

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 11 No. 31

11th June 1931

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered post: International Press Correspondence, Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Berlin. Telephone: Dönhoff 2856 and 2867.

CONTENTS

Politics		
W. Keller: The New Emergency Decree of the Brüning Government.	558	
Storm of Indignation against the Brüning Decree.	559	
R. Bishop: The British Working Class Case is put before the Royal Commission.	560	
G. Z.: The Austrian Social Democracy and the Creditanstalt.	560	
The Balkans		
Dimu Pribegie: The Elections in Rumania.	561	
G. Henrykowski: The Changes in the Polish Government.	562	
The White Terror		
John Harvey: Wrest the Eight Negro Workers from Lynch Justice!	563	
Appeal of the P.P.T.U.S. for Action against the Wholesale Slaughter of the Indo-Chinese Masses.	563	
Save the Chinese Workers Threatened with Deportation from the Philippines!	564	
First of May		
Douglas: May First in South Africa.	565	
S. Carpio: May First in the Philippines.	565	
		The Five Year Plan
		Q. K.: The Five Year Plan as Seen by the Enemy.
		566
		In the Camp of Social Democracy
		The Crisis of Capitalism and the Crisis of Social Democracy.
		567
		Rudolf Renner: After the Party Congress of the German Social Democratic Party.
		568
		Proletarian Mass Organisations
		Meeting of the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism
		569
		Spanish Section of the Workers' International Relief Foundad
		570
		J. Berlioz: The Congress of the French Socialist Party
		569
		Aimé Simon: The Meeting of the Central Committee of the C. P. of France.
		571
		Proletarian Women's Movement
		M. Bulle: The World Economic Crisis and the Working Women
		571
		In the Camp of Our Enemies
		Bruno K'ô'h't'e'r: Complete Collapse of the Brandlerites in Czechoslovakia.
		572

Chequers and the German Emergency Decree.

By Th. Neubauer.

If any doubt still existed regarding the meaning of the visit of Curtius and Brüning to Chequers, the appeal issued by the Reichs-government, which was published simultaneously with the new dictatorship order at the very hour in which the Reichs-Chancellor and the Foreign Minister arrived in Chequers to confer with MacDonalld and Henderson, has made the position thoroughly clear. Brüning's visit to Chequers is the last attempt to save a bankrupt government which is no longer able to conceal its bankruptcy; it is the desperate cry for help of a bourgeoisie which sees itself already threatened with collapse.

The appeal by the Cabinet to the German people cannot be regarded by the masses as anything else but a declaration of bankruptcy. The whole policy of the Young Plan, the government now confesses, has "proved to be a mistake". The hopes of surmounting the economic crises —this was the slogan with which the Brüning government assumed office—have "proved to be illusory". The trials and difficulties have increased. The Germany of Brüning and Hindenburg, the Germany of the financial magnates, trust kings and junkers, "is unable unaided to save itself from the common plight"; it has to implore the aid of international finance capital.

Thus all the enormous sacrifices, the hunger and deprivation which the Brüning Cabinet imposed upon the working population were in vain. The cutting down of wages, of unemployment benefit, of war pensions etc., the exorbitant taxes, the high tariff duties—all the milliards which Brüning and his Ministers have squeezed out of the working masses have been of no avail. And at the very moment when the government is compelled to confess this fiasco of its policy, it ventures by means of a new dictatorship decree surpassing everything preceding it, to demand once again the most incredible sacrifices from the impoverished masses.

"The new emergency order is the visiting card which Reichs-Chancellor Dr. Brüning will hand in at Chequers", wrote Secretary of State Dr. Pünder, the right-hand man of the Chancellor, commenting on the Emergency Order. There is no doubt that the government, which has so often declared that one must "tell the people the truth", would have deceived the masses still further regarding the situation if the negotiations at Chequers had not compelled the Chancellor to present before the international forum the situation as it really is. The appeal, which reveals to the whole world the bankruptcy of the govern-

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ment, was not written for the working masses of Germany, although it was addressed to them, but for international finance capital, to whom the German bourgeoisie are calling for help.

It is not difficult to imagine the effect of the report which was wired from Berlin to all countries on Saturday: Germany on the verge of collapse. The government demands revision of the Young Plan! It is known in Paris and London, as well as in Washington and Tokio, what this means: Crisis of the Young Plan, crisis of the Versailles system. Perhaps even more: crisis of the capitalist class rule in Central Europe! If up to then official circles in Paris and Prague, in Warsaw and London attempted to minimise the "conversations" at Chequers as harmless, these questions centring round capitalist Germany have now suddenly become the centre-point of international politics. The imperialist powers will have to give an answer to the S.O.S. call sent out by the German bourgeoisie.

As was to be expected, the official reports regarding the result of the Chequers visit say very little. The Conference could not in fact result in any final decisions. At best all that could be achieved would be that the British government offered to act as mediator with the rest of the other States interested in the Young system in order to bring about an examination of the German situation. Berlin, through the mediation of Ramsay MacDonald, applies to Paris for help. For in Paris lies the key to the tribute question. Even if the English papers had not expressly declared beforehand that the government of King George would not take any step without consulting France, everybody knew that any isolated action of England would be impossible without the political and financial endorsement of France.

The German bourgeoisie is today, after 13 months of the Brüning Government, every bit as much the prisoner of the Versailles system as it was under the Hermann Müller government and its predecessors. All its attempts to extricate itself from this net have proved futile. It was in vain that Dr. Curtius sent out his feelers to Rome in order to ascertain whether, perhaps, Mussolini might be prepared to support a revision of the Young Plan; it was in vain that attempts were made at the beginning of this year to prepare the way for a direct understanding with Paris. Then the German bourgeoisie summoned up courage to take an independent step with the Customs Union plan, with the result that it landed in a thorough mess. Now the last hopes are again being placed on the English government, and the German bourgeoisie is compelled to appeal for the aid of the tribute-receiving Powers, although it knows that the price of such aid, after the last fiasco in Geneva, will be dearer than ever.

Germany might perhaps have been able to find a support in this fight against the tribute system, but the German bourgeoisie, would not adopt this course; it could not escape its class ties. Only a consistent Eastern policy, only a definite alliance with Soviet Russia could have created a counter-weight to the pressure of the imperialist Western Powers. The Rapallo Treaty furnished a foundation for this policy. But the German bourgeoisie has itself done everything to undermine this treaty as much as possible. It used it as a basis for business dealings with the East, but it lacked the courage and to use it as a basis of an Eastern policy it was hindered by its class blindness.

It is characteristic of the complete impotency of the imperialist foreign policy of the German bourgeoisie, that papers like the "*Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung*", which are always full of nationalist phrases, advise the government to sacrifice the German-Russian connections still existing to a complete and unreserved Western orientation. The reason given is "Our Russian policy has kept us aloof from the Western policy of England. England must be aware that the Polish tanks cannot hold back Bolshevism from Central Europe."

That is the tone which the Reichs-Chancellor adopted in his declarations to the London Press. The German bourgeoisie is prepared to purchase the aid of imperialist finance capital by finally taking its place in the anti-Soviet Bloc. This is to be a part of the price; but it can be assumed that London, and above all Paris, will demand more. Even the boldest nationalist in Germany does not venture the hope that the victor States will renounce the Young payments. Has not even Hitler declared that he would be satisfied with a revision? Revision of the Young Plan is Brüning's request. That means, fresh recognition of the Versailles system; fresh submission to the tribute payments, even if in a somewhat altered form; fresh obligations of the German bourgeoisie to the victor States. The German

Reich, hitherto a tributary State of the imperialist big Powers, is on the way to becoming their vassal State! Truly a glorious end to the new era of "national foreign policy!"

But this development only shows again how absolutely right the Communist Party of Germany was when, in its Programmatic Declaration on the National and Social Emancipation of the German people issued on August 24, 1930, it declared to the working masses of Germany: For the German bourgeoisie there is no way out of the system of imperialist tribute-slavery. "Only the hammer of the proletarian dictatorship can shatter the chains of the Young Plan and of national oppression".

June 6, 1931, the day of the Chequers meeting, the day of the new dictatorship decree and of Brüning's open declaration of bankruptcy, marks a fresh stage in the development of the revolutionary crisis in Germany. The veils which were intended to hide from the working people the true situation have been finally rent in twain. Roused by increasing misery to passionate indignation, against the monstrous dictatorship decree, and in face of the confessed bankruptcy of the Cabinet, their cry will be: Away with the bankrupts! An end to the bankrupt policy!

The Communist Party of Germany is the only Party that tells the masses the truth, the only party that shows the working masses of Germany a way out of their misery and bondage. The Programmatic Declaration of the C.P. of Germany on the national and social emancipation of the German people has now acquired the greatest importance. Only Communism can bring salvation and freedom to the working people of Germany.

POLITICS

The New Emergency Decree of the Brüning Government.

By W. Keller (Berlin).

One June 5, the Brüning Government issued the third Emergency Decree. The publication of this decree, which occupies 35 printed pages, has called forth horrified amazement and at the same time burning indignation among the working population. With the new Emergency Decree the Brüning Government, the executive organ of German finance capital, consistently continues its policy directed against all working sections of the population. What does this Decree contain? We will mention only the most important points, but these suffice in order to show that the masses are being actually deprived of their barest necessities.

The poorest of the poor, the **unemployed**, are to suffer drastic reductions in their benefit. Among all categories of wage workers, unemployment benefit is to be reduced by 5 per cent. Seasonal workers (building workers and others) are to be finally excluded from ordinary benefit, and will receive only crisis benefit, which is 40 per cent. lower. In addition, instead of 26 weeks they will receive this for only 20 weeks. The waiting period, that is the time between dismissal and payment out of benefit will be extended in the case of all unemployed from 14 days to 21 days. All young workers under 21 will no longer receive benefit (hitherto young workers from the age of 16 up were entitled to benefit.) A clause provides that payment of benefit can be made dependent upon performance of task work by the applicant.

The decree further orders that unemployed workers will be deprived of benefit for a period of six weeks in the case of refusal to accept suitable work, or if they have become unemployed through their own fault. This means that every striker who is dismissed by his employer must starve for six weeks. The complete carrying out of the measures in the sphere of unemployment insurance would mean that only 30 per cent., or 135,000 persons out of the 4½ millions unemployed in Germany would receive ordinary unemployment benefit for 26 weeks. 2,700,000 unemployed would have to depend on crisis benefit.

The second chief point of the Decree introduces the so called workers, receive crisis benefit for only 20 weeks.

The second chief point of the Decree introduces the so-called "crisis tax". The scale of the crisis tax is a downright scandal. The population is divided into three classes, whereby the wage and salary earners, that is the working masses, are taxed very severely whilst the big agrarians and industrialists receive privileged treatment. This is proved by the following table:

Crisis taxes are to be paid:

On an annual income of	Wage and salary earners	Millionaires, industrialists and other independent business men	Big agrarians junkers and farmers
Marks	Marks	Marks	Marks
2,000	25.—	25.—	—
5,000	100.—	42.80	—
7,500	225.—	101.70	11.25
10,000	350.—	139.20	40.—
12,500	500.—	176.70	97.50
15,000	600.—	214.20	135.—
17,500	944.50	251.70	172.50
21,000	1341.—	405.60	225.—

These figures characterise the whole contents of the Emergency Decree. It should also be noted in this connection that in the case of wage and salary earners the tax is calculated on the gross income, but in the case of the industrialists and junkers it is calculated on the net income.

The miserable pensions paid to war widows and disabled ex-service men and also those of incapacitated miners are brutally cut down. The children's allowances are completely done away with in the case of slightly incapacitated ex-service men and miners. The Reichsknappschaft (miners' insurance institute) is instructed "to reduce the payments from the pension fund from the 1st of July."

The next blow is the direct reduction of the salaries of officials and office employees. The pay of all government employees, postal workers, soldiers and police is reduced by 4 — 8 per cent. The tender treatment accorded the higher officials is shown by the fact that an official with an annual salary of 6000 marks has to yield up 7 per cent., while an official with a salary of 12,000 mark has to sacrifice only 8 per cent.

The hourly rate of pay of workers in government employ is reduced by 1 to 4 pfennigs, whilst in addition the bonus on account of children is done away with in the case where the worker has only one child. A further measure against the working class is the introduction of the 40-hour week without wage compensation. As already now, with a 48-hour week, wages are far below the minimum of existence, the loss of 8-hours wages spells disaster for the workers in question.

The Decree further provides that in the future workers will not be entitled to claim repayment in respect of any excess wages tax paid by them. What this means is clear when it is remembered that in the year 1930, on an average, every unemployed over 21 years received back 25 Marks. All other classes, however are entitled to claim repayment of taxes!

