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Two Half-Year Balances

In the Soviet Union—Advance to Prosperity. In the Capitalist Countries—Further Decline and Impoverishment

By Magyar (Moscow)

In the Soviet Union we shall have this year not only a good, but an extraordinarily good, a magnificent harvest. It is, perhaps, no exaggeration to designate this fact as one of the most important, if not the most important fact in world politics this year. The Soviet Power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, has won a fresh and tremendous victory in the sphere of the socialist transformation of agriculture; and this victory is being realised in the good harvest. The old peasants declare that there has never been such a good harvest since the year 1884. In the Soviet Ukraine, in North Caucasus, in the Volga district and also in the German Volga Soviet Republic, the harvest yield is in many places twice or two and a half times as big as it was last year.

It would be a great mistake to attribute this exceedingly big achievement of socialist transformation of agriculture solely to the climatic conditions, which have been favourable on the whole. **The good harvest in the Soviet Union is the result of the collectivisation of agriculture**, the result of the gigantic work of the Party in consolidating and Bolshevising the collective farms; and the good harvest will in turn become the cause of a further strengthening of the collective farms. We have a good harvest this year because the great mass of the peasantry realise that the collective farm is, in fact, the only correct way to prosperity. This conviction again will also serve further to promote the development of the collective farms. A tremendous advance towards a further improvement in the situation of the collectivised peasants is about to take place, and it is clear that the collective peasant will draw the only possible conclusion from the improvement in his material situation, namely that the collective form of agriculture is the victorious socialist form of agricultural production.

The good harvest is the result of the victorious class struggle against the remnants of the kulak class. In this struggle against the kulaks the proletarian dictatorship, with the support of the collective peasants, has won a new big victory.

We should not have been able to achieve this tremendous success on the field of agricultural production in the Soviet Union if we had not received the support of our socialist industry and the magnificent results of the First Five-Year Plan in agriculture. Without the tractors, without the combines, without the other agricultural machinery, without the tremendous growth in the productive forces of socialist agriculture, without the assistance of the chemical industry, we should not have such an excellent harvest this year. Socialist industry has the lead in the Soviet economic system, and socialist industry has now led Soviet agriculture along the straight road which leads to success. We shall still experience difficulties. New problems will continue to arise and we shall have to deal with them, but the decisive victory has already been won, thanks to the successes of socialist industry and thanks to the victories of the First Five-Year Plan.

But it was not only socialist industry which led the collective farms on the way to victory. It was also the socialist proletariat which helped the collective peasants to the victory of a good harvest. Without the political departments attached to the tractor and machinery stations, without the tremendous efforts of the Soviet power to organise the sowings campaign, without the tremendous work of the Communist Party under the leadership of its Central Committee, with Comrade Stalin at the head, without Comrade Stalin's daily work in the fight which he organised and led, we should not have a good harvest this year. The socialist

enthusiasm, the shock brigade methods which were adopted under the leadership of the Party, under the leadership of the new bulwarks of the Party in the village, the political departments of the tractor and machinery stations, and on the Soviet farms have won this victory.

In order to win this victory a tremendous amount of organisational work had to be carried out, but also a tremendous amount of political work. Before the sowings campaign the Soviet government and the Central Committee, at the initiative of Comrade Stalin, enacted a series of political and legal measures which gave the collective peasants a tremendous encouragement to increase production as far as possible. The new unshakable law concerning the wheat, meat and milk contributions to the State at fixed prices, the new law which secures for the collective peasants the results of the harvest after the contributions to the State and for the work of the tractor and machinery stations, was responsible for this impetus to production. The collective peasant was able to assure himself in practice that the declaration of the leader of the Party, Comrade Stalin, that the policy of the Soviet government and of the Party would consist in attempting to make each collective peasant well-to-do, was the unshakable law and guiding principle of the Soviet policy in the village.

However, in order to make sure that these political measures would have the desired success a series of economic measures had to be taken. The manufacturing industries made great efforts to supply the villages with industrial goods, and because the collective peasant was able to see that he could realise the results of his work in terms of industrial commodities, that the strengthening of the collective farms and the increase of production would result in raising his own standards of living, he did everything possible to support the political, organisational and economic measures of the Soviet government and of the Communist Party.

In order to achieve these results, a series of agronomical-technical and agronomical-chemical measures were necessary. Millions of collective peasants had to be organised and led into the struggle. Arrangements had to be made for earlier sowings, better fertilisation, increased seed-grain cleanings, etc. Only the combination of all these political, economic, legal, agronomical-technical and agronomical-chemical measures permitted the proletarian dictatorship to win this new great victory on the field of agriculture. The good harvest is the result of a proletarian policy, is the result of the socialist transformation of agriculture. The good harvest will strengthen the socialist form of agriculture, it will consolidate the collective farms economically, socially and politically. The good harvest means a further step forward on the way to making the individualist peasants into collective peasants, a great step forward in the struggle against the individualist instincts of the peasants, a great step forward in the work of educating the collective peasants and developing them into workers in a classless socialist society.

The good harvest also means that we shall be more easily able to overcome the difficulties which still exist with regard to the feeding of the people. The good harvest also means that we shall have a firm and unshakable basis for the further development of socialist cattle-breeding and the solution of the cattle problem. The good harvest means that we are experiencing the final year of our difficulties on this field.

Socialism has won a new world historical victory on the field of agriculture. But what is the situation on the agricultural field in the countries of capitalism? The tilled area for wheat, sugar and rice in the capitalist world has diminished still further. Everywhere the fields are being less fertilised, whilst a great part of the available tractors and agricultural machinery is not being utilised. In the United States and in Canada there is a worse wheat harvest than the capitalist world has experienced for about forty years. And still the stores are very big, so that the world demand for wheat could be satisfied with these stores for the space of a year. The programme of Roosevelt in the United States consists in further reducing the tilled area for wheat by from 15 to 20 per cent. Although the army of the hungry millions is daily swelling, the United States government pays 30 cents for every bushel of wheat that is destroyed, 4.5 cents for every pound of cotton which is destroyed, etc.; 3.5 million bales of cotton are to be destroyed in this fashion. The cotton harvest over an area of ten million areas is to be destroyed by being ploughed in. And, despite the increase of customs duties, despite all the efforts of the governments to maintain prices, the prices of agricultural

goods are falling in almost all capitalist countries, with the exception of Germany and, more recently, the United States. It has not been possible to hold up this fall of agricultural prices, although the speed of the drop has been diminished. The agrarian crisis is intensifying more and more, and under the ruins of capitalist agriculture millions and millions of peasants and small farmers are being buried and ruined. Crisis, impoverishment and ruin, these are the basic tendencies of agricultural development in the capitalist countries. The feverish attempts made in the United States to overcome the agrarian crisis have led only to further convulsions of the crisis. In France also the agrarian crisis is deepening. In Germany fascism is desperately attempting to stave off the crisis of the junker and kulak farms at the expense of the toilers in town and country. In the east and in the south-east of Europe, in the overseas countries and in the colonial countries the agrarian crisis is deepening.

There is only one country in the world to-day in which everything possible is being done to sow more and to reap more. There is only one country in the world to-day which is not experiencing an economic crisis. And that country is the country of the proletarian dictatorship.

It is quite clear that the growth of industrial production in a number of leading capitalist countries is based exclusively on inflation and speculation and on the increased demands of the war industries, and that further, this increase is taking place at the expense of the weaker capitalist countries. In the United States we can already witness the new convulsions of the crisis on this basis. In Japan also a sudden diminution of the boom has taken place. In Germany the crisis is steadily deepening. The expected development of the crisis into the stage of depression is not taking place; on the contrary, the end of one convulsion of the crisis means the beginning of the next and perhaps still sharper.

Parallel with this development in the capitalist countries we see in the Soviet Union a steady and uninterrupted growth of production on all fields. The results of the First Five-Year Plan placed the Soviet Union:—

- First in the world in the production of tractors.
- First in the world in the production of agricultural machinery.
- First in the world in the production of combines.
- First in Europe in the production of engineering machinery.
- First in Europe in the production of pig-iron.
- Third in the world in the production of electrical energy.
- First place in Europe and second in the world in the production of petroleum.
- First in the world in the production of peat.
- Fourth in the world in the production of coal, and
- Fourth in the world in the productions of the chemical industry.

The first year of the Second Five-Year plan shows a further increase of production. The production of pig-iron and steel is growing steadily, and the daily production of cast-iron ranges from 21,000 to 22,000 tons. New giants of socialist industry like the tractor factory in Chelyabinsk, the powerful engineering works in the Urals, the opening up of the new canal between the Baltic Sea and the White Sea bear witness to the tremendous growth of the productive forces of the Soviet Union. The manufacturing industries are carrying out their plans and in a great number of important factories these plans have even been exceeded. Naturally, we still have many difficulties of growth. The production of coal varies between 195,000 and 210,000 tons a day, but all the conditions have been created for increasing this production to a daily average of from 240,000 to 250,000 tons. With regard to the railway system we are still experiencing big difficulties. There is no doubt that our industrial production will continue to increase steadily and that the productive forces of the land of socialism will increase tremendously. On the basis of the carrying out of the First Five-Year Plan, a good beginning has been made with the carrying out of the Second Five-Year Plan. The good harvest will, of course, have beneficial effects in this respect also. The good harvest means a further great improvement, a further great rise in the standards of living of the proletariat of the Soviet Union, and this increase in the material standards of the toilers will result in a further increase in production and in a still more speedy growth of the productive forces.

The results of the first half-year of the Second Five-Year Plan show how poverty-stricken, how counter-revolutionary, how anti-

proletarian, how anti-socialist was the criticism of the Party policy indulged in by Trotzkyism. These results show how poverty-stricken, how anti-proletarian, how anti-socialist, how opportunist was the criticism of the "Right Wing" opportunists. The results of the first half-year of the Second Five-Year plan show that the Communist Party, the Soviet Power, and the working class of the Soviet Union, under the firm leadership of Comrade Stalin, have taken the way pointed out to us by Lenin, the path of socialist victory. The tremendous results and the tremendous victories were won in a constant struggle against the "Right" and "Left-Wing" opportunists against the "Right" and "Left-Wing" renegades. The Communist Party and the working class of the Soviet Union are rallying still more closely around the Leninist Central Committee of the Party and around its leader, Comrade Stalin, who secured these victories by the correct Leninist policy.

These tremendous results, these tremendous victories could never have been won without the steel-like unity, without the steel-like Bolshevik discipline of the Party. The Party is now conducting an internal cleansing campaign; it is cleansing itself from the weak and vacillating elements in order that the sharpest weapon of the proletarian dictatorship, the Bolshevik Party, shall become still sharper and still stronger. The Bolshevik Party has led the working class of the Soviet Union on to new victories, and now, on the basis of these victories, it is cleansing its own ranks in order to become still more powerful and to have still greater fighting power, and still greater capacity for action and manoeuvring in new struggles for new victories on the path to socialism.

The balance of this first half-year of the second Five-Year Plan is very favourable to socialism in the struggle between capitalism and socialism.

Politics

A Diplomatic Action Fraught with Serious Consequences

The Anglo-French Démarche in Berlin on Behalf of Austria

When one reads the newspaper reports concerning the so-called diplomatic démarche made by the British and French governments in Berlin, one feels inclined to cry out, the mountains are in travail and—a little ridiculous mouse is being born. For two weeks a lively exchange of opinions went on between the Foreign Offices in London, Paris, and Rome concerning the steps to be taken against Germany. The governments of the Little Entente were kept regularly au fait. Every day the newspapers made mysterious hints. And all the time the anniversary of the outbreak of the world imperialist war came nearer. The most important newspapers indulged in dark prophecies. One of the most influential, the London "Times," took Hitler to task in a fashion that it would never have done even before the outbreak of the world war in August, 1914. And then came the démarche. Italy retired from the game. Allegedly the Italian government had already made its representations previously in Berlin. However, this is declared not by the Italian, but by the French and Austrian press. Great Britain and France did not act together; they did not present Notes, but made separately "friendly representations" concerning the "inadvisability" of the German campaign against Austria. In all, a sickening spectacle of diplomatic futility.

However, it would be an error to look at this question merely from the formal side. The form in which this diplomatic action took place is not decisive, even the cause of the action is not decisive; the ruthless bullying of Austria which has been going on now for months without the diplomats making any attempt to interfere. The important thing about the matter is the **situation** in which this diplomatic step was taken, namely in a situation in which the relations between Germany and France, between Germany and the former and present allies of France, have taken on an unusual degree of tension. A step taken under such circumstances, no matter how careful the step may be, may very well set the ball rolling.

It is a secret for no one that Germany is preparing for war, and it is certainly no secret for Great Britain and France. Least of all has France let itself be deceived by Hitler's peace oratory and by the signing of the Four-Power Pact, which is supposed to guarantee the peace of Europe for ten years. We have closely observed the attitude of France at the disarmament conference

and afterwards, and we know that almost all its efforts were directed to countering Hitler's blow. But it took time about it, and in the meantime a big change has taken place in Germany. The following up of the revolution has been openly abandoned by the fascist government, and the socialist demagogy has been suddenly thrown overboard, with the result that millions and millions of Hitler's supporters have been given a brutal shock. But side by side with its social demagogy the national socialists also carried on a tremendous campaign of national demagogy, and now they must concentrate their efforts **entirely** on this nationalist demagogy. The word is no longer enough, action is necessary. The whole fundamental idea of Hitler's work provision plan is to use the sums formerly paid out in unemployment support to pay for forced labour to build strategic roads, war factories, etc. And at the same time the German war industries are working feverishly; above all, heavy guns, aeroplanes, tanks and poison gas are being produced on a mass scale. This rearmament is being conducted practically openly. A little while ago, Chancellor Schwendemann, the official reporter on disarmament in the German Foreign Office, gave a lecture over the wireless which was reported in the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" on the 3rd of August. Schwendemann spoke of the armament control which France demands as a guarantee that the disarmament conditions are being adhered to in Germany, and declared:—

"Such demands sound like voices out of an already departed **epoch of German humiliation**. Apparently there are romantic people in France who are unable to forget the days when commissions of foreign officers travelled round Germany and controlled the destruction of German defensive works, the scrapping of German artillery and the destruction of Germany's armament apparatus, and who long for those days to come again.

"Apparently these people have not realised that in the meantime quite a number of things have changed in the world, and above all in Germany. Can anyone believe that a one-sided control of Germany could be accepted to-day by the German government, or that, in view of the state of German feeling, such a control could be carried out at all? We must warn such people urgently and with all possible clarity against harbouring any such illusions."

Great Britain and France have been complaining for months about secret German armaments, and are preparing to make proposals for a control as the only means to discover whether Germany is really re-arming or not, and the official reporter on disarmament in the German Foreign Office declares briefly and to the point: We'll see you damned first! There is going to be no more outside control in Germany!

And, in order to underline this challenge, last Sunday the fascist Storm Troops, the same men whom Hitler compared in his pacifist May speech with veterans, firemen and night watchmen, paraded with steel helmets and service rifles in the presence of the Reichswehr Minister, General von Blomberg, and the Reichswehr commanded of Berlin—Brandenburg. It should hardly be possible for anyone to fail to understand what this means.

To-day it is not so easy for Hitler to beat a retreat as it was in the beautiful month of May. After having abandoned the idea of socialism, and thus disappointing millions of his supporters, he cannot easily venture to disappoint his supporters on the nationalist field.

The "Times" publishes on the 5th August a report from its correspondent in Berlin, which reads, inter alia, as follows:—

"The economic situation offers very little which could satisfy the Nazis. The masses are already disappointed at the socialism of the national socialists, and the temptation for them to turn their attention more and more to nationalism is very great. A victory over Austria would be very welcome. A diplomatic victory of Hitler Germany over those powers (France and Great Britain) which prevented the proposed customs union would be a triumph. Refreshed by the actual if not formal absorption of Austria, the prestige of Nazi Germany, under the present circumstances would—so the Nazis think—be considerably increased both in Germany and in Central Europe in general. On the other hand, failure to subjugate Austria would mean a great loss of prestige for Germany. . . .

