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The Revolutionary Wave Is Rising

By Louis

Are we entering on an epoch of blackest reaction, an epoch of defection and fascism? Is the working class depressed, despondent, defeated, cowed? Is fascism advancing? Or are we faced with a new cycle of revolutions and wars?

The events themselves furnish the answer to these questions. In Austria, armed fights in spite of all the attempts to cow the workers and in spite of the sabotage of the social democracy. The movement in Austria, it is true, arose practically spontaneously; the advance-guard of the working class went into the fight without a centralised leadership, without slogans, without a programme, and without clearly raising the question of power. The workers of Austria nevertheless fought for power and raised the question of power. The political mass strike (which was only prevented from becoming a real general strike, thanks to the treachery of the social democracy) and the armed revolt prove that the fascist attack on the working class called forth proletarian resistance and a revolutionary upsurge. The armed fight of the working class in Austria was not a rearguard battle. This fight did not break out when the revolutionary movement was declining, as was the case with the proletarian revolution in Hungary in 1919 and the Canton Commune, which took place after the first wave of the great Chinese revolution in 1927. Historically regarded, the revolt of the Austrian workers was an **advance-guard fight**, a fight of the outposts on the eve of a new cycle of big class fights, armed revolts, proletarian revolution. Vienna means a revolutionary upsurge. The Vienna revolt is the prelude to a new series of armed class collisions in the great struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between capitalism and victorious, advancing socialism.

The revolt in Austria was not able to break the imperialist chain at its weakest link. The influence of the social democracy, its policy of holding back the workers, its treachery, collapsed at the moment of the decisive fights. Owing to the weakness of the Communist advance-guard, which fought heroically shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary workers in the Schutzbund, Mussolini's vassals—Dollfuss, Starhemberg, and Fey—were still able to maintain power. Nevertheless, the events in Vienna mean a great step forward in the revolutionary development.

In France, on February 6, fascism suddenly came forward openly and undisguised. The first onslaught of fascism had resulted in the capitulation of the so-called bourgeois democracy, in the ranks of which the process of fascisation has already made great progress. This open coming forward of fascism, however, let loose great revolutionary forces among the French proletariat. On February 9 thousands of workers fought in the streets of Paris, and on February 12 France was shaken by a **general strike**. Four million Communist and socialist workers, as well as followers of the C.G.T. and of the C.G.T.U., organised and unorganised workers, came together in a revolutionary united front—not to save the corrupt and rotten bourgeois republic, but in order to set up an iron proletarian bulwark against the advance of fascism. The slogan of the Communist advance-guard, the setting up of the Soviet power, called forth an enthusiastic response among the broad strata of the revolutionary working class.

Fascist forces are maturing in France. The monopolist bourgeoisie is gathering together all elements of counter-revolution. All the bourgeois parties, including the socialist party of France,

gradually gave way to this process of fascist penetration. Bourgeois and also petty-bourgeois mass organisations are being penetrated by fascist ideas.

At the opposite pole of the class struggle, in the camp of the proletariat, a firm revolutionary united front of all class-conscious workers is being set up. From the 6th to 12th February Paris experienced this revolutionary upsurge.

The welding together of all revolutionary forces on the one side and all counter-revolutionary on the other: general strike in France! In France, which hitherto appeared to be the most powerful and surest support of capital on the European Continent! In France, where the economic crisis had caused less devastation in comparison with the other imperialist countries!

In Spain also the monarchist-clerical counter-revolution is preparing to deliver a blow against the revolutionary forces. State of emergency, concentration camps, reintroduction of the death penalty, wholesale arrests, mobilisation of all the fascist forces, preparations for open civil war—that is the programme of the new **Lerroux** government. Fascism is preparing for an attack on the working class and the peasantry. But proletarian resistance is growing in spite of the treachery of the socialists, in spite of the disorganising and disorientation of the working class by the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists. The Spanish proletariat is replying to the blows of the fascist counter-revolution with political mass strikes. The printers, the building workers, the metal workers have entered the fight. In the rural districts a new wave of agrarian revolution is approaching; poor peasants and landworkers are seizing the estates of the big landowners.

The bourgeois republic has exposed itself to the broad masses of the socialist workers as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners. The workers have already replied to the fasciation of the bourgeois republic by raising the question of power. Spain is on the eve of decisive class struggles. Big class collisions are already taking place in **Madrid, Barcelona, and Seville**. The clash of antagonistic class forces may occur at any moment.

Even in **England** proletarian resistance to the capitalist offensive is increasing, even if in peculiar forms. The national government has suffered one election defeat after the other. The London County Council elections ended in favour of the labour party and with a complete wiping out of the liberal party. The national government promised the English working class that it would lead it out of the crisis by re-establishing the positions of English imperialism. Two years ago, certain sections of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie were swept along by this chauvinistic imperialist wave. After two years there has now come the inevitable disappointment. For the time being it is the labour party which is reaping the benefit of this radicalisation of the working masses. It seems as if the English working class must experience still another disappointment before it finds the way to the proletarian revolution, the way to Communism.

In fascist **Germany** the revolutionary upsurge is expressed in special processes taking place below the surface. The broad petty bourgeois mass basis of fascism is crumbling more and more. In the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie, the inner antagonisms are becoming visibly more acute in spite of all the **Gleichschaltung**. Disappointment, discontent, and indignation of the proletarian masses is recognisable in their increasing resistance to the fascist offensive.

In **China** the Soviet revolution is on the march. In spite of the aid rendered by General von Seeckt, who has hired himself out as a mercenary to the Chinese counter-revolution, Chiang-Kai-shek's sixth campaign against the Soviet districts has collapsed.

In **Japan** the fascist forces are likewise maturing. The fascist military clique is capturing one position after the other. It is already raising the question of establishing the total fascist power. **Hironyma**, the ideologist and founder of Japanese fascism, is already named as the future Prime Minister. The **Saito** government is sitting on a powder barrel, to which the spark can be applied at any moment and destroy this government. "Dangerous thoughts" are spreading more and more. The new blow aimed by the government against the Communist Party and the wholesale arrests will not be able to stop this triumphant advance of "dangerous thoughts" among the broad masses.

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Not an epoch of blackest reaction, not an epoch of reaction

and fascism, but a **new cycle of tremendous class struggles, a new cycle of revolutions is approaching.**

The sharpening of the class antagonisms in the individual countries leads at the same time to a sharpening of the imperialist antagonisms, and vice versa: the sharpening of the imperialist antagonisms causes a sharpening of the class struggles in the individual countries.

We are on the eve of a new cycle of imperialist wars in Europe, of a new wave of counter-revolutionary attacks against the Soviet Union. Austria represents the chief danger spot in this respect. No matter how the fate of Austria is decided, whether it will be united with Germany, whether the Hapsburg monarchy is restored, or Hungary and Austria united under Italian hegemony—any decision will only hasten the approach of the war disaster.

The question of armaments is also becoming more acute. Germany is feverishly arming. But this feverish arming on the part of Germany has called forth an insane armament race on the part of the other imperialist countries, which, on the other hand, exposes more and more clearly the intensification of the imperialist antagonisms.

Of all the provisions of the Versailles Peace Treaty there remain only the frontiers laid down by it; all other provisions have become obsolete. **The redistribution of the world is on the order of the day.**

Roosevelt is making frantic attempts to galvanise the stinking corpse of the World Economic Conference. **MacDonald** is endeavouring to revive the Disarmament Conference. But all these attempts appear to be equally fruitless as Mr. Eden's tour to the various European capitals in the endeavour to find a common platform for all imperialist countries and to harmonise all their conflicting interests.

The German-Polish rapprochement, the inner crisis in Japan, the intrigues of British imperialism, show how one group of imperialist Powers, in the first place Germany, Japan, and England, is endeavouring to postpone the explosion of imperialist antagonisms by an **armed intervention against the Soviet Union.**

The antagonisms in the camp of imperialism, however, are so deep and complicated that, in spite of all the attempts of the **British** government to come to an understanding with Japan on the division of the textile market, Japan and England are faced with a new economic war.

Germany and Italy are endeavouring to shake the **French** system of alliances. With the aid of English imperialism they have been able to achieve certain successes in Poland and Belgium. At the same time, however, Italy is welding a new military-political bloc with Hungary and Austria against France, and also against Germany in the fight for hegemony.

All post-war agreements on armaments—the armament provisions of the Versailles Treaty, the Washington agreement, the London agreement on naval armaments—all of them are practically dead letters.

What we are now witnessing are the last efforts to develop the maximum military forces, to make the best technical and political preparations for the coming world war.

The world economic crisis, it is true, has passed its lowest point; but the increase in production which is taking place within the confines of the individual national economies with a simultaneous shrinking of world trade, could not and cannot provide a basis for a new stabilisation, for a relative shaky stabilisation and thereby postpone the clash of imperialist antagonisms.

The events of the last three months have completely confirmed the correctness of the analysis of the world situation and the perspectives given by the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., according to which we are on the threshold of a new cycle of revolutions and wars.

Italian Workers in South Africa Collect 920 Francs for Austria

Paris, March 27.

The Italian workers in South Africa have sent 920 francs to the International Red Aid, as first instalment of their collections for the victims of Austrian fascism. They accompany their contribution with a declaration of solidarity with the Austrian workers.

Politics

Vanished Illusions

By L. M.

"An illusion which has been perhaps destroyed by the facts cannot be perpetuated"—announces Mussolini with cynical candour. The fascist chieftain has spoken a simple truth.

The Belgian Prime Minister, **de Broqueville**, has designated the armaments stipulations of the Versailles Treaty as an illusion.

England, in its disarmament proposal, recommended restrictions on French armaments and limited increased armaments for Germany as a solution.

Italy is more realistic. It proposes that the armed States retain their present armaments status, whilst the disarmed States arm.

France continues to cling to its "documentary rights"; it demands securities, armaments control; it makes disapproving insinuations about Germany's armaments, and insists on the observance of the stipulations laid down in the Versailles Treaty.

Diplomatic notes, speeches, memoranda, visits, negotiations.

Germany makes magnanimous proposals towards the confirmation of the Locarno decisions, for which Hitler once wanted to crucify Stresemann. He proposes non-aggression pacts, puts questions, and endeavours to gain time for further armaments.

There is still much talk of disarmament, attempts are still made to galvanize some life into the Geneva corpse, and the dangers of international armaments are still referred to.

But a new fact has been created in the world's politics.

That the armaments stipulations of the Versailles Treaty have collapsed is an acknowledged truth. All that is left of the Versailles Treaty is the frontier regulations. This is no small matter, it is on the contrary a great deal. But the collapse of the armaments stipulations of the Versailles Treaty signifies that the competitive armaments of the world will end sooner or later in a new war for the drawing up of new frontiers. We need not repeat the platitude that the unequal development of the comparative forces of the imperialist Powers has brought about fundamental changes. These changes find expression in the armaments of to-day. Only the just and justified war, the war of the exploited and oppressed against the exploiters and oppressors, can bar the way of imperialist war. Without the determined and insistent peace policy of the Soviet Union there would already be war. And if this revolutionary peace policy were not backed up by the Red Army, then again there would already be war: the war against the Soviet Union, or war among the imperialists, or both at once.

