Burning Russia". But that is no solution of the Hungarian question; it is a symptom of the profound crisis in this country. As a result of the four and a half months proletarian dictatorship, the question of political power has become the ever-pressing, ever-burning question of the Hungarian class struggle. On the one hand the proletariat feels that democracy is a childish dream, that it can expect nothing from the bourgeoisie but an open or concealed form of terror: on the other hand the bourgeoisie constantly feels the danger and constantly proclaims this danger. In other countries, where there has not yet been a proletarian dictatorship, every question does not inevitably become a question of power. But in Hungary every movement of the working class raises the spectre of the dictatorship of the proletariat before the eyes of the bourgeoisie and calls forth articles and books on the horrors of Bolshevism, on "Burning Russia".

But the truth cannot be suppressed. A whole number of workers' delegations have visited the Soviet Union and reported the truth concerning it. This truth has also reached the Hungarian working class.

In Soviet Russia, where I learned the importance of the leading role of the Communist Party, I also saw the unceasing manifold work of construction which is being carried there on for the practical realisation of the rule of the working class. This work is being carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party, the members of which have waded through the bloody sea of civil war, and hundred of thousands of them, in the years of famine and starvation, on the Communist Saturdays, cut wood, repaired locomotives, loaded camels etc. This Party is now controlling the whole life of the State, is bringing forward from its ranks the organisers of every branch of social life — the leaders of industry, the highest officers of the army, the teachers and writers, the scholars, the diplomats, the organisers and guides of the working people. Socialism is being

built up. From this Party I learned what is the task of the Communist Party and how one has to realise this task.

In these two schools of defeat and of victory I came to realise the role and importance, the necessity and the task of the Communist Party.

The Hungarian proletarian revolution confirmed me as revolutionary. As a soldier of the Communist International I have always regarded it, and today still regard it as my most important task to build up the Communist Party of Hungary. That is the communist, the proletarian reason for the fact that I returned to Hungary: to work in building up the Party. The way of the Communist Party is a zig-zag way; it is marked by victories and defeats, but there is no standing still, and the growth and increase of the Party are certain.

After these years of severe illegality the Communist Party must win legality. That is what we are fighting for.

I am in agreement with all the statements of Comrade Rákosi. I would only like to supplement them on one point which lies very near to my heart. In the fight for the building up of the Communist Party the movement of the working youth and of the young peasants plays a particularly important role. This applies before all to Hungary, where the working youth are the most oppressed and exploited section of the working class. The cruelty of the laws regarding labour, the unrestricted hours of labour, the corporal punishment which is permitted by law, the pressing into the Levente movement (a sort of black reichswehr), render the life of the young worker an unbroken chain of suffering. The working youth must realise the necessity for a way of escape and must join the Youth organisation of the Communist workers and peasants which is fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party. The young workers have the fewest liberties. Their movement has no legal form whatever. The Social Democracy has constantly suppressed the youth movement, for they are afraid of the unadulterated Socialism of the young workers. Nevertheless, that which the Social Democratic Party in Hungary did after the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat stands unexampled even in the treacherous history of Social Democracy. They wrecked every movement of the youth. They did nothing to build up legal organisations, and even let the existing trade union fractions of the young workers die out. It is therefore our task to organise the young workers.

I face the coming sentence with unshakeable conviction. I ask neither for mercy nor indulgence. I fling back, however, with indignation the denunciation of the indictment of the Public Prosecutor, which represents our actions as if we carried on our communist work for mere personal profit.

The rulers are acting as if they believed that the structure of Hungarian counter-revolution stands as firm as a rock. But the proletariat is again awakening and in the words of the poet Petöfi, calls to the ruling classes: "Even if the galleys are above and the stormy sea below, the water is still the master."

The next accused to address the court is the leader of the Socialist Labour Party

Stefan Vági.

He states: "I am not going to defend myself, for I am not afraid of punishment. What I am going to say I say in the interest of the persecuted Socialist Labour Party which, although it is a legal Party, has to put up with the most terrible persecutions.

The statements of the Public Prosecutor, according to which we desire by means of the class struggle to suppress capital, that is, according to his opinion, big industrial production, are ridiculous. What is true however is, that at a time when capital is concentrated in the hands of a handful of people, when the number of parasites is constantly increasing and when the workers, the middle class and the peasants are sinking into indescribable misery and becoming proletarianised — that we in such a time wish to set up the communist system of production in place of the capitalist system of production. What reason has the Public Prosecutor to defend that capital which has plunged Hungary in the most fearful misery? The figures issued by the Federation of Metal Industrialists show that capital is reaping enormous profits such as it never obtained in the pre-war time, whilst on the other hand the workers, who before the war received as wages a 17% share of production, are now only receiving 7%. When in Hungary prices are increasing to an unbearable extent, when thousands of proletarians are being driven to suicide, when every second proletarian child dies in its

infancy, when Hungary has become the classic land of tuberculosis, then it is certainly no exaggeration to describe Hungarian capital as usurious capital, as Martin Luther stigmatised capital in his time. The mines of Salgótarján and the "General Hungarian Coal Mining Works" in Tatabánya show a balance of profits which is unparalleled in all Europe. On the other hand, thousands of miners are unemployed and are compelled, along with their families, to gnaw roots to stay the pangs of hunger and others are compelled to steal slack. The workers are compelled to work ten or twelve hours, but in spite of that their standard of living remains more than 50% below the pre-war level. The Hungarian working class have now been organised for over thirty years. They understand the class struggle and have been a factor making for progress. The Hungarian working class have experienced two revolutions. They have gathered rich experiences in the war, in the revolution and in the counter-revolution as to what is the meaning of the rule of capital. It is this working class which the Public Prosecutor wishes to chain to a rock like Prometheus; he wishes to render it blind in order that it shall not see the enormous contrast between the riches of the few and its own terrible misery, in order that it shall not raise its hands to improve its position.

When we proclaim a relentless fight against this monstrous exploitation of the working class, then the Public Prosecutor calls us thieves and murderers. The Public Prosecutor should note that the revolutionaries have never been thieves. The revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848, and also the Hungarian Commune issued as their first order the command that thieves must be executed. It is true that we do not defend the exploiters who become rich through robbery, and that we proclaim a life and death struggle against them. It is strange, however, that it is precisely these robbers who are being defended in this court.

The President calls Vági to order.

Vági: The Social Democracy places itself protectingly before these robbers. The great masses of the workers in Hungary, however, already see that these social democrats are false prophets and are forsaking their camp. The great masses of the workers and of the poor peasants believed for years in the Social Democracy. Today, however, the great masses of the workers are turning with disgust from the leaders of this Party. Today the masses of the proletariat and of the impoverished peasants already perceive that these social democratic leaders are betraying them. The victorious Hungarian counter-revolution plunged the workers in town and country into the most degraded state of misery.

What is being carried on today on the part of the existing regime is no longer exploitation but the most brutal system of sweating. The Social Democracy of Hungary are helping the ruling class in this activity, partly by their passivity and partly by direct alliance with them. It was for this reason that I left the Social Democracy. If for this reason I am regarded as a dangerous agitator, so be it. I believe, however, that when in present day Hungary millions of workers and peasants are starving, when they want to work and cannot find work, that it is the duty of every worker, if he does not wish to be a traitor, to place himself on the side of the millions of exploited and not on the side of their exploiters. If I am called an agitator because I proclaim that in this country and under these conditions there can be no industry, no trade, no national culture, no morality, if I am branded as a revolutionary because I declare that a proper land reform must be carried out, that support for the unemployed, provision of work for the unemployed is an absolute necessity, then I proudly acknowledge myself to be an agitator, if you like, a communist, a traitor to the country, anything you like, and proudly accept the punishment of the agitator and betrayer of the country, even should it be lifelong imprisonment or the gallows."