"... Nazi Germany is very well aware that it is regarded by the rest of the world with disapproval, but it feels itself

strong enough to defy world opinion. If Hitler refuses to give way he will recover the respect of the disappointed, the vacillating and hostile elements both in Germany and abroad."

The "Times" therefore expresses the opinion that this time Hitler will not give way. But let us assume that he is prepared not only to make promises, but actually to call off his men. Even in such an eventuality the main question, the question of armaments, would be left untouched.

The German press is indignant at an article published in the "Sunday Times," in which Wickham Steed raises the question of secret armaments in connection with the diplomatic action in Berlin, reckons with an intervention of the League of Nations, and advises the British creditors of Germany and Hungary to withdraw their accounts in those countries under pain of losing them altogether very soon. Obviously he thinks that the possibility of war in the near future is not out of the question, and this pessimistic forecast is not at all unfounded.

A gloomy atmosphere dominated the world press on the anniversary of the outbreak of the world imperialist war. "The atmosphere to-day is similar to that which existed in 1913," wrote one newspaper. One can even go further and say that it is similar to the atmosphere of 1914. However, we are living in 1933 and not in 1914; that is to say, we are living not only in the epoch of imperialist wars, but also in the epoch of wars of intervention. There is a possibility that the imperialist powers may shelve their differences at the expense of the Soviet Union. It depends on special circumstances only whether this possibility becomes a reality or not. The world proletariat must therefore observe closely the machinations of the diplomats, because in the last resort it is the skins of the workers which are at stake.

The Labour Movement

The General Strike in Strassbourg

Twelve thousand workers went on strike in Strassbourg on the 1st August in support of the striking building workers. There who came out were chiefly the workers of the engineering factories and the municipal undertakings, the gas works and the slaughter houses. The municipal workers have put forward wage demands on their own account. On the first day of the strike a big demonstration took place on the Boersen Platz and collisions occurred when the police tried to prevent the workers penetrating into the centre of the town. This demonstration was also in connection with anti-war day and had been organised by the revolutionary unions and the Communist Party.

On the 2nd August the workers of the electrical power station and the tramway workers joined the strike, as also did the workers of a number of engineering and woodworking factories who had not come out the day before. Further demonstrations and collisions with the police took place, in which the workers maintained their command of the streets and the police retired.

The strike again extended on August 3 and by this time 20,000 workers were out. The workers of the breweries, the docks and the coal carriers, and the workers of a number of smaller undertakings joined in the strike. The strikers sent a telegram to the government demanding action against the building employers. The government made no reply to this telegram, but intensified the activity of the police and arrested the secretary of the C.G.T.U. (revolutionary trade union federation), Mohn. Further collisions took place between the strikers and the police, and in a number of streets the paving stones were torn up. A new demonstration of strikers protested against the arrest of Mohn and demanded his immediate release.

On Friday evening the police, reinforced by soldiers, fired at the strikers for the first time, without, however, doing any serious harm. About 150 workers were arrested. Trouble was reported from the barracks in the Rue Vauban when soldiers refused to go on to the streets to support the police. Seventeen soldiers were arrested, and the government was reported to be considering sending colonial troops.

By Saturday, the 5th August, there were 25,000 workers out, and other categories of workers were considering joining the strike—for instance, the railway workers, the post office workers, and others.

The strike is continuing with full vigour and the strike front is unshaken. The movement was organised by the C.G.T.U. in

support of the building workers, who have been on strike now for four weeks. It is interesting to note that the reformist and Christian unions have been compelled to follow in the wake of the revolutionary unions and join in the strike. The bourgeois press in Strassbourg and abroad is compelled to admit that the leadership of the strike is in the hands of the revolutionary unions, which have shown the initiative from the beginning. The representatives of all the unions involved are in the central strike leadership. The reformist and Christian trade union leaders did make an attempt to retire from the central leadership and thus break up the united front of the strike, but owing to the pressure of their own members they were unable to do so. Naturally, the social-democratic press is dissatisfied with the undeniable leadership of the C.G.T.U. in the strike committee, but for the moment, at least, the reformists dare not openly break down the unity of the strike.

The Mayor of Strassbourg, Hueber, who is a Brandlerist, has been trying to "mediate." He also did his best to persuade the street cleaners, who are also out on strike, to resume work, but this attempt at strike-breaking met with energetic resistance and had to be abandoned. Owing to the strike of the electric power workers, the local supplies of light and power are cut off, but the local electrical company, on whose management board there are four municipal councillors, is obtaining current from the power station in Murgtal, over the border in Nazi Germany, so that the "Communist" mayor, Hueber, one of the leaders of the Brandlerist opposition, is sabotaging the strike with Nazi power.

The Daladier government announces that it will not intervene until the strike has been ended, but the activity of its police and the arrest of the secretary of the C.G.T.U., Mohn, shows that it is, in fact, openly on the side of the employers. On Saturday fifteen strikers were brought before the courts and sentenced to various short terms of imprisonment in connection with the collisions which have taken place during the strike. The strikers are receiving material support from various working class organisations. The municipality of St. Denis, which has a Communist majority and a Communist mayor, has sent a sum of 5,000 francs for the strike funds. Various working class organisations, including the reformist teachers' congress, have also sent financial support.

British Railwaymen for the United Front

The policy pursued by the Communist Party in fighting for the united front has struck right into the heart of the rank and file of the British working-class movement.

This is shown by the vote taken at the annual general meeting of the National Union of Railwaymen held recently. On a motion from Glasgow No. 9 Branch, the general meeting discussed the question of the united front.

The resolution secured 31 votes as against 49 given in support of the official policy of the leaders as outlined by C. T. Cramp, the secretary of the union.

Comrade Campbell, of Glasgow, in moving the resolution for the united front, stated "that there is a growing feeling for unity against fascism." He condemned the T.U.C. and the leaders of the Labour Party in refusing to accept the proposals of the Communist Party and Independent Labour Party for unity in action against the capitalist offensive, fascism, and war.

W. Loeber, a well-known London militant member, said that the united front of the workers was the greatest need to-day. "The ten weeks' Irish strike," he said, "where the Trades Dispute Act was used to divide the workers, must show the need for cohesion and solidarity. The T.U.C. rejection of the united front has been proved by everyday events that it is not in accordance with the desire of the rank and file."

In replying, C. T. Cramp tried to argue that the resolution of the No. 9 Branch was not backed up by the Glasgow workers. He sneeringly referred to rank-and-file action by declaring that "the London busmen who struck were beaten to their knees."

Such a statement is completely contrary to facts. The strike action of the busmen secured big successes. It brought about the review of the speed-up schedules and an earlier consideration of grievances that had been hanging fire for some time.

The significance of the vote at the N.U.R. meeting will not be lost on trade unionists. It will act as a spur to all those at present fighting for the united front to redouble their efforts to win new adherents from the rank and file, and beat back the capitalist offensive and the attempts of Cramp, Citrine and their ilk to aid the employers by their splitting tactics.

Germany

The Second Stage of German Fascism: The Full Capitalist Dictatorship

By J. Meyer (Berlin)

What is the meaning of the new stage into which fascism in Germany has entered with the throwing overboard of **Hugenberg**, the destruction of all bourgeois parties, with the realisation of the totality claims of national socialism? What are the causes and the meaning of the new programme speech of Hitler, the announcing of new, even more bestial terrorist laws by Goering?

It seems as if the realisation of the absolute rule of national socialism has not increased the security and solidity of the fascist regime in the least. How can the fact be otherwise explained, that a few weeks after the solemn declaration of the victorious conclusion of the "revolution," Minister President Goering breaks off his holiday, calls an extraordinary Council of Ministers and a meeting of the higher Storm Troops and Special Detachment chiefs, in order to astonish this august assembly with the announcement that "the enemies of the state have been only apparently overcome" and "Communism is once again raising its head here and there more impudently." Goering announced at the same time the draft of a new national law "for the guarantee of legal peace," which threatens with the death penalty and hard labour not only for taking part in the actual threatening of police officials, members of Storm Troops and Special Detachments but also for importing treasonable printed matter from abroad.

A new "centralised public prosecutor's department" was formed, so that the guillotine of justice should work even more quickly and harshly. Actually hardly a day goes by without the death penalty being pronounced on revolutionary workers.

The brutal terrorist measures of the fascist government are the reaction to the obvious growth of the anti-fascist movement. The number of cases in which workers defend themselves against arbitrary arrest, in which arrested anti-fascists are freed by the masses are on the increase; fights against wage reductions, for an increase in wages, in spite of the dictated "industrial peace," do not cease; the commissars in the factories and trade unions are always coming up against opposition, the flood of anti-fascist material makes the authorities so nervous that already they threaten with death and hard labour any revolutionary propaganda.

The growing anti-fascist resistance of the masses is all the more dangerous for Hitler because it coincides with the deepest disappointment and dissatisfaction of the broadest national-socialist masses. Simultaneously with every terrorist law against the anti-fascist workers and an "amnesty" for those crimes committed in the service of the national uprising, Goering announces that "in the future every punishable illegal act will be punished, no matter by whom committed. Of course, this is not a threat of punishment against the murder bands and torturers, who in the service and on the instructions of the fascist government daily commit crimes against the working class; it is much more a threat against any anti-capitalist elements inside the Nazi movement, who are going from disappointment and dissatisfaction to active resistance to the capitalist-reactionary policy of Hitler's government.

It is easy to understand why the disillusion of Nazi adherents is growing so rapidly just at this moment. As long as they took the anti-capitalist phrases of Nazi propaganda seriously they hoped that after the expulsion of Hugenberg, after the formation of the unlimited, absolute rule of the Hitler party, the national socialist economic experiment would begin, and the "socialist" elements of the national socialist programme be brought into effect.

But the opposite took place. After the expulsion of Hugenberg, Hitler and his trustees proclaimed with all the more vigour the Hugenberg programme, the programme of capitalist reaction. In his speech to the state governors, on the 6th of July, Hitler declared that the revolution was at an end, it must not become a permanent state of affairs.

This programmatic speech was emphasised by a number of equally clear measures, which were directed both against the

threatening resistance of the working class and against the rebellious elements in the Nazi camp. The connection between the growing movement of resistance of the proletarian masses led by the Communists and the growing rebellion of the disillusioned adherents of national socialism was clearly expressed in the decree of the Reich Minister of the Interior, Frick on the 10th of July, in which unauthorised interference in economy, and "disregard of the orders of the state authority" were threatened with the sharpest measures, at the least "preventive arrest" as "sabotage of the German revolution." In this decree it is stated:—

"The task of the state governors and the state governments, particularly of the competent Minister of the Interior, is, as the Chancellor emphasised on the 6th of July, to prevent with every means the taking over of the authority of the government by any organisation or party group. Otherwise there is the danger that the enemies of national socialism, especially the Communists and Marxists will attempt to creep in to the Nazi factory organisations or the German Labour front, or other organisations in order, under their cover, to disturb continually German economy and to make difficulties for the national revolution."

A further commentary on the speech of the "leader" was supplied by the Prussian Minister of Justice, Kerrl in a decree of the 14th of July, in which he forbids with threats of severe punishment any "talk of a continuation of the revolution" or a "second revolution." So-called "sabotage" of the policy of the government must be punished with severe prison and hard labour sentences, confiscation of property, in some cases with the **death penalty**. That these threats are directed not only against the Communists, the leaders of the anti-fascist fight, but also against the dissatisfaction in the camp of national socialism itself was clearly expressed on the day of the re-organisation of the government, of the establishment of the "total national socialist state," when a group of leading Nazi functionaries was put into a concentration camp on the direct instructions of the "leader," because "they wished to hamper the 'leader' in the freedom of his decisions." They were in fact people who had not yet understood that Hugenberg had been removed in order to be able to continue Hugenberg's course more effectively.

That all these measures have no other purpose than to ensure the untrammelled and unrestricted carrying through of the economic policy of private capital, was brought out by Dr. Schmitt, the new Minister of Economics, in his speech before the "leaders of economics" on the 13th of July. It is not surprising that Herr Krupp von Bohlen-Halbach gave the heartiest thanks for this unrestricted recognition of free capitalism supported by the state with all its forces. Hitler did more, he sent Dr. Wagener with a thousand other smaller commissars into the wilderness, and called together an "Economic Council," in which such representatives of "German socialism" as Krupp, Siemens, Thyssen, Vögler, and a number of bank directors and employers' syndicates can "talk things over" with the "leader." Compared with the old method of the rule of finance capital in Germany in the time of Hilferding Brüning, Papen, when it was the custom for the "statesmen" to present themselves to the National Federation of Industry on receiving an order to attend, no very obvious change has taken place. In the days when the masses were mobilised in the service of the counter-revolution, the capitalists hid themselves behind the swastika, but now the swastika is openly used for the protection of capital.

It is therefore very clear what the "end of the revolution," the realisation of the "total national socialist state" means, the attempt to ensure with all the power of the state the unrestricted dictatorship of capital; but what remains to be explained is why these measures are now being carried through with such haste,

and so **suddenly**, why the apparently "revolutionary" act of the **destruction of the old bourgeois parties had to be committed.**

The German capitalist class saw no other means of salvation before the rising revolutionary wave than the complete utilisation of the fascist mass movement. In order to use this mass force against the revolutionary proletariat they had to give fascist demagoguery a certain amount of elbow room, in order to let the furious petty bourgeoisie let off "revolutionary steam" in a form the least dangerous to capital. But these masses would not be satisfied with flags and marches, with anti-Jewish pogroms and persecution of Marxists. They demanded more, they hoped to find in the national socialist revolution a real solution of their social question.

It became clear that not all the national socialist functionaries and organisations were willing to wait patiently until the "leader" satisfied their wishes. They resorted to **self-help.** The Fighting Union of the middle classes organised on their own boycotts and arrests of those who were real or considered to be corrupt. It wanted to force the state and municipal authorities to place orders only with them, the small people. Nazi factory functionaries, under pressure from the workers, demanded improvement in wages, Jewish and Christian employers were threatened. In the great peasant conference the dissatisfaction of the small and middle peasants, who did not become fat on Hugenberg's fat plan, was openly expressed.

As long as Hugenberg sat as Minister of Economy in the government he fulfilled the useful function of a **lightning conductor and a scapegoat.** The Nazis could divert the growing dissatisfaction with the economic "success" of the Third Realm by blaming everything on to the "incapacity" of the "capitalist and reactionary" Hugenberg. And this was done. In this campaign there was united all the **genuine anti-capitalist feelings** of the national socialist masses with the drive of the hundreds of thousands of job-hunters in the Nazi party, who wanted to push their competitors out of the positions.

Therefore, the campaign against Hugenberg corresponded fully with the party interests of the Nazis. But it became a danger for the capitalist class. For if the Nazi functionaries, up to such important people as the "peasant leader" **Darré**, now Hugenberg's successor at the Ministry of Agriculture, openly attacked the economic policy of the Reich, this encouraged every fighting union and Nazi factory cell which, in spite of the many different and even earlier warnings, "interfered" "on its own account" in economy in order to realise that which, in their opinion, the national socialist programme demands. Can it be a crime if national socialist functionaries seek to put through their social demands against a "capitalist" and "reactionary" ministry?

