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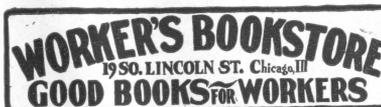
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Joseph Stalin.

construction of agricultural production is proceeding more slowly than that of the industries. Agricultural production increased only 32% in the period from 1922 to 1926. This is so because the reconstruction of agricultural production is not accompanied in the same degree by concentration and systematization as is the case in industries. This fact has a very important political reaction on the Soviet power. The numbers, the importance and the influence of the industrial proletariat is growing so fast that the political supremacy of industrial workers in the Soviets cannot be successfully challenged. But also the economic effects of this fact will become an important and welcome factor in the future development of Soviet economy. It will enable the Soviet industry to produce the necessary agricultural machinery and implements without which the socialization of agricultural production is impossible. Since private property of the land is removed as an obstacle on the road to socialization of agricultural production, the latter hinges to a large degree on the ability of the industries to supply the machinery indispensable for social production.

Private and State Capital.

Thus we see that in the Soviet Union private capital is practically restricted to small industry and to small commercial enterprise. These small privately owned industrial enterprises must get their raw material, and the privately controlled commercial enterprises must get their merchandise either from state factories or from state import. And since the state is not controlled by them but by the working class it is quite sure that the

trees of these N. E. P. capitalists will not grow into heaven.

Towards Communism.

The undisputable facts about Russian economic reconstruction are:

1. Systematic progress in the organization and up-building of the productive machinery of the country;
2. Systematization of production;
3. Tremendous positive increase of the output of nationalized industry;
4. Relative decrease of the output of privately owned industry;
5. Progress in the socialization of agricultural production;
6. Strengthening of the Soviets as the instruments of political power of the workers and as controlling factors of socialized industry.

All of these tendencies taken together are a clear and unmistakable sign of development toward Communism. They prove that the Soviet Union is increasing the distance between present day Russian economy and capitalist economy, that it is systematically decreasing the distance between present day Russian economy and the future Communist economy. **Russia is traveling toward Communism—and not back to Capitalism.**

With foreign commerce nationalized 100%, with nationalized industry amounting to 89% of the total, with railroad transport nationalized 100%, and with the workers holding the state power, private capital may be an additional help for the economic reconstruction—but it will never become its master.



the new liberation of the Hungarian workers but they do not belong to the Communist Party and are not members of the Third International.

Another factor revolutionizing the Hungarian workers is their terrible misery. Nowhere in Europe is there, perhaps, greater misery than in Hungary at the present time.

Seven years of the Hungarian counter revolution's orgies could only be continued at the expense of the down-trodden workers. It was the working class that paid the cost of the reign of terror.

Whereas in Warsaw, where the misery of the workers is also very great, a worker could, with a week's salary, buy 235.6 pounds of bread, an Austrian worker 239 pounds, a German worker 336 pounds, a Hungarian worker can only buy 135.6 pounds of bread.

The wages are unbelievably low. The average salary is 220,000 Hungarian crowns a week (\$3.00) and the best skilled worker does not make more than 480,000 crowns (\$6.50). And even these wages are frequently cut. In the steel factory of Diosgyor, which belongs to the state, a working day of 16 hours has just been introduced. It is left to the imagination of the reader how long the working day of the private capitalistic enterprises is.

The misery of the agricultural workers is even more terrible. The average salary of one of these workers is only about \$1.50 in the summer months. What will happen in the winter?

Besides this the unemployment is very great. According to the official statistics of the Council of Trade Unions, almost one-third of the organized members were unemployed (31,236 out of 100,000). In most of the industrial centers 50-75 per cent of the building workers are unemployed. Seventy-five per cent of the agricultural workers are unemployed, for instance, in one of the richest peasant cities of the great Hungarian plain, Kiskunfelegyhaza.

Because of this misery the number of suicides has enormously increased. In Budapest alone there are 15 to 20 attempts to commit suicide in one day.

The Hungarian workers would escape out of the country if they only knew where to go and if they had the means for such a journey.

So there is nothing to do but "live and die" there as the anthem of the Hungarian ruling class runs.

This situation drives the masses toward Vagi, but still more although secretly, toward the Communist Party. There is scarcely a day when they do not imprison men for uttering such thoughts: "I wish the Communist dictatorship would come back again."

This discontent and bitter protest of the workers add greatly to the dissolution of the counter-revolutionary regime. On the other hand, this is the power which with the help of the international proletarian movement, will win the right of organization for the Communist Party and continue the great work which Rakosi and his comrades have so bravely begun.

The Trial and the Sentence.