The President calls Vági to order and calls on him to defend himself.

Vági continues: Capital everywhere carries on exploitation, but nowhere does it carry on such a ruthless exploitation of the working class as in Hungary. In Hungary there is such an iniquitous distribution of the soil that it resembles the feudalism of the middle ages. Even the blind must see that not only the working class, not only the city middle class but also the town intelligentsia are falling into misery because there is no equitable division of the soil. Whilst individuals possess ten thousands of acres, others have not enough even for a grave."

The President again calls Vági to order and reminds him that he is not at a public meeting but has to answer the accusation of Communism, and that he must defend himself.

Vági continues: "The Socialist Labour Party is not a representative of the Labour aristocracy. When the President threatens me that I stand under the accusation of Communism, I reply as follows: if it is a question of being a Communist in the sense in which Marx called himself a Communist, then I acknowledge this definition of Marx, and that means: 1) that the work of emancipating the working class can only be the task of the working class, 2) that every class struggle is a political struggle, 3) that the economic emancipation of the working class is the aim to which every other movement must serve as a means, 4) that this struggle is not a local, not a purely economic struggle, but an international and social problem which can only be solved by the theoretical and practical co-operation of the workers of the whole world. In this sense I can be designated as a Communist, as a Socialist and whatever you like to call me. I shall never protest against it, for I believe and admit that only this way, only this struggle leads to the emancipation of the proletariat. I shall not protest against it, because I have devoted myself body and soul to the service of this cause, because I will fight for this cause up to my last breath, for this idea which forms the basic principle of the programme of the Socialist Labour Party."

The President again calls Vági to order and threatens to prevent him speaking any further.

Vági continues: "When the President reminds me that I have to defend myself on account of the charge of Bolshevism, then I must reply to him that the Socialist Labour Party stands on the basis of genuine and unadulterated Marxism, on the basis of consistent class struggle, but nevertheless is not a Bolshevik Party. When the President asked me whether we belong to the Second or the Third International, my reply was not understood. I said that in Hungary there is so little freedom, that there is not the least right of assembly, so that it was impossible for the Party Conference, the only body competent to decide such a question, to meet and express its opinion. I did not say that because I feared punishment; I said it because the Socialist Labour Party is a democratic party in which, even if the leaders have adopted a decision, the real decision can only be made by a body representing all the members, by the Congress. By this I only wished to characterise the present regime in Hungary which does not even permit a legal party to make a decision regarding such an important question. I have no fear of punishment. Right from the day of its foundation the leaders of the Socialist Labour Party were persecuted. Since I was 14 years of age, since I became an apprentice, I had to endure the blows of the existing order of society. Since I became a member of the Socialist Labour Party I have been constantly dragged from one prison to the other. I have remained physically sound and mentally I have become, if possible, even more sound."

President interjects: If you continue in this manner I shall forbid you to speak!

Vági (red with fury) shouts: "And even if you hang me, you will not prevent me!"

The President interrupts him and forbids him to speak any further.

Aladar Weiszhausz

states: Never were there so many charges brought up against accused persons as the Public Prosecutor has trumped up against us. What we say, how we say it, is all recorded in the charge-sheet like a deadly sin.

The Public Prosecutor considers it a deadly sin that we, as the opposition in the Social Democratic Party, established unemployed committees and wished to act in the interest of the unemployed. Are the unemployed outside the law? Is it not permitted that the unemployed demand unemployment benefit, the eight hour day and opportunity for work in a State which describes itself as a consolidated State and where the capitalists are piling up riches? We, as the opposition in the Social Democracy and as the Socialist Labour Party, unceasingly and energetically demand this in the interest of the unemployed. This agitation of the unemployed committees, succeeded, under the pressure of the working masses, in forcing the government to make a declaration that the Bill regarding unemployment insurance would be submitted to parliament in the year 1924. We were expelled from the Social Democratic Party in order that

this party could bury this promise of the government. Now we are in the year 1926. Unemployment is growing, is causing indescribable misery, and in spite of the promise given in the year 1924, the Social Democratic Party are still conducting inquiries regarding the question of unemployed insurance and the unemployed are sinking into deeper misery. These who are responsible for and guilty of this in Hungary should be punished.

The II. International understands this and pardons us for withdrawing from the Social Democratic party. But the Public Prosecutor considers this a deadly sin on our part and wishes to have us flung into prison for it. It seems as if the court regards us as military deserters and wishes to punish us accordingly. I can understand this when the present regime considers the Social Democracy as its best support, when, in addition to the police, the gendarmerie and the Hungarian army, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary is regarded as the best defender of the present regime. But I believe that it is going too far, considered from the standpoint of civil law, to treat those who have withdrawn from the Social Democratic Party as military deserters, because they will not defend the present social regime hand in hand with the social democrats.

Since we raised our voice against the treachery of the Social Democracy and their pact with the government we have been unceasingly persecuted. The Public Prosecutor who represents the interests of present-day society, was unable in a single case to bring any proofs against us. In place of the police, the Public Prosecutor and the examining judge, it was always the leaders of the Social Democratic Party who provided the evidence. Payer has openly denounced us as communists. Horovitz did the same, and the Public Prosecutor at once turned upon him when, under the pressure of the working class, he would no longer continue his denunciations here in court. We know that the Hungarian Social Democracy is the confederate of the police, but we are surprised at its being converted by the Hungarian bourgeoisie into a part of the Hungarian legal clique, into a juridical institution.

It is altogether strange and tragic when the Public Prosecutor wishes to make the suppressed and exploited people responsible for the state of affairs existing in Hungary today. The ruling class of Hungary, along with its ruling house, for centuries kept the peasantry and the working class of Hungary in a condition of slavery. The Public Prosecutor maintains that capital is and will remain for all time the basis of social development. He described those who venture to doubt this statement, as robbers and murderers. I am not now speaking of socialism; but whoever investigates the role of capital in present-day production must say that capital is not the bearer of social progress, but a drag on this progress and is the cause of unheard-of exploitation and misery. It would be a crime against the workers not to say this and to conceal the role of capital in society. It is the duty of every thinking man, if he is not materially interested in the capitalist production, to proclaim this role of capital in present-day production, the crisis of capitalism and the necessity of a socialist order of production. The leaders of the Social Democratic Party receive crumbs from the table of capitalist exploitation. They therefore declare that, under the present circumstances, nothing can be done to raise the position of the proletariat. For this reason they were silent when the land reform was buried. It is for this reason they do not fight for an honest land reform, why they do not fight for maintenance for the unemployed and for the provision of work. It is for this reason that they do not fight for the eight hour day and for decent wages. For this reason they abandon the democratic reforms in order that a favourable ground shall not be created for the class struggle. It is for this reason that every day in their newspaper, "Nepszava", they supply as an argument for the jailers the assertion that everybody who is more radical than they is a Bolshevik. It is very sad that a portion of the proletariat is still misled by them. The Social Democracy boast that, when the time for action comes, nobody will be more radical than they. As a matter of fact, with their fraudulent phrases, they contribute today to convert Hungary into one huge cemetery for all workers.

If under such circumstances it is a crime against the State to fight against the bourgeoisie, if it is a crime against the State to fight against these lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the Hungarian social democracy, then we are criminals against the State.

At present we happen to be a legal Party. Up to the present day we have openly propagated our principles, our programme of action, our agrarian programme. We have not concealed what we wish to do, and will not conceal it in the future. The fact that we are persecuted only strengthens us in our intention to follow this our aim more energetically.