Not content with these direct blows at unemployment benefit, wages and salaries, the government ukas increases the cost of living. The customs duty on sugar is doubled and the duty on petroleum is raised from 10 to 17 marks. Both taxes are retrospective to 29th May, 1931.

In order to damp down the tremendous indignation of the proletarian masses, the Government published simultaneously with the Emergency Decree an appeal "to the German People"! This appeal contains many interesting passages. Right at the beginning it admits the complete bankruptcy of capitalism:

"The expectation that the economic crisis would abate in the Spring of 1931 has proved illusory." The bankruptcy of the Young Plan, long predicted by the Communists, is admitted in the following words: "The alleviations which the new Plan was to have brought . . . have not materialised." The appeal makes a sharp attack on the Reparations Payments, which it describes as "tributes" and "unbearable reparations payments." The government concludes its appeal as follows: "If the German people believes in its future it must be determined to stake everything for it."

The Communist Reichtag fraction immediately brought in a motion for the rejection of the Emergency Decree and the summoning of the Reichstag. The fight against the Emergency Decree begins to assume a really mass character with a gigantic demonstration in the Berlin Sport Palace on June 11, when Comrade Thälmann will oppose to the hunger-decree of the Brüning government the programme of the C. P. of Germany for providing work. Protest resolutions have been adopted in various works and factories. Already on Sunday big spontaneous protest demonstrations took place in Hamburg, Düsseldorf and other cities. The indignation of the masses is growing from day to day. It is being more and more plainly recognised that the emergency decree must be dropped if the working people wish to live.

Storm of Indignation against the Brüning Decree.

Berlin, 9th June 1931.

On Monday a spontaneous protest movement against the latest Emergency Decree of the Brüning government began in **Hamburg**. From the Labour Exchanges, where protest meetings were held, the movement spread to the streets and to the employed workers. In the late afternoon and early evening the streets were black with demonstrating workers. In the centre of the town, off the Steinweg, many hundreds of workers formed a procession and marched through the streets protesting loudly against the Emergency Decree and the scandalous anti-proletarian policy of the Brüning government. The police were taken by surprise and despite swift efforts, they were unable to disperse the workers. Speeches were made by representatives of the Communist Party, and the masses quickly increased in numbers.

In the centre of the town the workers erected barricades across the street to prevent the passage of the police tenders. At 9 o'clock in the evening the traffic at the Zeughausmarkt was completely held up and long lines of tramcars and other vehicles were unable to proceed. It was 10 o'clock before this traffic stop was abolished. After the barricade had been removed two others were built. When it became dark the masses extinguished the street lights thus considerably hampering the operations of the police who were afraid to venture into the narrow streets of the old working class quarters. By midnight huge forces of police armed with carbines were put into action and a cleaning up operation on military lines was carried out. It was not until the early hours of the morning that the demonstrations and meetings ceased. Hundreds of workers were held up and searched for arms, and raids were made on the public houses in the working class quarters. In general the police maintained considerable reserve, but here and there groups of workers and pedestrians were brutally manhandled.

Demonstrations also took place in **Barmbeck, Hammerbrook, Rothenburgsort, Eimsbüttel, Wandsbeck** and **Altona**. The police were totally unable to drive the workers from the streets. No sooner had they dispersed one procession than another formed behind their backs. The whole time speaking choirs were at work shouting the demands of the workers through the streets and adding to the police nervousness. During the early part of the evening in the workers quarters the children took an active part in the building of barricades and carried up all sorts of material from the most unlikely corners. The practice of erecting barricades which is growing more and more frequent, effectively prevents the police tenders from flying through the darkened streets at a breakneck pace to the general danger. In all the police made about 90 arrests.

Early this morning the labour exchanges were occupied by armed police in order to crush immediately any signs of further demonstrations. There is a tense atmosphere in the town and everywhere groups of workers are discussing the situation. At one labour exchange the determined attitude of the workers compelled the police to evacuate the building.

Demonstrations of the working masses against the latest Emergency Decree of the Brüning government took place yesterday in **Essen, Bochum** and **Mannheim**. The police attempted to disperse the masses and met with resistance.

The police fired on a demonstration of miners in **Alsdorf** near **Aachen** and a number of workers were wounded. A number of arrests were also made.

Protest demonstrations took place yesterday in **Duisburg** against the new Emergency Decree. Despite the police prohibition large groups of workers assembled in the centre of the town and joined together in procession through the streets.

At the session of the Town Council in **Halle** yesterday the communist fraction made an energetic drive against the Emergency Decree and introduced a number of urgent motions demanding its complete withdrawal. After a stormy debate lasting three hours all the other parties rejected the communist proposals. During the session masses of unemployed workers demonstrated in front of the Town Hall. Collisions occurred and there was much batoning. The police succeeded in clearing the square in front of the Town Hall, but demonstrations continued on the streets until late in the evening.

The British Workless Case is Put before the Royal Commission.

By R. Bishop (London).

The National Unemployed Workers Movement have presented a memorandum to the Royal Commission on Unemployment giving their evidence and stating their case. In the foreground of their statement they place the following declaration:—

"We contend that the main issue is not the solvency or otherwise of the unemployment insurance scheme but the health and well-being of millions of men, women and children, who are now suffering from unemployment, irrespective of the cost involved.

Those who profit from maintaining the system which creates unemployment must bear the cost of providing for the workers and their families who are driven into compulsory idleness.

We contend that the approach to the problem should be on the principle of Work at full Trade Union rates or full maintenance."

Following this declaration the memorandum registers an emphatic protest against the terms of reference of the Commission and "against the manner in which the Labour Government is approaching the question, which sets the solvency of the unemployment insurance fund higher than the needs of the great mass of the unemployed, who to-day number one-fifth of the entire working population, and seeks to remedy the unsound state of the scheme at the expense of the living standards of the employed and unemployed workers."

The N.U.W.M. then puts forward its own main proposals as follows:—

(a) A non-contributory scheme of All-In social insurance covering National Health and Unemployment, financed by diverting the yearly interest of £ 300 millions on the National Debt to the scheme.

(b) To absorb the unemployed into industry and to compensate for increased production under rationalisation by the introduction of the 7 hour day in all industries without wage reductions.

(c) Increased benefits (given in detail).

(d) That all benefit under the scheme shall be continuous. All waiting periods to be abolished and that the regulations which are at present used to disqualify recipients shall be abandoned. A new regulation is suggested, i. e. 'Benefit shall be payable to all applicants who are willing to accept an offer of employment at recognised rates and conditions and having regard to the domestic position and circumstances of applicants in regard to employment offered which involves moving to another district.'

Strong arguments are brought forward in the memorandum to support these demands. Concerning the first points, the memorandum states: "We claim that further payment of interest to the bond-holders in the National Debt should henceforth be stopped and that this money should be directed into the channel of unemployment and health insurance schemes, and that both schemes should be placed on a non-contributory basis and become the direct responsibility of the State.

"We claim that this provides a source out of which the cost of Unemployment and Health Insurance can be met without placing any new taxation upon the workers or imposing any lowering in the already too low standard of the unemployed."

By means of facts and figures the memorandum shows how the second demand is a practical method of dealing with the problem of unemployment. It points out that:—

"At the moment we have over nine million insured contributors who, according to Government statistics, are working an average shift of eight hours. If these workers each worked an hour less per day, without wage reductions, thereby maintaining the same purchasing power, it would provide for the employment in industry of roughly another million workers who are now unemployed."

In opposition to those who clamour for a lower scale of benefits, the memorandum shows that even its own proposed scale will only permit the very barest necessities of life.

To this end a number of budgets based upon current retail prices are submitted. A very strong case has been submitted, not in the belief that it will materially alter the determination of the selected "dole-cutters" to attack the workless, but in order to more completely expose them and their objective in the eyes of the working-class, employed and unemployed.

Around this document the N.U.W.M. is organising a big campaign of resistance to the attacks foreshadowed in the semi-official forecasts of the interim report that have already appeared.

The Austrian Social Democracy and the Creditanstalt.

Otto Bauer's Newest Way to Socialism.

By G. Z. (Vienna).

The crisis of the large Austrian banking institute and the overcoming of this crisis with the extensive help of the State, has led to an extraordinary strengthening of the dictatorship of finance capital in Austria. The State, which is faced with a very big deficit in its own budget, had to raise a loan abroad by the issue of treasury bonds to the value of 150 million shillings, 48 millions of which have been given as a present to the shareholders of the Creditanstalt for no consideration whatever. The State acquires shares in this undertaking to the nominal value of 52 millions, whilst the majority of the shares still remain in the hands of the house of Rothschild and its English business friends. The National Bank takes over shares to the nominal value of 30 millions; in addition it has come to the aid of the Creditanstalt with a credit of over 200 million. The gold and foreign bill cover of the Austrian currency has thereby fallen from 81 to 60 per cent. Even the stability of the shilling would have been in danger if the Bank for International Settlements had not granted the Austrian National Bank a re-discount credit of 100 million shillings. As, however, all this was of no avail, as of the 1600 million deposits about a third had been withdrawn and further withdrawals were announced, the State for the second time came to the aid of the Creditanstalt and fully guaranteed payment of all old and new loans raised by the Creditanstalt up to the 31st of June 1933. Based upon this State guarantee, an Anglo-French financial group was to undertake to support the Creditanstalt by fresh deposits in place of those which had been withdrawn.

Foreign capital, before all the Paris high finance, by threatening to refuse to help the Austrian National Bank, which has undertaken very serious obligations in connection with the Creditanstalt, has acquired a weapon against the Austrian government by means of which it can dictate its will in Vienna. This is already shown by the fact that according to an official communication of the National Bank, Prof. Charles Rist, the deputy governor of the Bank of France, an expert on financial questions in the Balkans, was to be the adviser one should say controller—of the Austrian National Bank. It was seen later that this appointment would be too much of a provocation, and therefore Bruyns, a Dutchman, was appointed in his stead. In addition, an official of the Bank for International Settlements is in Vienna in order to maintain "constant contact" between this bank and the Austrian National Bank. And the Creditanstalt, upon which as is known 80 per cent of the Austrian industry depends, is placed under the control of a supervisory board which is to consist of the Dutch Bank Director Hengel as chairman, and an Englishman and Frenchman as assistants.

Already on the first day, when an official communiqué reported the position of the Creditanstalt and the decision of the government to intervene, the "Arbeiterzeitung" (May 12th) declared that this intervention was not only absolutely necessary, but even follows the line of development towards Socialism.

It is true, the social democrats voted against the first Creditanstalt law. They did not however do so on any grounds of principle. The reason they gave was that the present from the State to the shareholders was too large. But even this shameless transaction for the benefit of the richest people in the country was claimed by the party of Otto Bauer to be a step in the direction of Socialism.

On May 13th the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" demanded that the State should not make good the losses sustained by the shareholders. It wrote:

"The State must make sacrifices for the national economy, the interests of which require the continued existence of the Creditanstalt; but the State, which deprives the unemployed of benefit, has no right to squander money for the benefit of private people, for the shareholders of the Creditanstalt."

But when, on the same day, there took place that which the social democrats allegedly opposed, when Parliament, against the social democratic votes, granted the present to the shareholders, they still maintained that this action meant a step from private capitalism to State capitalism.

Otto Bauer, on the night the vote was taken, turning to the bourgeois deputies, declared:

"State capitalism, which you do not wish to set up in this case, is already there. It means that three quarters of Austrian big industry is under the control of a bank the capital of which has to be furnished by the State. Austrian private capital is no longer able to control three quarters of the Austrian industry. That is State capitalism."

The truth however is that the National Bank now comes under the control of private capital.

The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of May 15th wrote:

"That the State does not, as we wished, take over the full 100 millions shares, that it leaves in the hands of the present shareholders a much bigger portion of the shares than they are rightly entitled to, does not in any way alter the fact that from now on the Creditanstalt will be carried on by means of State moneys."

The logical result of this view was that the social democrats, in the second stage of the action to restore the Creditanstalt, voted for the law under which the State gives full guarantee for the bank's liabilities, which means that the last stick in Austria is pledged for the benefit of the Creditanstalt.

"They could vote this time for the law," declared the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of May 29, "because it does not, like the law passed 14 days ago, contain presents to the capitalists... The Parties collaborated yesterday in passing the Creditanstalt law in order to avert an immediately threatening and fearful danger, which could have disastrous effects for all parties."