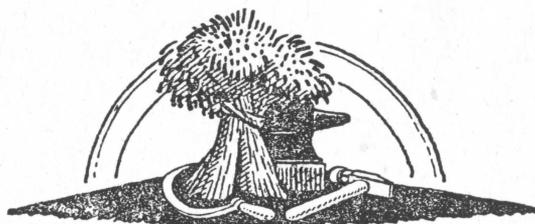
With the above background we can see clearly the importance and the consequences of the Rakosi trial.

Rakosi and his comrades, as conscious Communists, see the internal and external forces which gave them support during their trial.

They pointed out with incomparable bravery the crimes and baseness of the counter-revolution, the seven years of destruction; pointed out the conditions of the Hungarian working class; laid bare the contemptible treason of the Hungarian Social-Democracy and showed to the desperate masses the way leading out of this earthly hell.

They declared, despite the danger of death that awaited them, the reason why they had come home from Russia and for what goal they will work unceasingly. They bravely demanded a complete organizational and political freedom for this Communist movement and for the Communist Party.

Rakosi and the thirty accused Communists as well as Vagi and the twenty-eight accused members of the Socialist Labor Party behaved magnificently. Among the accused there were the revolutionary allies of the Communists, agricultural proletarians, a fact which adds special significance to this trial. These simple agricultural workers declared with the same clear-sightedness and revolutionary spirit that they would fight hand in hand with the industrial proletariat for the new revolution, and the second and final Hungarian Soviet Republic.



tor of the class front" (Lenin), we must look upon this book and the tendency it represents as a real enemy, menacing the maintenance of our revolutionary theory and our revolutionary morale.

It is significant also that while determinism and materialism are the basic philosophic weapons of the proletariat in the armory of the class struggle, they are also the fundamental postulates for the whole structure of positive science and the two chief conditions for its continuous development. When the class interests of the bourgeoisie as a revolutionary class permitted them, nay compelled them, to seize upon materialism and determinism as weapons in the class struggle, they realized this fact and produced the golden age of science during which man's positive knowledge expanded to an extent hitherto undreamed of. But when the battle of the bourgeoisie had been won and it, in its turn, became

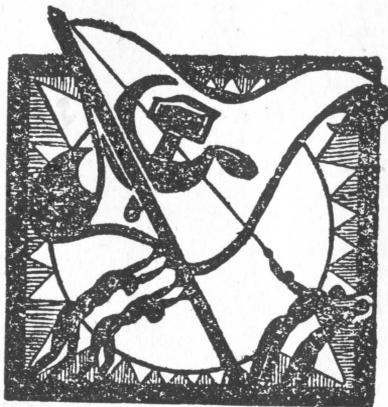
reactionary and interested in stemming the further development of society and thought, it repudiated its early materialism and sank deep into the swamp of idealism, vitalism, and indeterminism. But by this time the proletariat had come upon the scene as the revolutionary class and took materialism, enriched and transformed into dialectic materialism, as the basis of its class ideology. But the proletariat will not repeat the performance of the bourgeoisie. Its victory will lead, not to another cycle of reaction and revolution, but to the abolition of all classes, to the emancipation of all humanity and of all thought! Class interests will no longer interfere with the development of thought. Culture, instead of being the monopoly of a few, will become the possession of all and philosophy and science will bloom as never before. The future of the human spirit is part and parcel of the fate of the proletariat!

—Apex.

ically the product of the matter and motion of the moment before, then so was that moment . . . of the moment that preceded it. . . . and so on until we arrive to the primeval nebula as the . . . cause . . . of every line of Shakespeare's plays, and every suffering of his soul; so that the somber rhetoric of Hamlet and Othello, of Macbeth and Lear, . . . was written far off there in the distant skies and the distant aeons, by the structure and content of that legendary cloud . . . What mystery or miracle . . . could be half so incredible as this monstrous fatalistic myth, this nebula composing tragedies?" In the face of such crushing arguments we can only answer with Lenin (Materialism and Empirical Criticism): "It is really a pity that this splendid philosophy has not yet penetrated our theological seminaries!

It would certainly be appreciated there.'