The Public Prosecutor is so hard up for evidence and arguments that, in addition to being bolsheviks, he accuses us of being anti-parliamentarians, when we are the only Party in Hungary which really fights for universal suffrage. When we maintain that the Social Democracy, by their parliamentary phrasemongering, betray the class struggle, and when we wish to connect the parliamentary struggle with the mass struggle, then we are the only genuine advocates of parliamentarism. It is ridiculous to accuse of us being anti-parliamentarians in a country where the real representative of anti-parliamentarism is the government itself. Was it we or was it the government who abolished universal suffrage in Hungary? Did we buy the parliamentary majority and...

The President here energetically interrupts Weiszhausz and orders him to defend himself, as he has not the right to attack anybody from the dock. He threatens to prevent him speaking any further.

Weiszhausz: "Mr. President! You cannot intimidate revolutionaries with threats. Prison makes the hesitant firm, the coward brave."

The President forbids him to say anything more.

There now follows the speech of the accused

Heinrich Hajdu.

He states: "The Public Prosecutor says that anybody in Hungary who speaks of class struggle is a traitor to the country, an agitator. That is as much as to say that with us the class struggle must be denied or that it does not exist officially. The Public Prosecutor should read that famous book, 'Old Hungary'. The author of this book, Bela Grünwald, belonged to the old nobility. The Public Prosecutor will find in this book how our greatest historian speaks of class rule and the class struggle. I will give only one quotation: 'In society the interest of the various classes is the prevailing point of view, and every class strives to realise its own interests. The power of the State is the surest means of expressing class interest; it is therefore the endeavour of every social class to capture the State etc.'"

The Public Prosecutor wishes to preserve Hungary from the injurious consequences of the class struggle. We, however, know from our own history the results of these attempts to save the country. Count Stefan Széchenyi was described by his opponent, Ludwig Kossuth, as the greatest Hungarian. His greatest enemy could not have described him as an insurrectionist. When he stated that Hungarian economic life could only be described as mediaeval, when he stated that the Hungarian big landowners shamefully exploited their serfs solely out of class interest, Count Josef Desseffy declared the calumny that the landowners were exploiting the peasants to be the outcome of an unpatriotic mind. Eleven provincial authorities declared that the writings of Széchenyi incited the peasants, that Széchenyi himself was a traitor to his country, and ordered his books to be publicly burned.

Hungarian history is full of the praise of those class struggles which the lower nobility carried on against the upper nobility. Is this also to be declared treason to the country? I would call the attention of the Public Prosecutor to a letter from Ludwig Kossuth of 24th of May 1847 to Baron Nikolaus Vesselényi, in which he characterised class egoism as the fundamental character of the Hungarian aristocracy, where he declares that this class would rather perish than give up its feudal rights without compensation. If the Public Prosecutor will bear in mind that Baron Vesselényi was tried for high treason because, although a member of the ruling class, he fiercely inveighed against the methods of State employed by this class against the suppressed class, then I believe that the Public Prosecutor will realise that one does not render the present social order any service when one describes as traitors those who speak of class struggle.

I will only point to two further facts in order to prove still further that the Social Democratic Party of Hungary have betrayed the labour movement and that it would have been a

crime to work with them. The one is the categorical declaration of Vandervelde that the Pact of the Hungarian Social Democracy with the Bethlen government was the greatest shame of the labour movement. The other fact -- which can be proved from the parliamentary reports -- is that the Social Democracy of Hungary knew of the intention of the government to alter the election law, and in spite of this did not do anything in order to thwart this intention.

If I am sentenced, then the Socialist Labour Movement will be deprived of a fighter. But every day there arise new and better fighters. The camp of the Socialist Labour Party is constantly growing. The individual fighters can be thrown into prison, but the Socialist Labour Party which is fighting for the ideal of Socialism, can neither be imprisoned nor swept out of existence."

This concluded the speeches of the accused.

The Sentences of the Accused in the Rakosi Trial.

Seventeenth day of Proceedings.

Budapest, 4th August 1926.

Today the court pronounced its judgment in the Rákosi trial. The proceedings were timed to open at half past nine, but at half past eight the workers had arrived in masses and demanded to be let in to the court room. Although the police cleared the streets of the workers, the court room was packed. The judgment was read at ten o'clock. The reading took over three hours.

The communist accused received the following sentences:

Rákosi Matthias	8½ years hard labour
Weinberger Zoltan	8 years hard labour
Oery Karl	4 years hard labour
Gögös Ignaz	3½ years hard labour
Haman Katherina	2 years and 4 months hard labour
Juhász Paul	2 years hard labour
Mitterer Josef	2 years and 4 months hard labour
Bozsoki Ludwig	2 years and 3 months hard labour
Czeiner Franz	2 years and 4 months hard labour
Fiala Franz	2 years and 4 months hard labour
Vig Johann	1 year and 10 months imprisonment
Szilagyi Josef	1 year and 10 months imprisonment
Nemeth Julius	2 years hard labour
Weisz Josef	2 years hard labour
Weissenhofer Ladislaus	2 years hard labour
Lukacs Eugen	1 year and 10 months imprisonment
Fekkel Matthias	1 year and 10 months imprisonment
Oancz Josef	1 year and 10 months imprisonment
Winkler August	1 year and 10 months imprisonment
Lakatos Albert	1 year and 10 months imprisonment
Petri Nikolaus	1 year and 10 months imprisonment
Bonczeitai Koloman	1 year and 10 months imprisonment
Keller Stefan	1 year and 10 months imprisonment
Kis Karl	1 year and 10 months imprisonment
Kalman Johann	10 months imprisonment
Vajna Geza	10 months imprisonment

As the imprisonment from the time of arrest up to the time of the trial is reckoned in the sentences, the two last named accused will be immediately released.

The accused members of the Socialist Labour Party received the following sentences:

Vági Stefan 1 year imprisonment after deduction of arrest before trial, 4 months.

Weiszhausz Aladar 1 year imprisonment, still to serve 11 months.

Zwickel Josef 6 months imprisonment, on account of arrest before trial will be instantly released.

Steinlein Alexander 8 months imprisonment, with deduction of two months for imprisonment before trial.

Dohány Franz 3 months.

The communist accused were condemned upon the basis of the law for the protection of the state of 1921. The organisation of or the participation in a movement having as its aim the violent overthrow of the state or the social order fall under this act. The highest punishment for participation in such a movement is according to § 1 of the law, 5 years hard labour, according to § 3 the highest penalty for leaders of such a movement is 10 years hard labour. **Rákosi** and **Weinberger** were sentenced under paragraph 3 as leaders, and the others under paragraph 1. According to § 3 and the following paragraphs, should the law have been broken and over and above that also other crimes committed then a sentence of death, or of life long or of 15 years hard labour may be given. The Public Prosecutor demanded that **Rákosi** and **Weinberger** be sentenced under this proviso because he declared they had acted for their personal enrichment and had over and above that used forged passes in order to return to Hungary. The court acquitted **Rákosi** and **Weinberger** upon these two charges and sentenced them solely upon § 3.

The members of the **Socialist Labour Party** were sentenced upon one charge alone, that they had stirred up class hatred. The following members of the S. L. Party who were also accused, were acquitted: **Palotas Emerich**, **Both Bela**, **Vandor Paul**, **Toth Georg**, **Fodor Karl**, **Brecska Emil**, **Kovacs Georg**, **Krieszl Johann**, **Groboszkzy Heinrich**, **Gögös Josef**, **Beres Josef**, **Szilagyi Julius**, **Sido Arpad**, **Schoenmann Ladislaus**, **Papai Josef** and **Mehler Bela**.