Otto Bauer explained the attitude of his fraction in Parliament by declaring that "the Government could be placed in a situation in which it could obtain the necessary means, perhaps even without a state guarantee, but only at the price of a political concession of very great importance being given to a foreign Power."

Otto Bauer had in mind the pressure exercised by Paris in the question of the Customs Union. He then exclaimed:

"Rather make sacrifices than be forced to sell the liberty of this people."

One need only remember the foreign advisers, the supervisory board etc. who have arrived in Vienna, in order to appreciate rightly the impudent, lying character of this heroic pose.

In conclusion, Otto Bauer again pointed out that this disaster should be made use of in order to "lead our people on to the new path which will lead out of this bankrupt capitalist world, which has to go begging for State aid, into a new world in which the whole of the people will be the real masters of its fate."

That is the social democratic theory which makes out that the development which has led to an enormous increase in the power of finance capital is a "way to Socialism", in order thereby to justify the part played by the social democrats in promoting this development. Their practice, however, is another thing; it is characterised by a step taken by the "Labour Bank" which requests the trade unions and co-operatives not to withdraw any of their deposits at present. The "Labour Bank" has in fact deposited considerable sums with the Creditanstalt. In addition it intends, following the suggestion of the government, to participate in the action in support of this big bank by depositing a further large sum with it.

THE BALKANS

The Elections in Rumania.

Great Advance of the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc.

By Dinu Pribegie (Bucharest).

Already before the elections took place in Rumania, Argetoianu, the Minister of the Interior, had definitely settled what the composition of the government majority should be. The various groups which form the Government bloc in fact received the number of seats which accorded with the provisions of their agreement with the Government. Thus the so-called Liberal Party under the leadership of Ducas, received 80 seats as compared with 13 in the parliament of the National Government; the German Party received 12 seats as compared with 11 in the former parliament.

As regards the Opposition, the National Zaranist Party obtained 27 seats as against 323 seats in the former parliament, the Magyar Party 9 as against 18, the (secessionist) Liberal Party under the leadership of George Bratianu obtained 11 seats, General Averescu's Party obtained 9 seats as against 3 in the previous parliament, the social democrats 6 as against 9, the Peasant Party of Dr. Lupu 6 as against 5, the Jewish Party 4 as against 3, the Bessarabian Peasant Party under the leadership of Steres 5, and the so-called League against Usurers 7, seats.

How such a distribution of seats could be achieved is illustrated by the following incident which occurred in Kishinev, and which is typical of the parliamentary democracy of the Rumanian bourgeoisie. Taught by experience, the election agents of the Opposition kept watch on the house of a government candidate. Suddenly a motor car stopped at the entrance of the house and several people hastily alighted carrying with them bulky packets which appeared somewhat "suspicious" to the watchers, who immediately went to the police and informed them that burglars had entered the house of the government candidate. In a few minutes the "burglars" were arrested and the packets opened. To the great astonishment of the police, the packets were found to contain thousands of voting papers bearing the name of the government candidate and with the words "Has Voted" stamped on them. These voting papers were to have been smuggled by the returning officer into the ballot boxes, after they had of course been emptied of all voting papers bearing the name of the opposition candidates. According to the instructions of the government, a certain number of voting papers of the opposition candidates had to be left in the ballot boxes in order to furnish parliament with an "Opposition".

But that is not all. The Rumanian bourgeoisie knows a whole number of other election dodges which it employs in order to prevent revolutionary active workers from making use of the election campaign in order to get into contact with and mobilise the masses. For this purpose any means are good enough. Industrial districts are officially declared to be infected with disease: with typhus or scarlet fever in winter, with cholera in summer. All intercourse between the various localities is absolutely forbidden. Only those provided with a pass, issued by the Prefect, can leave the neighbourhood.

The Communist functionaries are placed under preventative arrest. The list of candidates handed in by the Workers' and Peasants' bloc is not accepted; their election meetings are prohibited. The elections are fixed for a work-day (this time the elections were held on a Monday) so that workers will be unable to go to the poll.

And in spite of all this the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc this time received 80,561 votes as compared with 38,000 at the last election.

The election law, according to which the party which polls 40 per cent. of the votes obtains 60 per cent. of the seats, also provides that no party can be represented in the Chamber unless it has received at least 2 per cent. of the votes cast in the whole of the country, even if this party should have received all the votes in any constituency.

These fascist measures, which are directed in the first place against the candidates of the revolutionary proletariat, already at previous elections prevented any single representa-

tive of the proletariat from entering the Chamber. At this election, however, the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, in spite of all the chicanery of the government, is entitled to five seats. The government is at present endeavouring to find ways and means in order to declare them invalid.

The bourgeoisie of Rumania, headed by King Carol and his personal government, are very satisfied with their work. It is calculated to prove to international capitalism that their uneasiness on account of the all too obvious character of the fascist dictatorship in Rumania was quite unjustified. Rumania has a parliament which has been elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and the social democracy of all countries will unhesitatingly hasten to the aid of the Rumanian democracy, as it did already when the National Zaranist Party assumed office and immediately after the elections held by this party.

But there is nevertheless a fly in the ointment. The election results will in no way alter the disastrous situation of the Rumanian bourgeoisie. During the election campaign **Jorga**, the Prime Minister, declared that the budget, which totals 35,000 million, shows a deficit of no less than 12,000 million. In view of the danger of this deficit the previous government had already curtailed the budget by 3,500 millions by cutting down the salaries of civil servants and state employees. The present government on its part is preparing to reduce the budget, or better said the expenditure, by a further 10 per cent.

The great popularity thanks to which the National Zaranist Party came into power, has been destroyed by this crisis (this is shown by the election results). Whilst this party practised an unbounded demagoguery and represented itself as the embodiment of the suffering peasantry and the defender of its interests, it would not and could not touch the interests of the banks and of the city big bourgeoisie in order to ease the burdens of the peasantry who are suffering terribly as a result of the agrarian crisis. In order to reduce the budget deficit the National Zaranist Party resorted to the same means to which the present government is resorting, i. e. to squeezing taxes out of the peasants. The present unpopularity of the National Zaranist Party among the masses of the rural population presents great possibilities for the work of the Communist Party in the village.

The Communist Party has succeeded, in the midst of government terror, in finding its way to the masses. It is proceeding to organise them under its flag and to lead them against a bourgeoisie whose cruelty and greed is unsurpassed in all Europe.

FASCISM

The Changes in the Polish Government.

Von G. Henrykowski (Warsaw)

The changes in the composition of the Polish government do not, of course, mean any change in the policy of Polish fascism; it is an expression of the profound economic crisis and of those great inner-political difficulties which fascist Poland is at present encountering in connection with the growth of the revolutionary movement.

The ostensible reason for the changes in the Cabinet was the question of the 15 per cent. reduction of the salaries of civil servants and of the pay of the officers, decided on by the Slavek government. Pilsudski of course quite agreed to a reduction of the salaries of the civil servants, but demanded that this reduction should not apply to the officers, who are the most important support of the fascist rule.

The appointment of a new Finance minister and minister of industry and commerce aimed at the putting through of a number of new taxes, a further intensification of terrorist measures and of the capitalist offensive against the workers, as well as the raising of fresh means for armaments and for intervention against the Soviet Union. These tasks were entrusted to the brother of the bloody marshal, **Jan Pilsudski** the new Finance Minister, and General **Zarzycki**, the new Minister for Industry and Commerce. General Zarzycki was up to recently the chairman of the administrative board of the Polish war industry. His appointment clearly expresses the tendency of Polish fascism to militarise the whole economic life of the State.

The economic crisis has increased further in the course of

the last two months. The Spring season did not bring about any amelioration of the crisis. On the contrary, in the most important branches of industry the situation has become considerably worse. This applies before all to the smelting industry. In April the orders in this branch of industry showed a decline of 49.74 per cent. as compared with March. There is also a considerable decline in the exports of the products of the Polish smelting industry, namely 14.80 per cent. as compared with March. It should be noted in this connection that exports to the Soviet Union comprise 80 to 90 per cent. of the total exports of the Polish smelting industry. The sales of coal on the home market have further declined; coal exports have increased by only 2 to 3 per cent.

In spite of the Spring season production in the textile industry, generally speaking, has fallen enormously. The cause of this phenomenon is to be sought before all in the further intensification of the agricultural crisis. Although the price of corn has risen considerably in the course of the last month, only the big agrarians and kulaks are profiting therefrom. The poor and middle peasants, who had to sell their products already three months ago in order to pay their taxes, are now compelled to buy back corn for sowing purposes at enhanced prices. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the price of cattle has experienced a further considerable drop. The market among the poor rural population is dwindling away to nothing. This exceedingly bad economic situation is strikingly expressed in the large number of dishonoured bills, in the big decline of bank deposits and in the diminution of the stock of foreign bills held by the State bank (Bank Polski).

A considerable deterioration has also taken place in the position of the State finances. The first month of the new budget year (April) closed with a deficit of 21 million zloty. It should be mentioned that the State expenditure was 17 million zloty higher in April than it was in the same month last year. The revenue from the indirect taxes greatly declined, as well as the revenue from State monopolies and customs duties. Fascism is endeavouring to cover this deficit by increasing the direct taxes. In April the revenue from direct taxes increased to 52 million zloty as compared with 32 million zloty in April 1930.

The broad masses are in a state of ferment. The fight of the proletariat and of the working peasantry against the capitalist offensive has greatly increased and is more and more assuming the character of a counter-offensive. The 1st of May in Warsaw, particularly the obstinate fights between the police and the workers in **Dombrova**, **Kutno**, **Jeziorna** and in the rural districts in **Lubartov**, **Staporkov**, **Marki**, **Wielun**, and in **Manievicze** and **Holoby** in Western Ukraina showed that on many sectors of the front there was an increase in the activity and militancy of the masses.

The miners strike in **Dombrova** and **Javorzno**, which was conducted independently by the R. T. U. O. and the C. P. of Poland against the triple alliance of the fascist government, the coal barons and the strike-breaking social fascist trade union bureaucrats and which repulsed the attack on wages, revealed a further increase in the militancy of the working masses. The fierce fights between police and strikers, the barricades in **Javorzno** and the fights in **Strzemieszyce** during the demonstration procession of the striking **Dombrova** workers on the occasion of the funeral of the victims of fascist police murderers of **Javorzno**, imparted their stamp to the whole course of the strike.

The persistent strike of the textile workers in **Biala Bielitz** has also more and more assumed a political character. The stormy demonstrations of the unemployed and strikers under the leadership of the Communists on 30th and 31st of May and the long fights with the police undoubtedly greatly contributed to compelling the employers and the government to withdraw the intended wage cuts.

These fights in town and country, which are becoming more and more frequent, are also exercising great influence on the rank and file of the social and national fascist parties, before all however on the members of the P. P. S. This is proved by the discussion on the Party Congress of the P. P. S. which took place in **Cracow** on May 25. The strike-breaking role of the P.P.S. leaders and their collaboration with the notorious murderers of workers — **Witos** and **Kiernik** — is arousing profound discontent among the rank and file of the P.P.S.

The growing acuteness of the whole situation increases the friction in the bourgeois camp. The "opposition", along with the leaders of the P. P. S., warns finance capital against further supporting the Pilsudski government which is so compromised

in the eyes of the broad masses. It offers its services to finance capital. The present changes in the Pilsudski Cabinet gives the opposition a further occasion to repeat its offer.

Fascism is endeavouring to suppress the growing revolutionary wave with the most brutal and bestial means. The "pacification methods" in the occupied areas of Western Ukraine and White Russia are continued and extended to the central Polish districts. A few days ago the revolutionary peasant organisation "Samopomoc" was prohibited. The revolutionary trade unions are being prohibited wholesale. All this, however, helps fascism very little. The masses are defying the police terror. The prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis are growing. The illegal Communist Party of Poland, by steeling its ranks, by systematically overcoming its faults and weaknesses, is succeeding in establishing close contact with the masses and conducting the fight for their every-day demands, in showing them the revolutionary way out of the present situation, in organising the fight for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and for the proletarian revolution.

THE WHITE TERROR

Wrest the Eight Negro Workers from Lynch Justice!

By John Harvey.

Eight Negro youths, all but one under eighteen years of age, have been sentenced in **Scottsboro, Alabama** to death in the electric chair on the framed-up charge that they "forcibly ravaged and debased Victoria Price and Ruby Bates against the dignity of the state of Alabama".

The dignity of the State of Alabama is not the "virtue" of these two women, in this case notorious as prostitutes throughout Northwestern Alabama and southwestern Tennessee. Nor is it the much flaunted virtue of the white womanhood of the South, the pretended excuse of 43 lynchings in 1930, and 10 more already this year. It is the more easily measured dignity of the white capitalists and landlords who want to maintain their slave rule over a territory that is black with starving Negro toilers and poor white farmers.