To continue: On page 505 we learn,—we are growing tired of the monotony—that "that which is best in Bergson is his attack upon materialist mechanism." Twenty-four pages later Mr. Durant is "astounded" that "so subtle a thinker . . . as Santayana should tie to his neck the millstone of a philosophy (materialism) which after centuries of effort is as helpless as ever to explain the growth of a flower or the laughter of a child" (!) On page 551 we find that thru his materialism Santayana has "taken life out of the world"—hence his somberness! These are only explicit quotations; it is necessary to read the book carefully to appreciate how thoroughly soaked it thru and thru with a hatred and repulsion for materialism.



naturalism as contained in the creed of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

This was the unforgivable sin in the eyes of the Church, and we might add, in the eyes of the pillars of capitalist society. He was brought to trial by the Church for heresy, the charge being based upon the views expressed in "Communism and Christianity," on the cover of which he had printed "Banish God from the sky and capitalism from the earth." The history of this trial thru its various stages of the hearings in his case, the proceedings before the court of appeals of the Church and finally in the House of Bishops, of which Bishop Brown was a member, is an exposure of hypocrisy on the part of his judges and the Church they represent which will destroy any shred of respect for the Church as an institution or any belief in supernaturalism which the reader of this book may have left in his mind.

Bishop Brown's heresy was a difficult problem for the Church because of the manner in which he had assimilated his new beliefs. After thirty years of acceptance of a religious creed, and preaching of that creed, it would be a difficult thing, indeed, to root out of the mind all the old forms of expression and ceremonies. Bishop Brown solved this problem for himself by giving his old, supernatural ideas and forms of expression a new content. He discarded all supernaturalism but expressed his new convictions about life and our social system in the language of the Church.

Thus Bishop Brown could say to those who accused him of heresy:

"I believe in God... the Father Almighty.... Maker of Heaven and earth.

"Not, indeed, a designer, manufacturer and manager, as the minds which codified the Creeds, conceived their anthropomorphic God to be. Because of the revelations of science, which were denied to them, my god, devil, heaven, hell world are infinitely more complex than theirs and the symbol 'Maker' must be applied to the greatest among all divine trinities: Matter, the Father, Force, the Son; and Motion, the Spirit—the creator, sustainer and governor of the world with all that in it is, physical and psychical.

"I believe in Jesus, not less than the literalists, whether Modernists or Fundamentalists, but more. Jesus, to me, is more than a historical character and more than a second term in an ancient theological equation. Whatever this Court does, it cannot strip me of my uplifting belief in Jesus. I see Jesus the Man of Sorrows—ever Man of Sorrows from the first dawn of human intelligence and oppression; and who, in every instance was villified and punished and put to death."

This expression of the discoveries of science in regard to the universe and oppression of the exploited class in our social system in the terms of the Church creed, is unnecessary to those in whose minds the formulas of supernaturalism have not been deeply imbedded by long years of use. They can cast aside the terms and forms of the Church creed together with its supernaturalism and couch their views of the universe and society based upon class rule and exploitation in the language of science, thus more surely rooting out superstition and supernaturalism.

Bishop Brown's symbolism in his confession of faith made the job of defining his heresy a hard one for his judges. There are many gradations in the Church today of those who accept the statements of the creeds and bible. For some, one thing is symbolical and for others another. His judges faced the question of declaring that all of the creeds and the bible must be accepted literally,

or of defining what was to be accepted literally and what symbolically. To accept Bishop Brown's view that all of the creeds can only be accepted symbolically was to sweep away the foundations of supernaturalism. But what is to be accepted symbolically and what literally?

His Church judges solved the problems, or rather attempted to extricate themselves from the dilemma, by condemning Bishop Brown and expelling him from the House of Bishops, without defining in what his heresy consisted. Thus the holy bishops followed a method not dissimilar from that of the United States supreme court, which is able to uphold the conviction of social heretics without defining the nature of their "crime."

Bishop Brown's book will do much to open the minds of those who still accept the doctrines of supernaturalism. It will help to destroy illusions about the sacredness and holiness of the pillars of the Church, in this case represented by a House of Bishops. It reveals a man whose honesty and courage will win the admiration and respect of his readers.



BISHOP BROWN'S NEW BOOK

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it they would weep and not laugh.

We revolutionists have no reason to weep. We can genuinely enjoy the book. We enjoy the satire and hope that its acid will burn holes into the seemingly impenetrable hide of democratic illusions of Mr. American People. Such holes may admit a little whiff of the storm of the class struggle raging without. That may teach him that as "people" he is fooled by a Punch and Judy show of White House and other democratic institutions. He will learn that this show is nothing but a cover for a con game with the "dear people" as the victims. He will learn that as a people he is a helpless victim while as a class, as a proletariat, he can relegate that show with its marionettes of Spokesmen, Spokesmen's Secretaries, Senators Buttles and Granddaddies' Prows to the scrapheap, making room for an edifice of political rule of the working class.

The "Spokesman's Secretary" deserves a circulation of millions in the United States. The author, intentionally or not, has produced a textbook on democracy, as an antidote for grown-ups to the poisonous trash fed to them in the school textbooks on "our Government."

—M. B.

"THE MIND OF THE NEGRO AS REFLECTED IN LETTERS WRITTEN DURING THE CRISIS, 1800-1860."