The armaments stipulations of the Versailles Treaty have collapsed. The Five Powers Agreement of Washington on naval armaments is no more than a scrap of paper. The London agreements on the restriction of naval construction represent a perfect example of an illusion destroyed by facts. In spite of the so-called "disarmament" conference, the competitive arming of all imperialist States is in full swing.

England favours German armaments, and opposes only a strong German navy and air fleet. German imperialism is endeavouring to combat German expansion to the west. This does not exclude, but rather includes, the calculations of British imperialism towards supporting all endeavours for the formation of a German mercenary army to be used in an intervention against the Soviet Union, and towards strengthening the German army as a counterweight against French hegemony. Immediately after the conclusion of the Versailles Treaty, both England and the United States declined to guarantee in full the frontiers laid down in the Treaty. Hence French imperialism, in demanding guarantees to-day, and the organisation of securities, is merely carrying on a policy of illusions.

The motives for the Italian support of German armaments are to be found in the fact that Italy hopes to find in a strong German army a strong ally against French imperialism, and at the same time an ally whose strength may be applied against world Bolshevism. What it opposes, however, is the expansion of German imperialism to the South-East, and it is endeavouring to divert this expansion urge to the East and West.

German fascism believes that it can exploit for its own ends the inner antagonisms among the imperialists. In its attempts to do so it is however being led by the nose and itself exploited by English, Italian, and Japanese imperialism. At the same time

Germany hopes to utilise the antagonisms between the Soviet Union and the capitalist States. Owing to the feverish German armaments, however, the imperialist antagonisms are increasing in intensity, hampering to a certain extent the formation of a united anti-Soviet bloc. In the East German fascism has beaten a retreat before Poland in the interests of the formation of this anti-Soviet bloc. In the South-East it has capitulated to Italy in the interests of the establishment of a bloc against France. This does not, however, exclude attempts on the part of Germany to undermine simultaneously both the French and, in part, the Italian system of alliances, a step bound to bring it into conflict with these two States. In any case it has gained by these manoeuvres time for unhindered armaments, and in this respect every day is a gain for German imperialism.

The German armaments, leading the country inevitably into economic ruin, are accelerating the moment of the outbreak of war.

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The French Note in reply to the English proposal for "limited" increased armaments for Germany is a refusal, and the Italian proposal, too, is thereby declined. **Barthou's** Note indicates that it is necessary to re-examine the status of German armaments; it demands Germany's return to the League of Nations, raises the question of the military mass organisations of German fascism, demands securities and guarantees entirely on the lines of the programme hitherto laid down by French imperialism. But this programme can to-day only be realised by a new imperialist war. The French Note points out that the military stipulations of the Versailles Treaty have been violated and demands that these stipulations be adhered to. In London fresh proposals are being prepared with great zeal, and apparently a readiness exists to make France some concessions, on paper at least, with regard to "security," in order to avoid a rupture of negotiations. For what Hitler wants is time. England, too, needs time for Hitler Germany, for Japan, and for its own armaments.

Mussolini declared that the collapse of the "disarmament" conference signified the end of the League of Nations. And in actual fact this end approaches ever nearer. The Gordian knot of imperialist antagonisms in the armaments question is beyond all disentanglement, and must be cut.

When the Disarmament Conference was convened two years ago, **Jouhaux, Citrine** and Co. appeared on the scene and loudly demanded disarmament. On behalf of the Second International, **Vandervelde** threatened with the proletarian revolution if the governments failed to organise the cause of disarmament and everlasting peace. But this does not prevent them all from giving active assistance to-day to the cause of armaments and of preparations for the next war.

The English government maintains the standpoint that a disarmament convention, however bad, is better than none at all. The French government maintains on the other hand that no disarmament convention, whether bad or good, old or new, will ever be adhered to. The English government asserts with slimy hypocrisy that the collapse of the "disarmament" conference has rendered competitive armaments possible. And this although the feverish armaments of all the States are clearly visible to the public of the whole world, and no resolutions passed in Geneva make the slightest difference.

The Soviet Union stood entirely alone among the States in demanding in Geneva the complete disarmament of all countries. When this proposal was rejected the representative of the Soviet Union proposed restrictions on armaments, but this proposal, too, was shelved.

The relations of military forces laid down in the Versailles Treaty are long since out of date. Imperialism knows only one law and one method for the determination of these new relations of forces—the law and the method of war!

The Approaching Capitalist Offensive in France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The fascist advance on February 6 has aroused a great upsurge of the fighting spirit among broad sections of the toiling population of France.

The *Communist Party* has gained in influence considerably, as is shown by numerous elections held recently, and its ranks have been strengthened by the influx of 3,000 fresh enthusiastic fighters. Fighting committees against fascism have been set up in the remotest villages. The *united front of action* is on the march, in

spite of the sabotage-decisions of the socialist leaders. "Les Debats," the organ of the Comité des Forges, records with horror:

"An important phenomenon is the endeavour of the socialists and Communists to rally their forces together."

Not a single fascist meeting has been announced recently without being followed by a powerful counter-action, which was invariably successful: either the fascists had to abandon their intention to hold the meeting or the authorities prohibited the meeting out of fear of "counter-demonstrations," or the few people who attended the meeting were beaten up in spite of their protection by the police.

But the bourgeoisie perceives that the difficulties are growing. The capitalist newspapers report that the economy of France has remained stagnant since the end of the summer, whilst at the beginning of 1934 the peak figures were reached in regard to unemployment and bankruptcies (*Citroen, Société Nancéennes de Banque*). The position of the State Treasury is disquieting and the outgoings for March could only be covered by placing 100 million gulden Treasury bonds in Holland.

French imperialism feels the threat of complete isolation. Since Mussolini's speech in favour of a revision of the Versailles Treaty, nobody talks about friendship with Italy, and Benes' declarations have given rise to the fear that after Poland, Czechoslovakia too may make attempts at a rapprochement with Germany.

The French capitalists are compelled immediately to make a great effort in order to stand the constant shaking of their position. They want in the first place to balance the budget, at least on paper, by saving four milliards by cutting down the pay of the officials, the pensions of the ex-servicemen and the social services, in order to win sufficient confidence to float new loans. They intend to pursue a more aggressive foreign policy and increase their armaments as rapidly as possible. *Gignoux*, who is a spokesman of big industry, recently stated:—

"With the carrying out of the emergency orders we enter a difficult period which will demand great collective discipline."

The press plainly and clearly announces the demands of finance capital: the government of the National Union is to silence all "special interests." The meaning of this is very plain: it means that the workers and peasants are to be crushed and their revolutionary organisations destroyed.

The matter is not so easy, however, if one takes account of the tremendous fighting spirit of the masses, the more so as the Stavisky scandal, with its exposure of the utter corruption of the French bourgeoisie, has produced great nervousness. The "average Frenchman" sees from the various inquiries and investigations that the whole State apparatus reeks of corruption. The "*Intransigent*" writes:—

"A whirlwind is raging. Justice and the police must act quickly, for the moral balance of the citizens is threatened."

Justice and the police, however, are proceeding very deliberately. It is intended to divert attention from the offensive of the government at home and their war preparations and create a mood which shall cause certain strata to demand a strong power, a rapid fascisation of "democracy."

In view of the militancy of the masses, the bourgeoisie clearly realises that it will not be so easy to achieve its aims. The newspapers and the wireless are being used in order to persuade the officials and small pensioners that the sacrifices demanded of them are a lesser evil compared with what would happen if the currency collapsed. There is talk of social peace, of pacification.

It is difficult for the government to make a frontal attack on the *Communist Party*. It is making attempts to isolate it from the hesitating masses by spreading the most stupid stories about its preparations for an absurd putsch. Provocations are being organised against its best functionaries, against our respected and esteemed comrade *Marcel Cachin*, against whom Tardieu sent a creature of the type of Gorgulov, who, however, did not summon up sufficient courage to assassinate Cachin as he had been ordered, and committed suicide at a Communist meeting.

The fascist leagues are openly arming and officially offering to support the police in their work of suppressing the workers. The fascists are fawning on the ex-servicemen on the occasion of the meeting of the national committee of their union, which numbers 3½ million members. The fascist *Taittinger* says:—

"The country expects something new. Who, however, is more able to give it than the ex-servicemen? The hour for them has struck."

It is hoped therefore in this way to find the social basis which fascism in France still lacks.

We are entering a period of extreme tension similar to that preceding the events of February. Differences of opinion exist only in regard to the tempo of fascisation.

The Communist Party is organising the mass struggle for the immediate demands, against the emergency decrees, against fascism and against the government, which is preparing the way for it. It is concentrating its efforts on the political mass strike to take place on May 1, which is to be prepared by partial actions, and on the National Congress of the working peasants, the National Congress of the working youth and the National Rally of the anti-fascists, which are to take place at Whitsun.

The Strike of the Printing Workers in Spain and its Political Significance

By Vicente Arroyo (Madrid)

The recent strike of the printing workers of Madrid was of great importance on account of the political lessons to be drawn from it.

The intensification of the revolutionary crisis in Spain is leading to a differentiation in the political camp, and the political role of the various active groups is becoming ever clearer.

The *Lerroux* government, which is going more and more to the Right, has encouraged the monarchist and reactionary elements to launch a regular attack on the social demands of the workers. The strike on the monarchist daily newspaper "A B C," which was provoked by the employers, was a trial balloon for launching a large-scale offensive against the proletariat.

The splendid counter-offensive of the proletariat of Madrid and the solidarity shown by the proletariat of the whole of Spain—the copies of the only newspaper, "*El Debate*," which was printed by strike-breakers and sold in the streets, were seized by proletarians and burnt—are eloquent proof of the growing radicalisation of the working masses of Spain.

In the present situation the reformist trade union leaders consider it inopportune to oppose a strike from the outset and to throttle it. They consider it more advantageous to come forward as defenders of the movement in question and to a certain degree even to promote this movement.

The social-fascist leaders also considered it inadvisable to appear quite indifferent towards a fascist provocation. They have to maintain the illusion among the working masses that they are the "enemies" of fascism and that there is a real struggle between socialism and fascism, as some petty-bourgeois counter-revolutionaries (*Balbontin*) want to make the workers believe. The reformist trade union leaders in particular wish to avoid the radicalisation of the workers going beyond their control. Hence in this concrete case they did not oppose the launching of a strike, but encouraged it in order to get the leadership into their hands.

As soon, however, as the workers unanimously left the factories, when the newspaper sellers declared their solidarity with the printers and rendered the sale of the newspapers impossible in Madrid, when solidarity actions were carried out in the whole of Spain (burning of monarchist newspapers, general strike in Catalonia, which was betrayed by the leaders of the reformist trade union federation U.G.T.), when the workers of Madrid, in response to the appeal of the Communist Party, came out into the streets and made stormy demonstrations calling for a general strike, the social-fascist and the reformist trade union leaders throttled the movement, the development of which had frightened them.