A large section of Alabama is in the cotton and tobacco producing Black-Belt where the Negroes make up the overwhelming majority of the population. When slavery was formally abolished some seventy-five years ago, a system of tenancy, share-cropping, and actual peonage took its place, under which the white landowners maintained the slave and semi-feudal conditions for which the South is famous. All these feudal forms of oppression have been very much intensified with the sharpening of the crisis at the present time.

These poor peasants who previously received an average of 25 cents a day, as low as that of the workers in the colonial countries, now work all the year only to end up more than ever in debt to the landlord and money-lender. They are shackled to land by a written or verbal contract, the southern brand of forced labour, backed up by the threat of imprisonment for non-payment of debts and the right of the landlord to seize the crops of the tenant. No wonder that a small white exploiting population can only maintain such intolerable slave conditions through a last resorting to lynch terror which finds its most brutal expression in this new attempted murder of nine Negro boys in **Scottsboro, Ala.**

What was the crime of these eight young Negro workers? And of the ninth boy who has been so far spared for "mere life imprisonment" because he is under 14 years of age.

They were all out of work and forced to leave home so as not to be a further burden to their parents who were also unemployed or working part time for greatly reduced wages. The stories of 17-year-old Heywood Patterson and Andy Wright, are typical of all the defendants. Heywood's father works in a steel mill. He used to make 28 \$ a week, but now with the stagger plan he works three days and receives only \$ 17.—. On this he has to support a family of eight. Andy Wright lost his father seven years ago. He started work when only ten to help support the family. He worked in grocery stores and his last job had been that of a truck driver. For a whole year he had been out of work. He could no longer stand being a burden to his mother, who makes only \$ 6.— a week working nights and days for a white family.

The boys had boarded empty freight cars together with other penniless unemployed workers of Alabama in a vain search for work or food. On one of the cars of the long freight train a fight had occurred between a group of Negroes and some white men who had tried to throw them from the train. The white attackers were finally forced off the train and the group of Negroes also got off a short time later. These nine boys, some of whom had not even seen the fight, in which none of them had participated, remained on the train without sensing any danger. They were riding separately in their original places when the train was surrounded by an armed mob at Paint Rook, which had been informed of the happenings.

Then began the farcical frame-up, with the lynch mob always being whipped up in the background demanding a sentence of death or threatening the alternative of taking things into its own hands. The nine boys were brought together and shown to the two prostitutes who there at first declared that none of the nine had done anything to them. But the pressure of the mob and the threats of the prosecutor began to have its effect, and the girls agreed to accuse the boys of rape. Then began the torture of the youths in jail, where they were beaten twice before the trial in an unsuccessful attempt to wring confessions from them.

But there is a new force in the South which the Alabama murderers have left out of their reckoning. The **Communist Party** initiates a struggle to save these nine Negro boys from the electric chair. It puts itself at the head of a huge campaign to stop not only this latest blood bath but the whole rain of increased lynch terror by which the Southern bosses try to force the Negro workers to accept further worsened conditions which they can least of all stand. A demonstration is held in the heart of the terror under the leadership of the Communist Party and Young Communist League in Birmingham, Alabama, to which the nine Negro youths have been moved. The class conscious white workers in the north join the struggle and a wave of protests rolls in on the Governor of Alabama and the authorities at **Scottsboro**. It is no longer nine Negro youths alone on trial, to be rushed to a speedy death by legal means or lynched by a mob that waits outside the jail. It is now lynch law itself which is on trial before hundreds of thousands of rebellious Negro and white workers both in the north and the south.

A broad united-front campaign is being developed by the International Labour Defence and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Protest meetings and demonstrations are being held by these organisations and the Communist Party throughout the country. Hundreds of requests for speakers are being received from Negro Organisations in the north and south as the Negro reformists maintain their official silence and continue to support the lies of the southern boss press. The ruling class of the south replies to the growing working-class challenge with new threats against the lives of the young Negro workers, displaying an especially strong fear of the growing mass movement.

The only way to save these nine Negro boys and to answer the new threats of the southern boss class is the broadening of the struggle to smash the frame-up and prevent their execution. This means that the workers of the whole world must support the **Scottsboro** campaign and join the fight against lynch terror in the USA. It is no accident that the white ruling class seizes upon nine young Negroes as their latest victims. They wish to issue a special warning to the militant young Negro workers, who feel with extra sharpness the effects of the present crisis. The working youth of all countries must come to the defence of these young Negro workers. It is an important duty before the entire working class to prevent the legal lynching of these nine Negro working class boys in America.

Appeal of the P.P.T.U.S. for Action against the Wholesale Slaughter of the Indo-Chinese Masses.

The toiling masses of Indo-China are suffering the double burden of exploitation by French imperialism and the native bourgeoisie and landlords.

These masses unable longer to stand these burdens have been and still are struggling against them. Their wages and incomes are below the starvation level. As a matter of fact, starvation is running rampant in the country. Hours of toil are at the point where they no longer can be increased.

Working conditions are intolerable. Against these conditions the masses are fighting and meeting with the most brutal and inhuman oppression. Their struggles are being drowned in blood. Long prison terms and transportations for life are the order of the day. No means of oppression are too base for use by French imperialism. Aeroplanes, bombs and machine guns are only a few of the means used in attempting to suppress the struggles of the toiling masses. The following taken from the capitalist and imperialist press of Indo-China gives a picture and proves all and more than is stated above.

From January 1st to April 20th 1931, there were five strikes of the workers, the most important being that of the Standard Oil Company and the Franco-Asiatic Company, the former involving 800 workers and the latter 200. During the above period there were 27 demonstrations of peasants in which over 26,000 participated. 250 of these peasants were killed by bombing planes and machine guns. This took place in the provinces of Quang-gai, Nige-an and Hatinh. In January and February there were 53 peasants killed in the first named province during a parade. In the second main province there were 155 killed between March 25th and April 14th. In the latter named province there were 30 killed on April 20th. On April 14th in the district of Lai-thach there were 80 killed and several hundred wounded. The government communication stated, "... the rebels retired with order and discipline... the machine gun and bombing planes have worked satisfactorily..."

Within the same period there were 1500 arrests, 52 were killed in prison or met their death by the guillotine, 800 were sent to exile in Guiane on Inini Island or to the infested forests of Kontum, 180 were sentenced to life imprisonment or transportation for life, 610 were sentenced to prison terms of hard labour totalling 1,880 years.

Several mass trials took place during this period, in Hanoi one on April 8th with 230 political prisoners, and one on January 11th with 201 defendants, another took place in Quangnam on March 23rd with 300 defendants many of whom were children and all of them were sentenced from 9 months to life imprisonment. Another trial took place in Kien-an on January 26th with 190 defendants of whom 134 including 8 girls received life sentences.

Accused of having organised a students union, ten students of Namdinh were sentenced to hard labour for life. Being charged with the distribution of leaflets, two workers of the same place received sentences of 20 years of hard labour. Workers arrested during a strike received from two to six years prison sentences. The peasants who were arrested during demonstrations are sentenced from two years hard labour to transportation for life.

During these 3 and a half months a great number of workers from industrial centres were arrested. In Hanoi about 150, in Namdinh over 80, in Haiphong over 110, in Hongay, a mine field, about 50, in Saigon over 150 etc. Prisons are being overflowed. The jail at Hanoi alone has 1240 political prisoners among whom are 168 women (among those recently arrested there are an additional 90 women). The women prisoners are tortured and violated. Recently, those in the Hatinh jail were forced to make a hunger strike against their conditions.

Among those transported there are children not over 15 years of age as well as old people of 70 years of age. Among the 70 peasants of the village of Tien-hai who were arrested on Feb. 14th for having participated in a demonstration and who were brought before the extraordinary tribunal for trial, there was a boy of only 8 years of age.

During the **May First** demonstrations of this year, over 300 workers, poor peasants and students were shot down and killed. In addition hundred were wounded and additional hundreds arrested. As is to be expected among the above the leaders of the revolutionary organisations are included in large numbers.

Notwithstanding this White Terror and oppression of the French imperialists and the native bourgeoisie and the landlords, the toiling masses are forced to continue their struggle for a little more of life's needs and they are doing so. These struggles are under the leadership of the revolutionary trade unions, peasant leagues, and the workers revolutionary political party.

The revolutionary organisations and workers of all countries must come to their support without delay. The facts given above must be known to the broad masses who must be

called upon and organised to demonstrate and protest against French imperialism and especially to expose the agents of the latter namely, the French social-fascists, the French trade union reformists, the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International all of which give active aid and support to French imperialism in its slaughtering of the Indo-Chinese masses. The revolutionary workers of France especially have an important part to play in this campaign. They must rally the broadest masses in this struggle.

Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

Save the Chinese Workers Threatened with Deportation from the Philippines!

Appeal by the P.P.T.U.S.

To all Affiliated Sections of the P.P.T.U.S.!

To Revolutionary Trade Unions in All Countries!

Thirteen Chinese workers in the Philippines are in danger of immediate deportation by the American imperialist authorities and the native bourgeoisie and landlords of the P.I. into the clutches of Chiang Kai Shek's hangmen. They are threatened with deportation because they participated in a peaceful demonstration of workers on **May First** under the direction of the Proletarian Labour Congress, the only revolutionary trade union organisation in the P.I. which is affiliated to the P.P.T.U.S.

At the same time, more than five hundred Chinese workers in the P.I. are officially threatened with deportation into the hands of the Kuomintang executioners, because they are members of the Chinese Labour Federation of the Philippines, which is affiliated to the Proletarian Labour Congress in P.I.

There is no time to lose! The deportation of the first 13 Chinese workers is already officially recommended by the head of the Constabulary General Nathurst to the Governor General Davis. The imperialist and capitalist-landlord press in the Philippines clamours for deportation and blood.

"... Public execution is the remedy in Indo-China; the same is in Java and in China... Deportation is the thing!" ... (so demands a "Bulletin" Editorial of May 5th)

This threat of immediate deportation comes simultaneously with the terrible reports of mass executions in China, in connection with **May First (Over 80 Chinese comrades are reported executed in Swatow alone on May 1st)!**

Immediate action is needed! **In the first place — by the revolutionary Trade Unions and workers in the U.S.A., and in the various countries of the Pacific!** But also by the proletariat in every country of the world! Mass meeting and mass demonstrations of protest, and demonstrations before the American Embassies and consulates and the so-called Philippine "Resident Commissioners" in the U.S.A. and other Philippine representatives throughout the world,—demanding the liberation of the arrested Chinese workers and the dropping of the deportation campaign by the American imperialist and native capitalist-landlord authorities in the P.I.!

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat calls upon the workers **in the Philippines** to rise like one man in defence of the Chinese fellow workers who are threatened with being handed over to the Kuomintang executioners for the sole crime of being organised and class-conscious. The P.P.T.U.S. calls upon its affiliated Section **in the U.S.A.** to organise a nation-wide campaign in the U.S.A. against the hangmen-tactics and policies of American Imperialism in the P.I., which on **May First** supplied the police and constabulary of the Philippine bourgeoisie and landlords with hundreds of riot-guns and tearbombs and broke up the meetings and demonstrations of the Filipino workers and which now threatens to deport the revolutionary Chinese workers.

In alliance with American Imperialism, the native exploiters and blood-suckers in the P.I. are openly praising and copying the methods of Chiang Kai Shek in China, of Dutch imperialist butchers in Java, and of bloody French Imperialism in Indo-China. This must be countered with organised mass protests and action by the revolutionary proletariat and trade unions in all colonial and semi-colonial countries, and in the capitalist imperialist countries.

Down with American Imperialism in the P.I., and with their native bourgeois and landlord allies and agents in the Philippines!

Long Live the united revolutionary proletarian front of all countries and races!

FIRST OF MAY

May First in South Africa

By Douglas (Johannesburg).

May First 1931 marks a historic turning point in the working class movement in South Africa.

Falling in a period of unparalleled crisis and depression, tremendous burdens are being thrown on the backs of all sections of the working class black, white, coloured and Indian.

Unemployment reaches unprecedented figures amongst all sections of workers and it is clearly realised that the **wage cuts** already carried through against railwaymen to the extent of £10, a month in some cases, is but the prelude to an all-round reduction which is already being carried through in other industries.

Consequently the fighting mood of the masses is reflected in a wave of revolutionary activity, drawing wider masses of workers into action.