The court ordered the immediate release of these accused and also of **Vági**, **Weiszhausz** and their comrades who had been sentenced for inciting class hatred. Despite the protests of the Public Prosecutor the court upheld its decision and all the members of the **Socialist Labour Party** were immediately released. From the communist accused **Kalman Johann** and **Vajna Geza** were immediately released as they had already served their sentences. Of the 55 accused, 33 were thus released. This decision of the court was received with storms of cheering amongst the spectators in the court room.

Upon the reading of the sentences **Rákosi** shouted: "Long live the legal Communist Party of Hungary!" The accused **Weinberger**, **Czeiner**, **Gögös**, **Oery**, **Haman** and others joined in the cheer enthusiastically. The president called them sharply to order and threatened them with severe punishments.

In passing sentence upon the communist accused the court declared that the law for the protection of the state must be enforced because every movement which has as its aim, even indirectly, the overthrow of society and is calculated to carry out such an overthrow, falls under this law. The accused themselves had admitted that they were communists and that they belonged to the **III. International**. The **III. International** openly strives to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the overthrow of the existing system of society. Although it has not been proved that the accused were preparing an armed insurrection, although in the present period the **III. International** perhaps has as its aim only the organising of the masses and the winning of the majority of the working class, it was nevertheless perfectly clear that this meant an attempt to organise an armed insurrection to overthrow the present order. Quite apart from other things however, the mere membership of the Communist Party, the mere holding of communist opinions was punishable under the law for the protection of the State, because the holding of communist opinions alone was calculated to endanger the state, and the aim of the law was not merely, so declared the President, to punish the culprits, but also to defend the state.

As proof the court accepted the statements of the accused. The statements of the agent provocateur **Samuel** were only accepted as proof as far as they tallied with the statements of the accused. All the accused however admitted that they were communists, for this reason it was quite immaterial whether or not an appeal to insurrection took place in the Party school, indeed the Court recognised that the school provided only teaching of a theoretical nature. But this teaching, declared the court, was calculated to create communist opinions amongst its pupils or to strengthen those already existing, this was proved by the fact that several of the accused admitted that they had become communists through attending the school. The court declared that neither **Rákosi**, **Weinberger** nor any of the other accused had acted from pecuniary motives, it reckoned even the unselfishness of many of the accused as an extenuating circumstance.

With regard to the group of members of the **Socialist Labour Party**, the court declared that this Party was not a communist organisation. There were, declared the court, no proofs that the leaders of the **Socialist Labour Party** were connected with the communists or that they were aware of the work carried on by the communists inside the **Socialist Labour Party**. The **Socialist Labour Party** was a legal party, declared the court. No proofs had been brought forward during the process to show that it had as its aim the direct violent overthrow of the social order. For this reason the whole activity of the **Socialist Labour Party** did not fall under the law for the protection of the state. It had therefore been necessary to examine carefully, in relation to each of the accused of this group, whether or not their actions violated any other law. **Vagi**, **Weiszhausz** and **Zwickel** had stirred up class hatred in their speeches upon the formation of the **Socialist Labour Party** in 1925. This had also been done by **Steinlein** in his speech at the demonstration of the **Socialist Labour Party** which had been prohibited by the police in 1925. **Dohany** also did the same in his speech to the demonstration of the **Socialist Labour Party** on the 7th March 1926. With regard to the other members of the **Socialist Labour Party** it had not been possible to prove any concrete delict against them. For this reason they would be acquitted.

Following upon the reading of the sentences, the president asked **Rakosi** whether he wished to appeal against his sentence. **Rakosi** answered: "The sentences will be accepted in the whole world with general indignation . . ." The judge immediately interrupted him, forbade him to speak further and sentenced him to three days in the dark cell without food and without bed. This incident caused a general outbreak of indignation in the court room.

The counsel for the defense lodged appeals against the sentences on behalf of the communist accused, and the Public Prosecutor lodged an appeal against the acquittal of the members of the **Socialist Labour Party** and for an increase of the sentences of the communist accused.

Protest Telegram of Russian Writers.

Moscow, August 4th, 1926.

The Association of **Proletarian Writers**, the **Authors Union** and the **Union of Peasant Authors of the Soviet Union** have despatched the following telegram to the High Court in Budapest: "The undersigned organisations protest energetically in the name of 5000 authors in the Soviet Union against the process which is being carried on against the Hungarian authors **Weinberger** and **Haydu** whose only 'crime' is that they did not conceal their political convictions." The authors organisations of the Soviet Union called upon the authors organisations of other countries to join in this protest action.

The "Isvestia" on the Sentence in the Rakosi Trial.

Moscow, August 5th, 1926.

Today's leading article in the "Isvestia" declares that the judgment delivered by the Budapest court has been prompted by the counter-revolutionary government of **Bethlen**. The government wishes to keep well in with the **English Conservatives** and to play the role of a saviour of the fatherland in the eyes of the Hungarian landowners, bankers, speculators and forgers by attacking the "red danger", by provocations, a brutal martyrdom of the accused, by sending agents provocateurs to the Soviet Union and into the Hungarian Communist Party in order to prove that the Hungarian communists intended to prepare an armed insurrection.

The provocation of the Hungarian government, however, collapsed even before the counter-revolutionary court which was compelled to recognise that the only crime of the Hungarian communists consisted in "stirring up class hatred". The judgment of the court uncovers the shameful state of Hungary. According to the Law for the Protection of the State mere membership

of the Communist Party counts as a serious crime. Through this fact the process against the Hungarian communists has become of international significance.

The Hungarian revolutionaries held themselves before the court as communists should. They held aloft the red banner of communism and did not budge one inch on their communist convictions. The court in Budapest deliberately chose the seventh anniversary of the overthrow of the proletarian power in Hungary for the announcement of its judgment against the communists. The Hungarian bourgeoisie wished to celebrate its triumph by still another crime.

The fact that seven years after the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship the Hungarian working class has still such leaders, such communists as those who stood on trial, proves that Communism cannot be wiped out, not even in rivers in blood, it proves that communism is immortal and that it organises its victory even whilst in the dock.

On the seventh anniversary of the victory of the counter-revolution the tribunal announced a verdict not against the Hungarian communists but against the Hungarian counter-revolution.

FASCISM

The Fights Within Fascism.

By G. Rossi.

The most important event in the home politics of Italy in the last few months was the fall of Farinacci, the General Secretary of the Fascist party and his replacement by Augusto Turati (not to be confused with the social democratic leader of the same name). Farinacci's resignation, which of course was forced upon him, was the culminating point of the fights which have been taking place in the corridors and antichambers of the various palaces in Rome, in which the Ministry of the Interior, the Prime Minister's offices and the offices of the Fascist party are housed. After the Matteotti case came to an end, Farinacci was superfluous and was removed.

Although the censorship prevents any discussion and any explanation of this matter, the Farinacci affair is causing the Government much worry. There have been conflicts between Fascists in various Italian towns, in Turin, in Genoa and other places. Thus, in Savona, the opposition succeeded in taking possession of the Town Hall, the Sub-Prefecture and the premises of the Fascist party and the Fascist trade unions. The plot was suppressed in time by the police, the Carabinieri and the militia. In Naples also, there were serious encounters between the official Fascists and those of the opposition in consequence of the death of Captain Padovani who had been excluded from the party and who died under peculiar circumstances. It is further a telling fact that Farinacci was called upon by the Prefect of Milan to leave without delay that town, in which he had come together with his friends. In Trieste also there were a number of sharp conflicts between the public forces and Fascists, which even led to shots being fired in the streets of the town.

The chief scandal however was caused by the Fascist Press and by the authorities in connection with the collapse of the Agrarian Bank of Parma. In this collapse, some of Farinacci's friends from Cremona, a town in the neighbourhood of Parma, were involved. The responsible director of the Bank was Count Lusignani, one of the most famous businessmen, who had only recently declared himself a Fascist and had understood how to procure the friendship and protection of Farinacci in spite of the most violent opposition of a section of the Fascists of Parma.