The printing workers of Madrid were not defeated by the stubbornness of the employers of the "A B C" undertaking nor as a result of the measures of coercion employed by the government, but by the treachery of the reformist trade union leaders. A general strike in Madrid would have ensured the victory of the printing workers and of the building workers. A general strike in Madrid would have led to a general strike in the whole of Spain, which would have had consequences far surpassing those willed by the social-fascist leaders, in spite of their revolutionary threats. They therefore hastened to throttle this splendid movement two days after its outbreak, although they had previously asserted that they would "do everything to ensure the complete victory of the strikers."

The following lessons are to be drawn from the recent strike of the printing workers of Madrid: The reaction in Spain is endeavouring to crush the proletariat; the government is not

shrinking from any means in order to throttle the proletarian movements; the radicalisation of the working masses in Spain has advanced so far that a local strike movement can set the whole proletariat of Spain in motion; in the face of this revolutionary upsurge of the masses the social-fascist leaders do not venture openly to oppose these movements, but attempt all kinds of "Left" manoeuvres in order not to lose the confidence of the masses, to place themselves at the head of the movements, which they are ready to throttle at any moment.

The discontent and indignation prevailing among the Madrid workers on account of the throttling of the strike by the trade union leaders, the methods employed by the latter against their rank and file members, are a clear proof that the masses of workers are beginning to realise the actual role and treacherous tactics of the social fascists, and that these workers are seeking the revolutionary path.

A great task is confronting the C.P. of Spain: to rally under the banner of the C.P. these working masses who have proved their true militant spirit and who are turning away from the trade union leaders, and to draw them into the revolutionary struggle. But this task cannot be carried out without a systematic and irreconcilable struggle against the policy of capitulation and submission, against the treacherous policy of the social democrats.

At this moment of struggle for winning the majority of the working class, for organising the revolution, it is the task of the C.P. of Spain to wage an irreconcilable struggle against the social fascists and against the cowards and capitulators in our own ranks. The resolution of the C.P. of Spain on the case of *Balbontin*, a resolution which has been approved by the whole of the Party, is a guarantee that the C.P. of Spain will be able to win the majority of the working class for the revolution.

A Year of Roosevelt Government and the N.R.A.

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

Early in March Roosevelt celebrated the first year of his rule, and the N.R.A. its first three-quarters of a year. It has been a period of the greatest centralisation of power by the bourgeoisie in the history of American capitalism, of the most brutal attacks upon the working and living conditions of the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie, and of the most widespread preparations for war and fascism.

Prices are rising rapidly, wages are declining, unemployment is as great as ever, and rationalisation and company unions growing faster than ever before. Profits are growing, trustification and direct domination of the government by monopoly capitalism are becoming more open. The resistance of the workers is taking the form of a great wave of strikes, such as that which greeted the introduction of the N.R.A. last summer, and fascist methods, legal and through violence, are meeting these strikes. Such is a brief summary of the results of the N.R.A., which was put over on the people by a propaganda campaign equal to that used during the world war.

Let us first see what the economic results have been of the N.R.A. and of the other almost dictatorial powers given to Roosevelt. The wages of factory workers in February, 1934, 8 months after the introduction of the N.R.A., were almost 20 per cent. below the average for 1931, though industrial production was at the same level, and employment slightly below the 1931 figures:—

	Industrial Production (1923-25=100)	Factory Employment	Factory Pay-rolls
1929 average	119	101	107
1931	81	74	66
Feb. 1932	69	67	58
„ 1933	63	59	30
„ 1934	81	72	53

—(Federated Press, March 3, 1934.)

William Green, President of the A.F.L. and most ardent sycophant of the N.R.A., states that in January average wages of industrial workers were 7.5 per cent. above those for April, 1933, but that food prices had risen 16.7 per cent. during this period, and clothing and furnishings 27.5 per cent. Green is forced to say that "... we must expect their living standards to be further reduced as prices go on upward, unless the N.R.A. programme provides for wage increases." That this last phrase is a brazen fraud

is shown by the figures above proving a steady decline in real wages for the entire period of the New Deal.

The N.R.A. Consumers' Advisory Board, an official though innocuous part of the N.R.A., states that "... a considerable number of new price increases may be expected in the spring." In February food prices were almost 20 per cent. above a year earlier. Workers were buying 7 per cent. less (in quantity) of food and clothing, according to retail store figures, despite the much-vaunted rise in employment; the increase in dollar business was due to inflation. (Department store sales were 16 per cent. above a year earlier, but prices were 25 per cent. more.)

The Consumers' Board admits that wages and work will not increase: "The increase of wages and employment required by the codes lie mostly in the past."

Senator Wagner, head of the National Labour Board, has also stated:—

"The increase in the real income of the entire wage-earning class has been due to re-employment (meaning the 'dole' work of the Civil Works Administration, which covered 4,000,000 workers and is now being ended—B.) rather than to improved individual standards. The individual worker employed full time is earning less than he did last March."

Profits have gorged the big corporations; sawmills increased prices twice as much as they did wages, paper and pulp mills 2½ times, and petroleum companies 6 times, etc., etc. The National City Bank figures for 1933 profits of 810 industrial and trade companies are 440,000,000 dollars, as against a deficit of 46,000,000 for these companies in 1932; this while real wages are being slashed 11 per cent.

The slight economic improvement has been a question of—for whom? Profits have grown, due to price increases, rationalisation and speed-up, but the condition of the workers has worsened. Even the Bankers' Association conceded this in their journal: "Improvement in employment, sales and similar items is more apparent than real," greater employment being the result of shorter hours, not to greater total time worked. It goes on to say that the volume of goods moved was less than a year ago, and even heavy industries, as a whole "have not only not shown any improvement, but reflected rather a tendency to sag."

Roosevelt has been touted as the great benefactor of labour and his N.R.A. as a new charter of freedom, particularly by the S.P. and A.F.L. leaders. Thus Waldman, head of the S.P. in New York State, who spoke in the name of the S.P. and the unions it controls at a hearing by critics of the N.R.A., told General Johnson: "We feel that N.R.A. is a distinct step forward and must be regarded in all candour and honesty as an important branch of social legislation." And Green said: "I have no patience with those who condemn and find fault with the N.R.A."

But the bosses and their organs tell each other the truth about the enslaving character of the N.R.A. The "New York Post" stated that most of the so-called labour protection had been legislated out of the N.R.A.: "The closed (union—B.) shop has been ruled illegal. . . . Company unions have been maintained." Since the N.R.A. some 85 per cent. of the steel workers have been organised—but into company unions! Company unions now have a membership of anywhere from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000. This is not surprising, since the heads of the biggest corporations are on the N.R.A. and its Labour Board.

Filene, a leading merchant of Boston and member of the Labour Board, admits that the most famous clause of the N.R.A., Section 7a, allegedly giving labour the right to organise, is openly flouted, "... due to the failure of Washington to support the local N.R.A. authorities in enforcing Section 7a." The chief activity of the N.R.A., after that of fostering increased profit-taking and monopolisation, has been to attack militant unions and smash strikes and attempts to organise. As this is written, Senators Wagner, Green and other labour leaders are engaged in strenuous efforts to prevent a pending strike of 30,000 auto workers. In one issue of the "Daily Worker" alone (March 10) the following strikes were reported: 7,000 Pennsylvania anthracite miners (ordered back to work by the A.F.L.), 4,000 West Virginia aluminium workers (Mellon plants), 6,000 Chicago milk drivers, 4,500 New York taxi chauffeurs) 27,000 are now out), 5,000 Wisconsin auto and tractor workers, 5,000 Milwaukee utility workers, 900 Connecticut weavers, the crews of five ships in Baltimore, etc. Also 5,000 Cleveland auto workers, 37,000 Detroit auto workers, and 20,000 Alabama miners

(14,000 are striking) were taking a strike vote. Such is the movement of revolt against the N.R.A., which the latter considers it its chief task to suppress.

At the Budd auto plant in Philadelphia (together with the Ford plants and the Weirton Steel plant in West Virginia, the Budd plant has defied the N.R.A. pretence of having the workers' vote on a company versus a trade union) thousands of workers have refused to participate in the vote, denouncing it as a fake, controlled by company spies and officials. A previous vote, 3 to 2 in favour of the company union had been so raw that the N.R.A. had to throw it out, and now the local A.F.L. officials, members of the N.R.A. organisation, are forced to denounce the N.R.A. and Johnson. (The latter has ruled that scabs may vote, and strikers may not.) A quarter of a million auto workers are about to strike for union recognition and the reinstatement of union men discharged. The A.F.L. officials are straining every nerve to prevent the strike, or make it a fake one, if it starts.

In conclusion, we can sum up the results of the N.R.A. for the workers and the capitalists by showing that wages have been slashed that they are only 40 per cent. of the 1929 level. Monopoly capitalism, comprising 1 per cent. of the population, has increased its share of the country's wealth from 59 to 83 per cent., due to Roosevelt's huge "doles" (he has given over 10 milliard dollars to banks, mortgage and insurance companies, railroads, etc.). The tremendously increased concentration of wealth since the crisis began has been accelerated, mainly by the N.R.A. The "Annalist," financial weekly published by the "New York Times," puts the situation concisely:—

"The large aggregates of financial capital stand to benefit substantially from the new (N.R.A.—B.) regime—the elimination of competitive methods, the closer welding together of the private banking with the governmental financial apparatus, the increasing control and co-ordination (under the N.R.A. codes —B.)—all are elements of strength for the future of finance capitalism."

Great Britain

Comintern's Message to I.L.P. Conference

The following is the full text of the cable received on March 29 by the I.L.P. National Council from the Communist International:—

"We have nothing to alter in our letters in which we showed the fundamental differences in principle between revolutionary proletarian lines and "Left" reformist line of the present leadership of the I.L.P.

"We appeal to conference to clearly decide which of these two lines conference accepts and which it rejects. This, and not those organisational and subordinate questions raised by the N.A.C. in their last letter, will decide the question of sympathetic affiliation to the Communist International. The members of the National Council are trying to confuse this clear presentation of the main question by continuing the tactics of bombarding Comintern with an endless series of questions, although all questions of principles in relation between Comintern and sympathetic Party are clearly answered in our last letter to the I.L.P.

"We do not doubt that the working-class members of the I.L.P. will come to a correct decision. But we are very much afraid that even the best decisions which your conference may make in accordance with the desire of your membership for co-operation with Comintern could be frustrated under some pretext or other if the new leadership of the I.L.P. were to consist of members supporting the same line as the former leadership.

"It is self-understood that we are prepared to clarify any particular question which seems unclear to members of your Party or which may give rise to doubts, and by means of joint agreement settle all questions of the relations of the I.L.P. and C.I. to our mutual satisfaction. This can be done without any difficulty only if your Party makes a firm and clear decision without reservations to affiliate as a sympathising Party to the C.I. on the basis and line of our last letter and takes steps to guarantee that this decision will be carried out."