In this way there developed a contradiction in the economic sphere between the official organs of the Ministry of Economy and the Nazi commissars—a confusion, chaos which the capitalists found unbearable. They demanded that an end be put to this insecurity, and a **strong governmental power absolutely devoted to finance capital.** In order to fulfil the demands necessary in the interests of German capital, which is threatened by the crisis, the "total state" had to come into being. It is not at all surprising that finance capital sacrificed their devoted servant, Hugenberg, and gave full powers to Hitler to take over, with his party, the whole responsibility for the defence of capitalism. Hitler is not less devoted to capital than Hugenberg. But Hugenberg, because of the fights in the past, is regarded by the broadest masses of the fascist petty bourgeoisie as the exponent of reactionary capital. **Hitler**, who is looked upon by millions of toilers as a "fighter" for some sort or another of national and social freedom, therefore offers the capitalists **greater security against the growing anti-capitalist mass movement.**

That is why **Hugenberg had to disappear in order the better to carry through Hugenberg's policy.** He had to go, not because his policy, the policy of the defence of the most reactionary capitalism, was to be abandoned, but because he was not in a position to force through this policy with sufficient decisiveness. The adherents of national socialism had to learn that it was **their** leaders who wanted this capitalist policy. Therefore these leaders had to take the whole political power openly into their hands. The dissatisfaction with the Hugenberg policy cannot be set on one side, because the policy itself cannot be put aside. So it came about that more effective methods of demagoguery and terror were

sought in order to repress the growing dissatisfaction of the masses.

The fight for existence of capitalism in its terrible crisis, the fight against the proletarian mass movement, which is growing in spite of all the terror, the preparation for an imperialist war under the most difficult conditions—all this forces the bourgeoisie to the most extreme concentration of their whole state power. This task could only be entrusted to that bourgeois party which has the broadest mass following and which, even at the present time, develops the strongest fighting force against the revolutionary proletariat, namely, the national socialist party.

(To be continued.)

Rescue Thaelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov and their Comrades!

By L. K.

It is officially reported that the Chief Public Prosecutor of the Leipzig Court has brought a charge of high treason against the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, **Ernst Thaelmann.**

At the trial of Thaelmann there will be found all the attributes of capitalist administration of justice: the venality of judges, attorneys, and "witnesses," the scoundrelism of the bought spies and police detectives. The whole of this trial, the depositions of the witnesses and the verdict and sentence have all been fixed and determined by the creatures of Hitler and Goering.

This monster trial of the C.P. of Germany and its leaders is just as necessary for the Nazi adventurers and executioners of the workers as was the Reichstag fire staged by them and the threatened execution of the "culprits." It is necessary to expose them before the farcical trial commences! "We must not only arouse the fidelity, the solidarity, the heroism, the death-defying courage of our advance-guard in defence of their leaders, but we must stir up the whole people in order that they shall recognise the political purpose of this trial for high treason and direct their indignation against those who, "in the name of the Law, of the People and of the Nation," are driving the country to ruin.

The fascist dictators declare that the leader of the army of freedom is guilty of high treason. Do they wish to prove that he has committed high treason against the gallows-rule of fascism? There is no need of proof of this. The revolutionary Thaelmann could not betray a cause which he has always fought against as a deadly enemy.

They drag the leader of the C.P. of Germany before the bar of the court in order to accuse him of having committed high treason against this Germany of Krupp and Thyssen, against the capitalist order, against the security of its State? There is no need of a trial in order to prove this. He cannot betray that for which he has never fought. He has never, like Hitler and Goering, bargained with the exploiters and embraced them. For him there has never been any conclusion of pacts with the enemies of the people, with the capitalist highwaymen and profit-patriots, with their State or their nation!

For the Communists—you lackeys of high finance—there is only **one** high treason, only **one** crime, namely, high treason against the interests of the working people, that is **high treason against the Revolution.** The miserable sponsors of the Weimar democracy, the social-democratic leaders, have committed this high treason day after day ever since they made common cause with the enemies of the people. The fascist bands and leaders, right from the commencement of their political activity, were the hirelings and agents of capitalism. The people will one day call the Noskes and Wels to account as betrayers of the proletariat. Hitler and his consorts will appear before the people's courts as contemptible swindlers.

Thaelmann accused of high treason? The Communist Party of Germany will inform the millions why the Hitler government is dragging the leader of the fighting proletariat before the court, and why it wishes to destroy his life.

Thaelmann is the leader of the only party which, once it has come into power, will sweep away all the parasites, the big industrialists and bankers, the junkers and big business men, the generals and the bourgeois politicians, the betrayers of labour, and the speculators. Is it surprising that the fascist usufructers of the capitalist swamp, drag the enemy of the exploiters, the friend of the poor, before their courts?

Thaelmann is the leader of the only party which, when it comes into power, will tear up the robber-treaty of Versailles, which holds Germany in bondage, and declare all international debts and reparation payments null and void. Is it not a matter of course that the mercenary bands of the Brown Houses, the sellers of South Tyrol, the clerks of the English oil magnates, have to stage a trial of the working-class leader of the national emancipation of the working people of Germany?

In the anti-fascist action, Thaelmann offered a brotherly hand to the social-democratic workers; at the head of the Central Committee of his Party, he launched the ideological campaign for winning the misled petty bourgeois and proletarians away from the camp of Hitler fascism. He called for a strike against the capitalist wage robbers; he summoned the peasants to the fight against the junkers. Is it not clear that the fascist capitalist hirelings must attempt to pass sentence on the leader of the anti-capitalist fighting unity?

Whoever summons the workers to strike against wage cuts is guilty of high treason in the eyes of Hitler and his consorts! Whoever says to the peasants: Refuse to pay ground rent, seize the land of the big landowners, endangers the "freedom of the State!" Whoever appeals to the workers of France, England, and America to join in a common international fight of the exploited against the shame of Versailles, is a "traitor to his country." Whoever, like Thaelmann, as a simple transport worker, becomes the leader of the proletariat and does not, like the fascist leaders, come from the swamp of the past, from the society of the Hohenzollerns, from the monarchist generals, the big capitalist speculators, is "sub-human."

Away with the mask from this comedy of a trial in Leipzig and its judges and hangmen. They bring Thaelmann before the court in order to strike a blow at the red movement for freedom and its revolutionary advance-guard. They want to prove to their followers, by means of bandit methods, forged evidence supplied by spies and the statements of bought witnesses, that the Communist leaders are scoundrels who must be shot. A trial without proofs, without defence, without the public. Their "proofs" are forgeries, bought criminals are their "credible witnesses," their public, Goebbels' wireless and a few thousand hired applauders who are to represent the "will of the people"!

With their Reichstag fire they organised the atmosphere of pogroms against the Communists. To increase the pogroms in order to divert the attention of their followers from their policy of starvation and terror, they are staging the Reichstag-fire trial and the monster trial of Thaelmann and the Communist leaders. Scoundrels and scoundrelism remain so long as capitalism exists; violence and deceit are the methods of the capitalist governments of yesterday and to-day. On the eve of the 1st of May, 1929, Künstler, the Berlin district secretary of the social-democratic party, invented the lying statement that the C.P. of Germany required 200 corpses. Thus Grzesinski and Zoergiebel conducted the massacre to which 31 Berlin workers fell victims. Goebbels and Goering are the disciples and masters of Künstler and Zoergiebel.

Thaelmann in prison! Thaelmann threatened by the judges and hangmen of the Third Realm! This concerns all anti-fascists, no matter in what camp they were formerly. Agitate, enlighten, organise the millionfold proletarian defence! In every leaflet emphasise the leading role of the C.P. of Germany, of its Central Committee and its leader, Thaelmann! In every enterprise, in every working-class quarter, in every Party nucleus, in every R.T.U.O. group kindle the flames of revolutionary mass resistance against the daily murder of our comrades, against the incarceration and torture of tens of thousands of anti-fascists, against the threatened attempt on the lives of Thaelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, and the others!

In the name of the class fighters foully murdered by the brown blackguards, in the name of the millions of fighting German anti-fascists, in the name of the workers of all countries, in the name of the worker and peasant population of Russia, numbering 160 millions:

Hands off Thaelmann! His life is our life! His freedom is our freedom! Down with the threatening monster trial of the C.P. of Germany! Down with the gallows trial of the alleged Reichstag incendiaries! For the release of our anti-fascist prisoners, for the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship!

Down with the Scaffolds and Bloodhounds of Altona!

**Appeal of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany.
Anti-fascists! Lower your flags before the foully murdered victims in Altona!**

Anti-fascists! Raise aloft the banner of socialist action for freedom!

Workers, working people of Germany! Workers of all countries! The first four death sentences against anti-fascists have been carried out in the Altona prison. Four young workers have been murdered by the bloodhounds of Hitler and Goebbels. Four sons of the working people have sacrificed their lives for the great movement for freedom of the international proletariat against the nefarious gallows-rule of fascism. Workers of Germany and of the whole world! Lower your flags before the foully murdered heroes of the revolution! Raise aloft the Red Banner, towards the Red October, when we shall sit in judgment on the hangmen of the Third Realm.

The victims of the bloody fascist court were four young proletarians. Their lives of hardship and privation were entirely devoted to the cause of the people against the capitalist pest. Therefore, on that bloody Sunday in Altona, like tens of thousands of their class brothers, they flung themselves against the brown terror which, under the protection of the social democratic police and on the orders of the wage-robbing Papen government, provoking and murdering, attempted to capture Red Altona. Even the venal judges of fascist justice were obliged to record in pronouncing their verdict, that the blood victims of Altona at that time were almost exclusively Communists; that the rain of murderous fire came from the revolvers of the police and the Storm Troops; that the workers of Altona were defending their bare lives, the lives of their wives and children. What does that matter to the scoundrels of the Third Realm, to their fascist judges and executioners? They have raised the murder of workers to the level of law in order to save capitalism from the revolution.

Social democratic workers, young workers, trade unionists! The four scaffolds in Altona are the horrible monument of the "democratic way to socialism" along which your leaders have led you for fourteen years. The scaffolds in Altona would not be there if the leaders of the S.P. of Germany and of the Second International had not laid the foundations. On that bloody Sunday in Altona, in July, 1932, the police force was under the command of the social democrat, Eggerstadt. Severing was Prussian Minister of the Interior. Instead of disarming the brown provocateurs, they cleared a way for them with their armoured cars and carbines into the workers' quarters and fired "democratic" volleys against the demonstrating anti-fascists. Behind the bloody scaffold on which the four young workers breathed their last, stood the bloody shadows of the social democratic betrayers of the proletariat, stood the strikebreakers and murderers of the workers, Noske and Severing, Kuenstler and Wels.

Never again social democracy! That must be your oath. Down with the splitters and betrayers of socialism! Revolutionary class unity under the banner of Communism, against fascism and its confederates, the leaders of the socialist party of Germany and the Second International!

Working people in the national socialist party of Germany! Workers in the national socialist factory organisations, in the Storm Troops. Hitler and Goebbels promised you socialism, the expropriation of the exploiters, the breaking of the chains of interest-slavery. Their murder of four workers in Altona once again exposes these deceivers. The "national revolution" is at an end. The scaffold for those who fight against the capitalists and their hirelings. The multi-millionaires, Krupp and Thyssen, have been called by Hitler and Goering to the Economic Council, but the Red fighters for freedom are tortured to death in the concentration camps. The four murders in Altona, the innumerable murders of proletarians in the whole of Germany, the cruel persecution of all fighters for the socialist revolution, serve to maintain the profits of the capitalists and the junkers.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany sinks the battle-tryed banner of the red army of freedom before the foully murdered heroes of Altona. The Central Committee of the C.P.G. summons the working masses of Germany, the workers of all countries to fight against fascism so that the day of revenge and retribution shall come.

Factory workers, trade unionists! On the occasion of every

arrest, resort to the invincible weapon of protest and mass strikes against the sentencing of one of your workmates, against the fascist death sentences and their carrying out! Connect your fight against the wage robbers and every one of their socially-reactionary measures with revolutionary mass actions against the terrorist regime.

Labour exchanges, workers' quarters! Forge the weapon of effective mass self-defence against the fascist murderers. Remember, every weapon in the hands of the fascist dictatorship threatens a worker's life.

Mothers, wives and children of the proletariat! Protest, demonstrate against the persecution and slaughter of your breadwinners, besiege the town halls and prisons, the courts and the concentration camps!

Members of the Storm Troops, workers in the national socialist factory organisations, you who want true socialism, the real second revolution, you whose rebellious comrades have already been interned in concentration camps, publicly pillory the slaughterers and their agents. Refuse to arrest and shoot down workers. Come over with your weapons to us, prevent the murder of workers!

Workers in the other countries of capitalist oppression! Assemble in front of the German consulates; refuse to unload ships flying the fascist swastika flag of starvation and murder! Fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, against their confederates in the Second International, who, behind anti-fascist phrases and deceitful manoeuvres, are leading you to a new imperialist slaughter.

Workers of Germany! In 1918-1919 the bloodhound, Noske, slaughtered 20,000 workers in order to prevent the victory of the revolution. The bloodhound, Hitler, wishes to pile up still higher mountains of corpses in order to drown the revolution in blood. But the savage terror of the fascist murderers is increasingly less able to conceal the fact that their policy is leading the people to disaster. Under the leadership of the Communists there is being formed the million-strong front to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. Into every gap which the fascist murders make in the ranks of the revolutionary advance guard there spring a hundred new fighters as leaders of the socialist fight for freedom.

Anti-fascists! Increase a deadly implacable hatred against this regime of starvation and violence on thousands of sectors of the front; let loose the revolutionary resistance of the masses, via strikes and demonstrations, to the mass strike, to the general strike, to the forcible overthrow of the fascist dictatorship government!

Down with the death sentences against the anti-fascist fighters! Down with the fascist murder of workers! Release Thälmann, the leader of the German proletariat! Release Torgler, Dimitrov and the thousands of arrested anti-fascists from the prisons and concentration camps!

Working people of Germany! The gallows and the concentration camps for the capitalist exploiters and their pack of fascist leaders!

Bread and work, land and liberty for the workers and the working peasants! Over the graves of our murdered comrades we raise more defiantly and confident of victory the banner of Revolution! Long live socialism! Long live the German workers' and peasants' republic!

"Sprang Out of the Window"

The Latest Paraphrase for Storm Troop Murders of Communists
Berlin, 5th August.

For the third time in one week a fascist murder of Communist workers has been legalised by the paraphrase: "Suicide by jumping out of the window." In Düsseldorf, where the statement was spread only a few months ago that the leader of the revolutionary miners of the Ruhr district, Comrade Funk, had committed suicide by jumping out of a window, whilst in reality he was beaten to death in prison, a report is again being circulated in the fascist press to the effect that Comrades Pöck and Förtinger have taken their lives in the same manner, they "sprang out of the window." The Berlin Storm Troops too have adopted this euphemism to explain their murder of a Communist murdered on 3rd August.

The Balkans

Increasing Terror in Bulgaria

Brutal Persecution of the Movement for the Protection of the Victims of German Fascism.

The Bulgarian newspapers are now completely revealing the meaning and purpose of the recent wholesale arrests and the proclamation of a state of siege. The government "justified" the extraordinarily severe and warlike measures by declaring that it wished to prevent the innumerable murders committed by both wings of the Macedonians—the Michailovists and the Protogerovists. This measure, which the government itself describes as a "purging action," is now characterised by the Bulgarian bourgeois press as futile and abortive. No one from the terrorist centre of the Macedonian fascist organisation has been arrested, as this is under the protection of the police or the war office. The situation has been rendered still more acute by reason of the fact that the newspaper "Makedonia" has openly accused the police of having connections with the Protogerov group, i.e., with one of the above-mentioned wings of the Macedonian organisation. At the same time the group of which the "Makedonia" is the mouthpiece, the so-called Michailovists, enjoy the protection of the military league.

All are of one opinion, however, with regard to the wholesale arrest of workers and the severe persecution of their organisations. Fresh arrests are now taking place in the provinces under the pretext of discovering illegal Communist organisations. Thus, over 200 workers were arrested in the district of Chaskovo alone, and over 150 in the town of Kasanlik.

The government is persecuting with particular brutality the protest movement against fascism in Germany and the action to save Dimitrov, Popov, Tanev, and Torgler, the accused in the Reichstag fire frame-up. The author of the pamphlet, "The Events in Germany," has been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. The government has prohibited all protest meetings. All demonstrations for the rescue of Dimitrov and the other accused have been broken up by the police.

In spite of this persecution the movement for the protection of the victims of German fascism is rapidly growing. The Committee for the Rescue of Dimitrov, Popov, Torgler, and Thaelmann has commenced to publish a paper, entitled "The Anti-Fascist Front." Hundreds of protests from factory workers, peasants, intellectuals and students, and from workers' organisations are reported, and fresh protests are pouring in every day.