May Day demonstrations in **Johannesburg** in previous years have been celebrated separately; by white workers in the centre of the town, and by black workers in the backstreets of the city; with unity of black and white workers as an abstract slogan, not directly connected with the immediate demands of the workers.

The severe attacks on the standards of life of the workers, however, has now brought forward the slogan of black and white workers unity as a practical reality.

Preparatory campaigning amongst the factories and amongst the unemployed of all races secured mass support for the revolutionary demands which were being put forward.

May First called for three separate demonstrations, one at the recognised black workers meeting place — Newtown Market, the second at the Town Hall, the meeting place of white unemployed, and the third at the Trades' Hall, the Headquarters of the Social Fascist Trade Union Leaders.

Strike action was secured in a large number of factories — e. furniture, leather, clothing, building, etc., but the basic industries of mining, agriculture, transport were not successfully approached.

A meeting of 1000 workers marched from the Town Hall to the Trades Hall where the White Chauvinist Social Fascist, United May Day Committee was exposed; and an appeal to the rank and file of the workers assembled there swelled the demonstration to 2000. The procession then marched to Newtown market, where 4000 black coloured and Indian workers were assembled, and to the accompaniment of tumultuous cheering for black and white unity, the **joint procession of 6000 workers assembled for a demonstration through the city.**

To the Native Affairs Dept., Pass Office (where the native workers are retained in semi-feudal relationship with the employer) for a hostile demonstration; black and white alike booing and hissing at this institution of slavery. On to the City Hall, where the feet of black workers had never before trodden in demonstration. The United May Day Committee was assembled at the City Hall with an audience of about 150 persons when the mass demonstration surged forward with banners flying and shouting revolutionary slogans.

For a few moments the Social Fascists attempted to continue amidst the thunderous derision and hostility of the masses. Finally the meeting collapsed, and the wagon of the United May Day Committee dismally made its way from the scene followed by a handful of dejected trade union officials.

The revolutionary speeches of black and white leaders called for black and white workers unity to establish the hegemony of the proletariat in the national revolution, amidst thunderous applause. The slogans of fight against the Native Bills, against Unemployment for the Defence of the Soviet Union were clearly brought forward amid scenes of tremendous enthusiasm.

Finally black and white workers assembled in procession, and marched to the Carlton Hotel demanding Bread. A police cordon prevented entry and the demonstrators continued to the Rand Club, the home of the Mining Bourgeoisie, where entrance was secured. Fighting began in the entrance when a police charge took place and brutally attempted to break up the demonstration.

Black and white workers fought back against the police thugs of Pirow and several policemen were injured.

A black worker carrying a banner fought valiantly in protection of the red flag and only when beaten into insensibility did he relinquish his hold. White workers rescued several prisoners from the police and a hand to hand battle ensued for fifteen minutes when police reinforcements broke the formation. Two black workers and eight white workers were arrested under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Ikaka La Basebengi (African Section I.R.A.) immediately took charge of the defence and organised mass support for the prisoners and their dependents.

Large mass meetings of workers were held on May First at **Capetown, Durban, Potchefstroom, Pretoria** (where nine black workers were arrested for defying a ban on a procession).

May First opens a new period in the working class movement in South Africa and is the writing on the wall for the bourgeoisie.

Already the mining press demands that the Government takes immediate action against the Communist Party.

The revolutionary movement must reply by "digging in" into the factories, mines and farms, by the organisational consolidation of May First gains, by the intensification of "the offensive against Imperialism".

May First in the Philippines.

Three Important Congresses.

By S. Carpio (Manila).

While the reformist Confederation of Labour and C.O.F. (Congreso Obrero Filipinas) were granted permits and given monopoly rights for demonstrating on May First under protection of the imperialist-capitalist military and constabulary, the Proletarian Labour Congress was not only refused permission to demonstrate in Manila, (where the huge demonstration of over 30,000 workers and peasants recently, on the occasion of Comrade Ora's death, and the use of the Red Flag and revolutionary slogans calling for the confiscation of the land and for the establishment of Workers' and Peasants' Soviets — has scared the imperialists and their native capitalist-landlord allies and agents out of their wits), but they cancelled at the last minute any and all permits which the local authorities in the provinces were compelled to grant because of the great popularity of K.A.P. and of the C.P. Thus the authorities banned the mass demonstration at Callocan (4-5 miles from Manila) — despite the local permit, and they despatched troops and constabulary with special orders and ammunition.

Nevertheless at Calocan over ten thousand workers and peasants came together from all the outlying districts and provinces to demonstrate with Red Flags and with slogans and banners calling for "Support the Soviets of China", "Defence of the U.S.S.R. — the only Fatherland of the Toilers", "Drive Out the Imperialists", "Down with the Capitalists and Landlords", etc. A mass demonstration attempted in Manila proper — after the one in Calocan had been dispersed, was forcefully broken up and 64 workers arrested, among them many Chinese workers (Comrade Evangelista was arrested earlier in Calocan).

On that day there also took place in Manila, two "labour" congresses: — that of Balmori's Confederacion del Trabajo, and that of Tejada's and Cristobal's C.O.F. These two congresses coupled with the joint picnic-parade staged by these two reactionary trade union organisations, with the blessings and protection of the police, the capitalist and imperialist press, and the content of the speeches and of the resolutions and decisions of these two conventions, — reveal most glaringly the unbridgeable gulf between the class-collaborationist policies of these agents of the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the revolutionary policy of uncompromising class-struggle of Class Against Class as pursued by the Proletarian Labour Congress on the other.

The utter degradation of an organised section of the Philippine working class to a mere appendage of the bourgeoisie is clearly seen in the 21 resolutions adopted by Mr. Balmori's own Convention on May First. The most urgent and most important tasks Balmori's clique of bureaucrats set before the working class are: — "Prohibition of cock-fighting on working days" . . . and . . . "Fixing the relations between Capital and Labour" . . . and . . . "Protective legislation for native industries and business", and "Petitioning American Congress for the restoration of the Philippine Republic"!!!

And, were the contents of the resolutions adopted by the C.O.F. Convention on May First any different?

... Codification of all labour rules and regulations; Adoption of a distinct national language, preferably Tagalog, in all labour congresses and conventions in the Islands; Adhering to the principles of Protectionism and of the Ang Bagong Katipunan; Petitioning the two Chambers of the Legislature to relieve Unemployment; Petition for Independence of the P.I.; Formation of a Labour Advisory Board in Manila, through which all matters affecting labour and capital shall be settled.."

Almost word for word — the same anti-proletarian policy of class-collaboration, of petitioning the authorities for this or that concession, of coming out for Boards or other organs of Compulsory Arbitration of disputes (typical for all social-reformists and labour-traitors); and the same "petitioning for Independence" and the same chauvinist-nationalism and capitalist protectionism which are propounded by the bourgeois lieutenant Roxas and his recent creation — the **Ang Bagong Katipunan**.

Small wonder, then, that we have a perfectly harmonious United Front of all the reformist labour-traitors — Balmori and Tejada; Navarro and Cristobal. They parade together; they lunch together; they convene together, and they receive the blessings of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists and local ship-owners and imperialists together!

But this picture of outright betrayal of the interests of the working class by the reformist trade union bureaucrats would indeed be incomplete if we failed to throw the revolutionary searchlight on the latest "political" creation of the C.O.F.-Clique, the so-called **Union Socialista** called into life by the same labour-traitors on May First.

The aim and main function of this "Union Socialista" is best explained by its own creators and by the capitalist-imperialist press. So we learn from the "Tribune" of May 2nd that the "... formation of the Socialist Union was sanctioned by the C.O.F. Convention delegates as a means to prevent here the propagation of subversive communistic ideas" ... (A. Paguia, former president of C.O.F. was elected president of the Union Socialista.)

And, by the way, what are the professed aims and "principles" of this new "socialist" offspring? The first one of the 15 officially proclaimed precepts of this "political" organisation is: —

"Keep Faith in God and in the independence of the people of the P.I. which sooner or later can be attained through the proper development of her natural resources" ...

And further: — **"Honesty should consist in being an industrious labourer keeping faith in one's self"** (Point 6 of the Platform) ...

And still further: — **"Inculcate in the masses of the people the love for agricultural work as the main source of wealth of the Philippines"** (Point 8). And finally: — "The acceptance of foreigners into the P.I. is tantamount to the acceptance of foreign invaders and of modernised slavery" ...

It is such trash and absolute ideological bankruptcy which these agents of capitalism and imperialism are offering to the working class of the P.I. In this "socialist" "political platform" these labour-traitors only reveal themselves as the spokesmen of our class enemy, who try to confuse and poison the minds of the working masses with religious and nationalistic lies and prejudices which are only intended to make more submissive slaves, and to prevent them from taking independent political action as a class, i. e., through the only revolutionary political party in the P.I. — the Communist Party.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Five Year Plan as Seen by the Enemy.

By A. K.

Of late a whole number of books and articles emanating from bourgeois sources have appeared, in which bourgeois politicians, scientists, journalists express their opinions regards the "Russian Problem".

The well known scientist and German Nationalist, **Professor Otto Hoetzsch**, has now made an attempt to give a total picture of the situation in the Soviet Union and to draw a sort of balance regarding the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan.*)

*) **Hoetzsch: "Das russische Problem — Versuch einer Orientierung"**. (Published in the periodical "Ost-Europa", No. 8, May 1931).

Professor Hoetzsch takes as his starting point the fact that

"the capitalist world ... is in a crisis of the greatest magnitude, in an economic crisis, in a spiritual crisis, is experiencing social tension and mental misery, in which all firm traditional factors are shaken and in which to-day the hopelessness is greater than the positive solutions",

that

„proletarianisation in the capitalist world has made enormous progress, and that the economic and spiritual misery of the over-populated areas of Europe, above all Germany, is bound to increase extraordinarily the predisposition to a practical Communism, which like the Russian has maintained itself for over a decade."

A valuable confession! A characterisation of the position of the capitalist world with which the communist parties entirely agree.

Over against this shaking of the capitalist world Professor Hoetzsch has to record the progress of the Five-Year Plan as being "indisputable". He warns against

"overlooking the outspokenly socialistic features of Soviet economy, especially the fact that the means of production are owned and employed by the community."

It is true, Hoetzsch maintains that one cannot yet say with certainty whether or not the Five-Year Plan will succeed, but adds:

"It is undeniable, however, that it will be impossible to obliterate the effect of a number of years in which socialism has thus prevailed in town and country. This applies not only to the towns and to the industrial workers, but it applies also, as one can already say to-day with certainty, to the land, to the village. At the commencement of collectivisation it was generally thought in Europe that such an attempt simply could not succeed, because it was to some extent against the nature of the peasant. One failed to perceive the power of the primitive communist traditions as well as of the new co-operative ideas. One failed to see how much the Russian peasants were inclined to such a collectivisation. The economic success of collectivisation in the village is still much disputed. The social problem however, the dekulakisation, the conversion of the rural masses into proletarians, into state workers in agriculture, is solved or is at any rate nearing solution."

Professor Hoetzsch even opposes the view that the Five-Year Plan, if it succeeds, can lead to an over-production crisis in the Soviet Union and that a fearful danger to the world market could arise as a result. He writes:

"If, however, the Five-Year Plan really leads to economic progress, then Russian industry will still be confronted with the immeasurable requirements of the Russian people, and then there is the economic law that requirements increase with the raising of the standard of life, that a country with increased economic power must also come forward as a buyer on the world market in order to cover its requirements."

True, Professor Hoetzsch also spreads the lies, disseminated above all by the social democracy, that the Five-Year Plan is being "built up on the backs of the proletarians". He is compelled to add however that:

"One must look somewhat below the surface and realise that those districts representing the central points of tense industrialisation work are far better supplied with commodities than those localities where many non-factory workers and people not belonging to the party are to be found. One easily forgets that the peasant in the first place uses his harvest in order to supply his own immediate needs and those of his family. One overlooks the fact that in the towns the actual supporters of the regime are adequately even if not magnificently fed and maintained."

In the capitalist countries the working people suffer deprivations for the benefit of the capitalists, when they are lucky enough to have work at all—in the Soviet Union the workers, in their enthusiasm for work, make sacrifices for themselves, for socialist construction. Dr. Hoetzsch does not seem to observe this "slight" difference.

The Professor is also compelled to admit that there is no unemployment in the Soviet Union, that, on the contrary, there is an enormous demand for workers:

"Unemployment, in the sense that men who are able and willing to work, who have acquired knowledge of a trade are unable to find work, does not exist in Russia, where the various big works and factories are simply searching everywhere for workers."