(Signed) Kuusinen, Political Secretariat, E.C.C.I.

Germany

Hitler Leading Germany Into a Catastrophe

By J. L.

On March 21, the anniversary of that "Day of Potsdam" on which the chief guardian of the Weimar constitution, Hindenburg, solemnly handed over State power to the leader of the fascist terrorist bands, Hitler opened the "labour battle of 1934" at Unterhaching, near Munich. His speech was broadcasted by all German wireless stations. As at the time of the plebiscite swindle on 12th November, the workers and employees in the factories and offices were again obliged to listen to this speech by the "leader," the working time thereby lost of course being deducted from the pay of the workers.

Goebbels, in his introductory remarks at this opening ceremony, observed that on this anniversary a wave of joy and enthusiasm should sweep the country, but it is preferable to abstain from "pompous torchlight processions." Obviously there was no possibility of staging a wave of joy and enthusiasm in Germany. If there were any truth in the swindle dished up by Hitler and Goebbels about the 2.7 million unemployed supposed to have been given bread and work, then these charlatans would not have let slip any opportunity of celebrating a victory; it is solely the fact of the critical increasing acuteness of the economic situation and of the growing mass rebellion which prevents the Nazi leaders from venturing to influence the feeling of the masses by festivals and celebrations, as during the first months of their rule.

It had been announced that Hitler would outline in his speech the plan of work in connection with the "labour battle" this year. It was thought that the giving of employment to large numbers of unemployed had been postponed till this day in order that the "onslaught on unemployment" might be demonstratively opened. Anyone who believed these announcements must have been even more disappointed than on 1st May, 1933, the day on which the faithful also waited in vain for the programme of salvation.

What were the economic achievements to be recorded on this day? The "General Inspector of Roadmaking," Todt, reported that the State motor roads—these military strategic roads whose actual purpose has been further emphasised by the fact that Hitler made his speech precisely on the road which is to connect Munich with Salzburg—have already been commenced in twelve places. Fifteen thousand workers are already employed on this work! Fifteen thousand out of 8 to 9 million unemployed. This is what the Nazis designate as the "greatest socialist achievement"! Then a report was given on the opening of 130 labour service camps. So there are already this number of penal camps for young people! These are to reclaim swamps and barren land, and regulate waterways—a "productive" work organised by that same capitalist society which forbids the peasantry to grow more grain lest increased crops might lower prices. The sole great industrial undertaking to be recorded is the ship's raising gear at Niederfinow in the Mark Brandenburg. This is said to be the "largest in the world." It was, however, commenced in 1926, and the fact that the work of construction has now been completed simply means that the 1,000 workers who have hitherto been employed there are now thrown out of work again.

In view of the particularly great uncertainty prevailing at the present time in German economy—nobody knows how long the currency will remain stable, to what extent raw materials can still be purchased, or on what basis the question of foreign debts is to be regulated—it evidently proved impossible to induce the capitalists to come forward on 21st March with the demonstrative engagement of large numbers of fresh workers, as originally envisaged in Goebbels' plans for the day. Hitler's speech, too, was adapted somewhat to the situation, and referred less to "joy and enthusiasm" than to care, anxiety and fears for the future. It is an extremely ignominious position for the "leader" that his stereotyped speeches still deal much more at length with the "fourteen years of Marxism" than with the achievements of the first year of the Third Reich. And indeed it is difficult for him to silence the "everlasting pessimists and incurable grumblers," "the saboteurs and inner enemies," who arouse his wrath so continually, so long as the highest point of the "socialist achievements" of the Third Reich reach no further than described in Hitler's own words:—

"It is of decisive importance that the means which the State is able to mobilise are not distributed as gifts, but are

applied for the practical fertilisation of production, and are therefore usefully invested. Beyond this, however, we have endeavoured to bring about a **better social order** (!), one of our State measures, for instance, enabling **enormous numbers** (!) of fresh marriages to be contracted; thus removing **innumerable girls** (!) from the process of production and restoring them to the family and the home."

"Innumerable girls"—according to the statements made by the Secretary of State, **Reinhardt**, the number of these innumerable girls is 150,000—have been removed from the factories and offices and piloted into the harbour of marriage. But now even the miserable "marriage aid" has been stopped for months. Hitler promises that this year 200,000 girls are to be led to the altar at a cost of 150 million marks. But since the aid given is in the form of a **loan**, a new order stipulates that the aid is no longer to be given to the impoverished, but only to such applicants as have sufficient income to guarantee repayment. This is what "Hitler's 'better social order' looks like in reality."

Besides these 150 millions for marriage loans, 300 millions are promised in the way of taxation exemptions and 700 millions for the State motor roads. This is all that Hitler could find to say about the "greatest work provision programme that Germany has ever known." With the aid of a milliard marks actually invested in production, it would be possible to employ half a million workers. But in the first place it is a puzzle **how this money is to be raised without an inflation**, and in the second place any such artificial provision of work could not compensate for the **mass dismissals** which will become inevitable if exports continue to decline as rapidly as at present and the imports of raw materials have to be further restricted owing to shortage of foreign bills.

How great the indignation and disappointment aroused among the former adherents of national socialism is, how great the influence of that Marxism—already declared a thousand times to be dead but continuing its criticism of capitalist absurdity and its demand for the socialist solution of the crisis—how **great its influence** is among even the confused victims of the fascist deception of the people, is shown precisely in the fact that Hitler finds it necessary to intensify his "socialist" demagoguery when dealing with the problems which he, as lackey of financial capital, is unable to master. He descended to the following tirade:—

"Millions of human beings need clothing, shoes, dwelling houses, and food, and millions of others are anxious to work and to provide all this. The former are unable to buy what they need, and the latter find no possibility to provide the things needed. The German workman is surpassed by none, and surely it is not impossible for us to provide work for those willing to work, and thereby to meet the needs of the others? Are we to be condemned to conditions under which millions of human beings are unable to manufacture the articles of consumption and necessities of life required by millions of others? We shall solve this problem, because we must solve it."

Any young worker who has once glanced through a Marxist book could enlighten the supremely wise "Leader" as to this contradiction in capitalist profit economics—a contradiction which this "socialist" cannot or will not even formulate correctly. It is not a fact that millions lack the most necessary articles because "others" are prevented from producing these articles. The storehouses are full of foodstuffs and all the necessities of life. The crisis, indeed, finds expression precisely in over-production. It is not that there are too few goods to meet the needs of the masses, but the miserable wages paid the employed workers and the starvation existences of the unemployed render it impossible for the abundance of goods to be sold at prices ensuring the capitalists the desired profit. The impossibility of selling the increased output at a corresponding profit prevents the capitalists, the masters of production, from producing more. This problem will be solved by the working class, for it has to solve it; but it can solve it only by overthrowing the fascist dictatorship of capital, by driving away the Krupps, Thyssens, Stausses, etc., and their henchmen, Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, and their like, and by expropriating the capitalist class and organising socialist production in order to meet the needs of the masses, as is done in the Soviet Union.

But how does Hitler want to solve the problem? When five million unemployed are given work—he declares—then the purchasing powers of the masses will be increased by over five milliard marks yearly. But just a minute ago he was talking about the 2.7 million unemployed who were given work last year, according to

those same fraudulent statistics which now only register 3.5 million unemployed. And now he admits that there are still five million unemployed waiting for work! And if the provision of work continues to be carried on by the same methods as hitherto, so that more workers are employed but the total earnings of the working class decline, then naturally the disappearance of five million unemployed will not increase the purchasing powers of the masses, but reduce them. Whilst Hitler indulges in these flights of imagination with regard to the improved purchasing powers of the masses, he at the same time announces that wages must be cut down further:

"Wages and dividends must fall into the background in view of the realisation that we must first create the values which we then expect to consume."

Obviously the fascist leader has observed the indignation aroused in the masses by the contrast between the high dividends and the miserable wages. Hence the sharp phrases against the "specially high dividends," and the threat to oppose increased dividends by all available means. This threat has proved a blow to Exchange speculation in shares, and has lowered quotations, but this matters little to the capitalist magnates, since they can choose what part of their profits they will pay out in the form of dividends. Capitalist profits are not reduced by a penny if paid out as royalties, bonuses, directors' salaries, reserves, etc., instead of dividends. But whilst the threat against dividends must not be taken seriously, the threat against wages is very serious indeed. We have already pointed out that it is an impudent swindle for Hitler to declare that the falling off of production is the cause of what he states to be "at times downright impossible wage rates."

"We have been aware"—he stated in his speech—"that the conditions of income are sad in individual cases. But at bottom income is means of subsistence and the means of subsistence of a people are determined by the sum total of the necessities of life produced by it and therefore at its disposal."

This, then, is the reason why the peasants are prohibited from growing more wheat! The reason why new productive plants are prohibited in various industries! The reason of the restrictions enforced by law on the production of margarine! The reason why coal lies wasting at the pitheads and grain and potatoes rot in the storehouses! The reason why the department stores go bankrupt with their shelves crowded with unsaleable goods! Only such an impudent and ignorant charlatan as Hitler could hit upon the idea of explaining the wretched wages of the German workers and the starvation existence of the unemployed, **just at the period of the greatest over-production known to history** and in the most advanced industrial country of Europe, by asserting a shortage of goods.

And if there were a shortage of the necessities of life, then it would be more absurd than ever to expend millions on State work schemes which do not serve to produce necessities, but are employed for road-making, building gas-proof chambers, and producing iron, steel, motor-cars, aeroplane motors, and other war material.

Precisely for the reason that in Germany the **consuming power of the masses is reduced by every possible means**, whilst at the same time **export is being ruined** by the adventurous foreign and trade policy pursued, there can be no thought of a real improvement in economic conditions. The **inflation** which is threateningly approaching, in spite of Hitler's promises to maintain the currency at any price, would only render the economic situation more acute than ever, and accelerate the social and political catastrophe. Hence it is understandable that even such an unbounded demagogue as Hitler betrays his **serious anxiety for the future, his fear of the threatening catastrophe**, in a sentence of his speech, whilst referring to the overcoming of mass unemployment. This sentence has, however, been left out of the majority of the press reports.

"The failure to accomplish this task would not only bring several million new unemployed, but would mean the end and the collapse of our whole economy and of the German people."

With respect to the German people, Hitler need feel no anxiety. The collapse of capitalist economy in Germany, which is being accelerated by the fascist regime, certainly means the **end and the collapse of fascism**, but it does not mean the end and the collapse of the German people. It rather means, when the working class, under Communist leadership, finds the revolutionary way out of the capitalist crisis, the **beginning of the new socialist advance**; the real and final overcoming of the want and misery of the crisis, the

elimination of that contradiction of superfluity and mass poverty upon which fascism, like every bourgeois system of rule, is bound to be shipwrecked.

When we compare the balance sheet of the great socialist victories recorded by the leader of world Communism, Stalin, at the Seventeenth Party Congress, and the perspectives of the mighty socialist structure of the second Five-Year Plan with the miserable balance sheet of the first year of fascist dictatorship in Germany, and the utterly hopeless perspectives facing the bombastic fascist leader, then we realise the tremendous chasm dividing the two worlds—the decaying capitalist world and the advancing socialist world, sure of its victory, borne forward by the working class.