Up to the present the Bulgarian government has not ventured to adopt any official attitude to the provocative charges against Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev. These tactics of deliberate silence are also being followed by the whole of the bourgeois press in Bulgaria. While foreign bourgeois newspapers with an international reputation have denounced the Reichstag fire frame-up, the innumerable government and other bourgeois newspapers in Bulgaria do not publish a word about the monstrousness of the charge brought by the Hitler government against the three Bulgarians.

This policy of silence is itself sufficient proof of the collaboration of the Bulgarian government in the preparation of the judicial murder of Dimitrov, Popov, Tanev, and Torgler. Two other factors play an important role in this connection. Firstly, nobody in Bulgaria believes that George Dimitrov and his comrades can be the incendiaries who set fire to the Reichstag, and everyone in Bulgaria knows that they were never prosecuted or condemned on account of the Sofia cathedral outrage. Secondly, the Bulgarian government intends by its silence to prevent the forged "evidence" which it handed over to Hitler from being made known to the public until the actual day of the trial, when it will be too late for it to be exposed. The fascist forgers in the Bulgarian government know from their own experience that it is not wise to show their cards too early.

It is all the more necessary therefore, by increasing the protest campaign, completely to expose this criminal attitude on the part of the Bulgarian government, to compel it to abandon its suspicious silence and to make known the part it is playing in the preparation of the judicial murder of Dimitrov, Popov, Tanev, and Torgler.

New Fascist Provocation Against the Working People of Rumania

By P. F. (Cluj)

In Rumania, with the deepening of the economic crisis, the rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords has brought in an increased offensive against the most elementary political and economic rights of the working people, in order to bring into effect the Geneva "financial restoration" programme and to find a way out of the crisis at the cost of the working people. The resistance of the working people must be broken in order both to put through a lowering of their standard of living and to be able to organise the attack against the Soviet Union.

The heroic barricade fight of the railwaymen and oil workers, which was bloodily defeated, was the answer of the proletariat to the attacks of the bourgeoisie. About 500 young and adult workers were murdered, thousands wounded and tens of thousands arrested. The bourgeoisie want to break the struggles of the workers which are ever rising, by means of the state of seige, exceptional laws and the setting up of concentration camps. All revolutionary organisations, including the Workers' International Relief, have been dissolved, the workers' press is forbidden and the best fighters of the proletariat have been condemned to five—ten years' hard labour. All the prisons are overflowing. The prisoners are submitted to an inhuman regime of terror and often tortured to death. In the prison of Aiud (Bessarabia), Jascha Bergmann was tortured to death. He was a revolutionary who had already suffered under the Tsarist regime and was condemned by the Rumanian bourgeoisie to life imprisonment with hard labour. Different amnesties had shortened this sentence and he had "only" two more years to serve. But the 40-day hunger strike which he had carried on, together with other comrades, for the improvement of the prison regime, finally broke his strength.

In the fortress of **Doftana** the political prisoners fought against the inhuman regime and the bourgeoisie restored order by means of rifle volleys. Twenty severely wounded were the victims.

The power of fascism in Germany gives the Rumanian bourgeoisie more courage. Of late, fascist provocations, anti-Jewish demonstrations have increased, the persecution of national minorities sharpened. The Siguranza works with the methods of the Tsarist ochrana and wants to exterminate the best fighters of the Communist Party and Y.C.L. of Rumania by this system. With arrests, the most cruel methods of torture are used in order to extort "confessions." Not long ago, Moritz Encsel, a metal worker and an old fighter in the revolutionary trade unions, was beaten and tortured for six days by the Temesvarer Siguranza until he died. The authorities state that he committed "suicide."

The Rumanian bourgeoisie, together with the social democratic leaders, want to present the February fight of the railwaymen as being the result of a provocation "by irresponsible anarchist elements." Great preparations have been made for the trial which is being held. Fascist, social democratic and nationalist lawyers have been instructed to exculpate the government from the crime of murdering 500 railwaymen. The court-martial before which the trial is taking place is guarded day and night with strong cordons of police and gendarmes. Anyone who enters the building is searched. This fear of the bourgeoisie is a measure of the weakness of their rule, which received a further blow in the February unrest of the railwaymen. It is noticeable also, that the lawyers undertaking the defence of the revolutionary workers have been warned through the press not to carry out any political agitation, and they are threatened that if they do so they themselves will be tried.

The Vajda government of the National Peasant Party intend, with the help of the fascist court-martial, to throw into prison for many years those people who have raised their hands against the bloody dictatorship. But the verdict and sentence of class justice will not keep the working people of Rumania from the path of radicalisation. Day by day the influence of the Communist Party and Y.C.L. increases. The international proletariat also must support the action of the toiling masses of Rumania with all its power. Only by this means will they be able to overthrow the bloody dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and landowners and save these revolutionary fighters from physical destruction.

Proletarian Commemoration Days

Thirty Years of Bolshevism

By Em. Yaroslavski

Taken from a Speech delivered at the Second All-Union Conference of the Association of Old Bolsheviks

Amongst those comrades who have come to the Second All-Union Conference of the Association of Old Bolsheviks there are not a few who were active participants, active leaders in the first steps of our great proletarian movement. They remember the way we have come, from the first workers' circles to the creation of the first party committees, and the formation of the "Fighting League for the Emancipation of the Working Class in Russia." They remember the complicated and persistent struggle which we have fought out along this path; the struggle with the Narodniki, the struggle with the Economists and the Legal Marxists, who were all the representatives of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois influence on the proletariat, and who attempted to make the working class into an appendage of the bourgeoisie, just as later the Mensheviks played the same role. This irreconcilable struggle—the struggle with the Social Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, the Anarchists and the bourgeois parties which grew up in our country, and not forgetting the fight against the vacillations within the ranks of our own Party—forged and steeled a generation of professional revolutionaries particularly rich in experience. And our first thought when we think of our Party and when we sum up the results of its thirty years' existence, is the thought of its organiser, our teacher, our leader, our friend and comrade, the undying memory of Lenin.

Lenin was the direct successor and protagonist of the cause of Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels lived in another period, in the epoch of pre-monopolist capitalism. They laid down the main line of the development of the working class movement towards Communism. They supplied the working class movement with the only correct revolutionary theory; they worked out the theoretical basis for the organisation of the working class, for the tactics and strategy of the working class movement. However, they worked in a period in which capitalism had not yet developed into its final stage, the stage of monopolist-capitalist imperialism.

Lenin, on the other hand, began his work at a time when the change was just beginning to make itself felt, at a time when capitalism was just advancing into a higher stage. Lenin began his work at a time when the theories of the Narodniki and the programme of the Narodniki had suffered bankruptcy. New proletarian fighters arose, men who had dedicated themselves to the work of organisation, agitation and propaganda **within the working class**. This is the period in which the gigantic theoretical work undertaken by Lenin began: the theoretical analysis of all those questions which are connected with the revolutionary organisation of the working class, the drawing up of a **fighting programme** for the working class, and the working out of the **strategy and tactics** of the revolutionary workers in the new concrete historical situation, the creation in a new epoch of the firm foundation for the building up of the Communist world organisation of the proletariat.

The first great theoretical work of Lenin falls in a period in which not only Marx, but also Engels had disappeared from the political arena. Lenin represented the direct continuation of their work. It was his task to overthrow the Narodniki Authoritarians, and the petty-bourgeois theorists in order to clear the way for a revolutionary theory. Lenin had to equip himself with stern passion and deep knowledge in order to conduct the fight successfully against the Utopian Socialists, against the Reformists, and against the Opportunists of all shades, and in this struggle a new generation of revolutionaries was forged upon whose shoulders rested the task of building up a party of a new type: **the fighting party of the proletarian revolution**. Even in his early youth Lenin showed the qualities of a first-rate leader. This was recognised even by his enemies. Lenin regarded the lessons of Marx, the most tremendous revolutionary theory of our time, not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. He developed Marxism as the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution and

raised this theory to a higher stage. Lenin carefully studied the economic structure of the country in order to determine the dynamic forces of the revolution with greater accuracy and in order to find the necessary allies for the proletariat.

Everyone is aware of the great role that Lenin played in the creation of the first workers' organisation of revolutionary Marxists, the tremendous importance of the "Petersburg Fighting League for the Emancipation of the Working Class." This league was the organisational nucleus of our Party, the beginning of the development of a real revolutionary party which "is based on the working class movement and leads the class struggle of the proletariat against capitalism and against the absolutist government." (Lenin.)

Lenin also played a great role in the working out of the programme of our Party on the editorial board of the "Iskra." The leaders of the social democratic movement gathered there, and many of them who had taken part in the Narodniki movement were years older in revolutionary experience than Lenin, for instance, Plechanov, Sassulitch and Axelrod. However, they had not all shaken off the dust of the Narodniki movement, although they had broken with it to enter the camp of the revolutionary Marxists. In addition, in that period which Comrade Stalin correctly terms a period of the almost complete dominance of opportunism in the Second International, they had adopted a number of ideas which were popular at the time amongst the Revisionists. Lenin had to fight very persistently on the editorial board of the "Iskra" in order to secure that the programme of the Party declared plainly and clearly that the movement was fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Members of the editorial board of the "Iskra," including Plechanov, opposed this point of view. Lenin fought in favour of the inclusion in the Party programme of a passage to the effect that under certain circumstances the demand for the nationalisation of the land might be put forward, whilst Plechanov tried to prove that under the circumstances existing in Russia such a demand would be in fact a reactionary one. Long before the Second Congress not only two political tendencies had formed on the editorial board of the "Iskra," but two political parties had been born. At the Second Congress the struggle between these two groups took place chiefly with regard to organisational questions.

Everyone knows the tremendous role which Lenin played in the organisation of the Party, in the development of Bolshevism. He was, in fact, the leader and organiser of that steel-hard Bolshevism against which not only the opportunists of the Social Democratic Party of Russia, but the opportunists of the whole Second International were girding themselves. The very first public appearance of Lenin was of great international importance, because the struggle against the Opportunists in Russia, against the Economists and Legal Marxists, against the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, was at the same time a struggle against international opportunism. The Menshevik, Axelrod, even proposed in a letter to Potressov, that Lenin should be expelled from the Party, whereby he openly reckoned with the support of the opportunists in the Second International.

It was necessary to overcome the vacillations of those doubtful and uncertain elements who swayed first one way and then the other. Even amongst those who supported the old line of the "Iskra," not all of them placed themselves unconditionally behind Lenin. The steel-hard Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, fought at the Second Congress against this "morass" of vacillators. Because Lenin enjoyed such tremendous authority, the Bolsheviks succeeded in forming a firm nucleus around him, a nucleus which was able to counter vacillations of all sorts.

Even at that time it was necessary to conduct a fight on two fronts. You all remember the attitude of Lenin in the national question, when he conducted a fight on two fronts. On the one hand the Jewish Leaguers—who were rather representatives of the petty-bourgeois artisans than of the proletariat, but who claimed to be the "only representatives of the Jewish proletariat in Russia"—left the congress when it rejected their claim to represent themselves as the sole representatives of the Jewish proletariat. On the other hand, Lenin opposed the Polish social democrats who considered it impermissible for the programme of a working class party to contain a demand for the right of self-determination for all nations.

I am dealing with these facts in order that we can follow in our struggle how Lenin logically pursued a fight on two fronts in these questions. It is sufficient to refer to the struggle in the period of the reaction when the Mensheviks, following the

example of the Jewish Leaguers, put forward various petty-bourgeois demands in the nationality question. It is sufficient to refer to the imperialist war, during which a fight on two fronts was fought out on this question: against the social chauvinists on the one hand, and against the "Left-wingers" (Bucharin, Piaticov and Radek) on the other hand. In this connection I must remind you of the brilliant articles of Comrade Stalin which appeared in the "Pravda" and the "Prosveshenie" in the illegal period.

At that time there were people in our party, and in particular in the ranks of the international social democracy, who were convinced that we were merely making trouble. To-day, of course, it is not difficult to realise that those questions which were brought forward by us at the Second Congress were not merely questions important for that period, but questions which have been in the centre of importance throughout the whole history of our party, that these questions were and still are of international importance.

We know that as early as the 'seventies of the last century Marx and Engels foresaw the shifting of the centre of gravity of the international working-class movement to Russia. Referring to the crisis in the Near East, Marx wrote on the 27th September, 1877, to Sorge:—

"The crisis is a new turning point in the history of Europe. As far as Russia is concerned, whose situation I have studied from original sources, both official and unofficial, it has for a long time been on the verge of an uprising, and all the necessary elements are already ripe. This time the revolution will begin in the east, which up to the present has been the untouched bulwark and reserve army of the counter-revolution."

Later on Lenin laid down the tasks facing us and pointed out that the victory of our revolution could really be the beginning of the international proletarian revolution.

In "What is to be Done?" Lenin writes:—

"History is now presenting us with our next task, which is the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks facing the proletariat in any country. The carrying out of this task, the smashing of the most powerful protective dam, not only of the European, but also of (we can say to-day) the Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the advance-guard of the international revolutionary proletariat."

Even earlier, in his "Who are the Friends of the People?", which was published in 1894, Lenin sketches the development of the Russian proletariat which, after having victoriously completed the bourgeois-democratic revolution, becomes the head of the proletarian world movement. That is the reason why the formation of our Party at the Second Congress, the development of the Bolsheviks as an independent organisation, as an independent political tendency, as an independent party, was of such great international significance.

Two types of party presented themselves to the working class. On the one hand, the Mensheviks were doing their best to form what they called a "broad workers' party" whose ideal was the formation of "a decent bourgeois republic," a party in which opportunists of all shades who cared to call themselves members, and all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois hangers-on, would really have had a very "broad" basis for their activities, a party in which the advanced revolutionary workers would simply go under in the amorphous mass and have no real influence. On the other hand, there was Lenin's plan for a party, the creation of a fighting party of a new type, a party of the proletarian revolution, equipped with the only correct revolutionary theory. This party had the task of preparing the working class for the role of leader, for working-class hegemony in the revolution.

At a time when there were still individual conciliatory comrades in our ranks who were depressed at the split, Lenin welcomed it and wrote:—

"The open struggle has begun. Opinions are being expressed freely. The contours have been drawn plainly. The groups have taken up their positions. Hands have been raised; decisions have been taken. One stage is now behind us. Forward to the next! I understand that; that is life; it is no question of long drawn out and boring wordy arguments which end, not because the combatants have come to any agreement, but because they have grown tired of arguing."

Legal Marxism, or Struvisism, represented, as Lenin pointed out, "the international attempt of the bourgeois theoreticians to kill Marxism by kindness, by the quasi-recognition of the 'really scientific' side of Marxism, and the rejection of its 'agitational, demagogic and Blanquist-utopian sides.'" In other words, the gentlemen wanted to take from Marxism what they thought might be useful for the purposes of the liberal bourgeoisie, including the struggle for reforms, including even the class struggle, but **without the dictatorship of the proletariat**, but including a "general recognition of socialist ideals" and the replacement of capitalism by a "new social order." All they wanted to do was to stifle the living spirit of Marxism and crush its revolutionary character.

In this way and under the banner of Marxism, Russian and international Menshevism have carried out the same task on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

Even at this congress, at which the two political tendencies in the social democracy were expressed which had developed both in our country and in the international working-class movement, the role of that confused hotch-potch which carries in the history of our party and in the international movement the name Trotskyism, and which for many years was centrist, but which in recent years has developed into the advance-guard of the international counter-revolution, made itself plainly felt.