It is interesting to note that Dr. Hoetzsch specially emphasises that "if the Soviet Government is always talking about "Freedom", one can thoroughly believe in their sincerity", and that he also admits that in various capitalist states "political and military forces are aiming at intervention against the Soviet Union".

In conclusion Dr. Hoetzsch openly declares that a return to the former capitalist and political conditions in the territory of the Soviet Union is impossible, — impossible even if the Soviet Union should be destroyed. For:

"these years of Bolshevism in Russia have struck too deep roots to permit this."

He raises the question, what will happen when the great socialist construction of Russian economy once becomes a powerful weapon of Communism and of world revolution, "and comforts himself by saying:

"But it can be successful only if the capitalist world outside is unable, with its own forces and with new creative ideas, on the basis of private property in the means of production, to overcome the present crisis."

This hope of Professor Hoetzsch and the rest of the champions of capitalism will not be fulfilled.

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The Crisis of Capitalism and the Crisis of the Social Democracy.

(Leading Article of "Pravda" of June 7, 1931).

The Second International, like the whole of the capitalist world, finds itself in an era of sharpest crisis.

As a result of the terrible unemployment, misery and deprivation, the revolutionary upsurge is growing and simultaneously ever larger masses of social democratic workers are decisively turning against the existing capitalist order. The revolt against the social fascist leaders is growing, and is assuming particularly great dimensions in Germany, Austria and Poland. Among these workers there is a growing hatred against capitalism and increasing sympathy for the Soviet Union, accompanied by a growth of the political influence of the Communist Parties.

This radicalisation process is to be seen particularly clearly in Germany, where the pre-conditions for the revolutionary crisis are growing at a rapid rate. In view of the intensification of the economic crisis, the German capitalists are attempting to cast the burden of this crisis upon the working class by means of lowering wages. In Spring the number of the unemployed declined by only 12-13 per cent., and in Autumn the number of unemployed will probably reach 6 to 7 millions. The actions of the unemployed, who are fighting for a crust of bread, are becoming more militant and are increasingly directed against the capitalist system as a whole.

The German State budget shows a great deficit, which the government intends to balance by reducing unemployment benefit, cutting down the salaries of the civil servants and imposing new taxes and customs duties. New Emergency Decrees and new emergency powers for the Brüning dictatorship government are being issued in order to carry through these measures. In these circumstances, the social democratic party, the main function of which is to maintain the existing bourgeois order, has the duty to exert all its forces for carrying out the new robbery of the toiling masses. It must compel the toiling masses to accept the further deterioration of their position, and for this purpose to mobilise all the demagogic and agitational forces. This was the main characteristic of the Leipzig Party Congress of the social democratic party.

But the growing crisis in the capitalist countries on the one hand and the rapid advance of industry and agriculture in the

Soviet Union on the other, reveal more and more clearly the contrast between the capitalist and socialist systems. Hence the most important task of the social fascist leaders at the Leipzig Party Congress was the struggle against the growing popularity of the Soviet Union among the working masses. As it is no longer possible to deny the fact that the Soviet Union is consolidating itself economically and that the Five-Year Plan is being carried out successfully, the social democratic leaders attempted to persuade their members, that the Five-Year Plan does not mean the construction of the basis of socialist economy, but "original capitalist accumulation", that the "Soviet Union is a capitalist country".

But whilst the social democratic leaders made anti-Soviet speeches at the Party Congress, the social democratic workers in the gallery demonstratively manifested their solidarity with the Soviet Union, and the social democratic youth, in the demonstration before the opening of the Party Congress, carried streamers with slogans for the defence of the Soviet Union.

These facts glaringly revealed the growing antagonism between the leaders who are developing in the direction of fascism and the working masses who are developing towards Communism. The "Left" leaders of the type of Seydewitz, Bielick and Graf are endeavouring to place themselves at the head of the revolutionary minded masses in order to check the going over of the social democratic workers to the Communist Party. But the bourgeoisie cannot permit any playing at opposition, and the workers are not content with the ambiguous position of the "Left" talkers. As was to be expected, the "Left", after having uttered some "oppositional" phrases, capitulated and voted for the very same policy against which they allegedly conducted a fight.

The divergence between the social fascist leaders and the masses was still more apparent during the discussion of the tactical questions of the social democrats in regard to German capitalism.

The social democratic leaders Tarnow, Wels, Dittmann, Crispin, whilst declaring that the crisis is only an ordinary economic crisis of over production, exerted all their forces in order to persuade the workers, that the task of the social democrats is "to cure" the sickness of capitalism and not to overthrow it, for the Socialism of the social fascists can only be "erected" on the basis of sound capitalism.

At the Leipzig Party Congress the social democratic party came forward as the open defender and protector of declining capitalism, as **organiser of the struggle against the revolutionary masses (including the social democratic workers) who are striving for the overthrow of capitalism.**

From this estimation of the crisis results the tactic which the Party Congress has laid down for the further work of the social democratic party. The role of leading tactician is to be assigned to Karl Kautsky, who published an article on the occasion of the Party Congress in which he pointed out that the tactics of the social democracy consists in choosing the "lesser evil". This tactic of the "lesser evil" is the tactic of the gradual merging of the social democratic party into the reactionary bourgeois parties, the tactic of the gradual fascisation of the social democratic party, which is preparing its alliance with the "moderate" national socialists who adhere to the Weimar Constitution and to whom also Hitler belongs.

The Leipzig Party Congress endeavoured to deceive the workers by raising the false flag of struggle against the fascist offensive. But in fact it was a Party Congress of struggle against Communism and not against fascism. Only for that purpose was it necessary to designate the social order in the Soviet Union as capitalism, only for that object was it necessary for Dan to declare that it is of no importance what the dictatorship in this or that country may call itself.

The fascisation of the social democratic party and the coalescence of its leaders with the bourgeois parties has proceeded at a rapid rate. It is not for nothing that all bourgeois papers highly approve of the Party Congress and declare that the social democracy will now proceed to a **still more determined support of the fascist policy of the Brüning government.** Thus the "Vossische Zeitung" declares that the social democracy is becoming the **largest bourgeois party.**

But the growing fascisation of the social democratic leaders can only accelerate the revolutionising of the masses. The Leipzig Party Congress clearly revealed the growing ferment among the social democratic masses and the dwindling of the working class basis of the party. The capitulation of the "Left" leaders

will open the eyes of those workers who still adhere to a centrist standpoint and accelerate their development towards Communism. Of late more and more social democratic workers are coming over to the Communist Party. The more the Communist Party proves able to develop its programme of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, to organise the masses in the struggle against capitalism and to establish its points of support in the factories, the more the social democratic workers will join our ranks.

The social democratic party of Germany is one of the leading parties of the II. International. Its party Congress shows under what slogans the approaching Vienna Congress of the II. International will take place in July. There is no doubt that this Congress will try to discover new methods of doping and betraying the toiling masses for the sake of saving capitalism from the approaching proletarian revolution; that it will be a Congress against the growing mass sympathy for the Soviet Union, a Congress of organisation of intervention against the Soviet Union. The same role which was played at the Leipzig Party Congress by the "Left" Seydewitz, Graf etc. will be played at the Vienna Congress by Otto Bauer and his consorts.

In view of the growing ferment among the social democratic workers the Communist Parties must undertake the most energetic work in order to explain to the workers the real character of the social democratic party, to win them away from this party and align them in the fighting front of the proletarian revolution.

The crisis of social democracy is spreading. This crisis is a component part of the general crisis of the capitalist system. It signifies the acceleration of the revolutionary crisis and the approach of the proletarian revolution.

After the Party Congress of the German Social Democratic Party.

By Rudolf Renner.

The unity of the German social democratic party has been preserved at the Leipzig party congress. That is the outward picture presented by this party congress. But nobody who is familiar with the conditions in this party expected that at Leipzig it would come to a split or even to the breaking away of sections from the party. True, there were a great number of social democratic workers who expected that the Opposition would bring about a change in the policy of the party.

These are the disappointed masses, and before all the Youth, who have for some considerable time been strongly opposed to the social fascist policy of the party and are now abandoning the party in large numbers.

The social democratic party is still the strongest party in Germany. It has at its disposal a huge apparatus in the trade union, the co-operatives, health insurance societies etc. Added to this army of job-holders in the capitalist society there are thousands of burgomasters and other holders of official positions. One must also not forget the great number of social democratic and free trade union factory councillors, who owing to their position are more or less insured against, the threatening dismissals.

This party is at present the strongest buttress of the German bourgeoisie. It fulfills the task of holding back the workers from the fight against the transference of all the burdens of the capitalist collapse onto the shoulders of the propertyless.

Up to now the party has succeeded in playing this criminal game by persuading the workers that without hard struggle, by means of "economic democracy" and "merging in the state apparatus", they would be able to capture power and achieve socialism.

The radicalised masses are beginning more and more to turn away from the S.P.G. It is the task of the Left opposition in the S.P.G. to keep these masses in the party. The speeches of the Left leaders, the demands put forward by them, are an expression of the militant feeling of the workers.

In this party there stand on the one side the group gathered round **Wels** and **Sollmann**, who support the bourgeoisie through thick and thin, and also the **Severing** and **Grzesinski**, who help to carry out fascisation. On the other side there stand the so-called Lefts. At the Kiel and Magdeburg party congresses these Lefts formed a larger bloc than at Leipzig.

The group which opposed the armoured cruisers numbered in Magdeburg 166 members. At the Leipzig party congress this group had shrunk to 62 members.

This decline of the "Lefts" serves to characterise the whole situation in the S.P.G. The opposition at Leipzig were in no way united, but represented various tendencies. Whilst **Portune** (Frankfurt on Main), **Kleineibst** (Leipzig) and **Eckstein** (Breslau) fiercely attacked the Central Committee of the party, the speech of **Seydewitz**, the so-called leader of the opposition, showed his anxiety not to lose touch with the Central Committee, while **Böchel**, the leader of the Chemnitz organisation, delivered a speech which showed that he will soon abandon this group.

The well-known member of Parliament **Engelbert Graf** said at the Leipzig party congress:

"I do not yet believe that capitalism is collapsing, but I see the danger of a collapse of the masses. The rebellions in the whole world are a Mene-Tekel. If the masses should begin to move, the question would be **who leads them, in whom have they confidence: in us or Hitler and Thälmann.** We must adapt our whole policy towards **maintaining the leadership.**"

This characterises the whole nature of the "Left" opposition. They believe just as little as the Right in overthrowing capitalism; they are unable to show the masses a way out. When **Seydewitz** was asked, which way he indicated, he answered with the counter-question, which way are the Right indicating. They could not give an answer, the chief aim is — to retain the leadership.

In spite of the declarations and assertions of the Left that they only wish to do what is best for the party, the Central Committee directed its main attack against the "Lefts".

The sharpening of the general situation in Germany limits the manoeuvring ability of the party, in particular of the Left. The radical speeches no longer fulfil the purpose aimed at but promote the radicalisation of the masses. But if the opposition ceases to adopt radical poses, it loses the masses. If it continues its policy, it must drift more and more away from the social democratic party, i. e. do just what it wants to prevent.

Hence the position of the opposition is becoming more and more hopeless.

But as the party cannot show the masses a way out of their misery and is becoming more and more fascised as a result of its increasing coalescence with capitalism; it has to defend all the measures of capitalism with ever more brutal means, and as a result is bound to lose the masses.

The party congress showed absolute confusion on all theoretical questions, and passivity in practice, with the exception of its readiness to defend the bourgeoisie in all circumstances. It is playing a new double game against the masses.

Tarnow declared in his report that the social democracy must be the physician of capitalism and help it to cure its crisis and at the same time the heir who is only waiting to take over society.

This is a resurrection of Kautsky's theory of 1918, who declared that it is impossible to socialise bankruptcy, and on the other hand, the continuation of the theory of economic democracy. As however it is impossible to retain the masses with this theory, it was declared that more propaganda must be conducted for Socialism. **Sollmann** stated:

"We must show the masses the picture of the future State".

In practice however the speakers at the party congress revealed their complete disbelief in the victory of Socialism and in the possibility of its realisation.

Tied up and allied with the capitalist society the social democratic party cannot give the least help to the masses in their fight against misery and exploitation. The possibilities of fooling the masses are also becoming more and more restricted.

It is possible that the German bourgeoisie will be able together with the fascists to carry out a number of measures against the proletariat and to drive the S. P. of Germany into a sham opposition. But in spite of all manoeuvres, **the who structure of the S.P.G. is beginning to crack.** The going over of the masses to the Communist Party has started and will continue on a larger scale.