The Church Struggle Enters a Fresh Acute Stage

The boastful speeches delivered by Hitler and Goebbels on the commencement of the "second labour battle," Hitler's proud assertion that people and leaders have at last become one, have scarcely ceased to claim the largest type available for the front page headlines of the fascist press in Germany, and already from the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial district, from Dortmund, quite other tones are to be heard.

The conflict between the Neo-German paganism of the German Christians and the orthodox circles of the Protestant Christians, especially the Pastors' Emergency League, has become exceedingly acute. The newly created Protestant national church is torn asunder. The majority of the Westphalian provincial church synods, as a protest against the forcible disbanding of a session of the synods convened under the leadership of the deposed general superintendent, D. Koch, for the purpose of protesting against the new ecclesiastical emergency orders issued by the primate Mueller, have combined to form a "West German Creed Synod," that is to say, actually a new church outside of and against the Protestant national church. It is expected that further synods will join. But this is not the decisively important point: The leaders of the new church appealed to the masses to protest in a mass demonstration against the dictatorship of Hitler's confidential agent, the primate Mueller. This appeal was responded to by no fewer than twenty thousand representatives of Protestant parishes from the whole province of Westphalia, who met for an impressive demonstration in one of the largest halls in West Germany, the Westphalian Hall in Dortmund. So mighty was the force emanating from this fanatical demonstration against the Hitler regime, at which the chief speaker was pastor von Bodelschwingh, deposed by the German Christians, though rightfully elected as primate, that neither the police nor the Storm Troops ventured to interfere. For the first time since the blood-stained Hitler dictatorship has ruled in Germany, twenty thousand persons raised their voices unanimously and publicly against the Nazi dictatorship. This is one of the signals of the irresistibly rising anger of the people.

There can be no doubt that Bodelschwingh, Barth, and all the other leaders of the Pastors' Emergency League, are anything but anti-fascist revolutionists. A message of allegiance to Hindenburg from the Dortmund demonstration affords ample proof of this. But there is equally little doubt that the impetus given by this mighty mass demonstration goes far beyond the small reactionary aims of the circles backing up the Pastors' Emergency League. A valve has been opened, and the accumulated hatred of the enslaved and brutalised masses finds vent. What is an ecclesiastical struggle to-day may turn into an anti-fascist mass struggle to-morrow. For not only will the Catholic opposition against Hitler in the neighbouring Rhine country, but also the Catholic opposition in Bavaria, in the Ruhr district, and in Upper Silesia, and the Protestant movement in the Protestant districts of Wurttemberg and of Northern Prussia, will receive a fresh stimulus. The fact that it has been possible for twenty thousand people to demonstrate quite publicly against the regime is certain to encourage the anti-fascist mass struggle everywhere in town and country, where the news succeeds in penetrating, in spite of the immediate efforts to hush it up.

It is now of paramount importance to exert every effort to widen this additional crack in the walls of the structure of the Third Reich. The Protestant and Catholic toiling masses must be made to realise that the question facing them is not that of demanding spiritual liberty from a regime whose actual content

is the barbarous and bloody suppression of all freedom, spiritual or economic, among the masses of the people. The real question facing them is to organise the struggle for the overthrow of the fascist system and for the establishment of socialism, in the united front with the socialistically minded masses and under their leadership. For it is socialism which creates economic freedom for the enslaved and suppressed masses of the people, and with it spiritual freedom. The enormous energies of the working people, the mighty force of the people's hatred against a dictatorship which maintains itself solely by means of murder, provocation, and lies, must not be side-tracked into a religious struggle, at bottom harmless to fascism. The twenty thousand "Protestants" in Dortmund, the hundreds and thousands who will join them, are in reality protesting against the regime itself. The great call of the hour is to lead them forward from this protest to the action of the anti-fascist united front for the overthrow of the fascist capitalist dictatorship.

The C.P. of Germany in the Struggle Against Fascist Terror

By Müller (Berlin)

I.

With the upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement, the approach of the revolutionary crisis in Germany, the growing authority of the Communist Party among the working class and the toiling sections of the population, with the development of the contradictions in the camp of the fascists themselves called forth by the revolutionary upsurge and the growing outer difficulties, the fascist terror in Germany is increasing. At the very time when the head of the Secret State Police, Herr Diehls, wishes to pacify public opinion abroad regarding the terror, the monopoly capitalists are commencing with the reactionary labour law a new offensive which is accompanied by a new wave of terror aiming at breaking the resistance of the proletariat and the working population because demagoguery and deceit no longer suffice to mislead the masses.

Whilst in the first year of the Hitler dictatorship the terror was directed in the first place against the C.P. of Germany, the advance guard of the proletariat, the fascists are now compelled to employ open terror to an ever-increasing extent against the overwhelming majority of the working class and a great part of the peasants and the working middle classes, while at the same time they are proceeding with the utmost brutality against the revolutionary advance guard.

Not only the police terror but also the terror of the judicial apparatus is being employed on a larger scale against the mass of the people: Those who up to now did not know what fascist terror is are now becoming better acquainted with it.

Whilst in the first months of the fascist dictatorship the cruel terror was literally a mass terror carried out by the S.A., the S.S. and the police, to-day the terror is mainly exercised by the Secret State Police and by selected S.A. troops. This is a disadvantage to the dictatorship, because the capitalist State apparatus thereby makes itself much more hated and because it demonstrates to the masses the necessity for the destruction of this capitalist State apparatus by the proletariat. The State is exposing itself as the instrument of monopoly capital for suppressing the working people, and by its barbarism confirms the theory of the Communists that it must be shattered; it refutes the deceitful theory of the social democracy of the necessity of its transformation by means of bourgeois democracy.

The reason why the direct exercise of terror is being more and more transferred from the S.A. to the State apparatus is because the revolutionary upsurge has seized the Storm Troops. In three months in Berlin alone, 2,000 Storm Troopers were expelled and a greater part of them sent to concentration camps. The reasons given were: lack of discipline, insubordination, agitation, treachery. Among the S.A. there is a growing demand for a "second revolution," in fact there are whole groups which have openly stated that they are making preparations to take vengeance for the treachery of their leaders. Discussions between Communists and S.A. men have become quite common. In the S.A. there are danger spots in which the "Communist bacillus" rapidly spreads.

Hitler is desperately seeking to combat this growing Communist danger among the ranks of his own followers. He is continually appealing to his old guard to remain faithful. He has introduced special courts for recalcitrant Storm Troopers and members of the

national socialist party. Mutineers are sent to concentration camps and "traitors" are murdered. But all this is of no avail; the discontent is growing as is also the resistance.

The social reaction in all spheres of the life of the workers has increased the general discontent in the camp of the national socialist party. The fascist terror is already being employed to an increasing extent against the Nazi followers. As a result, the masses of the working people are realising more and more clearly in the process of development that this fascist terror is an organised State terror which can be abolished only by the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship, the shattering of the capitalist State by the proletarian revolution. The hatred of the masses against the fascist dictatorship is becoming a revolutionary hatred against the capitalist state as such.

In this situation of increasing inner difficulties the fascist adventurers wish to convert the trial of Comrade **Thaelmann** into a monster trial of the Central Committee of the C.P.G. It is intended by means of this trial to justify the whole fascist terror in the country. As there exists the great danger that this trial will become a second defeat like the Reichstag trial because the man who will be the chief figure at this trial, our Comrade Thaelmann, has refused to make any statement, the fascists are mad with rage. They have therefore already for the second time mishandled Comrade Thaelmann in the cruellest manner, have subjected him to the most diabolical mental and physical torture, kept him constantly in chains, completely shut off from his family and the outer world, in a condemned cell.

Our fight is against this terror. The workers of the whole world shall know that we are conducting this fight in our country itself unflinchingly and with the sure confidence of victory. This gives us the right to appeal to the solidarity of the proletariat of the whole world.

II.

The fascist terror, which is being employed in order to intimidate the masses, physically to annihilate the functionaries of the Communist Party, and thereby weaken the class struggle, will have the contrary effect to a sufficient extent and increase the revolutionary hatred, provided our Party proves able constantly to organise the fight against the fascist terror and connect it with the other, even the smallest, partial fights.

The C.P. of Germany is therefore always at the head of the masses in the fight against the fascist terror. It has frequently been able to record considerable successes, especially when the fight against the terror in Germany has been supported by the solidarity of the world proletariat. The release of Comrades Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev was at the same time a great blow delivered by the world proletariat against the Nazi terror in Germany. This fight must be waged by much larger masses and raised to a higher level of the class struggle.

The fight against the terror must not remain confined to agitation and propaganda against fascism, but it must take the form of action against the terrorist regime. To seize on individual cases of fascist terror and spread the news of ill-treatment, torture, the murder of hostages, at the same time calling for a protest, causes the greatest embarrassment to the terrorists. They cannot protect themselves against "spreaders of rumours" and "atrocious mongers." Hence they threaten and implore in order to put a stop to the spreading of "atrocious stories."

The German terrorist bands would undoubtedly have murdered many more workers, and especially functionaries of the labour movement, had it not been for the constant fight waged against the tyranny of the concentration camps and the bestial actions of the police. A Nazi leader in Hamburg delivered a big speech in the course of which he made the impudent assertion that the reports of atrocities published in the English newspapers were all inventions. Two days later the foreign consuls, foreign newspaper correspondents, German doctors, lawyers, engineers, artists, and small tradesmen received a letter containing the latest concrete details regarding the torture of defenceless prisoners by the Secret State Police, and at the same time calling upon the recipients of the letter to investigate the truth of the statements themselves and to protest against these cruelties. The Red Aid issued leaflets to the workers in the factories. In many districts individual comrades are entrusted with the task of preparing such actions.

It is the political task of all revolutionary workers' organisations to wage a common fight against the terror. The Red Aid,

as a mass organisation, will of course play the greatest part in this fight. But no organisation should leave this fight to the Red Aid alone. Under the fascist dictatorship every bit of help rendered the political prisoners or their dependents is at the same time a protest against the terror.

We must incessantly remind the masses of the murders committed by the fascists. Much is being done in this respect. For example, a red wreath is suddenly hung outside the house where a comrade was murdered or where he lived, with an inscription calling upon the masses to fight against the regime. Or, as was done in honour of the murdered Secretary of the Berlin Red Aid, a wreath is displayed with a big notice stigmatising the foul deed. In the night the names of streets are plastered over with the names of murdered workers. The C.C. of the C.P.G. states in its last instruction:—

"In every Party district a list containing the names of all murdered workers, whether executed or murdered in prison, must be compiled, duplicated, and distributed. . . . We call upon the masses of the population to call a locality, town, or district, no longer by its official name, but by the name of the murdered comrade. We must employ every conceivable method in order to keep the names of the murdered in the memory of the masses, to inscribe them in history as martyrs and heroes of the proletarian revolution."