By no means all of us foresaw at that time that after the struggle at the Second Congress we had separated for the whole period of the further revolution to such an extent that we should finally meet each other again on opposite sides of the revolutionary barricades. Lenin hated political conciliatoriness and it was foreign to his nature. He fought ruthlessly not only against Menshevism, but also against all conciliatory tendencies of the Trotsky type, about which he said the following:—"Intellectual individualism, which made itself felt clearly in the struggle around Article I, and which reveals a tendency to opportunist observations, but also to anarchist phrases, regards any proletarian organisation and discipline as slavery." He condemned Trotskyism even then in 1903 as "autocratic anarchism." Since then we have fought steadily against this autocratic individualism which Trotsky showed at the Second Congress.

The fight which took place at the Second Congress around Article I. of the Party constitution was a really vital struggle concerning the organisational basis of the working class. Lenin stressed the fact that **for the working class, organisation meant everything**, and that the numerical strength of the Party as the advance-guard of the working class was not so important because this advance-guard can get ten times, a hundred times stronger than its membership figures, and that a real fighting organisation must be formed for the working class.

And when after the Second Congress a number of our comrades were bemoaning the split, Lenin wrote:—

"Our only strength is our straightforwardness, our united energy and enthusiasm. We have proclaimed the split. We shall call a party congress of the supporters of progress. Either we shall forge an iron organisation of those who want to fight, and with this small but powerful party we shall hammer away at the loose, amorphous conglomeration of elements around the new 'Iskra,' or we shall prove by our attitude that we deserve to go under. . . ."

We followed Lenin. We formed just such a fighting organisation with an iron discipline and with a powerful central body, an organisation which has always greatly valued the importance of revolutionary theory. We have succeeded in making a small organisation, which in the period of the Second Congress did not number more than at the utmost 100 Bolshevik members, into a party which has over three million members and candidates, into a party which overthrew the bourgeoisie in 1917, which seized power and which has now been victoriously building up socialism for sixteen years on a territory covering one-sixth of the earth's surface.

Thanks to this organisation we were able to march at the head of the heroic mass movement of the first revolution. All of you remember our illegal party committees and our numerically weak organisations in the factories. We were working to turn every factory into a fortress where the masses would be educated in the spirit of Bolshevism. We won over these masses not only by our persistent propaganda, but also by the fact that we consistently fought for their interests, that we have always been at their side even in the most difficult periods of the class struggle.

It was not our fault that we did not gain the victory in 1905, but even in the period of the reaction our Party did not lose its head. It found new ways to the masses and new methods of work. Even in these difficult years it succeeded in forming new cadres to carry on its work.

Because we ruthlessly swept opportunism out of our own ranks, because we mercilessly fought against people who had often been closely bound up with us in years of friendship and joint work in the same organisation and with whom we had maintained the very best comradesly relations, just because we ruthlessly broke with them immediately they left the line of the Party, because of that we succeeded better than any other party organisations in holding our Bolshevik nucleus, our Bolshevik basis together and in building up ever new mass forces around it. This was the reason that we were able to take the leadership of the advancing working class in the period when the revolutionary movement surged forward again. This was the reason why we were able to develop our "Pravda" so rapidly and make it, like the old "Iskra," a powerful instrument of the Party for the organisation and Bolshevik education of the working class.

Let us consider another stage in the development of our Party, the Prague Conference. Lenin described the period which preceded the calling of this conference as follows:—

"Years of reaction (1907-1910). Tsarism has won. All revolutionary and oppositional parties have been beaten. Depression, demoralisation, disruption, errors, renegacy and pornography are taking the place of politics. There is an increased tendency to philosophic idealism; mysticism is a cloak for counter-revolutionary tendencies. But at the same time the great defeat of the revolutionary parties and the revolutionary class represents a salutary and useful lesson, a lesson in historical dialectic, a lesson how to understand the political struggle, a lesson in the art of leading the political struggle. Friends recognise each other when in need. Defeated armies learn well."

And that is certainly true; in this difficult period of reaction our Party learnt a lot. This was the situation which preceded the conference in Prague, and the significance of this conference in the history of our Party is tremendous. It represents a towering landmark because it reconstructed our illegal Bolshevik centres, re-established our party committees, and built our party organisations up again. This Conference was of tremendous importance for the whole future development of our Party, and, in consequence, also for the history of the Communist International. In connection with this conference Lenin wrote in 1913:—

"In a country called Russia, socialism is going through that stage of its development in which the working class party is being built up by the class-conscious workers themselves."

The Prague Conference set up our Bolshevik party organisation again and built up our party centres. Comrades Stalin, Orjonikidze and Spandaryan were taken into the bureau which was elected to lead the party organisation within Russia. Since then **Comrade Stalin** has been uninterruptedly and unswervingly a member of the Central Committee of our Party.

At this time Trotsky was the organiser of an anti-Party block. At that time he was the man who wanted to smash our unity, the unity of the revolutionary workers, in order to bring the revolutionary movement under the wing of the reformist Menshevist group, which in the time of the imperialist world war finally landed in the camp of social chauvinism.

When we think of this period we must not forget that Comrade Stalin carried on an enormous amount of work in the organisation of the "Pravda" as its editor for the development of the "Pravda" into an instrument for the proletarian organisation of the masses and for the Bolshevik leadership of the struggle of the working class.

I am paying considerable attention to this period in our Party history because it determined our future development. In this period we were the strongest revolutionary organisation, thanks to the fact that we possessed the only correct revolutionary theory, and in a period of extreme difficulty for the proletarian world movement, the period of the world war, we were able to lay the basis for a new organisation of the working class on a mass scale, the basis for the Communist International.

During the world war we were the unswerving representatives of the only correct line with regard to the war, a line which we had already adopted in connection with the Russo-Japanese war when the slogan of defeatism was issued. At that time our Party was in very close touch with the masses of the soldiers, and despite all difficulties, despite our defeat, the Bolsheviks knew that wherever they appeared, even there where there were no organisations, they had to approach the masses above all with an appeal to struggle against war.

And this was the attitude of our Party everywhere, no matter whether it was numerically weak or not, for the most active Party members were living abroad in the emigration, were in banishment or were in prison. You all know that Lenin, who was at that time abroad and who was subjected to persecutions, being arrested at the beginning of the war, was able, despite all the difficulties, to create an anti-war literature which was unique both in power and extent, and which shows us what a firm Bolshevik organisation based on an illegal centre can do even under the most difficult conditions of repression and terror.

Let us take the latest example, the Communist Party of Germany, which is also one of Lenin's progeny. The Party is of course primarily the result of the German revolution, but the German Communists are strong because they have their theory from the Bolshevik movement, their methods, their ways of work and their organisational basis. And therefore, despite the police and Nazi terror, despite the tremendously difficult conditions of work, despite the fact that its leader Thaelmann is in a fascist prison, the Communist Party of Germany is alive, the "Rote Fahne" is alive, and they are fighting actively for the working class against fascism and they will carry the revolution to victory, despite all obstacles.

Thanks to our indissoluble connection with the masses we succeeded in a very short space of time, in the course of eight months following on the overthrow of Tsarism, from February to October, in mobilising around the numerically weak Party millions and millions of workers and peasants. How strong were our forces when we left the period of illegality? Our statistics give us various figures, but the average is from 20,000 to 23,000 illegal Bolsheviks at the time of the April conference. It is further hardly possible that the Party can have had more illegal workers than this at the time. It is not a question of the number, but the fact that the vacillating elements could be counted on the fingers of one hand at that time, and that the old Bolshevik guard rapidly rallied round Lenin. The ideas which Lenin laid down in his April Theses very soon became the property of the whole Party and its fighting programme. In an extraordinarily short space of time we succeeded in getting into touch with the revolutionary millions and winning their confidence. In October the overwhelming majority in the army and navy, a broad military organisation, the overwhelming majority of the workers, and millions of peasants were on our side. Millions of peasants regarded our Party as the only political force capable of clearing up the land-owning class and the remnants of the old feudal class which remained after the February revolution. The masses saw that only under the leadership of our Party would they be able in a few months after the October revolution to clear up once and for all the Augean stables of the old exploiting past which had been left behind both by the Tsar and by Kerenski. At the time our Party was numerically small, but disciplined, and had always ruthlessly rid its ranks of all capitulants and strike-breakers. Armed with Leninism, steeled in the struggle against international opportunism, with a tremendous record of revolutionary experience and struggle at its command, with all possible methods and forms of the struggle in its hands, and closely connected with the revolutionary millions, our Party was able to lead the revolutionary masses of the people in a storm against the bourgeois State. Under the leadership of Lenin the Party created a new type of State, the first proletarian State in the world. It opened up a new epoch, the epoch of the proletarian revolution.

When we look back along the path of struggle we have pursued so successfully, we must not forget the great role played by the old Bolshevik guard in this period. Was it not of decisive importance that the Party could command the services of this old Bolshevik guard, which rallied heroically round our fighting programme, which found the way to the masses even under the most difficult circumstances, which rushed to the most dangerous and difficult sectors of the front without wasting its time on intellec-

tual hair-splitting, and which was completely filled with proletarian fighting spirit? Has not this old Bolshevik guard given the working class of all countries an example of discipline, steadfastness, and unshakeable firmness?

Many of our old Bolsheviks have fallen on the battlefields of the civil war. The old Bolshevik guard was the organiser of the Red Army. Lenin, Stalin, Voroshilov, Frunse, Sverdlov, Djerjinski and others are all men who are one with the history of our Party, with the whole history of our struggle as steel-hard Bolsheviks and unbending leaders of the proletarian movement.

Thanks to our Bolshevik iron persistence, thanks to our indissoluble connections with the masses, thanks to the fact that we have always led the mass movement even in the most difficult circumstances and that we have always kept the necessity of the closest connection between the working class and the peasantry in our mind, we have defeated all our enemies and are now advancing along the broad highway which leads to the construction of socialism.

Against Imperialist War

Gigantic Anti-War Demonstrations in Scandinavia

Stockholm, 5th August

Yesterday's anti-war demonstration of the C.P. of Sweden in Stockholm was the greatest of its kind ever organised by the revolutionary workers' organisations in the Swedish capital. Preliminary meetings were held in various parts of the town, the participants then forming processions through the old town to the market place at the central station. Here the main demonstration was held, taken part in by approximately 8,000 persons, including a conspicuously large proportion of young people. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed during the whole demonstration, and the speakers were frequently interrupted by storms of applause, especially when they condemned the fascist dictatorship in Germany, and appealed for the united front against the hunger offensive of capital and the war preparations of imperialism.

A resolution was unanimously adopted demanding the release of Comrades Thälmann, Torgler, Dimitroff, and the other imprisoned and tortured anti-fascists in Germany. Anti-war demonstrations were also held in other parts of the country.

8,000 workers took part in the demonstration of the Danish C.P. and the other revolutionary organisations in Copenhagen on 1st of August. 12,000 persons took part in the central demonstration after the meeting.

Great Anti-War Demonstrations in Cuba— Workers and Students Demonstrate

Santiago de Cuba, 5th August.

The bourgeois press reports that great Communist demonstrations were held on 1st August in Cuba in celebration of the Anti-War Day. The police made use of their firearms and shot a girl. The notorious head of the Secret Police was seriously wounded. A functionary of the revolutionary students' organisation, which took part in the demonstration, was arrested.

According to the report of the "Unite Press," the strike movement against the government is growing steadily. In Havana the office workers have joined the protest strike. In the harbour all work has been stopped, and the transport workers' strike is complete.

July Programme of the Soviet Motor-Car and Tractor Industry Exceeded

The output figures of the motor-car and tractor industry for the month of July have been published. The programme has been greatly exceeded. The Molotov motor-car works fulfilled it to 110 per cent. The Stalin Works, which manufactured about 2,000 cars in July, fulfilled the Plan by 120 per cent. The Stalingrad tractor works, which manufactured over 3,600 tractors, have also fulfilled their schedule by more than 100 per cent. The Charkov tractor works manufactured 3,200 tractors.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

The Enemies of the Collective Farmers

By Our Special Correspondent, L. F. Boross

III.—The "Lodyr"—"Only Fools and Horses Work."

The kulak in disguise knows very well that to-day he will meet with little success in his undermining work among the masses of collective farmers if he attempts to incite them against the collective farms. He attempts, therefore, to nullify the tremendous development which the collective farms have undergone in the last few years in regard to consolidation and Bolshevik organisation of work by putting forward peculiar "partial demands." The most important of these disruptive slogans is the fight against the "working day," against the division of the income of the collective farm exclusively according to the principle of the quantity and quality of the work performed. Here he can hope for a certain amount of support from a part—even if only a small part—of the backward sections of the Kolchos peasants.

The individual peasant lives and thinks within the limits of his small property. The little farm, the few farm animals—these are his property. Everything lying outside this he regards as alien, or even hostile. Even when an individual peasant recognises the hopelessness of his method of existence and comes to set his hope of a better life in the kolchos, this does not mean that he has already overcome his petty bourgeois, small property owner's outlook. There are many peasants who join the collective farms in much the same state of mind as a peasant under capitalism who, discontented with his peasant existence, abandons his farm and goes to work in a capitalist factory. It is very difficult for these peasants to imagine that there can be another form of property than personal property. They therefore regard the share of the collective farm coming to them as their property, whilst they regard the collective property, upon the growth and increase of which the size of the share coming to them in the last resort depends, as something alien to them and in which they have no interest. In the early days of the building up of collective farms, when a good deal of confusion still prevailed in regard to the question of distribution of income, there grew up a sort of inner exploitation of one collective peasant by another: The advanced members of the kolchos considered it their task in life to promote the growth and prosperity of their collective farm, and toiled day in and day out from early dawn till dark, while another part of the peasants thought as follows:—I shall get enough to eat even if I don't specially exert myself; there are enough stupid people who are working hard; if I don't pull my weight it perhaps won't be noticed at all. "Only fools and horses work"—that was the language of the kulaks, which was readily taken up by the slackers on the collective farms.

The distribution of income according to "working days," which has become the general form of distribution of income on all kolchos during the last two years, has given a decisive blow to this feeling of superiority of the "clever" slackers over the "stupid" shock-brigaders. The socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat," has also triumphed in the Soviet village.

Who is displeased with this method of distribution of income? In the first place the "Lodyr," the idler. If Ivanov came to work only seven times in the whole year, and then worked so badly that only forty working days were booked to his account, he, of course, is not very pleased with this method of distribution. During the whole year he will hardly be able to get sufficient to eat with the share he has received for these 40 working days.

The horse-watchman, Petrov, who as an individual peasant would wake up in the night at the slightest suspicious noise and, in the frost or rain, go out to the stable in order to see that nobody was stealing his horse or cow, and who now, while on duty as horse watchman on the collective farm, will calmly sleep without bothering a bit whether anybody is stealing the horses belonging to the collective farm, will hardly be pleased when five working days are

deducted from his account or he is even expelled from the kolchos for this criminal negligence.

If it were only a question of the fate of Petrov and Ivanov it would be their personal affair how far they are satisfied with their income. Their laziness, however, can have very serious results for the whole farm and its members. If several Ivanovs loaf about during the sowing campaign, they will thereby prevent the punctual fulfilment of the sowing plan, and under the climatic conditions obtaining in the Volga district this can result in the seed which has been sown late being destroyed by the drought.

The "Lodyr" is therefore not only a contemptible good-for-nothing, but also a dangerous enemy of the collective farmer. He is not, however, an incorrigible enemy, for his hostility arises not from a hostile class attitude, but from the lack of collective-farm class consciousness. If he does adapt himself to the collective working discipline and does not cease to listen to the whisperings of the kulaks, then he has to put up with the consequences, for the collective farmers, who in this year's spring sowing campaign have already reached a high stage of collective working discipline, will not allow the fruits of their labour to be jeopardised by idlers. If he is not blind, however, he is bound to see that good, honest work on the collective farm must rapidly lead to prosperity.

There are to-day thousands of collective farmers who have developed from "Lodyrs" into "Udarniks" (shockbrigaders). The "working day" serves as the basis for bringing the stragglers forward into the advance guard of the collective farm. It must be supplemented, however, by living example and by correct political enlightenment. What example did the one-time "Lodyr," Ivan Geraskin, have before him on the kolchos "Frunze"? His way to honest work was rendered much easier for him by reason of the fact that he had such a "Brigadier" as Gamayev, one of the thousand best shock-brigaders of the Central Volga area who were sent by their collective farms as delegates to the district congress of collective farm shock-brigaders in Samara.