The breakdown of the Bank in itself is of no special importance. It was merely a case of several millions which were squandered by a few financiers and political businessmen, that is to say of an event, which is by no means anything peculiar under the Fascist regime. Farinacci's opponents however seized the opportunity and embarked on a violent campaign of agi-

tation. Matters were brought to light which otherwise might have been left in the dark. Among other things, Farinacci's friends were accused of having embezzled money of a charitable institution in Cremona, and Farinacci himself was accused of having pocketed money for his paper "Il regime fascista". (The Fascist Rule.) The methods were revealed by which he extorted subscriptions and assignments of money from the agrarians of Cremona according to the amount of their possessions. Although Farinacci's opponents work on the same lines, all this was dragged into the light of day in order to injure Farinacci. The money affairs of a certain Max Bondi and a certain Cupini are connected with this matter; the financial collapse of the latter was a breakdown in grand style, in which Deputy Balbo, one of Farinacci's intimate friends, played a disgraceful part.

At the same time another struggle developed between the leaders of the Fascist Corporations (trade unions) and the leaders of the Association for Industry and Agriculture. The new trade union law and still more its regulations, make the unions absolutely dependent on the political authorities and rob them of all autonomy and all freedom of action, whilst in reality, the associations of employers retain the greatest freedom of action. The leaders of the Corporations tried to offer resistance, either to satisfy the masses to some extent or to pacify their discontent or to do justice to their natural desire to defend their own power. Consequently there were some lively discussions in the bosom of the Great Council; Deputy Rossoni, General Secretary of the Corporations, talked in threatening language, whilst in private conversation he did not even hesitate to make some very cutting remarks about the Duce and some of his chief collaborators. Another leader of the Fascist Unions even dared to speak of a general strike! It is a matter of course that the landowners and the industrialists met with success all along the line.

The last great point of dissension was the question as to whether the (proletarian) tenant farmers should belong to the association of the landowners or of the agricultural workers. In reality, a political problem is in this case concealed under the mantle of a legal problem, because, as a matter of fact, the agrarians wish to prevent any alliance between the tenant farmers and the agricultural workers by forcing the former into the organisations in which they themselves are of course masters. Article 5 of the trade union regulations had already decided the question according to the will of the landowners. The Fascist trade unionists succeeded in bringing the matter up again for discussion. It is however very doubtful whether they will attain their end.

The struggles to which we have referred are in reality extremely important, because they are symptoms of rapidly increasing discontent among the masses of the petty bourgeoisie with the oligarchic and plutocratic rulers who are now completely and openly in control of the Government and of Fascism. They are symptoms of deep clefs between the centre and the periphery.

The central power is to-day in the hands of the financiers and is represented in politics by an oligarchy consisting of former Nationalists who have gone over to Fascism and have become its spiritual masters and leaders. The Government is under the domination of the Triumvirate Federzoni, Rocco and Volpi. The two first were originally Nationalists, protagonists of an absolute regime, the legitimate power of which is not traced back to divine right but to the right of the stronger. The third is the representative of the Banca Commerciale, the confidant of Italian and foreign high finance. His assistant, who takes a rather less important place, is Belluzzo, the Minister for National Economy, an engineer, who is exclusively in the service of the capitalists. Mussolini appears everywhere as the headpiece and the sign-board. He is in reality nothing more nor less than a prisoner... a voluntary one of course.

The politics in this affair are of necessity politics of great oppression and of ever increasing exploitation of the masses. The economic position is getting worse in spite of all Fascist "reconstruction". The trade balance shows an alarmingly increasing deficit, the lira continues to fall. In the last two months, it has fallen far more than ten points and, as compared with the pre-war lira, it is not worth more than 18 paper or 14 gold centesimi. In order to relieve this condition and to keep exports going, there is nothing to be done but to reduce

the cost of production by cutting down wages, and that at a moment when the Italian people is already almost faced by starvation.

Of course these matters do not only affect the masses of workers and peasants; directly or indirectly, the small property owners, the merchants, indeed innumerable members of the petty bourgeoisie are hit by the reduction of incomes, the increase of the prices of food, the increased burden of taxation etc. They are beginning to recognise that the enthusiasm, with which they greeted the Fascist cause, was devoted to a lost cause. The Government however continues its policy with all the means in its power. The suppression of the elected Municipal Councils and the replacement of them by administrators nominated by Rome, the suppression of the Chambers of Commerce, the restriction of the field of activity for lawyers, the prevention of the activities of all non-Fascist associations, all this cannot but subject the petty bourgeoisie to pressure. The discontent of these circles is expressed both in the movement centering round Farinacci and in the movement of the Fascist professional unions.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Educational Workers' International.

By H. W.

Vienna, 11th August 1926.

The 4th International Conference of the Educational Workers' International opened here on the 9th August and continues till the 12th.

More than a hundred delegates are present, representing eight affiliated national organisations, including the Russian, together with more than thirty other national groups and individuals. This marks a serious attempt to unite and organise that section of the world's workers the most difficult to reach, namely the various grades of teachers.

The E. W. I. is a unitary trade union International, not affiliated to Moscow or Amsterdam, but includes groups and individuals from organisations affiliated to one¹⁾ or neither²⁾ of the two great Trade Union Internationals. Recognising that the unity of the world's masses is the indispensable condition of any real effective struggle against world capitalism, its most important aim is to unite all sections of the world's educational workers who are determined to emancipate their class. All fighting sections or individuals striving to organise sections, are welcome; but not sects who merely discuss "non-political" or "neutral" (!) topics.

The agenda includes in addition to various reports such items as: civic and economic position of the teachers in the world; the school and religion; the school and ethics; the struggle against chauvinism and imperialism.

This agenda, and the discussion that has taken place so far, show that the delegates mean to study and clarify the characteristics of the present well-nigh, world-wide capitalist attack on the schools and on the teachers, an attack that is part of the world struggle of capitalism to stabilise itself at the expense of the toilers and their children.

As evidence of the tremendous development of the class struggle in Britain, it is to be noted that eleven members from that country are present, eight of whom are members of the E. C. of the Teachers' Labour League, the English group that affiliated to the E. W. I. in December 1925. These young, virile delegates are taking a very prominent part in the Conference debates and decisions, giving a good Left wing tendency. But the whole Conference evinces a young, eager, virile body of internationalists meeting in a Conference that is surely of great significance, especially when we observe the advances

¹⁾ The Belgian and Luxemburg groups are affiliated to Amsterdam and the Russian to Moscow.

²⁾ The English Teachers' Labour League is not affiliated member.

these teachers are making this year over the 1925 Congress in the world grasp of events and in debating efficiency.

That the capitalists recognise this, and fully realise that the E. W. I. is the coming teachers' International, is shown by 1. that the delegates from Spain under its fascist military dictatorship, and from Tunis and Algeria, under the heel of French imperialism, have been prevented by their governments from attending; 2. the Bulgarian, Italian and Grecian delegates have attended only thanks to their ingenuity which enabled them to avoid the spies and police of their own governments; 3. the three Russian delegates were refused permission to enter Austria by the Catholic-Democratic Republican government here. It was only after energetic protest of the Conference and the threat to transfer the seat of the Conference to some other town outside of Austria that permission was finally granted to three Russian delegates to enter Austria. They are expected to arrive on Thursday.

After the opening of the Conference on Monday morning by comrade Clement (representing the Luxemburg teachers and leader of the social democratic Party of that country) the day was mainly employed in hearing greetings from fraternal delegates and individuals, including a woman colleague from the U. S. A. Among the apologies for absence read (i. g. Tunis, Spain etc.) was one from the British National Union of Teachers regretting that it "was impossible to attend!"