In Breslau a worker was condemned to death by a fascist court. The workers protested against this sentence in the courtroom, in the corridors of the court building, and in the streets. The police were summoned. In Duesseldorf the fascist executioners wanted to execute eleven anti-fascists at Christmas time. Thanks to a protest campaign which aroused the whole of the working people, the execution has not been carried out up to now.*

The workers in a factory downed tools as a protest against the arrest of one of their workmates, who had already been sent to a concentration camp. He was released. Whereupon the workers, by threatening to go on strike again, succeeded in having him reinstated in the factory. Thus the fascists often give way. If it were not for the social democracy, which has always put forward the theory that nothing can be done, we should probably have had movements against the terror with a much stronger mass character.

Our mass movement against the fascist terror must be conducted still better on the basis of the united front from below with our social-democratic class comrades. S.P.G. comrades must therefore be everywhere drawn into our Thaelmann committees.

The exposure of the fascist police organs and the terrorist bands as terrorists in the service of monopoly capital, in the service of Krupp, Thyssen, Siemens, and Kloeckner, brings nearer the possibility of combating the fascist terror by means of strike actions. For this reason we want to connect our fight against the reactionary labour law with the fight against the fascist terror.

We want to force the Secret State Police into such a state of isolation that it is hated by the mass of the people like the Okhrana and the Cossack police in the time of tsarism. It must be discredited as the murderous police not only for the physical annihilation of the Communist functionaries, but also in the struggle for lowering the standards of living of the masses.

Therefore, we consider it advisable that every concrete case of fascist terror should be reacted to at once, that every case should be used as an occasion for organising a protest movement. Only by immediately reacting in concrete cases and organising protest movements shall we lead the masses to the political mass strike for the release of all political prisoners. Everywhere where circumstances warrant it we must take up the case of the arrest of priests and clergy and fight for their release, without, however, concealing our fundamental attitude towards religion.

We make use of all the stirrings among the proletariat in order to increase the will of the masses to fight for the release of all political prisoners and to lead the masses step by step in protest movements and strike actions. In various localities the united revolutionary organisations have several times succeeded in drawing the majority of the population into a protest move-

* Since the above was written, three of the eleven anti-fascists have been executed.—Ed.

ment against the Hitler terror. It is necessary to guide such actions more and more in the direction of strike struggles.

By strengthening our fight against the terror in the concentration camps we wish to increase the hatred of the people against the fascists. The workers in the neighbouring factories must therefore take over the patronage of the prisoners. By means of factory newspapers we shall constantly organise the fight for the release, or, failing this, for the amelioration of the situation of the anti-fascists incarcerated in the prison or camp in question.

The social democrats, **Loebe, Severing, Leipart, and Grassmann**, are attempting to deny or minimise the cruelties committed by the fascists. Others, as for example the social democrat **Seeger**, bring the slanderous accusation against the Communists that they know no prison solidarity. We always exercise prison solidarity, but at the same time we continue our ideological struggle against the social democracy and the social-democratic theories and ideologies also in the prisons and concentration camps. We are setting up the militant united front with the social-democratic workers in the concentration camps. We never allow ourselves to be used by the fascist jailers against the social democrats in the prisons and concentration camps.

It is necessary again and again to point out to the whole of the working class that it must draw from the terror of the bourgeoisie the lesson, to become steel-hard in order, as soon as possible, pitilessly to drive out the clique of millionaires, along with their bodyguard, who rule Germany to-day. In our fight against the fascist terror the propagation of the question of power runs like a red thread through all our actions. The victorious proletarian revolution will release the last anti-fascists and class fighters from the prison hells; the revolutionary tribunal of the German workers and peasants will ruthlessly condemn the guilty murderers and torturers.

It is now necessary to concern ourselves every day with the fate of all anti-fascists, especially of the active and well-known functionaries. We must redouble our efforts in order to intensify the anger of the people against the fascist terror and to direct it into the channel of mass protests, of mass strikes and political strikes. Seizing on the least movements of the working class in connection with the reactionary labour law, we shall aim at organising a wave of strike actions along with increased propaganda for a general strike and the armed revolt against the fascist dictatorship.

Down With the Fascist Capitalist Dictatorship!

Saarbrücken, March 27.

The Saarbrücken "*Arbeiter Zeitung*" publishes a *May Appeal*, signed by the C.C. of the C.P.G., by the Y.C.L.G., and the National Committee of the R.T.U.O.:—

"... From the line of fire of acute class struggle, in the midst of a capitalist world dominated by armaments and smouldering war conflagrations, the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, and the Revolutionary Trade Union organisations send out their call for the international fighting day of the working class, the Red fighting May of 1934. . . .

"The Red fighting May of 1934 combines the struggles of the workers of all countries with the mighty and victorious cause of our socialist victories in the Soviet Union and the struggle for the emancipation of Soviet China. Against capitalism and fascist terror, against chauvinist agitation among the peoples and imperialist war, the proletariat raises the banner of proletarian internationalism under the slogans of the Communist Party! For the release of the standard-bearer of the German revolution, *Comrade Thaelmann!* For the release of our imprisoned and martyred brothers in all the countries of capitalism! For the defence of our Fatherland, the Soviet Union!

"For the overthrow of world capitalism, for the establishment of the Soviet power!

"... Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels are driving Germany into the catastrophe. The class fronts are more clearly marked than ever. Out of the capitalist chaos there arises a steadily growing will of the masses to cast aside the fascist yoke.

"A fresh wave of fascist terror, a new and monstrous capitalist aggression is being planned, in order to give capitalism in Germany a breathing space. By means of the 'labour law,' fascism intends to destroy the last of the social achievements of the workers, and to subject the proletariat to the unrestrained despotism of the capitalists and landowners, by means of the

deprivation of all political rights and by terrorist suppression. The 'second labour battle' announced by Hitler is a battle against the rank and file workers and the unemployed. The fascist dictatorship government intends making May 1 the day of the proclamation of the law enslaving the workers, a 'national festival' for the bourgeoisie. Last year's fascist May masquerade was followed within 24 hours by the breaking up of the trade unions. This year the parade on May 1 is to be followed by the complete enslavement of the workers. The 'totalitarian' fascist State shows its true countenance ever more clearly, as the instrument of monopolist capital. . . ."

The appeal goes on to point out that for the proletariat there is only one means of escape: the whole undivided power in the hands of the working class. Only a proletarian dictatorship in a Soviet Germany can transform a country of fascist executioners and capitalist oppressors into a country of social progress and happiness for all workers. The appeal calls upon all workers, especially the social-democratic and trade union workers, to form the militant united front of the working class, dominated by the idea of the struggle for a Soviet Germany. . . . Without a Communist revolutionary mass Party as sole Party of the proletariat, there can be no victory for the workers, and no defeat of the dictatorship of capital. This lesson has once more been emphatically impressed on the social-democratic workers of the whole world by the results of the courageous insurgent struggles of the *Austrian workers*.

"Release the leader of the German working class, *Comrade Thaelmann*, who is being inhumanly tortured in the fascist prison cells. Release our anti-fascist brothers from the jails and concentration camps!

"Beneath the banner of the struggle against the dictatorship and its fascist State, we are organising mass resistance in every form, strikes against all the onslaughts of capital, in the works and factories, at the labour exchanges, in the labour service camps: Against the abolition of wage rate agreements and social insurance, for the collective work agreements, against payment of wages by results and speed-up, for higher wages and high price allowances, against dismissals and short time, against compulsory labour and deprivation of benefit, for work at full agreement rates, for the seven-hour day with full wage compensation, against works councils composed of confidential agents of the employers, and against fascist terror in the works and factories, for independent shop stewards and functionaries, for full right of strike and coalition, for the formation of illegal independent class trade unions."

The appeal closes by calling upon the workers everywhere to form *May Day committees*, to carry our fighting slogans into all workers' quarters and all workplaces, to fight against the compulsory participation in the fascist May parade, and to prepare for the carrying out of independent mass demonstrations and meetings of every kind under revolutionary slogans.

The World Struggle for the Release of Thaelmann

Germany:

Berlin, March 29, 1934.

Revolutionary workers distributed to the staff of the factories of Bergmann, Borsig and A. E. G. Hennigsdorf a leaflet, the text of which reads as follows:—

"**Form Thaelmann Committees!**"

"'Shot while attempting to escape!' That is what the fascist press hacks howl daily in their papers. We know how Karl Liebknecht was shot in January, 1919, 'while attempting to escape'; he was driven in a motor car to the Tiergarten, forced to alight from the car, and then shot in the back.

"The four Communists, John Scheer, Steinfurth, Schwarz and Schoenhaar, were shot in the same way on the way to Potsdam. Workers! Stay the arm of the executioners and organise mass resistance!

"The Thaelmann Committee calls to you! Thaelmann, the leader of the German working class, and hundreds of revolutionaries are to be dragged to the class court. The verdict has been already decided before the trial; they are to be executed. Fight with us against judicial murder and terror. Prevent any further murders of our champions! Fight for the release of the 170,000 prisoners in the German prison hells! Support the dependents of the murdered workers! Do not contribute anything to the fraudulent Winter relief work of the exploiters, but give your

pennies for the fighting fund of the Red Aid! Support protest actions! Fight with the C.P. of Germany for Soviet Germany!

"Thaelmann Defence Committee of the Factories
Bergmann, Borsig, A. E. G. Hennigsdorf, Red Front!"

Czechoslovakia:

Prague, March 30, 1934.

At the factory meeting of the paper factory Spiro in **Bohmisch-Krumau** a resolution protesting against the imprisonment of Thaelmann, Torgler, and the other anti-fascist workers, and demanding their immediate release, as well as the closing down of the concentration camps, was passed. This resolution was sent direct to Hitler in a registered letter.

The factory meeting of the Svejpomoc firm in **Prague** sent the following telegram to the Minister for the Interior, **Frick**:—

"The further imprisonment of Thaelmann, Torgler, and the other anti-fascists means danger of death for them. We protest against this and demand their immediate release."

In Bulgaria:

Thirty Lawyers from Fascist Bulgaria Prepared to Take Over the Defence of Thaelmann

Sofia, March 29, 1934.

Thirty Bulgarian lawyers sent a letter protesting against the imprisonment of Thaelmann, which has already lasted more than a year. They all declare themselves ready to take over the defence of Ernst Thaelmann in the forthcoming trial and to come to Berlin for this purpose.

In Scandinavia:

Stockholm, March 30, 1934.

A meeting in Växiö, attended by 600 people, and another one in Grånge, attended by 200 people, adopted resolutions protesting in the sharpest manner against the brutal terror of the Hitler government and demanding the immediate release of Thaelmann, Torgler, and all other political prisoners.

Oslo, March 30, 1934.

At a general meeting of the Skienfjorden Trades Council, numbering 4,000 members, a resolution was unanimously adopted protesting against the Hitler terror and demanding the immediate release of Thaelmann, Torgler, and all political prisoners. The resolution was sent to the German Embassy. The majority of this trades union council consists of social-democratic workers.