The Congress of the French Socialist Party.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The Congress of the "Socialist" Party of France was held during Whitsun in Tours.

The reports issued for the Party Congress state that the Party has at present 125,000 members as compared with 119,000 last year, and 122 local groups have been founded since the last party Congress. The circulation of the central organ of the party, "Populaire", is said to have increased from 32,000 to nearly 60,000. The reports also mention the great number of social democrats occupying positions on public bodies: 12 senators, 108 members of the Chamber of Deputies, 279 members of general councils, 1080 mayors etc. These figures, which prove the great participation of the socialists in the State apparatus, reveal at the same time the sole aim of the Socialist Party of France, namely, to obtain "at least a majority in all elected State organs" (Paul Faure's report).

It cannot be denied, however, that the social democratic party of France has made considerable progress in the period covered by the reports. This is due to a very large extent to the radicalisation of the masses, which the Communist Party of France has not sufficiently succeeded in bringing under its influence. The socialist party recruits its members mainly from among employees in the administrative apparatus and the State undertakings. Recently, however, it has attempted to carry on serious recruiting work among the masses of middle peasants who are suffering greatly as a result of the crisis. It is also able to record a fresh influx of youth elements, even of young workers, which it was able to draw into its ranks solely because of the inadequate support which the Communist Party of France has afforded the Y.C.L.

But it is precisely the addition to its ranks of these new strata that is creating a profound contradiction within the socialist party, and this precisely at the moment when it is becoming part and parcel of the State apparatus and the most reliable support of the leaders to establish dictatorship.

For this reason, the Congress at Tours was dominated by the efforts of the leaders to establish an equilibrium between the pressure of the masses and the necessity of giving the French bourgeoisie a pledge of their obedience and their capacity to defend the bourgeois State.

The first two days of the Party Congress were taken up with the discussion of unheard-of scandals in which numerous leaders of the social democratic party were involved. Thus, for example, there was the Uhry affair, whom the social democratic local group of the Oise département accused, and substantiated their charge by irrefutable evidence, of making use of his political influence for his own financial ends. The opposition of the Seine Federation, which is under the pressure of the working class, made a fierce attack on the financial advertisements published in the "Populaire", which in this way lets itself be supported by the bank magnates and very rich capitalist "friends". There was also the affair of the seven undisciplined deputies, headed by **Boncour**, who on May 8th announced their confidence in the Laval government in order thereby to express their approval of Briand's foreign policy, and who only acted a little more openly than the rest of the deputies of the socialist Chamber fraction who withheld their votes. All these scandals have caused great discontent among the rank and file of the Party. The debate on this question was very exhaustive in order thereby, to prove to the workers that their right to criticise the leaders was respected.

This washing of dirty linen was of course followed by general and all-round embraces: Uhry and his followers who were expelled one after another, were all again admitted into the party; the financial advertisements in the "Populaire" were approved by an enormous majority; after some left leaders had vehemently demanded that the seven undisciplined deputies be reprimanded, a resolution expressing the "regret" of the party congress in connection with this affair was adopted unanimously.

This co-operation between the "Lefts" and Rights became even more apparent during the great debate on the question of **national defence**. The party Congress at Bordeaux last year was to have dealt with this question, but it was unanimously elected from the agenda in order "not to supply the Communists with any arguments". The Rights energetically demanded that the party finally abandon demagogic formulae, as for instance: "Not a man nor a penny for national defence", as this was

calculated to prejudice the party's chances at the elections and to render all too apparent the inevitable betrayal when the socialists enter the government and must officially organise the war preparations.

The one-time "Lefts", under the leadership of Paul Faure and Ziromski, who have now become the "centre", endorsed this opinion and their original proposal no longer contained the old slogan: "Not a man nor a penny for national defence." But two new fractions, a Left and an extreme Left, came forward with high-sounding pacifist phrases; one of these fractions even resurrected the Stuttgart resolution and demanded the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war. This motion, as well as another one brought forward by the war-resisters, reflects in spite of everything the desire of the working masses for peace and their fundamental opposition to national defence.

Finally, three resolutions were put to the vote: the motion of the Rights received 824 votes, that of the Left 471 votes and the motion of the Centre (Paul Faure) 2,436 votes. The text of the adopted motion contains long declarations about the fight against war and about general disarmament. This resolution even contains the formula: not a man nor a penny, and advocates refusal of military credits for capitalist governments, but calls upon the socialists, as soon as they have come into power, to demand these credits in order to "secure national independence".

M. Leon Blum expressed the real meaning of this resolution when he declared that the party must stick to the tradition of refusing the military budget, but this did not mean a general refusal to "take part in national defence in case of necessity".

He also succeeded in getting passed unanimously a resolution introduced by him which is nothing else but a conglomeration of empty phrases about peace, but which proclaims the adherence of the party to "true national defence", a formula which allows every interpretation and sanctions every betrayal. A resolution on pacifist propaganda was then adopted, as well as another aiming at reassuring the backward bourgeoisie who still have doubts regarding the patriotism of the socialist party. With these congress decisions the party leaders believe they have won their game.

PROLETARIAN MASS ORGANISATIONS

Meeting of the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence.

The meeting of the Executive of the **League Against Imperialism and for National Independence** was held in Berlin from May 30th to June 2nd. Representatives of all the most important national sections of the League were present. Representatives of the oppressed nations and national minorities in Europe were also invited to this meeting. In all there were 46 persons present: 15 from the colonial countries, 15 from the oppressed nations and national minorities, 11 from other countries, and 4 from various organisations. Among the representatives were 12 young people. The following agenda was dealt with:

1. Report of the International Secretariat on the work and the position of the League against Imperialism since the Frankfurt Congress.
2. Reports of the national sections.
3. Youth report.
4. Emancipation fight of the oppressed peoples and national minorities of Europe.

In his report on the activity of the International Secretariat Müinzenberg, the General Secretary, called attention to the shortcomings in the work up to now and to the weaknesses in the various countries, particularly in France. He gave a general survey of the situation in the colonial and dependent countries and especially characterised the effects of the international economic crisis in sharpening the situation and promoting the fights of the colonial peoples for emancipation. He then reported in detail on the work of the International Secretariat and of the most important sections of the League in the last two years. A result of the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggles and the difficulties connected therewith has been that, shortly after the Frankfurt Congress, a number of persons hitherto connected with the League, such as Maxton, Fimmen, Nehru

and Hatta, deserted the fighting front and showed themselves to be direct helpers and agents of imperialism. The Executive must plainly declare through its decisions that there is no place in the League for such people, and must also draw the organisational consequences. In dealing further with the tasks of the League Münzenberg emphasised, among other things, the necessity of a real turn to mass work, of direct work in the colonies and other countries, of issuing an international League Periodical. An important advance of the League is the extension of its sphere of work by the inclusion of the fight of the oppressed nations of the national minorities in Europe in its programme and in its practical activity.

Vlachoff (Macedonia), speaking on the resolution submitted on this question, gave the more important facts regarding the oppressed peoples and national minorities of Europe.

Reports on the position of the anti-imperialist movement were delivered by representatives from India, China, Indo-China, Indonesia, the Negro districts of Africa, and South America. All speakers from the colonies expressed the sympathy of the colonial masses for the Soviet Union.

The discussion on the national question was participated in by representatives of Western White Russia and West Ukraine from Poland, representatives of the German, Slovak and Hungarian national minorities in Czechoslovakia, of the Hungarian national minorities in Transylvania (Rumania) as well as representatives of Macedonia, Thrace, Dobruja, Croatia and Albania.

The report delivered by the former president of the West Ukrainian Republic, **Dr. Petruchevitch**, on conditions in the Western Ukraine, of the terror exercised by the Polish authorities, on the policy of France and the strategical measures in preparations for war on the frontiers of the Soviet Union made a great impression. **Dr. Petruchevitch**, as did other representatives of national minorities, welcomed the plan of the League Against Imperialism to connect the fight against imperialism in the colonies with the fight for the emancipation of the oppressed peoples and national minorities in Europe, and placed himself and his organisation fully and entirely on the platform and at the service of the League.

The two main resolutions, the political and national, were adopted unanimously. The political resolution sharply condemns the role of the so-called Left social democrats such as Maxton and Fimmen, and also of the Left nationalists such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Hatta. The Executive confirmed the decision of the English Section which expelled Maxton, it declares that Fimmen, by his attitude, has placed himself outside of the League and also welcomes the decision of the Perhimpunan of Indonesia, which on their own initiative recalled their representative Hatta. The resolution states that Jawaharlal Nehru has become a traitor to the cause of the emancipation of the people of India from the British imperialist yoke; it stigmatises his desertion into the camp of counter-revolution before the broad masses of India and expels him from its ranks. At the same time the Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism warns the fighters for national freedom of India against the manoeuvres aiming at deceiving and causing confusion which will be undoubtedly commenced by Nehru, Bose, Roy and the rest of the Left nationalists who have become agents of British imperialism, and calls upon all anti-imperialist fighters in India, over the heads of the treacherous leaders of the National Congress, to join the League Against Imperialism.

A number of other resolutions were then adopted, including protests against the persecution of revolutionaries in Persia, against the death sentences on nine Negroes in the United States, against the death sentences passed on the Croat nationalists in Yugoslavia, against the shooting of four Hungarian land workers in Kossuth in Czechoslovakia, against the arrest of Chinese students in Japan, as well as resolutions on the tasks of the Sport organisations in the anti-imperialist struggle and for the Spartakiade, for support of and mutual collaboration with the International Red Aid and the Workers International Relief.

In conclusion, further members were elected to the leading bodies of the League, partly in place of those who had been expelled, and partly in order to give representation to the oppressed peoples and national minorities.

The following were elected to the General Council:

1. Anastasow (Macedonia),
2. Gopal Basak (Meerut-India),
3. C. Lano (Albania)

4. Jim Larkin Jun. (Ireland),
5. A. Mesta (Thrace),
6. Nzula (South Africa),
7. G. Padmore (West Indies).

The following were elected to the Executive:

1. Robert Dunn (U. S. A.),
2. Abdulmadjid (Indonesia),
3. Hamdi el Husseini (Arab countries),
4. Chatterjee (India),
5. Dr. Petruchevitch (Western Ukraine),
6. Sadi (Arab countries),
7. Ratan Singh (India),
8. Vlachoff (Macedonia).

The meeting ended with concluding speeches by Bridgeman and Münzenberg.

In connection with the meeting of the Executive there also took place a conference of the Youth comrades present, at which the concrete tasks of the Youth work, especially in England and Indonesia, were dealt with.

Spanish Section of the Workers' International Relief Founded.

Madrid, May 26, 1931.

The awakening forces of the young Spanish revolution are taking their place in the front of international solidarity. On May 24, there was held in Madrid the foundation conference of the S. O. E. (Secorro Obrero Espanol), the Spanish section of the W. I. R. The Conference was presided over by the well-known revolutionary writer **Arderius**. There were present 500 delegates from various organisations. The social composition of the Conference showed the keen interest existing in all workers' organisations, revolutionary cultural societies and among all sections of the working population for the idea of proletarian solidarity. In addition to the various trade union and co-operative organisations, representatives of freethinkers' groups, women and youth organisations, literary and educational societies took part in the Conference. The Conference was held at a time which is full of the most important even' in the proletarian fight in Spain.

After the spontaneous rising of the people with which the revolutionary workers in Madrid and the century-long enslaved poor rural population of Andalusia replied to the provocations of the Bishops and generals at the beginning of May, there set in the campaign of bloody terror of the republican-socialist provisional government. The ruins of the burnt down convents and churches were still smoking when the civil-guard and other troops of the counter-revolution commenced a savage slaughter of the workers and peasants in Madrid, Bilbao, Seville and Barcelona.

The working and peasant masses are the only bulwark of the revolution against this fierce attack of the reaction. The approaching gigantic struggles of the industrial districts and of the Andalusian village proletariat and small peasants are the defensive movements of the revolution. The role of the Spanish W. I. R. naturally arises from the stormy development of events.

The delegates to the foundation conference unanimously recognised that the W. I. R., as a proletarian auxiliary and fighting organisation, has to support the development of the revolutionary forces and the **hegemony of the workers and peasants in this development.**

This support must take the form of concrete help in the strikes and struggles of the proletariat in town and country. The fundamental idea in the action of the Spanish W. I. R. must be to connect these fights with those of the international proletariat, to create living bonds of solidarity in order that the Spanish working class shall take its place in the world front of the workers and peasants.

The mobilisation of all sections of the working population in the fight for a **comprehensive system of social insurance**, especially against unemployment, old age and sickness, is a further aim the importance of which the foundation conference specially emphasised.