Sad, but vivid with educational meaning was the account of conditions of class-conscious teachers in Italy, Greece, but especially in Bulgaria. A message of sympathy and support in every possible way was sent to colleagues of these countries living in exile, or languishing in the bestial Bulgarian prisons and to the dependents of these, the first but not the least to suffer from the blood-soaked fascist militarist gang used by finance capitalism to regain its power to exploit and oppress.

Tuesday opened with a further proof that world capitalism recognises the importance and significance of the E. W. I. During the night the Austrian police had torn down two of the several fine hand-printed revolutionary slogans that formed part of the decoration of the hall. These slogans were:

1. "Religion is the opium of the people" (Marx);
2. "Religion is a crime against the child mind" (Tolstoj).

The capitalists have thus taught the teachers here assembled what a powerful weapon they consider religion is to keep the child — the victorious worker to-be — chloroformed now, that he may be oppressed later. Police and detectives seem pretty busy looking after the welfare of the delegates in and about the hall.

After sending a strong resolution of protest to the social democratic Mayor of Vienna against the action of the police, asking him "to do all that is necessary to prevent the repetition of such scandalous interference" the Conference settled down to discuss the four parts of the General Secretary's report: 1. International activity; 2. activity of the national groups and propositions before Congress; 3. analysis of the present situation; 4. tasks of the future. Particular attention is to be paid to America, North and South, to Africa and to the Pacific countries.

Comrade Bill (England) stated that they were trying to build up in England a strong socialist minority of teachers, working to bring the big organisations (e. g. the N. U. T.) as trade unions into the ranks of the proletarian workers; 2. to develop a strong socialist policy inside the Labour Movement on education along these lines.

Wednesday morning is being devoted to a discussion on the report of Comrade Boyer on "The School and Ethics" and at the moment of writing there is proceeding an analysis on how far working class education can be given in schools. The speeches and discussions and the whole spirit of the conference already show that the Vienna conference of the Educational Workers International will mark a big advance in the important tasks of building up a powerful international of class conscious teachers which will prove an invaluable weapon for combating chauvinism and capitalist ideology in general in the most important sphere, i. e. in the sphere of child education.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Resolution upon the Question of Erection of Dwellings.

(Adopted on the basis of the report of Comrade Schmidt.)

In the life of the worker the housing question is becoming one of the most acute questions, failing a positive solution of which even a slight improvement in the position of the worker is not possible. Furthermore, the ever-increasing difficulty in regard to dwelling houses hinders the development of industry, places a considerable obstacle in the way of bringing more hands into production, and has an injurious effect upon the growth of the productiveness of labour. The measures taken by the Soviet Power in regard to the question of dwelling houses (nationalisation of land in the towns; transfer to the workers of an important building fund collected at the cost of the dwellings of employees in good positions in the various enterprises and of the bourgeois residences in the towns; allotment of 350 million roubles by the State, by the economic institutions and by the various Executive Committees within the last two years for erection of dwellings; facilities for the erection of dwellings upon the basis of the decree issued by the Union Executive Committee of May 16th, 1924) are indeed important, but they nevertheless failed to modify or to check the housing crisis.

Among the principal causes of the catastrophic situation in the question of workers dwellings, mention must be made of: the indifference with which factory owners in the past treated the minimal requirements of the workers in the way of living accommodation (in most cases the concerns erected barrack-like buildings for their workers, and the result of this practice was that, as industry developed, the workers were herded together in the factory barracks in a most appalling manner), as also the cessation of urban house erection and of the workmen's-dwelling scheme — even of the construction of barrack-like tenements — since the first days of the imperialist war, despite the ever growing number of workers employed in the factories.

The causes which contributed to the aggravation of the housing house crisis were: progressive demolition of dwellings in consequence of low rents, the lack of any regulation in the general question of dwelling-house construction and the absence of constant sources for the formation of a housing fund. In addition mention must be made of a number of secondary deficiencies which have hampered the development of building, viz.: the lack of system in the procuring of building material, the absence of efficient building organisations, the fact that the cheapest and most rational type of workmen's dwelling was not yet devised, the splitting up of means through the financing of small building enterprises and inadequate supervision of the distribution of means among the most important industrial districts and the most important branches of national economy.

The Plenary Meeting of the C. C. and of the C. C. C. attaches the greatest importance to the matter of house construction for the workers, an undertaking which will require several years to execute, and considers it essential, in the interests of greater efficiency and better management in regard to the whole business of dwelling construction and with a view to the elimination of the shortcomings prevailing in the past, that the following provisions should be made:

1. The creation of a permanent fund for the erection of workers dwelling, the fund to be formed from the following sources:

- a) Grants from the national budget;
- b) Taxes on the profits of enterprises (fund for the improvement of the workers' standard of living);
- c) A percentage of the State insurance contributions in accordance with the clear profit;
- d) A percentage of the amortisation amounts accruing from rents and
- e) Sums repaid on housing credits.

2. In addition to the creation of a permanent building fund and in the interests of further betterment of building activity,

it is necessary that the Planned Economy Commission take into consideration, in laying down the five-year development scheme for industry, a perspective plan of workers' dwelling construction to cover a similar period — from the viewpoint that dwelling erection should keep pace with the plan of industrial reconstruction in the big industrial centres and districts and that a regular distribution of dwelling-house sites in these districts be effected.

In laying down the perspective plan for dwelling construction the Planned Economy Commission must take into consideration the dwellings required by the leading staff of the Red Army.

3. In laying down a plan for dwelling construction such a policy must be observed as will overcome the shortage of the past and the present building season. To this end the following points are necessary:

- a) Promotion of the erection of workers dwellings;
- b) Lowering of constructional costs and improvement of the State Building Departments; measures for the further expansion of the building industry and for the regulation of the building material market;
- c) Cheapening of house-building credits by means of prolongation of the period of repayment and by lowering of the rate of interest on house-building credits and
- d) Simplification and decentralisation of the contract business in house-building credits, as also allocation of the house-building credits at the proper time.

4. In the interests of greater uniformity in the matter of workers dwelling construction, the Committee for the Promotion of House Building should be ordered to work out, with the assistance of other building organisations, all the measures calculated to produce the cheapest and most appropriate type of dwelling for the use of workers. In this, however, regard must be had to the local peculiarities as also to the possibility of exploiting local building materials.

5. The promotion of trade-union control of the quality, of the type of building and, in this respect of the question whether the workers' dwellings are adapted to the mode of living of the workers.

6. In view of the fact that house building is executed principally in the sphere of influence of the economic organs and of the Executive Committees, it is necessary that these bodies be regarded, when the house building plan is being drawn up, as the chief factors in workers' dwelling construction; in the principal towns and in the big industrial centres the building activity of the economic organs and that of the Executive Committees must, of course, fit in with one another.

7. In the interests of greater development of house building and the utilisation of the means of the building contractors themselves, the fostering of cooperative dwelling construction is necessary. It will also be recognised as purposeful and opportune to interest private building concerns in the matter of dwelling construction. The Plenary Meeting of the C. C. and the C. C. C. is of the opinion that the rents being paid at present fail in many cases even to cover the cost of keeping the houses in repair, thus threatening the depletion of the Housing Fund and eventually rendering the housing crisis still more acute. For this reason rent policy must be modified so that rents paid for apartments shall cover depreciation and maintenance as well as the reconstruction of the houses. A necessary condition for the execution of this policy must, of course, be that the rate at which rents are increased should be in consonance with the general advance in the real wages of workers and employees.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Splitting Policy of the Polish Reformists.