By Carter G. Woodson. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Washington, D. C.

DR. WOODSON'S book helps us to answer the question: What were the Negroes of the United States, both slave and free, doing and thinking during the slavery struggle? Of what white leaders on both sides of the conflict were accomplishing, we have abundant evidence. We know very little of the work of the Negroes themselves. This collection of letters helps to pave the way for a more thoro study of this neglected field.

There were about three million slaves in the United States at the beginning of the Civil War. There were also a large number of free Negroes. The United States census of 1860 shows a total of 488,070 free Negroes in the country. Of these, a little more than half were in the Northern and Northwestern states.¹ Since the im-

1) See the concise table in C. G. Woodson's "A Century of Negro Migration."

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Workers' International Relief Feeding Miners' Children

BRITISH MINERS APPEAL

The General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the Miners' Federation have issued a joint manifesto, in which they say:

"Actual starvation has invaded the miners' homes. The women and children are suffering through the action of the Poorlaw authorities, with the connivance of the government, in cutting down the scale of relief and through the curtailment of school meals. In trying to bring the miners into subjection the government has not scrupled to endeavor to check the generous impulses of the public in voluntarily subscribing to the relief funds by which the worst consequences of the tragedy in the coal fields have been partially alleviated.

The **WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL RELIEF OF ENGLAND**, the sister organization of the **INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AID OF AMERICA**, in a cablegram, urges immediate assistance in the famine relief work among the miners' children in the starvation districts of **CHOPWELL, BIRTLLEY, STANLEY, HIGHSPEN** and **BLAYTON** where they are distributing 50,000 food packages weekly. We must aid them in this splendid work. It takes only fifty cents to make up one package of wholesome food.

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CITY AND STATE

lina made the assembly of free Negroes "in a confined or secret place for the purpose of mental instruction" an unlawful assembly, carrying a penalty of twenty lashes for each free Negro who attended. In Savannah, any person who taught a free Negro to read or write incurred a penalty of thirty dollars. The Georgia law decreed a fine of \$500 for a white man who instructed a Negro, and a fine and whipping for a free Negro who taught another. By the Virginia law, free Negroes who assembled to learn to read or write were to have twenty stripes. For a second offense of instructing a free Negro in a Sunday school, the Louisiana law decreed death.¹ In very few Northern cities did colored children receive schooling with the white, and many northern states passed laws to prohibit or hinder the education of colored people. Nevertheless, many Negroes, and even many slaves, learned secretly from white companions, or from freemen, or from parents or grandparents who had been taught by missionaries and local priests, or by their own masters, before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Dr. Woodson himself says that "it is safe to say that ten per cent of the adult Negroes had the rudiments of education in 1860, but the proportion was much less than . . . about 1825."²

Large numbers of Negroes, and among these many fugitive slaves, were active and brilliant workers in the Abolition movement. Frederick Douglass, Nathaniel Paul, William C. Nell, William Wells Brown, and others whose letters appear in Dr. Woodson's collection, are only a few of many. The voice of Negro orators was heard from thousands of anti-slavery platforms. Dozens of Negro newspapers spoke for their people. "The North Star," later called simply "Frederick Douglass' Paper," "The Ram's Horn," "The Mystery," "The National Watchman," "The Elevator," "The Struggler," and many others, all under Negro editorship, found support among both Negro and white friends of anti-slavery.

Probably the most valuable part of Dr. Woodson's book are the hundred or more pages of letters by Frederick Douglass. The reader will find frequent references to the quarrel of Douglass with the Garrisonian abolitionists, and it would be well to clear up this point here. The orthodox Garrisonian believed in the doctrine of non-resistance and moral suasion (!), believed that slavery could be abolished by disdaining the slave-holder. They said that the Constitution recognized slavery, and from this (correct) premise, they drew the conclusion that the free states must dissolve the union, and refuse to recognize the slave states. The slogan of this doctrine—popularly known as "disunionism"—was "No union with slave-holders!" The disunionists believed in refusing to "participate" in the conduct of the federal government, and in abstention from the vote and from all kinds of political action.³

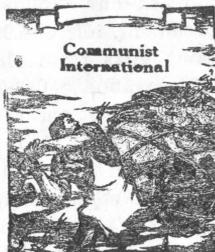
Douglass at first was inclined to agree with the Garrisonians, as his early letters and speeches plainly show. But about 1850, he began to realize, as he himself said, that this doctrine, "carried out," "dissolves the Union,

1) See William Jay and G. B. Stebbins, as above.
 2) C. G. Woodson, "The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861."
 3) A. B. Hart, "Slavery and Abolition."

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