In Switzerland:

Zurich, March 30, 1934.

The Workers' Football Club collected 30 francs for the support of the Red sports comrades in Germany and their struggle for the release of the proletarian political prisoners.

In France:

Paris, March 30, 1934.

A meeting, attended by about 5,000 building workers, has sent a delegation to the German Embassy to demand the immediate release of Thaelmann, Torgler, and the other prisoners.

In response to an appeal of the representative of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany, the Executive Committee of the Unitary Civil Servants' Union decided to throw all the forces of the organisation into the struggle for Thaelmann's release.

Thaelmann Demonstration on the Arrival of the "Karlsruhe" in America.

New York, March 30, 1934.

The demonstrations of welcome on the occasion of the visit of the crew of the German cruiser "Karlsruhe" were interrupted by anti-fascist demonstrations of the Seattle workers. Hundreds of demonstrators shouted protest slogans against the Hitler terror in the face of the German sailors. Again and again the release of Comrade Thaelmann was demanded. A red flag was hoisted over the hotel at which the banquet for the officers and crew of the "Karlsruhe" was to take place. For hours there were continual collisions in front of the hotel between 1,500 demonstrators and the police. Leaflets of the C.P. of America were distributed in the hotel itself. The ballet arranged for the German fascists had to be interrupted owing to these demonstrations.

Appeal of the World Committee Against Imperialist War and Fascism

Paris, March 28, 1934.

In the morning of March 27 three of the ten Communist workers condemned to death were beheaded in the Duesseldorf prison yard. A few days previously the two Koenigsberg anti-fascist workers, Fritz Lange and Walter Siedelmann, fell under the executioner's axe.

In Germany the anti-fascist movement is growing, the increasing strength of which even the Secret State Police are compelled to admit. It is intended by the fascist terror to check and wipe out the anti-fascist action. It is intended by legal mass murder to break the force of the people's movement against the Hitler regime. The day before yesterday the workers of Koenigsberg died, and yesterday the heroes of Duesseldorf. To-morrow the seven Duesseldorf workers still living may be dragged to the headsman's block if you, toilers of all countries, do not intervene! The lives of the workers condemned to death, the lives of Thaelmann and other tortured anti-fascists are in immediate danger.

We call to all the national committees of our movement to all anti-fascist organisations, to the trade unions of all tendencies, to all sincere intellectuals: Launch a powerful rescue action in order to defend the lives of our brothers!

Organise protest meetings immediately! March to the German Embassies and Consulates! Bombard them with resolutions which must be adopted in hundreds and thousands of factory meetings, in all anti-fascist organisations! Bring the toilers into movement! Rescue the prisoners condemned to death! Rescue Thaelmann! Do not tolerate any longer the shedding of the blood of the people by the bestial rulers of the Third Reich, who are seeking to salvage their bankrupt system by wholesale executions and war!

World Committee for the Struggle Against Imperialist War and Fascism.

International Committee for the Release of Thaelmann, Torgler, and all anti-fascist prisoners.

And the affiliated organisations:—

World Committee; International Red Aid; Workers' International Relief; League Against Imperialism and War; European Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions; European Bureau of the Red Sports International; International of the Educational Workers; Revolutionary Writers and Artists; World Committee of the Students; International League of the Victims of War and Labour; Women's League for Peace and Freedom; International of Proletarian Free-thinkers.

Austria

Austria's New Constitution

By Gruber (Vienna)

A new Constitution for Austria is to be proclaimed shortly. Its provisions far exceed the worst expectations. The political Constitution of 1867 on the general rights of the citizens, and in fact the law of 1862 for the protection of personal liberty are revised in a reactionary sense. Simultaneously with the new Constitution a Concordat comes into force, by virtue of which the Catholic Church becomes to all intents and purposes the State Church. It will acquire decisive influence in all spheres of cultural life, in particular, however, over the schools. The Catholic schools of the Burgenland, where to-day the teacher is often obliged to shave the priest's beard on Sunday and in winter to sweep the snow from the path from the presbytery to the church, will become the model of all Austrian elementary, middle and high schools.

In order to obviate any resistance to these innovations in the provinces the control of the whole of the educational system is transferred to the Federal government. Provincial, district and local school councils are no longer organs of the provinces and municipalities, but of the Federal government, which will deliver them over to the Church. Bourgeois liberalism is long since dead.

Austria ceases to be a Republic; the word smacks of revolution. Austria is described simply as a "Federal State"; it will no longer be decorated with the adjective "democratic," for the Constitution contains nothing which could in any way justify this.

On the other hand, this Federal State is described as a "corporative State." But the Constitution says nothing about the structure of the corporations and their self-administration, for as the "Reichspost" apologetically states: "These corporations must first come into existence." Thus we have a corporative State without corporations.

The "Reichspost," however, states with satisfaction: "That democracy which we associate with the conception of degenerate

Parliamentarism, actually disappears." There will be no longer a legislative body elected by universal suffrage; and even the new legislative bodies will have no cause to complain of being invested with "excessive power."

The "legislative" body will be built up in the following manner:—

(1) The State Council, consisting of 40 to 50 members, all of whom shall be distinguished and independent men nominated by the Federal President.

(2) The Federal Cultural Council, consisting of 30 to 40 representatives of the Churches and religious societies, of the schools, Science and Art.

(3) The Federal Economic Council, which with its 70 to 80 members will be left to the capitalists both Christian and Jewish. The "Economic Corporations" will send their representatives to this body.

(4) The Provincial Council, in which every province, and also Vienna, will be represented either by the provincial governor or the mayor and a member of the Diet or municipality.

All these bodies, however, have only advisory powers. When the government has drafted a bill, it will submit it to the four advisory bodies for their opinion, which they must pronounce within a given time. After the opinions have been given the government will draw up the bill and bring it into the "Bundestag" (Federal Assembly).

This "Bundestag" is the so-called "legislative organ." It consists of 20 representatives of the State Council, 10 representatives of the Federal Cultural Council, 20 representatives of the Federal Economic Council and nine representatives of the Provincial Council. The Bundestag must not make any alterations in bills. It can only decide on their acceptance or rejection. Only the budget estimates will be submitted directly to the Bundestag, and can be altered by it.

The Bundestag has neither the right of legislative initiative nor the right of interpellation. All this "revolutionary rubbish" has now been got rid of. A plebiscite is provided for certain questions (perhaps for the return of the monarchy?), but it is not yet stated who will have the right to vote at the plebiscite. The Federal President still remains the head of the State. He appoints and recalls the government, otherwise the government cannot be recalled by anybody. It is not known who appoints the Federal President, the government we presume.

Although, with such a Constitution, the government cannot complain of a lack of power and authority over the so-called legislative bodies, and, although it is absolutely inconceivable how any effective opposition could arise, it reserves to itself the right to govern by emergency decrees. The so-called War Emergency Powers Act is not taken over in the new Constitution, instead, however, the Federal government receive the right to enact laws by means of decrees. The Federal President, when he finds that a "state of emergency" exists, can, by means of such decrees, even alter parts of this new Constitution.

As is implied by the designation "Federal State," the provinces remain, and each province will also in the future have its Diet. However, the Diets will not be elected on the basis of universal suffrage; instead, the limited suffrage existing in the old Austria will be restored in a worse form.

The Diets will consist of the representatives of the "economic corporations," the representatives of the Church and religious associations, the schools, educational institutions, Science and Art. The municipal bodies will be formed in a similar manner. Whilst hitherto the smallholders and agricultural labourers were cheated by the kulaks on the village municipal councils, in future they will be completely delivered over to the masters of the village.

The democratic Constitution hitherto in force began by declaring that Law proceeds from the people. That was the formula for deceiving the people under bourgeois democracy. It has had its day. It has lost its power of attraction. Fascism requires a new formula. As the ledgers of certain swindling shopkeepers in Austria begin with the words "With God!" so the new Austrian Constitution commences with the sentence: "Law proceeds from God!" which is another word for the bayonet, the Heimwehr, the truncheon of the police and the artillery of the Federal army.

Otto Bauer's Indictment of the Austrian Social Democracy

By Karl Radek

Otto Bauer's pamphlet "Austrian Democracy under Fire" (published by the Labour Publication Department, Transport House, Smith Square, London) is a damning indictment of the Austrian social democracy. I will deal with only six counts in this indictment:—

1. Otto Bauer defends Austrian social democracy against the accusation that they had prepared for the revolt:

"When in 1918, the Habsburg Empire collapsed, bequeathing to the Republic founded on its ruins, nothing but military defeat and economic chaos, a ghastly food shortage and a rapidly depreciating currency, the great change-over took place much more peacefully in Austria than in neighbouring countries. The Austrian social democrats succeeded without violence, and by peaceful persuasion, in calming the wild excitement of the men who returned from the blood and filth of the trenches, only to find starvation waiting for them at home, and in mobilising it for peaceful constructive work. When Austria lay between the Soviet dictatorships in Bavaria and Hungary, it remained an island of peace, whilst blood was flowing in torrents to the east and to the west. And those very men who, at the height of their power, secured such self-control, such peaceful moderation among masses of starving people are now misrepresented by the lying propaganda of triumphant fascism as a band of bloodthirsty criminals, actuated by no other motive than that of hurling their country into a bloody catastrophe." (Page 10.)

The leader of the defeated Austrian social democracy testifies that his party rescued the Austrian bourgeoisie from doom at the period of the first wave of the world revolution. He only lies somewhat when he states that everything proceeded smoothly and peacefully. He makes this strange confession in order to complain of the ungratefulness of the Austrian bourgeoisie, which seems to have forgotten the services rendered to it by Austrian social democracy.

2. The fascists, however, accuse the Austrian workers of having stored away their weapons. Herr Bauer cannot deny this fact. It is true the Austrian workers did not want to be deprived of these weapons which they had brought home from the trenches. The social democracy did not succeed in inspiring them with sufficient confidence in bourgeois democracy. But did they not endeavour to do so? Herr Bauer tells of all the attempts made by social democracy to keep the workers from making use of their weapons:—

"As far back as 1922, when workers were killed for the first time in collisions with fascist groups, Julius Deutsch, speaking on behalf of the Party, proposed bilateral disarmament to the bourgeois parties, subject to mutual supervision; and it was only after the bourgeois parties had scornfully rejected this offer that the Republican Schutzbund was founded. In 1928, when a Heimwehr parade in Wiener Neustadt seemed likely to result in serious collisions with the workers, Karl Renner again proposed internal disarmament in Parliament; and Seipel rejected the proposal." (Page 11.)

As is known, the armed kulak organisations of the Heimwehr by no means played a decisive role in suppressing the workers. The revolt was crushed by the police and the regular troops, who were equipped with artillery. Herr Bauer reproaches the bourgeoisie with the fact that they could have suppressed the working class without encountering the latter's resistance, but that they did not wish to do this. It would have sufficed if the bourgeoisie had agreed to the bilateral disarming of the workers and the Heimwehr. Then the police and the regular troops, the disarming of whom Otto Bauer did not demand—for Otto Bauer is a statesman, and a State cannot do without police and an army—would have had a still easier job: the police could have dispersed and driven away the disarmed workers with their rubber truncheons.