The chemical workers' union — one of the largest in Poland numbering 12,000 members — has for some time maintained a critical attitude in very many questions towards the Polish trade union leadership — the Central Committee of Trade Unions, which is completely in the hands of the right wing

of the Polish Socialist Party. In consequence of this a conflict arose between the Union Executive and the Central Committee. At the end of June (26—30) a congress of the chemical workers union was held in Dziedzice (lower Silesia) in which 120 delegates took part. The Congress, after hearing the report of Comrade Tchuma, secretary of the union, by an overwhelming majority of all against five votes expressed its confidence in the Executive and adopted many resolutions showing the class and militant character of the union.

On the third day of the congress a representation from the Central Committee arrived, a P. S. P. ite Zhulavsky, and demanded that Comrade Tchuma be expelled from the union on the grounds that he had connected himself with the "Glos Pracy" (organ of the T. U. opposition), maintains contact with communists and allows their "venomous communist ideology to poison the Polish trade union movement".

As a matter of fact some few months back Comrade Tchuma was a member of the P. S. P., but being unable to reconcile himself with the party's policy, especially with regard to its participation in a coalition government with the extreme reactionary party of the National Democrats, he left the party together with a group of active T. U. and Party workers. This group formed a new party, naming it the left P. S. P. — "P. S. P. lewica" — whose chief slogan is "irreconcilable class struggle and trade union unity".

The leaders of the P. S. P. right wing resolved to settle accounts with Comrade Tchuma and his supporters in the TU field.

Comrade Tchuma proposed that a commission be elected to go into his case, and although the congress expressed its confidence in him, Comrade Tchuma insisted on the election of a commission to settle the conflict. Then Zhulavsky raised a scandal and left the congress accompanied by his five supporters.

The Central Committee, in a letter demanded Comrade Tchuma's expulsion, threatening that in the event of this not being carried out by July 15th the chemical workers union as a whole would automatically be expelled from the Central Committee of trade unions.

The Union Executive suggested that the commission elected by the congress should, together with representatives from the Central Committee, investigate this question. At the same time the Central Committee, without awaiting the decision of the chemical workers, at once issued instructions to that section of the union that is under its influence not to pay membership dues, and to set up their own organisation Committee, that is, deliberately prepared a split.

On July 14th a meeting of the C. C. was held to go into Comrade Tchuma's case. Zhulavsky proposed:

- A. that the chemical workers' union be suspended for one week
- B. to form a new union.

Representatives from the Central Executive of the Union proposed many measures directed towards a peaceful settling of the conflict, among others to convene a congress under the control of a representative appointed by the Central Committee. They also warned that the expulsion of the chemical workers' union might be understood by the working masses as signalling a split of the trade unions along party lines.

Nevertheless the P. S. P. majority on the Central Committee upheld its ultimatum: demanding Comrade Tchuma's expulsion within 14 days, and the appointment of a secretary for the union by the C. C. Non-fulfilment of this demand renders the Union liable to automatic expulsion.

Furthermore, in other trade unions in Poland, conflicts are arising too; and everywhere the P. S. P., through the C. C. endeavours at any cost, even at the price of a split, to repress all criticism and eliminate all oppositional elements from the TU movement.

P. S. P. unions, that is, the whole TU movement split up on party lines, or mass unions uniting the proletariat as a whole under the slogan of the class war — this is the problem confronting the Polish working class, it is to this that the conflict between the chemical workers' Unions and the Central Committee is leading.

THE WHITE TERROR

Chicago Women in Prison for Picketing.

Fifty-four women are in prison at the present moment in Chicago. They have been sent there for picketing in the Garment Workers Strike of 1924. The entire labour movement of Chicago was up in arms when this injunction against picketing was issued and for two years the sentence has been appealed against again and again. All appeals were in vain, however and the women went to jail.

Their sentences range from 10 to 70 days. Most of them are mothers with children who will be left uncared for during the time. One woman Mrs. Aeslakowicz has left four, one of whom is a cripple needing constant attention. This comrade went out on the picket line during the strike, was badly beaten by two hired ruffians and was finally arrested. When asked about her jail sentence she said "I would rather go to jail than work in a scab shop".

One woman in a state of advanced pregnancy and another seriously ill have been excused by the judge, but even comrade Freda Reicher, who had been sent to a tuberculosis sanatorium was forced to leave it to serve her 30 days sentence.

The spirit of the women is great throughout. "They jail our bodies but they cannot crush our spirit" said one.

The conditions under which they have to live are very bad. Two women are placed in each cell about 4 by 6 feet in area. An open toilet dirty and smelling is placed in one corner of the cell. The beds which have one hard straw mattress, one black blanket and one grey sheet are placed on top of one another. Most of the mattresses are full of vermin and the cells as a whole defy all the efforts of the women to keep them clean and sanitary. It is impossible to eat the food the jail furnishes but the Unions to which the women belong, send them one meal per day; with this the girls have to manage. They are not allowed books or papers except from the prison library and its contents are not the sort of thing any educated person wants to read.

Though the spirit of the prisoners has been fine and the Communist paper "The Daily Worker" has given them every help possible, as far as publicity can help. The actual union in whose defence they went to prison and the Chicago Federation of Labour have been strangely silent since these brave women went to prison. Up to date the Labour officials have not even sent out an appeal for mass support and have made no public statement on the case.

The Communist Party alone has made any attempt at agitation to obtain the pardon of these class war prisoners.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE C. P. S. U.

Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of France on the Decisions of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, at its Sitting held on July 31st last, adopted the following resolution. Ed.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, after taking note of the recent decisions of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U., is of the opinion that the decisions adopted by the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. S. U. placed the minority under the obligation to submit to the majority and to work in applying the decisions of the XIV. Party Conference. This is all the more so as they announced their intention to submit to the decisions of the Party Conference, as is the rule in the Communist Party.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France is of the opinion that it is necessary that the various sections of the Communist International study the character of these dif-

ferences, and that for this purpose the necessary material be placed at their disposal in order that they can express themselves with full knowledge of the matter.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France takes this opportunity to confirm again the essential points of its resolution of 1st January 1926 with regard to the decisions of the XIV. Party Conference, and again emphasises its will to give the French Party exhaustive information which will render it possible to express views on all national and international problems which have been raised at and since the XIV. Party Conference. It emphasises more energetically than ever that the unity of the Bolsheviki Party is the unconditional guarantee for the maintenance of the proletarian power in Russia and the victory of the world revolution, it approves the disciplinary measures which have been adopted, and at the same time expresses its complete confidence in the Central Committee of the C. P. of the Soviet Union.

The C. C. of the C. P. of France.

Resolution of the Polbureau of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia in Support of the Decisions of the C. P. S. U.

Prague, July 30th, 1926.

The Polbureau of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia has considered the position of the Russian brother Party of the Soviet Union and of the Comintern on the basis of a study of the resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. and of the other material and adopted the following decision:

The Polbureau of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia calls attention to its approval of the decisions of the XIV. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U., and today considers it a matter of course that it is in agreement with the measures of the Russian brother party in regard to the Opposition for which, according to the resolution of the Plenum of the C. P. S. U., Comrade Zinoviev is made politically responsible and considers all its measures to be correct.

The Polbureau of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia considers the ideal unity of action of the Communist Parties to be an indispensable condition for a successful preservation of the interests of the international working class. The unity of the Russian brother Party, for us in addition to this means the guarantee of a successful continuation of the great work of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R., the guarantee for the maintenance of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and the guarantee for the maintenance of the unity of the Communist International. The Czechoslovakian communist proletariat sees in the Russian Communist Party, in the Soviet Union, and in the Communist International the inviolable heritage of the immortal Lenin, and places itself on the side of the Russian brother Party which is acting consistently in preserving the inviolability of the heritage of Lenin.