Gamayev is devoted heart and soul to the collective farm. He is a true revolutionary fighter in the cause of collectivisation, like thousands of other peasants whom I saw at this congress.

Gamayev told his story as follows:—

"When, in autumn last, I was appointed Brigadier, my brigade, the third, was the worst in the kolchos. Nobody knew what job he had to do. The work was in a hopeless confusion. The "Lodyrs" took advantage of this. Of the thirty horses belonging to the brigade, ten were underfed. There was a lack of harness and what there was was unsuitable and chafed the horses. It cost me a lot of pains and trouble to convert the backward brigade into an advanced brigade. Nevertheless I succeeded. Our achievements are now the pride of the whole kolchos. We carried out the spring sowing far beyond the plan.

"This is how we managed it. My to-morrow commenced the evening before. By the light of the lamp I considered the plan for the next day's work. I have a little notebook. In this I sketch a plan; I divide out the work for the next day in various ways and then calculate which will be the best way. But on the next evening I make a note of how the work has actually been carried out, for it is very important to check up results. But the Brigadier, even if he has a dozen pair of eyes, cannot fulfil his task alone. Victory is impossible without a good shockbrigader active. So, hand in hand with the party organiser of the Brigade, we formed an Active out of the best shockbrigaders. Our shockbrigaders are known in the whole kolchos. The Brigadier must also know how to approach each individual. Ivan Geraskin worked very badly at the harrow. His name was chalked up on the blackboard. This did

not make any difference. I then had a serious talk with him. I appealed to his sense of right. I showed him that he was not working for a strange employer but really for himself. This had an effect. The young fellow is now one of the most diligent and capable on the farm.

"In this way we succeeded in obtaining the proud title of one of the best shock brigades in the district. And we shall never yield up this title in the coming years."

That is how Gamayev describes his daily fight for his brigade. Correct division of work of a few dozen men, the conversion of a backward kolchos brigade into a good one—what is there particularly remarkable about that? That, perhaps, is what those Philistines will ask who, in face of the first difficulties of wholesale collectivisation, exclaimed with malicious joy: "Yes, it was all right when they were dealing with workers, but the Bolsheviks will run their heads against a brick wall when it comes to collectivising agriculture." But in the Soviet Union to-day, in the collective farms, there are already thousands of such Gamayevs and hundreds of thousands are following their footsteps and showing that Bolshevism, far from having run its head against a brick wall, has in a short space of time won tens and hundreds of thousands of new revolutionary capable heads; tens and hundreds of thousands of new heads—they will soon be millions—who, on the way pointed out by Marx, Lenin and Stalin, are advancing to the new, joyous socialist life. This is the final confirmation of the death sentence passed by history on the whole capitalist world.

The Importance of the Complaint Offices for Socialist Construction

At the end of July, the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, together with the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, adopted a decision on the Tasks, Forms and Methods of Works of the Complaint Offices. The decision formulates the new tasks of the Complaint Offices as follows:—

"They must draw the workers and collective farm peasants into the State administration and train them in this administration."

It is to be seen from this decision that the Party and the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection attach great importance to the Complaint Offices in the final liquidation of the relics of capitalism, in mastering the new technique, in securing the carrying out of the production plans, in consolidating the collective farms, in combating the class enemy and in preserving the general line of the Party.

There is a Complaint Office in every Soviet undertaking, in every Soviet institution, on every collective farm, on every Soviet farm. The Complaint Offices receive every complaint of the workers, peasants, and students, and have to look into them most carefully, as experience has shown that behind small complaints, grievances, or enquiries there are often hidden important problems, serious faults or offences; that the proper investigation of complaints gives information concerning factories and collective farms, the offices and institutions, the material and cultural life of the population of the Soviet Union, and shows the way to get rid of abuses and remove obstacles from the path of development.

The Complaint Offices have up to now achieved very many positive results in this respect. But they do not always function as efficiently as the Party demands of them. It often happened that bureaucratism, which soon springs up in such places, hampered the activity of the Complaint Offices.

The decision aims in the first place at ridding the Complaint Offices of all bureaucratism, and it therefore provides that the leadership and systematic instruction of the Complaint Offices by the Presidium of the Control Commission shall be improved and rendered more active. A correct Bolshevik leadership of the Complaint Offices should be able to prevent complaints from being disregarded or pigeon-holed and the simple workers thereby discouraged from applying to them at all. In order, however, to study complaints in a really thorough and conscientious manner the Complaint Office cannot be left to itself, but the staffs of the factories and workshops, the masses of the collective peasants must be drawn into the work. This is done by making the complaints known to the working public by means of wall and factory newspapers, at meetings, in clubs, etc., and thus stimulating the workers and peasants on their part to contribute to the clarification of the question by giving data, by communicating their own observations, by bring-

ing forward ideas and suggestions. Particularly important complaints will be dealt with at meetings specially called for this purpose, and which constitute a workers' or peasants' court to pronounce judgment on the guilty. In this way the Complaint Offices will gain the effectiveness and certainty which only mass work and mass control is able to guarantee.

The decision demands the abolition of a mechanical method of working in the Complaint Offices, whereby questions are often settled in a bureaucratic manner by "passing them on to the proper department for dealing with such questions." The Complaint Office must be open to workers in the late evening hours and also on holidays. There must be somebody to take the place of every member of the staff who is away on holiday or through sickness, in order that the worker with urgent questions or complaints shall never stand before closed doors.

In the workshops and factories the complaints relate mostly to faults or abuses which hamper the working process. In order to investigate such complaints the Complaint Offices must secure the co-operation of technical experts and skilled workers. The complaints which arise in the consumers' co-operatives, in the clubs and cultural institutions concern in the first place the question of the living conditions of the working people. In order to deal with such complaints it is particularly necessary to secure the collaboration of the women and the youth. Finally, the decision mentions that the Complaint Offices in the rural districts must work closely together with the Political Department of the Machine and Tractor Stations.

The manifold tasks of the Complaint Offices are closely connected with the economic and political tasks of the Party organisation and demand of the members of the Complaint Commissions Bolshevik vigilance, great conscientiousness and closest contact with the working masses. Great as the results must be which the correct working of the Complaint Offices yields, equally great is the harm which bureaucratic methods, distortion of the general line and opportunist deviations can have on these important fighting positions.

In the International

The Foundation Congress of the C.P. of Ireland

(Continued from last week)

Comrade Murray, continuing, said:—

There is no mention of religion in the document, and this is not done for tactical reasons, but as a question of principle. Religion is not a fundamental question, and it is on the economic and political issues that we must lead the fight. The capitalists are pressing into the fight the powerful weapon of religion. They are over-reaching themselves, and our Party stands and will insist on our members giving first allegiance to our class, our Party, and the cause of the Irish people. The clergy are making it clear, as Marx once said, that "they are the spiritual police of the master class." In the Soviet Union the solution of the religious issues was reached by breaking the secular power of the church. This is the solution to the questions here. While it is not a fundamental question, we must make our position clear. The main thing is to see that the class struggle is sharpening. The next period is going to be one of very acute class struggle. The October relief fight, the railway official and unofficial struggles, are signs of the growth of the mass fight against capitalism. The De Valera Government, far from solving the questions before it, finds itself more and more faced with the opposition of the workers. The situation is one of deepening crisis. The capitalists know that they cannot stop the class struggles, and the period ahead is fraught with possibilities for mass struggles. They hope, however, to be able to crush the leadership in advance. I would estimate the situation as follows: the De Valera government will go on the way of a compromise on the constitution. The De Valera government is unable to lead the struggle for the Republic because it is tied to the capitalists. The role of the F.F. government is to hold back the mass movement and to discredit the national movement. This will happen unless the revolutionary workers get the leadership of the mass movement. In the North of Ireland the imperial government is attacking the unemployed through a new Bill. There will be a great increase of class activity and economic battles, though Devlin may be able to hold some influence over the national movement. The

outward appearance will remain the same for some time. It is the mass economic struggles that we must pay particular attention to and get the leadership of in the North of Ireland. Our attitude to the national forces in the North will have a big effect in winning over to the movement the Northern workers.

The further big question is the position of the "Left" national Movement in Ireland as a whole. There is a complete change taking place inside the national movement. There is a steady advance of the rank and file Republicans to the "Left." An indication of this is the support we received in the attack on Connolly house and the Gilmore case. Just as surely as the rank and file is going to the "Left," the leadership of the movement is moving to the Right. The day was when the leaders said they were opposed to Communism "because the rank and file was not ready for Communism," but this situation has changed. Everything is now done to prevent the rank and file from coming to Communism. The whole direction of the leadership has been to please the middle class and to hold back the rank and file. The last few weeks the "Phoblact" had gone back to the Republic of Mary MacSwiney. There is a shift of the Republican movement to the Right. Such a move backward can only lead to disaster for the national cause. We are correct when we try to win the revolutionary workers into the C.P. This will strengthen the revolutionary nationalist movement. Some say that the Right leaders will go to open attack on the workers. This is not so. They will play with "Left" slogans and hesitate in the struggle against Irish capitalism and British imperialism. We have no secrets as to our policy in the national revolutionary movement. Our forces must be strengthened and the "Leftward" moving workers drawn to our policy. This will strengthen the national movement and guard against retreat.

Finally, if we accept the manifesto the task we have to do is to popularise it among the workers. On the basis of the manifesto we must proceed to recruit more and more workers into the Party and build powerful groups. We must develop our propaganda so that we will be able to meet the barrage that is against us and reply to the attacks. We did get out a pamphlet, but there are still thousands of these still unsold. The "Workers' Voice" must be made an obligation to push by every comrade. We must get into the factories and the trade unions. We must build up the strong local and national leadership which we have not got at present. We must have a strong Central Committee, representative of the best in our movement. We must break with the isolation of our groups in the different parts. We must have a stronger spirit of discipline and the loyal carrying out of decisions. Finally, the manifesto should be closely studied by every member. I am convinced that we are following in the best traditions of the Irish fight for freedom. We are taking the best road to the Party of the Irish working class, to national independence, and to the social emancipation of the Irish toilers.

Comrade Crozier (Belfast). Comrade Murray has given us an extensive outline of the manifesto. The whole country of Ireland is the history of struggle. Every struggle in Ireland was abruptly terminated when it came into conflict with the class interests of the Irish capitalists. At the present time the De Valera government stopped short at the point of incomplete national separation. Only the working class with the C.P. at its head can carry through the struggle to the end. The workers are under reformist leadership and will be held back as long as this is so. We are now in a position to get the workers together and let them see that the best road is the road of struggle. We have got in on the railways and we do not hide our Communism from the workers. We have got in Belfast a new leadership that will lead the future struggles. In Dublin we have been able to let the workers see that the same thing may happen here. In Belfast we have got a conference of railway workers to lead the men against further cuts. The conference will show the railwaymen that only under rank and file leadership will it be possible to fight for their demands. The work on the jobs in Belfast is going ahead, and the workers know that the Communists are the best leaders of the workers. The workers must be the main force in the struggle. The more we take on the leadership of the workers the more will they support the Communists. By going into the factories and the railways we will be able to get the leadership of the workers and forge the way for the mass Communist Party of Ireland.

Brian O'Neill (Dublin).—I will read two amendments. A very important part of the manifesto is the part dealing with the

"Left" petty bourgeois leadership of the national struggle. Petty bourgeois objectors to our Party say: We agree, but let us free Ireland first; then settle social questions. The logical conclusion is that there should be no C.P., and that the class fight should be discontinued until the Republic is achieved. This failure to see the class character of the national fight has been a weakness of the struggles of the past. At the time of the repeal movement it was clearly brought out. They would not see in '48 that in order to be successful they had to deal with the landlords. In '60 the Fenians had masses of workers and directed in no small way against the landowners, but the movement was in the hands of the petty bourgeois. Even then they would not see the interconnection between the land war and the national struggle. The agrarian revolution of the 19th century was the basis of the struggle against the imperialists. To-day the struggle against capitalism is linked in the same way with the struggle for the emancipation of Ireland, as numerous instances of the stranglehold of British economy on Irish industry show. To ensure success of the national fight the national movement should take steps to (a) participate in every working-class struggle, (b) support the unemployed, (c) take part in the agrarian fight, (d) mass agitation and propaganda. These are not being done because the leadership are too busy absolving themselves of the tenets of Communism! The duality of the economic battles and the national struggle was ably brought out in the October struggles in Belfast. We must say to the petty bourgeois leaders that their failure to see the interconnection of the movement is proof of their incapacity to lead the struggle. The leadership of the industrial struggles must be won from the hands of the reformists. The Labour reformists are the reserve side of the national reformists. The recent movements (October, unemployed, railways) show that the upsurge is here and growing. These struggles of the workers are the best blows that can be struck against the imperialists. We must be able on the basis of the manifesto to convince the workers that the C.P. is the only Party capable of leading them to success.

Ganner (National group, Dublin) said he felt proud that the Party was being launched. He thought, however, that members of the national movement were not out for a "capitalist Republic," but were in for the same reason as Connolly, to take part in every anti-imperialist fight. One big drawback was that the bourgeoisie had the leadership. We were going to challenge them. The views of the leadership were not those of the rank and file. Resolutions were shelved. There was no use in camouflaging the name of the Party, it was what you preach they will attack; Connolly house was an example. In the industrial North the industrial side is revolutionary and the national side reactionary.

D. O'Reilly (Dublin). I support the political essence of the draft manifesto.

The fact that we are able to show the developments clearly gives credit to the C.P. of Ireland. We have reason to congratulate ourselves on our achievements. Any weaknesses are weaknesses of omission. Connolly created the united front of the workers. Alleged Labour leaders split the movement. Trade union work needs undertaking. Our object is to undermine the influence of the reformists.

Secondly, the North. We do not show the importance of the treacherous partition. We have made mistakes on the national question and have corrected our line. We did not understand that we could base our work on the national movement and strengthen our work. A Leninist line is necessary on the national question if we are to be successful in our work, and avoid repeating errors. This is another of our weaknesses.

Taggart (Belfast delegation). The manifesto lays the basis for the unification of the struggle in Ireland. The manifesto gives the historical record of the struggle. It should contain a fuller analysis of the 1921 struggle. The national struggle is increasing in intensity, bringing out the role of the working class and the C.P. in the struggle. It is taking on a class character to a greater extent. Allegiance to Cosgrave was built on sand. De Valera harnessed the discontent with Cosgrave. The illusions regarding De Valera will be destroyed. Decay of capitalism is manifested in Ireland. Acute struggles are also developing in the North. Murray forecasted no great political changes in the North, but there were cracks in the unionist front. A definite anti-unionist vote is seen in Belfast. The farmers' movement is growing in the countryside in the North. The Communist candidate in the loyalty stronghold gets 1,220 votes. This shows the great basis for development of the Party. It has been stated that the

formation of the Party means it will become illegal. We must use the trade union and democratic movement to fight any attempt to make the Party illegal. It was all right to hold the conference secretly in Dublin. Why not have it held openly in Belfast? Every publicity should be given to the fact of the inauguration of the Party. There was no necessity to hold a secret conference. The "Left" wing in the national movement is trying to find a midway course between the revolutionary and reactionary paths. We should introduce into the manifesto a statement of the betrayal by the reformists in 1921. Must get publicity for the Party and fight for legality.

Watters (Dublin). The main problem running through the manifesto was the national question. This question must not be considered as a barrier. It provides great possibilities to the working class in the struggle for socialism. This was demonstrated in 1920 and 1921 when the class fight emerged in the national movement.

What attempts have we made to find a basis among the small farmers in the past year? We have slogans and directives to the national movement, but we have no great success in securing mass support in the countryside. We are subject to "tailism" in our activity. The question of the conference on the anti-imperialist struggle was taken up, but no conference emerged. There was no serious intention of organising a conference; we remained inactive. Our attitude has been that we have no basis, but the I.R.A. has, and therefore we must work through the I.R.A. We should have tried to break through our isolation. The workers can be organised under Communist leadership. The anti-imperialist forces can be unified under Party leadership.