In accordance with its international character, the Secorro Obrero Espanol decided to appeal especially to the revolutionary workers and peasants of Latin America in order to secure not only their moral support but also practical co-operation on the international solidarity front for the Spanish revolution.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P. of France.

By J. B. (Paris).

The meeting of the Central Committee of the CP. of France was held from 27th to 29th May. It was attended by about 50 leading functionaries of the various districts in order to hear the report of the XI. E.C.C.I. Plenum and to discuss measures to be adopted to make up for the loss of tempo of the Party.

The debates turned mainly on the two reports of the Politbureau, delivered by Comrades **Thorez** and **Frachon**. Comrade Thorez reported on the work of the XI. Plenum and dealt with the decay of capitalism in all countries, in particular in France, where symptoms of an intensification of the crisis are already to be seen.

Comrade Thorez strongly emphasised that the development in the direction of the revolutionary crisis depends upon the work of our Party. For this reason he subjected the activity of the Party during the past period to a severe self-criticism. It is true, we have achieved some successes in the elections, in strikes and on 1st of May, but we are far from having reached the aims set up by the Central Committee in July 1930, particularly in the sphere of organisation. The loss of tempo is expressed in our inadequate preparation of the economic struggles and in the inadequate work in the trade unions; in the weakening of our mass work against the imperialist war, of our anti-militarist activity and of the struggle in support of the suppressed peoples (Alsace-Lorraine, the colonies); a neglect of our international activity (fight against the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan, support of the Spanish revolution) and a complete lack of work in the rural districts.

Comrade Thorez then defined the actual tasks of the Party.

Comrade **Frachon** dealt thoroughly with the work of the Communists in the trade unions, in connection with the recent strikes and the approaching big economic struggles.

The discussion on these two reports was very lively, more than 40 comrades participating in it. In particular tactical questions were discussed. Our vacillating tactic during the recent big miners's strike in April, when it seemed as if we were drawn in the wake of the reformist leaders and even though we proclaimed the independent leadership of the strike did not display sufficient energy in applying this slogan, was subjected to severe self-criticism. The role of the strike committees and their relation to the unitary trade unions was also dealt with. Several comrades, and in particular a representative of Algeria, spoke of the great upsurge of the colonial peoples and emphasised the urgent necessity for the Party to support them in their struggle.

In his concluding word Comrade Thorez underlined the weaknesses of the discussion, which had not sufficiently dealt with the great political problems raised by the XI. Plenum, as for instance the questions of fascism and social fascism. Apart from the excellent speech of Comrade **Marty**, the war danger did not sufficiently engage the attention of the session.

In conclusion Comrade **Duclos** delivered a report on the situation in Spain and the support which our Party must give to the Spanish proletariat.

A short resolution, completely approving the theses and resolutions of the XI. Plenum and the reports of Comrades Thorez and Frachon was unanimously adopted. The Politbureau was instructed to issue concrete directives for the work of the Party in all spheres, particularly in those in which a loss of tempo has occurred. A campaign must be organised to popularise the decisions of the International in connection with the actual tasks of the Party. The members of the Central Committee are instructed to report on this meeting at district conferences and big membership meetings in order to develop initiative and the spirit of responsibility among the functionaries and nuclei.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The World Economic Crisis and the Working Women.

By M. Bulle (Moscow).

The toiling masses of women in town and country are the greatest sufferers as a result of the world economic crisis. The role of women's labour in the capitalist industry and agriculture is increasing from year to year. In Germany, France, and the United States working women constitute 40 per cent of the working class, in Austria 36 per cent, in Poland and Czechoslovakia 33 per cent, in Switzerland 31 per cent, in Sweden and Norway 30 per cent, in Italy 29 per cent, in England 27 per cent, in China and Japan 51 per cent, in India 38 per cent etc. The decline of economy in the capitalist countries has mostly affected the light industry, such as silk, artificial silk, garments and hosiery, the food and tobacco industry, where women constitute the greater part of the staff. Thus the share of women's labour in the textile industry of Germany amounts to 62 per cent, in France to 65 to 70 per cent, in Austria to 61 per cent, in Poland to 55 to 80 per cent, in China and India to 70 per cent, in Japan to 60 per cent etc. The employers' offensive against wages in these industries greatly affects the working women, who nowhere receive equal pay for equal work, but only a fraction of the men's wages: in Germany 50 to 70 per cent, in England 52 per cent, in France 70 to 75 per cent, in Poland 60 to 65 per cent, in Czechoslovakia 50 to 55 per cent, in China and India approximately 50 per cent. Dismissals and lockouts, short time work and the enormous unemployment are felt more severely by working women, who for the greater part do not receive any unemployment benefit when thrown on to the street.

The cheapness of women's labour together with the absence or non-observance of maternity and child protection laws, is very advantageous to the capitalists. The employers are endeavouring to replace male labour by women's labour. Women's labour systematically ousts male labour from production and gradually penetrates into the heavy industry, the engineering, automobile, aeroplane construction, chemical and electricity industries. Thus in the Siemens concern, in the year 1924, 42 per cent of the staff were women, in the year 1929 48.1 per cent and in the year 1930 51 per cent. The capitalists are carrying on a great offensive against the standard of living of the working class by making use of women's labour as competitor against male labour, thereby pressing down the wages altogether. We can cite a number of cases in Germany, Czechoslovakia and France where the employers, after having replaced male labour by female labour, proposed to the dismissed workers that they return to work at the reduced "women's wages". The shamelessness and cynicism of the bourgeoisie really know no bounds!

The cruel exploitation of the working women in the capitalist undertakings, the unbearable conditions of living are rousing the working women to resistance and struggle. In all the great strike movements of the past year working women fought in the front ranks. In Mansfeld (Central Germany), in the Ruhr district, in Berlin, in Yorkshire and Lancashire, in Belfort and North France, in Lodz and Warsaw, in Copenhagen, Madrid, Boston and Philadelphia, in Shanghai and Tsingtau, in Calcutta and Bombay the working women have shown astounding stubbornness and endurance. Everywhere they are taking active part in the demonstrations of the workers and unemployed. They have often been in the front ranks in the collisions with the gendarmerie and police; they invented new means of attack and defence. Thus for instance, the working women in Shanghai and Tsingtau used umbrellas and benches in the struggle against the police; in Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland they used stones, bricks, alings etc. They organised defence for the speakers; they have even sometimes disarmed the police and gendarmerie; they have fought against the soldiers and prevented them from attacking the workers.

The growing activity of the toiling women in the struggle against the class enemy is the best proof that even the most backward sections of the world proletariat, as a result of the

sharp crisis of capitalism and the great achievements of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R., are beginning to realise that the only way out of the crisis and misery and the war danger is the way of revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist rule and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The First National Congress of Toiling Women in Czechoslovakia.

By K. Friedrich (Prague).

On May 9 and 10, there took place in Prague the first national Congress of Toiling women in Czechoslovakia. The call of the Preparatory Committee of the Congress had met with such a response among the most exploited sections of the proletariat, the toiling women, that instead of the expected 400 delegates 603 delegates arrived from all parts of the country. The greater part of these delegates were unorganised, many of them belonged to the Czech-sozialist, social democratic, christian-socialist and agrarian organisations. This shows that the growing crisis is leading to an increased radicalisation of these sections of the proletariat.

In addition to the 603 delegates, 400 guests attended the Congress. The majority of the delegates were textile workers, a great part came from the metal and mining works, but also the agricultural workers as well as the national minorities were well represented.

After the reading of a whole number of letters of greeting, the Congress was addressed by Comrade **Nosek** on behalf of the red trade unions and by Comrade **Krosnar** on behalf of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia who, to the accompaniment of loud applause, emphasised that when the toiling women are joining the ranks of the revolution the revolution is no longer far off.

Comrade **Svabova**, the chief reporter, described the position of the toiling women, who are among the most exploited sections of the proletariat. Before all she called for a fight against the threatening war danger, against the abortion laws, against the starvation offensive of the employers, the burden of taxation upon the small peasants and against the Ghent system.

During the discussion more than 40 delegates described the utterly wretched, often really desperate situation of the toiling women. Before all the delegates of the national minorities, who have to suffer under the double yoke of social and national oppression, as well as the delegates of the agricultural proletariat told of the horrible exploitation in their localities. Not a few of the delegates wound up their speeches with the following characteristic conclusion? "I have recognised that the only way out of this misery is the ruthless class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. I therefore join the Communist Party."

After the report of the commissions, which proposed to set up a broad network of women's delegate meetings in the whole of Czechoslovakia, the Congress was addressed by four old pioneers of the proletarian women's movement. These women champions, who are over 80 years old, called upon the delegates to conduct the fight for the emancipation of the women from the fetters of capitalism and the bog of clericalism, and they promised to collaborate in this fight in spite of their advanced age.

Following the Congress, which, was marked by a splendid fighting spirit, the delegates formed a procession and marched through the workers' quarters, singing revolutionary songs and shouting fighting slogans. The police were unable for a long time to disperse the demonstration.

The next day a delegation, elected by the Congress, submitted the protest of the working women against the increasing food prices to the social democratic Minister for Food, **Bechyne**. A second delegation went to the social democratic Minister for Welfare, **Czech**, and protested against the Ghent system of unemployment insurance and demanded State benefit for all unemployed.

The first national Congress of the toiling women of Czechoslovakia is of historical importance. It will help to weld the proletarian united front against the starvation offensive, the increasing prices, mass dismissals, tax distrains, national oppression and imperialist danger of war, for the emancipation of the toiling women from the yoke of capitalism.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Complete Collapse of the Brandlerists in Czechoslovakia.

By Bruno Köhler (Prague).

The Czechoslovakian branch of the Brandlerists, led by Neurath, has suffered complete bankruptcy in the last few weeks. The open counter-revolutionary Neurath sect, which was thrown out of the Party after the V. Congress of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, has never possessed any influence worth mentioning over the working class of Czechoslovakia. The few positions which the Neurathites still possessed in the provinces after their expulsion from the Party, have now been completely lost by them owing to their openly counter-revolutionary policy. The few workers who followed Neurath at the beginning of his renegacy have returned to the Party in the course of the last few months. The "leaders" of the co-operative and sick-insurance society employees have nearly all landed in the camp of social democracy.

Brandlerism in Czechoslovakia would long ago have been dead and buried had not the "Leninists" in Reichenberg, supported by the State Power, obtained possession of property belonging to the Party and the workers. In April last year, aided by the police, they forcibly took possession of the Party printing works in Reichenberg and of our Party organ "Vorwärts". For two years they controlled the big Reichenberg consumers' co-operative "Vorwärts" in an openly fascist manner by defrauding the members of their rights. By means of this property, rightly belonging to the Party and the North-Bohemian working class, the renegades in Reichenberg, supported by the social democracy and the State power, attempted to maintain their position although they were completely isolated from the working masses. But this attempt has now proved a miserable failure.

A little while ago the Czechoslovakian Brandlerists were compelled to yield up the Reichenberg Consumers' co-operative. The members of this co-operative remained firm under the leadership of the Party, so that the renegades, together with social fascists, in spite of the most furious incitement against the Party and the employment of every imaginable means, at the general meeting of the consumers' co-operative which the workers insisted on being held, found themselves in a minority of 12 against 48 votes. Fresh attempts with the aid of the State Power to retain possession of the consumers' co-operative were frustrated by the determination of the members, who under the leadership of the Party carried on the fight for restoration for their property.

The renegades were forced to abandon the field, so that today the co-operative is in the hands of the revolutionary co-operative Opposition led by the Party.

The defeat of the renegades in the co-operative was followed by the complete abandonment of the Party printing works and the bankruptcy of the "Vorwärts", the Party organ stolen by the renegades, which in the meantime had dwindled from a daily paper to a miserable sheet appearing twice a week. The Party and the revolutionary workers' organisations consistently boycotted the printing works which the renegades had stolen from the Party, so that all the attempts made by the Neurath group to keep it going with big social democratic orders remained without result. A few days ago, therefore, the renegades were compelled to capitulate completely, and the printing works were again taken over by the Party. Along with the Party printing works the Party organ "Vorwärts" came again into the hands of the Party.

After this open bankruptcy, Neurath, together with his "staff", fled to Asch on the Bavarian frontier, from where he intends to supply his followers with the "Arbeiterpolitik" published by Brandler in Germany, for which purpose it will contain a "Czechoslovakian Supplement".

With the loss of the property which it had stolen from the Party in Reichenberg, the Czechoslovakian Brandlerist sect is finally and completely bankrupt.