The Polbureau, having this aim in view, expresses its agreement with the measures which have already been adopted against the opposition in order that the unity of the All-Russian Communist Party and of the Comintern shall not be threatened in the future and that the work of socialist construction in the first proletarian State shall not be disturbed.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has rendered its Czechoslovakian brother party unforgettable service in the past, not only in helping it by advice and deed to remove the right elements, but in leading it along that way in which a Party worthy of the name of Lenin should go. The Polbureau of the C. C. of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, in the name of the entire revolutionary proletariat of Czechoslovakia, once again assures the Russian comrades that it is completely and unreservedly on their side in the fight for maintaining the unity of the Party of Lenin, and that it is always prepared, under all circumstances, to support it, in the conviction that it is thereby

servicing the interests not only of the Russian, but of the entire revolutionary world proletariat.

Long live the unity of the Russian Communist Party!

Away with fractions within the Russian Brother Party, the Communist International and its different sections!

The Polbureau of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

Attitude of the C. C. of the C. P. of Hungary to the Decisions of the Plenum of the C. C. and of the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

The C. C. of the C. P. of Hungary has unanimously adopted the following decision:

1. It entirely approves the energetically-worded, but in every respect carefully thought out and moderate decisions adopted at the joint Plenum of the C. C. and of the C. C. C. of the C. P. of the Soviet Union for the defence of Party unity.

2. It declares that the "new Opposition" has departed from the Leninist principles and Leninist practice, not only in that, by its fraction activity, it made a flagrant attack on the iron unity of the Party. It has, by continuing its standpoint against the decisions of the XIV. Congress of the C. P. of the Soviet Union which were passed in the spirit of Leninism, and which standpoint endangers the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, hinders the building up of Socialism and is also an expression of lack of faith in the victory of socialism, decisively placed itself in opposition to Leninism.

3. Its departure from Leninism becomes still clearer from the fact that the "New Opposition", in their endeavour to extend their front, even at the price of complete lack of principle, have fully and entirely surrendered to Trotzkyism, in the combating of which as an un-Leninist tendency they not only participated, but demanded more than anybody else the severest organisatory measures. The "New Opposition" have thereby exposed their own lack of principle not only to the C. P. of the Soviet Union, but to the whole Comintern. By presenting such an example of lack of principle, this group, which has thrown itself into the arms of Trotzkyism, has not only lost its own reputation among the old Bolsheviki, but it has also done incalculable harm to the International Communist Movement.

4. The lack of principle of the Opposition is also shown by the fact that they have, on an international scale, partly by their political platform and organisatory measures, and partly by keeping silence, rallied round them those elements of the Comintern which have, at various times but always with their participation, been stigmatised by the various Congresses and other organs of the Comintern as Right or Left liquidatory tendencies (Souvarine, Ruth Fischer, Maslow etc.). It is absolutely necessary that the Comintern continue with all energy the fight against these Right and Left liquidatory tendencies which are grouping themselves round the opposition within the C. P. of the Soviet Union, and that all its sections energetically support it in its fight against these tendencies.

5. The C. C. of the C. P. of Hungary condemns in the sharpest manner the misuse that has been made of the apparatus of the E. C. C. I. for the purpose of shattering the unity of the C. P. of the Soviet Union and of the Comintern. It expresses its firm conviction, however, that the decision of the Plenum will not only strengthen the unity of the C. P. of the Soviet Union, but will also increase the firmness of the Comintern, as well as the bond between the C. P. of the Soviet Union and the other sections of the Comintern — this most valuable pledge of the victory of the international revolution.

Long live the old, Bolshevik guard which remains true to Leninism!

Long live the firm unity of the Party of Lenin!

Long live the Communist International!

30th July 1926.

THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT

Resolution of the Org.-Bureau of the E. C. C. I. on the Communist Children's Movement.

(Adopted at its Meeting of 24, 4. 26.)

1. The Communist Children's movement which developed in most of the large countries of Europe and America, and in the Soviet Union and the Orient, is of great importance to the Communist Parties from the viewpoint of the training of a new revolutionary generation living under Post-war conditions. For the Communist Parties the Communist Children's movement is a question of the revolutionary cadres of the future. In addition the uniting of active children under Communist leadership offers the possibility of carrying the class struggle into the school, and thus in the struggle against the ideology of the bourgeois school, developing proletarian class consciousness in the masses of worker's children. For this reason the Communist Parties of all countries must devote particular attention to this field of work and aid the Young Communist Leagues to unite broad masses of toilers' children and train them in a Communist spirit.

2. The Communist Party directs the Communist Children's movement through the Y. C. L., which is able to assign to this work young forces close to the children, and which already possesses considerable experience on this field.

The Org.-Bureau of the E. C. C. I. considers correct the organisational basis of the Communist Children's movement laid down at the last session of the Enlarged Executive of the Y. C. L. (nuclei in the schools, attended by the Children, and in the factories where children work; development of the most extensive initiative from below and firm direction from above). The transition from the present narrowly exclusive work within the organisation to mass activity for the winning of the unorganised children, as well as those at present belonging to opponent organisations, must be the chief task in the current activity of the Communist children's movement. This mass work must be based upon concrete children's demands on the field of the school struggle and for the betterment of the material situation of the children. The combination of these concrete children's demands with the general proletarian demands, and the support of the children by the proletarian adult organisations, are indisputable conditions for the success of this whole work.

3. The Org.-Bureau of the E. C. C. I. records that the attention thus far devoted by most communist Parties to questions of the Communist children's movement has been utterly inadequate. It calls upon all the Sections of the Comintern to remedy this shortcoming in the immediate future. This attention, and the support to the Y. C. L. in its work among the children, must take on the following concrete forms:

a) A systematic supervision of the work of the Y. C. L. among the children, by discussion of the questions of the Communist children's movement in the Party Executives (from bottom to top), special conferences of Party members (particularly of teachers), Party Conferences with suggestions as to practical ways and means for the support of this activity.

b) Stressing in our propaganda the importance and necessity of extensive work for the Communist training of the chil-

dren; taking Communist's children into the Communist children's organisations, printing in the press of articles by well-known Party functionaries, special columns devoted to the Communist children's movement, publication of children's letters, etc.

c) Assigning of Party forces for work on this field primarily in the directing organs of the children's movement (in the Children's bureau, Children's commission, Children's committees of the Y. C. L. Committees).

d) The training of active workers for the Communist children's movement by means of introducing questions of Communist children's work into the programme of the Party schools, and through the opening of short-term special courses (district and central) for the preparation of Communist Children's movement leaders from among the active members of the Y. C. L.

e) Questions of the misery, homelessness, exploitation, and chauvinist training of the children should be raised by Communist parliamentary fractions, trade unions fractions, and fractions in the parent-teacher and similar organisations.

f) Propaganda regarding the successes of the Communist children's movement in the Soviet Union, and assistance in establishing contact between the children of capitalist countries and those of the Soviet Union, in conjunction with the general campaign on behalf of the Soviet Union.

g) Material support to the activity of the Communist children's organisations by setting aside a definite percentage of the regular membership dues or of special assessments and collections. Money at the disposal of the Children's League should be applied to the publication of literature, support of children's newspapers and periodicals, and training maintenance of the chief active members (courses, conferences, discussions), and for the initiation of various mass campaigns.

4. The Org Bureau of the E. C. C. I. is of the opinion that the Communist Parties of those countries in which Communist children's organisations already exist must, in the immediate future, get reports from the Y. C. L. on the status of this work, and on their part adopt a series of practical measures for the indications outlined above.

5. In those countries in which there is as yet no children's organisation, or in which it is still very weak, (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Italy etc.), it is necessary that the Communist Parties take all possible measures for the most rapid development of this work.

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