There was omission of sufficient reference to the North. The Party is the Party of the working class. The working class is numerically and otherwise strongest in the North. We must thrash out the problems of recruiting and organising the workers in the North. The workers in the North do not see the link between the fight for better conditions in the daily struggle and the fight against British imperialism. The "Daily Worker" has linked up the economic struggles of the workers in Great Britain with the struggles in the colonies. We must get down to this question in Ireland, not only in propaganda, but in concrete struggle. Lastly, the danger of lopsided movement—the nationalist struggle in the South, the "economist" struggle in the North.

J. Nalty (National group, Dublin). We must have patience with the members of the I.R.A., who have to conform to military discipline and loyalty to the organisation and leadership. The leadership is taking the I.R.A. to the Right—to Sinn Fein or Fianna Fail. Hopes of Saor Eire. Since the Coercion Act the leadership has drifted from us (ban on lectures on social and economic questions, expulsion of Party members from the ranks). There is a definite fear that the Party in the I.R.A. will win the rank and file for our policy.

Inglesby (National group, Dublin). The national question is of great importance if we are to solve the social question. The Citizen Army was a driving force in 1916, the C.P. in the Four Courts in 1922. The degeneration of British imperialism is creating a favourable situation in Ireland for the C.P. The nationalist organisation may be going to the Right, but we should continue to work in the organisation. The Catholic organisation had their finger on the danger point when the agitation against the Party links up the nationalist movement with the working class. Excellent use could be made of the nationalist movement in the event of war, the anti-conscription fight, and the fight against war. The speaker pointed to the importance of literature and pamphlets for educational purposes, and also the border question, the cost of two parliaments, the economic struggle between the two groups of capitalists. These should be used in agitation, as the full weight falls on the working class.

Jim Larkin. The workers are interested in whether the tactics and strategy of the C.P. are correct in the immediate struggles. The manifesto lays great stress on the national struggle, to the exclusion of the class issue. This is the danger into which the national movement had already fallen, creating the illusion that it is impossible to commence the struggle for immediate demands until the national question is solved. The Party can only gain the confidence of the workers by the part it plays in the day to day struggles. We must not only tell the members of the I.R.A. that the I.R.A. needs a class basis, we must try and bring the members of the I.R.A. into action on the question of evictions, housing conditions, etc. In regard to the North,

the fight against the economy drive and the attacks on the workers (which are essential to maintain the fabric of the Empire) will assist to bring the workers into line on the national question. The agrarian question is not dealt with fully. The land annuities and the proposals of the Party should be brought out. Suggests some alterations in the manifesto.

Betty Sinclair (Belfast). To-day we are taking a significant step in the history of Ireland by the creation of the C.P. It is no exaggeration to say that the workers of Ireland are ready to move forward to social and national liberation. The national struggle must be linked up with the social and economic fight. The weakness of the past—leadership and incorrect policy—the conference lays the foundation for overcoming these weaknesses. It is true that the national question has not been brought out in the North. The revolutionary national movement has not played the same part in the North. The manifesto does not deal adequately with the North. The barriers are not artificial and the employers are united to exploit the Irish people, but the barrier is used to split the Irish people. In regard to Party discipline, when the Party does not give the lead which the individual member in principle accepts, nevertheless the decision must be carried out conscientiously.

Scarborough (Belfast). After the October struggle the unionists were concerned with winning back the workers and the working-class youth from the Communists. The church in particular tried to win back the workers. The question of national liberation is ineffective in the North; we need to concentrate on the unions and factories. The economic decline in the North is awakening the workers; we have to lead and organise the workers. We cannot approach the workers on the basis of high political principles, we must begin by working with them in the daily struggles. We received one-third of the electorate vote in the elections, which is a sign of the growing disillusionment of the workers and the growing influence of the Party. We must develop our work on a wider scale if we are to avoid isolation.

P. Gralton (Leitrim). Twelve months ago Pearce Hall was opened in Leitrim. The priests became active and tried to stop the bands from playing in the hall. This would not stop it, so they refused absolution to those who came. This also did not stop the workers attending. Then they openly attacked the hall, first with stones, then bullets, then a land-mine, and, finally, they burned the hall to the ground. Meetings were held indoors at the speaker's home. They issued a deportation order against Jim Gralton. It is well known in the locality that this was issued at the behest of the priests. They had stated openly that there was one in the parish who should be deported. However, it is significant that the people who were opposed to Jim Gralton at the beginning and who assisted in the campaign against him are now helping him to avoid arrest. In the area they had carried out a cattle drive on the big estate and a committee of working farmers had been formed. Undoubtedly the farmers were willing and would accept the leadership of the Party.

Anderson (Cork). The part played by Northern Ireland and Orangemen in the liberation movement was omitted from the manifesto. It is not true that we cannot appeal to the Belfast people on the basis of history. The question of partition is not dealt with in the document. On the question of illegality, to all intents we are illegal now. It was necessary to work inside the national movement. We cannot expose ourselves as Party members. The speaker suggested the formation of some kind of militant organisation in connection with the C.P.

G. Close (Belfast). It is essential to build a youth movement. There had been no previous attempt to organise the youth. Forty per cent. of the youth in the North have never worked since leaving school. There are 59,670 boys unemployed and 8,481 temporarily stopped. The Government spend £58,851 on extra constabulary, and grants for curing tuberculosis from 1925-1928 amounted to £28,346. There are 19,132 children at school from three to six years. Expenditure for elementary education is £1,461,769. There are 7,703 youths from 14 to 16 working in factories and workshops. With the launching of the C.P. it is also necessary to launch the Y.C.L. Communism holds more for the youth than it does for the older generation. The youth of Ireland are suffering terribly under the economic crisis. Apprentices are now faced with nothing but unemployment. In the shipyards boy labour is carried on everywhere. At one time there were three journeymen for every apprentice. Now there are about nine apprentices for every journeyman. The boy's wage rate is about

16s. 8d. per head. What is true about the yards is true about mills, factories, and all other industries in the North. The hardships which the youth have to suffer is having a great effect on their loyalty and faith in the capitalist class in the North. With the discontent among the youth it is a most suitable time to launch a Y.C.L. The Y.C.L. in Belfast has about 16 members at present. They have been carrying on propaganda work by going for hikes to the country and distributing old copies of the "Daily Worker," the "Voice," and pamphlets on Russia. We get into talks with workers and chalk slogans on the roads. We are starting a sports club into which to draw the working youth. It is also intended to start a young workers' football league and to ask teams from the mills, factories, and shipyards to play in it, and in this way to draw the working-class youth together. By carrying out a sports programme we are working to form a Y.C.L. of Ireland which will work side by side with the C.P.I. in the overthrowing and smashing of the capitalist system.

The decision was taken to combine the two resolutions. That is the manifesto and the resolution on mass struggles.

Jim Larkin then moved the resolution on mass struggles. The organisational manner in which the C.P. can function is the factories, trades unions, etc. With regard to the building strike, despite the fact that there was a rank and file beginning made, there is now nothing to show, and we must commence on the ground upwards. Much has been gained in Belfast from the point of view of influence and strength. The results do not compare with the size of the struggle. In the railway struggle the Party failed during the strike to bring any members round it. Despite the fact that we had at one time sixty members. In Kilkenny, despite the victory, we failed to consolidate the influence of the rank and file leadership. We lack contacts among the workers. We do not speak to the workers on the job. We do not speak to them in the trade unions. That is our weakness. Whether we recognise partition or not, we have two fields to work in. The decline of industry in the North affects the struggle, and is the work of British imperialism. We must show the bread and butter effect of the rule of British imperialism. In the South there is the wage-cutting offensive of the F.F. government. We need to recapitulate the various efforts and attacks on the working class. The building of a national economy in the South will provide Irish capitalism with a greater concentration in the fight against British imperialism. On the railways we can see as a result of the settlement further struggles. Dismissals, redundancy, etc., will lead to struggle. On unemployment, the economy will mean cutting down relief. Workers at the Labour Exchange will be drawn into struggle. The county councils will cut down wages in line with the policy of the F.F. government. We also have attacks on farm labourers. In Dublin, attacks on Dublin labourers. The federated employers will demand reduction in wages to the level of non-federated employees. In the national movement the I.R.A. is going to be forced to support the Fianna Fáil or be banned. The speaker disagrees with Comrade Murray as to the possibility of F.F. declaring for a Republic. On the other hand, they realise they are driven to the Right. Necessity of getting in among the masses. The tenants' organisations give us a good example of the work we can do outside the trades unions. We must know how to assist the workers in their immediate struggles, in addition to a knowledge of our political programme. Cites work of Comrade Flanagan in Inchchore. We must do this work and then say we are making inroads into the masses. We should study trades union rules and constitution, etc. We must give greater attention to the unemployed. We must claim credit for whatever victories the unemployed have had. Yet we could not when Connolly house was raided go to the unemployed for assistance. Our weakness with the unemployed is due not to the activities of the Party members, but due to Party leadership. On Labour reformism we must not gloss over the danger. As F.F. goes to the Right the Labour Party will attempt to step into the breach. There are elements in the Labour Party who are adopting our unemployment programme, and even suggesting united front with the Communists. The Labour Party visualises itself as an alternative to the F.F. government.

P. R. McLoughlin (Donegal). Points out the difficulties of work in the countryside and difficulties of exposing Party membership.

Griffin (Belfast). Struggle in Northern Ireland grew out of the economy drive of the British government in 1931.

Intervention by Comrade Murray. As Comrade Gralton is leaving in connection with the arrest of Comrade Reynolds, who is charged with carrying weapons, I propose that we send greetings to the comrade in jail and also send a message of greeting to Jim Gralton. This is agreed.

Griffin continues. We gained victory in Belfast relief struggle, showing the success of the slogan of mass struggle in opposition to the Labour Party, who wanted to wait until the elections. We got into touch with the illegal group of the I.R.A., but they refused to assist us in the organising of the relief workers. We entered the railway strike with only one contact: now a conference of railway workers is taking place. A further drive against the unemployed is commencing. Perspective of struggle in front. The economy attack and the drive against the workers all originate from the British government. Hence it can be clearly shown that the struggle for the economic demands is a struggle against British imperialism. Hence basis for unity of struggle under the leadership of the workers.

Johnston (Belfast). With the perspectives of mass struggle in front the Party must prove itself as the leading force to the workers. The line of the reformists will be proved incorrect. The significance of the railway strike and the struggle of the Belfast relief workers shows the difference between the reformist struggle and the revolutionary struggle. The suggestion made by Larkin and others that the struggle in the North must be economic is incorrect. It means we must desert politics. The national struggle is of the greatest importance in the North also. We can win the workers to the national struggle in the North.

(To be continued)

Organisational Questions

The Tasks of the Organisation of Leadership of the Youth by the Party

By O. A.

The programme of the Communist International, adopted by the Sixth Congress, in enumerating the principal strategic tasks leading to the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat, defined the fundamental strategic task as follows:—"To extend its influence over the majority of the members of its own class, including working women and the working youth." The Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, after having established, thanks to the analysis of the political and economic situation, the end of capitalist stabilisation and the passing to a new period of revolutions and wars, made this strategic task, the winning of the majority of the working class for the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the central task of the moment. The Plenary Session of the Young Communist International, which took place after the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. had shown that the fight for the winning of the majority of the young workers is one of the weakest sectors of the fight for the winning of the majority of the working class. In view of the increasing danger of new imperialist wars, it is becoming extremely important to overcome this weakness in this sector of the fight for the masses, in the fight for the greatest extension of Communist influence among the large masses of working youth.

What are the causes of this weakness? The Plenum of the Y.C.I. showed that the causes lay in the bad work of the national sections of the Y.C.I. which do not yet know how to turn their face to the masses, and which still suffer from sectarianism linked up with fundamental opportunist deviations and with serious "left" exaggerations. But it is clear that it would be unjust to throw all the responsibility for the situation in the young communist organisations onto the comrades working in the leading organs of the Y.C.L. The Communist Youth is an integral part of the international communist movement and that is why the communist parties and their leading bodies ought to be the first to respond to the bad work of the young communist organisations. The Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. put squarely the question of the fight for the mass character of the Young Communist organisation, and has laid upon all national sections of the Y.C.I. the duty of

catching up and surpassing the effective membership of the Communist Parties. The last Plenum of the Y.C.I. confirmed the directive of the Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the question of the necessity for all the federations to fight energetically for the masses, and that in particular to catch up and to surpass the effective membership of the Communist Parties with the shortest possible delay must be carried through at all costs. **It is necessary that each Communist Party, in its turn, draws the political and organisational conclusions in order to ensure the youth organisations the necessary help in order to carry through this extremely important directive.**

What are the principal concrete tasks of the Party organisations with regard to this? Above all, it is clear that it is necessary **to ensure a correct and strong leadership of the Party in the youth organisations.** To fulfil this, every party committee from the Central Committee to the cell bureau must appoint one of the best militants to direct the work in the communist youth, as a responsible representative of the committee. This comrade should take part in all the daily work of the youth, be well acquainted with all the questions of this work, help in solving them, and each time that it is necessary, raise these questions in the party organisation. Further, it is necessary that all the fundamental questions of the working of the youth should be discussed obligatorily in the sessions of the committees and conferences of the party and that directives and the carrying through of these directives for the work of the young communists should be worked out by means of a nucleus of party members inside the Y.C.L. This question of a nucleus of party members inside the Y.C.L. is of the first importance at the present moment. It is necessary to see to it that in each organisation of the Y.C.L. (and above all in each committee of the Y.C.L.) there are a certain number of young comrades who are at the same time members of the party. Without such a group it will be more difficult to ensure a good political line and to control practically the work of the communist youth organisations.

Up to the present the organisations of the Party have not devoted sufficient attention to the formation of this party group. Very often this mistake is supplemented by another; party committees pay no attention to the fact that very often the youth organisations in practical work, duplicate the work of the party organisations as far as methods, content and forms of work are concerned. It is true that the communist youth is intimately linked up with the Party.

The party nucleus in the youth organisations should be applied in such a way as to educate for the Party the best elements of the youth organisations and to increase the party group in the Y.C.L. The communist youth is the reserve for the growth of the Party.

The communist youth is at the same time a large mass organisation of proletarian youth. It should group not only young members of the Party but very much larger sections of sympathising young workers who are not members of the Party. Party committees ought never to forget for a single instant **that the large mass of adherents of the Y.C.L. do not yet belong to the Party and that there should not be the same strictness towards members and organisations of young communists as towards members and organisations of the Party.** In the opposite way, the communist youth will become a duplicate of the Party and will not be accessible to large masses of the youth.

The principal task which arises from this is to pay the greatest attention to the Marxist-Leninist education of the young communists. At the moment, this work is still very badly done in all countries. But to learn Marxism-Leninism—that is not a question of studying books only. It means making out of adherents of the Communist Youth leaders of the young workers in the class struggle.

In order to get a real change in the young communist organisations towards the masses of the young workers and peasants, the Communist Parties must see to it that a change is made in the methods of action of the organisations of the communist youth towards the different mass youth organisations. Whilst in the federations of young communists, in the revolutionary trade unions, in the different sport and educational organisations of the youth in the capitalist countries, there are hundreds of thousands of young people, in the sport and other organisations of the youth which are in the hands of the enemies of the revolutionary working class movement, there are millions of young workers. The com-

munist youth cannot win the majority of the young workers without working inside these organisations and not only in the revolutionary organisations; without creating within them a nucleus of young communists who carry on stubborn, daily work for the winning of these young proletarians, even the most reactionary. The Party should help the Y.C.L. to work out special methods in each case for the work in these organisations and for the organising of a nucleus of the young communists. Just as the Communist Party, the young communists must direct their principal fight against the social-democratic leadership with the aim of detaching the youth from them, without which the winning of the majority of the working youth will be impossible in the majority of capitalist countries.

It is in conformity with these tasks of work inside the mass organisations that the Y.C.L. should reorganise its work in the factories. The young communists should be recognised on the basis of factory cells. Factory cells should be underground organisations, but at the same time they should be surrounded by active workers, organised in different legal or semi-legal mass organisations, and even working within mass organisations which are in the hands of the bourgeoisie and its fascist and social-fascist agents. This reorganisation is the most important condition of organisation for the preparation of the communist youth for underground work by the combination of open and underground methods.

The Fight of the Unemployed in Cuba

By Francisco

As a result of the profound economic crisis which exists in Cuba, there are 600,000 unemployed out of a population of 3,500,000 inhabitants. And this figure does not include tens of thousands of workers who only work two or three days in a week. The mass of the unemployed consists mostly of agricultural workers, and above all of workers in the sugar cane plantations and refineries. Nevertheless, the workers in the tobacco plantations, in the factories, the railways, the ports, the transport workers and of small industry are also suffering from unemployment. Dismissals affect equally the state functionaries (more than 10,000 persons), teachers and the workers in the public services.

There is no social insurance for the unemployed and they are suffering famine en masse. After the sugar cane harvest thousands of plantation workers wander across the island searching for a crust of bread and a roof. In Havana, thousands of unemployed sleep in the parks and the courts. Every day workers are found who have died of hunger. Suicide, the "solution" of this life of famine, has reached unbelievable heights in Cuba. Tens of thousands of working class families are evicted from their dwellings because they have not enough to pay the rent. The government has taken a series of brutal measures in order to hide the misery of the masses from foreign tourists: a decree forbidding begging, the settlement of unemployed in Havana, the prohibition of sleeping in the parks, the destruction of the miserable huts built by the unemployed themselves, etc. Then, on the pretext of a state of siege, the government has forbidden meetings of the unemployed and their organisations for the defence of their demands; but in spite of the terror against the revolutionary organisations of the proletariat (all the organisations are illegal) and against the unemployed themselves, great fights have been conducted by the unemployed in many parts of the country, in the course of the last two years.

The chief collisions took place after the harvest in 1931, when the National Workers' Confederation of Cuba (Central revolutionary trade union) began to organise seriously. The unemployed kept up serious struggles from April to July at Cape Santiago, Mansanillo, Banjamo, San Antonio, Los Banjos, Havana, etc. These fights took place on the occasion of big demonstrations to the municipal authorities. There were killed and wounded on the part of the workers and on the side of the police and gendarmes. The majority of the workers who participated in the fights had worked in the refineries and on the sugar plantations, and after the harvest, they were concentrated in the towns and in the villages hoping to find work. A large number of Spaniards who, in addition to the fight conducted with the whole of the unemployed, had begun a movement for repatriation to Spain, at the expense of the Spanish government, took part in the demonstrations. The powerful de-

monstrations in the streets before the municipalities and Spanish consuls forced the government and certain municipal authorities to give some satisfaction to the unemployed. For example, the municipality of Mansanillo assigned 7,000 pesos for the unemployed and supplied them daily with food. Other municipalities decided to open soup kitchens for several hundreds of unemployed. The government published a special decree for the formation of a committee of aid for the unemployed on which charity associations, educational associations, clerical organisations, the Freemasons and the veterans of the war of "independence" would be represented. The reasons for this decree showed that this measure was taken in order to prevent the Communists seizing the movement. For the help of the unemployed a monthly budget of 6,000 pesos was accorded to this organisation. But the decisions taken by the municipalities, even the decree of the government proved to be a simple demagogic gesture for the purpose of deceiving the unemployed. Soon after the creation of this organisation, the state of siege was declared throughout the country (August, 1931). In many districts the promises of the authorities coincided with a vicious offensive against the slightest manifestation of discontent among the famished masses. However, at the end of the fight, several thousands of unemployed Spaniards were sent back to Spain (as they had demanded) at the expense of the Spanish government. In Havana a camp for unemployed was organised. But this camp which should have been of assistance to the unemployed was only a really criminal manoeuvre of the government; several hundreds of unemployed found asylum there, but they were given such miserable food, they were set to forced labour on public works at 30 cents an hour, replacing the workers in the public services at 1 peso 20 cents an hour, whom the government quite simply dismissed.

The mass of the unemployed even to-day continue to vegetate without the least help from the government or the municipalities. This is explained in the first place by the absence of any kind of social insurance in Cuba, by the systematic indifference of the government to the demands presented by the unemployed, by the weakness of the fight of the unemployed for these demands, a weakness which is explained in its turn mainly by the fact that after the spring of 1931, the state of siege was declared in the country and the terror against the working class movement took on terrifying proportions. In the second place, this weakness is explained by the fact that the Party did not find quickly enough new methods of action for the mobilisation of large masses of unemployed.

One of the principal causes of the weakness of the fight of the unemployed after the government had passed to an open form of military dictatorship, lies in the inadequate connection between the Party and the revolutionary trade unions on the one hand and the unemployed on the other. In spite of the drawing up of a programme of concrete demands for the unemployed (law for unemployed insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the government; immediate assistance of 30 pesos to each man unemployed; against evictions; against forced labour, etc.) and in spite of the fact that the programme found a powerful echo among the unemployed, the weak organic connection with the masses and the barbarous terror checked the development of the unemployed fight although their situation was considerably worsened.

At the beginning of 1931, committees of unemployed according to craft within each union was the form of organisation adopted by the unemployed. This kind of organisation showed itself incapable of grouping large masses of unemployed unorganised in the unions. The weakness of this form of organisation showed itself even more strongly in that practically the whole of the revolutionary trade unions and the national workers' confederation was illegal at that time. A few months later, a change in structure took place, and the unemployed began to organise in the places where the unemployed were concentrated. (Solaries,* soup kitchens, etc.) Then councils of the unemployed were formed in which the committees of the town or the district took part. This kind of organisation, with the parallel creation of many different commissions for the different work of the committees, with the aim of making each unemployed worker active, showed itself to be the most adapted for the bringing of the unemployed into the fight, and for the establishment of permanent contact between the Party and the revolutionary unions on the one hand and the unemployed on the other. And this in spite of the savage terror in Cuba. Thanks to such an organisation, it has been possible, for example,

to prevent evictions of unemployed from their lodgings. The participation of the unemployed in activities in the streets and in common action with strikers (organisation of strike pickets, etc.) is increasing.

However, this organisation which had already proved its usefulness, showed that it was insufficient for the mobilising of the unemployed in the struggle, for its creation was not accompanied by serious activity among the agricultural workers who were the biggest section of the unemployed. This explains why, in spite of the success of the Party in the organisation of several committees of unemployed in a number of towns, they were not able to keep contact with the famished masses (in the plantations, in the villages), and for this reason were not able to mobilise these masses for the fight.

On the other hand the committees did not profit by the experience of the action of 1931 among the unemployed of the solaries*. This section made possible a closer contact with the unemployed of the towns. The work begun in 1931 in the solaries, brought to the Party the sympathy of new thousands of men, women and youth who had never belonged to an organisation and who nevertheless showed openly their will to fight for the programme of demands of the unemployed. This action was abandoned eventually.

These fundamental errors added to the governmental terror (the committees and councils of the unemployed working illegally) were the concrete causes of the weakness of the unemployed fight up to the end of last year.

These mistakes began to be put right during the last months of last year. The strengthening of the action of the Party among the masses in general and notably among the workers in the refineries, was accompanied by an increase of the activity of the Party among the unemployed. Several "hunger marches" took place during the month of December in Havana and in other provinces in the island. The connection which now exists with the unemployed, before the sugar cane harvest, will enormously contribute to their organisation and to the fight carried on during the harvest, that is to say at the moment when thanks to the predominance of the sugar industry in Cuba, many of the unemployed are employed in the refineries and plantations. On the other hand, the serious work of the Party carried on at this moment among the agricultural workers during the harvest, the attempts to organise their struggle for partial demands and to connect these with the fight carried on in the other sectors of the class struggle, will help the Party and the National Workers' Confederation of Cuba to maintain relations with these workers during the dead season and to direct their fight in the future when they become once again unemployed.

The unemployed of Cuba, as much by their numbers as by their composition (agricultural workers in the main) represent a powerful revolutionary force in the fight against the bourgeois and agrarian regime in Cuba, against the bloody dictatorship of Machado and against imperialism. The leaders of the reformist trade unions, together with the anarchists, support the actual government and endeavour, by daily betrayal of the unemployed, to "eliminate" the problem of unemployment, to "calm" the workers, to persuade them that "the situation will improve," which they hope for very much. On the other hand the reformist leaders (of the National Federation of cigarette makers for example) contrive to make the payment of special relief for the unemployed fall on to the workers, in order to turn them away from the fight for unemployment benefit at the expense of the capitalist and the government. The Party denounces this treasonable activity on the part of the reformists (particularly of the leaders of the federation in question) and tries to build up a united front of struggle of the unemployed and of employed workers for their common demands.

The work among the unemployed ought to be one of the principal activities of the Party. The crisis becoming more profound and the numbers of unemployed increasing, the fight of these latter acquires every day a greater political importance. This heavy unemployment is one of the weakest links in the regime in Cuba. The Party must take account of the whole importance of this fact, and reinforce continuously its action for the mobilisation and organisation of large masses of the unemployed, above all at the actual moment of the ending of the sugar cane harvest.

* Lodgings or houses with rooms all giving on to the common court, or patio, where the poorest workers live.

Book Reviews

Wall-Street Goes Fox-Hunting

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

Sinclair has written a treatise on American banking in the crisis period, in the form of an exciting story of the rise and decline of the biggest American motion-picture capitalist, William Fox.* It illustrates beautifully what Communists have been saying about the effects of the crisis on the concentration of capital and on the power of the banking monopolies.

This story of Fox Films is a sordid tale of how the Morgan-Rockefeller groups, centring around the Chase Bank and the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. (A.T.T.), and taking in a number of the largest banking houses, gobbled up this 300 million dollar enterprise. Fox, angry at being pushed out, does what no regular business man or gangster ever does: he "squeals." He tells Sinclair and a stenographer the whole story, and it is as fascinating as the inside story of a Kreuger or an Insull would be. Despite the injured innocence of Fox, and the uncritical enthusiasm of Sinclair, the story is unfolded as it could never be in the press or at Senate hearings. Not only are the usual tactics of the bankers shown in squeezing to the wall and taking over an industrial concern, but such hypocritical moralising, ugly lying, stealing, and back-stabbing methods as the veriest sweatshop contractor or gangster would be ashamed of, are shown to be the every-day stock in trade of these financial vultures.

The bankers and politicians are shown in all their glory and crookedness. Bribery and corruption, tattling and wire-tapping are the methods of both Fox and the bankers. Nothing like it has been written since the deluge of biographies of Harding and Hoover, and this is the more significant, since the activities of politicians are more or less well known, while those of the big bankers have still in the main to be divulged.

As a study of the changing role of the banks under monopoly-capitalism and in the present world crisis, the story is excellent source material. When Fox started in business the banks were largely fiscal agents of their clients, the industrialists and merchants. He bemoans this change: "The honest banker of thirty years ago has become a stock manipulator, using the funds of his bank to participate in various syndicates. . . ." The securities affiliates are referred to. In the second chapter of his "Imperialism," headed "The Banks and Their New Role," Lenin discusses this transformation at length.

Let us follow the story in detail and see how the Wall Street bankers got Fox to borrow large sums from them, then refused to extend him credit and crushed him, with the aid and manipulation of the government, his bankers, and lawyers and business associates. It is an interesting bit of background for the present investigation of Morgan and confraternity, with their bribing of government officials (from Roosevelt, Hoover and Coolidge down), and exemplifies perfectly the new role of the banks: to loot, not to finance industry.

Halsey, Stuart, A.T.T., and affiliated banks financed Fox to the extent of 28 million dollars to buy a third interest in the Loew chain of movie theatres, the largest in the country. Then they forced him to buy up to half interest (involving 70 million dollars and taking much of the available cash of his companies), getting the Department of Justice of the U.S. Government to pretend it would permit the merger. He was also persuaded to buy the 300 Gaumont theatres in England (cost 20 million dollars). Then the government attacked the Loew purchase, and Fox's influence with Hoover and a 2 million dollar bribe of the

Department of Justice were unavailing. There follows the wanderings of a veritable Odysseus, to Rockefeller, Ford, Dillon, Huston (treasurer of the Republican Party), Schwab, Hughes, Kuhn-Loeb, Reginald McKenna (British Midland Bank), Hoover, Baruch, etc., but in vain. Fox hired the biggest lawyers in the country, at fees up to a million dollars each, but Chase and A.T.T. took them all over. At last they forced him out with a measly 20 million dollars (!) and a great deal of unassuaged spleen. His immediate successor was Harley Clarke, partner of the notorious Insull, but he was later shoved out also and replaced by the head of the Chase Bank.

As soon as Fox sold out, the bankers went through the hocus-pocus of a private issue of stock at 30 dollars a share, which was worth 57 dollars on the market. (Just like Morgan's specials lists for politicians and business men.) They cleaned up 43 million dollars on this, paid out Fox 18 million dollars, and had 25 million dollars profit. Carke and Wiggin used Chase Bank funds in playing this game. They forced a number of other bankers to join, and when Fox stock dropped to almost nothing in value, these bankers (Pynchon of New York, Hammons of Boston, West of Philadelphia) went bankrupt, losing tens of millions of dollars of their own and their stockholders' money. This is as good a place as any to refer to the fact that in 1929, according to Fox, the first of the great banks to fail, the Bank of U.S. and Chelsea Bank, in New York, and a number of others in other cities, were forced into bankruptcy deliberately by the Morgan-Rockefeller crowd (thus intensifying and accelerating the crisis greatly), because they favoured loans to Fox after the big fellows had turned thumbs down.

To return to the looting of the Fox companies, Clarke, a public utility magnate, who also controlled a theatre equipment company, forced the Fox theatres to buy tens of millions of dollars of unnecessary equipment at exorbitant prices. The Morgan investigation is also bringing out this classic fact., of Morgan-controlled railroads buying equipment from his equipment, etc., companies, with money loaned from his banks, etc. The Fox companies were looted of over 100 million dollars, and in three years the value of the stock fell 98 per cent. When Fox set out to get new bankers, just before he had to sell out, a syndicate of Lehman (now governor of New York and always pal of Roosevelt), Bancamerica-Blair, and Dillon-Read loaned him 6 million dollars at an interest rate of 87 per cent., and got the government to sanction the Loew merger. There followed a struggle which ended in the two groups of bankers getting together and dividing the spoils, with Fox left out in the cold. McKenna, head of the Midland Bank, had loaned Fox money to buy 300 British theatres, on the advice of the American bankers. He then refused to renew the loan, at the order of the Chase Bank, and had J. W. Davis (Morgan's lawyer and ex-presidential candidate) sue Fox.

Sinclair seems to fall completely into the passive role of champion of his protagonist. Fox is as great, though not as powerful, a rascal as his enemies (among his associates and proteges are murderers, grafting politicians of the most corrupt type, etc.), but Sinclair does not comment on this. When Fox swindles others, our author calls it a "shrewd trick," but when his enemies ditch him, it is "monstrous." Whether Sinclair is being extremely subtle, or whether he is merely "objective," he is in a strange position as a socialist. To vindicate the good name of Fox is hardly a sufficient aim.

At the end of the book Sinclair repeats a plea originally addressed to the rulers of the United States in 1918, appealing to them to save the country from themselves: ". . . you have yet time to help us, if you will. . . . Are we in America to have a Bolshevik revolution? Or can we contrive a new kind of revolution, a democratic revolution, in which men of all classes (!) may unite. . . ." This polite invitation to the masters of the country to abdicate, which closes the book, may make it respectable, but it hardly becomes a socialist, except of the vintage of the Second International.

* Upton Sinclair: "Upton Sinclair Presents William Fox," published by the author, Los Angeles, California. 377 pp., \$3.00.