3. Bauer describes how the social democracy, day after day, held the workers back from taking action against the fascist attack on March 5, 1933, and tells of the famous decision of the Congress of the Austrian social democracy which specified the circumstances under which resistance would be offered:—

(1) If the government, in defiance of the law and the Constitution, introduced a fascist Constitution;

(2) If the government illegally and unconstitutionally deposed the municipal and provincial authorities of Red Vienna and handed over the administration of Vienna to a government commissioner;

(3) If the government dissolved the Party;

(4) If the trade unions were dissolved or "brought into line."

What was the attitude of the workers to this decision?

"But the longer the dictatorship continued, the harder the labour movement was hit by its decrees, the more clearly the workers realised that in the meanwhile the State machine was increasing its military force, whilst at the same time endeavouring to destroy the fighting strength of the Labour Movement, the greater became the number of those who, in the factories and the party branches, gave voice to their impatience, their longing to fight. 'Why wait?' they said. 'By the time that one of the four points materialises, we shall no longer be in a condition to fight. Let us strike now, while we are still ready for battle. Otherwise, we shall share the fate of our comrades in Germany.'" (Page 23.)

Herr Bauer confirms the fact that the Austrian social-democratic workers were eager to take up the fight, and that they were held back from this fight by the Austrian social democracy.

4. But perhaps the workers were wrong when they predicted that fascism would resort to armed force without formally dissolving the social democracy, without prohibiting the trade unions and without immediately drawing up a fascist Constitution. Perhaps they were wrong when they feared that fascism could crush the workers gradually, by wearing down their resistance. Bauer admits, however, that the workers were right:—

"Parliament was eliminated. The dictatorship established itself. The attempt made on March 15 to carry on the work of Parliament was forcibly prevented by Dollfuss. We could have responded on March 15 by calling a general strike. Never were the conditions for a successful strike so favourable as on that day. The counter-revolution which was just then reaching its full development in Germany had aroused the Austrian masses. The masses of the workers were awaiting the signal for battle. The railwaymen were not yet so crushed as they were eleven months later. The government's military organisation was far weaker than in February, 1934. At that time we might have won. But we shrank back dismayed from the battle. We still believed that we should be able to reach a peaceful settlement by negotiation. Dollfuss had promised to negotiate with us at an early date—by the end of March or the beginning of April—concerning a reform of the Constitution and of the parliamentary agenda, and we were still fools enough to trust a promise of Dollfuss. We postponed the fight, because we wanted to spare the country the disaster of a bloody civil war. The civil war, nevertheless, broke out eleven months later, but under conditions that were considerably less favourable to ourselves." (Pages 42/43.)

These confessions fall like hammer blows on the head of the social democracy. The masses of the workers wanted to fight and were waiting for the signal. But the social democrats did not want to fight. They endeavoured to arrive at a compromise with the fascist government; they were prepared even to recognise the fascist Constitution—this is what Bauer and Renner officially declared. They only demanded that the fascists should not dissolve the social democracy.

5. What was the strength of the Austrian social democracy at that moment? Bauer makes some remarkable confessions in this respect also:—

"According to the results of the last elections, the social-democratic party represented 90 per cent. of the workers, two-thirds of the population of Vienna, the overwhelming majority of the town-dwelling and industrial population of Austria as a whole, and 41 per cent. of the entire Austrian population. And this powerful party, with its 600,000 members and its 1,500,000 electors, was reduced at a single blow to complete impotence, as from March 7, 1933, the date on which the dictatorship was established, parliament no longer existed. The throttling of the freedom of the press and of assembly made it impossible even to protest against the government's illegal measures. There no longer existed any lawful means of resisting the illegal dictatorship." (Page 18.)

The Austrian workers, in the course of 50 years, built up a

great party in order to fight against the bourgeoisie. They built up and defended this party at the price of great sacrifices already 50 years ago against the exceptional laws. They defended it on the streets of the Austrian towns against the police and the troops in the fight for universal suffrage. And it sufficed for the representatives of the little Austrian bourgeoisie to station police at the entrance to parliament, to abolish the freedom of the press and assembly by means of some sort of order—and the social democracy recognised its impotence, recognised its inability to make even a protest.

Why was the social democracy impotent? Was it because the workers did not want to fight? Bauer admits that they wanted to fight. The social democracy was impotent because the social-democratic leaders did not want to fight. They stood at the levers of a powerful machine, but their hands were paralysed by opportunism. They wanted to save the bureaucratic organism and were therefore ready to capitulate to fascism if it only allowed them to keep their organisation, i.e., their soft jobs. The "sincere" leaders of the German social democracy made similar excuses for their treachery on August 4, 1914. Leipart, on April 5, 1933, made similar proposals to Hitler in the name of the German trade unions. They lie when they assert that they "wanted to spare the country the disaster of a bloody civil war." For them there is no sense in civil war for socialism, for they do not want socialism. The leaders of the social democracy have long ceased to fight for socialism, even for democracy. They fight only for their existence as a bureaucracy which has emerged from the working class, the existence of which they regard as an end in itself.

Bauer's romanticism, his going over into illegality, into the ranks of the fighting social-democratic workers, is self-deception which serves to deceive the workers.

6. "After four days' fighting the workers of Vienna were defeated. Was this result inevitable? Could they conceivably have won? After the experience of those four days we can say, that if the railways had stopped running, if the general strike had spread throughout the country, if the Schutzbund had carried with it the great mass of the workers throughout the country, the government could hardly have succeeded in suppressing the rising." (Page 34.)

But how could the whole of the working class rise, how could they support their advance-guard, the Schutzbund, by the general strike when the social democracy had sought for 15 years to convince the workers that the revolutionary fight means disaster and leads to no good. The social democracy disorganised the working class, disarmed it ideologically, and thereby made it possible for the fascist bands to disarm it physically. It created the appearance of a mass organisation; when, however, the hour of battle arrived, it was seen that the working masses were lacking any organisation. The workers in the front ranks were defeated in small groups simply because they were not linked up with one another. And in this deadly fight Otto Bauer and Deutsch continued to bind the hands of the workers by teaching them, as Deutsch himself admitted, to conduct the fight as a defensive struggle, i.e., without going over to the offensive. But without going over to the offensive no revolt can be successful.

We have given exact quotations from Otto Bauer's indictment against the Austrian social democracy regarding its crimes against the working class, how it betrayed the revolt of the Austrian workers. The press of the Second International replied with a savage howl to the estimate given by the Communist press of the treachery of the Austrian social democracy. These scoundrels, who have fought desperately for 15 years against the idea of the proletarian revolution, one of whom (Leon Blum, the leader of the French socialists) wrote, that "the great pictures of the past, beginning with the revolt of the sans-culottes and ending with the revolt of the communards, still live in our memory, but these examples have now only historical importance and are lyrical legends"—these people hide behind the bloody corpses of the Vienna insurgents and cry that the Communist International is slandering the Second International when it establishes the criminal guilt of the Austrian social democracy. It is obvious that it is not worth while arguing with these scoundrels, but there is no doubt that a part of the social-democratic workers, who are filled with admiration for the heroes of the Vienna revolt, have not yet clearly realised the causes of the defeat and do not yet quite understand that the sacrifices of our Austrian brothers will have been in vain if the broad masses of workers do not realise, on the basis of their experience, that they fell not only by the fascist

bullets but also by the treachery of the party in which they trusted, the party of the Second International.

The workers must realise that the social democracy, that the parties of the Second International are parties which defend the bourgeois system. The social democrats wanted to reform this system in co-operation with the radical and liberal bourgeoisie. They were not parties of the revolution, but parties of reforms. But the time for reforms is also past. In all the important capitalist countries of Europe the liberal bourgeoisie has disappeared as a decisive force; the class antagonisms have become so acute that a great part of Europe is on the threshold of civil war. Therefore the social democrats are everywhere abandoning the idea of reforms. They are dreaming of maintaining those reforms they already have. Where this is impossible they go over to the side of fascism when they have the choice between proletarian revolution and fascist coup, the choice between proletarian or fascist dictatorship. At first they propose a compromise to fascism: "I will recognise you if you spare my organisations." When fascism smashes their organisations (out of fear that the working masses might convert these organisations into weapons in their fight against fascism), the leaders of social democracy go over to the side of fascism. The history of social-democratic leaders such as Loebe and Severing of the social-democratic party of Germany completely confirms this.

Otto Bauer, having drawn up such an indictment, becomes frightened. And now he comes forward as defender of the Austrian social democracy. He admits that the Austrian social democracy made great mistakes, but declares these mistakes were not the cause of the defeat. "The Hungarian social democrats in 1919, and the Italian down to 1922, pursued a 'Left' revolutionary policy, closely akin to Communism—and in both countries their policy ended disastrously" (page 44), writes Bauer. He has the brazenness to write this when he knows that the Hungarian social democracy sabotaged the Soviet government and conspired with the Entente against it. He knows that the Italian social democracy sabotaged the developing Italian revolution. Otto Bauer's attempt to explain the defeat of the Austrian proletariat as being due to a fate which dogs the steps of the West European proletariat is a reformist lie. Of equal worth is his attempt to explain the disaster which has overtaken the social democracy by declaring that the tendencies developing in Germany have always determined the tendencies developing in Austria. He can only point out that when liberalism triumphed in Germany it also triumphed in Austria. At the same time, however, it triumphed in other countries. The victory of German fascism came ten years later than that of Italian fascism, and was likewise determined not by fate but by the treachery of the social-democratic party of Germany.

Otto Bauer's miserable attempts to whitewash the Austrian social democracy (after having admitted its treacheries) prove only one thing: after being three days with the staff of the insurgents as guest, Bauer feels himself politically so strengthened that he already takes on the task of preparing to disorganise the Austrian proletariat afresh. He does this by taking up four pages in replying to the question: What next? He replies in the manner typical of him: It is quite likely that the fascist dictatorship may be brought to an end by the internecine quarrels of the fascists themselves. All fascists are driving to European war, and war produces revolution. Then all the mistakes will be wiped out. Otto Bauer has always welcomed revolutions which are to break out nobody knows when. But Otto Bauer has one congenital weakness: when revolution in reality breaks out, Otto Bauer begins to prove that it must end in collapse, and therefore sabotages it.

Otto Bauer feels that the lessons of the Austrian revolt will not be lost on the workers. He summons the Austrian workers to form illegal organisations; but he recommends them to wait until the fascists quarrel among themselves in Austria and in the whole world. Then everything will be quite easy; the revolution will be presented to the Austrian workers on a silver tray. This programme of the "best social traitor," as Lenin described Bauer, will make plain to the social-democratic workers the value of Otto Bauer's "participation" in the Austrian revolt. Bauer boasts of having gone among the fighting workers. What does it mean, however, to go among the fighting workers? That does not mean three days, that does not mean to go among them in order "to save the honour of social democracy" and then, taking advantage of the "good reputation" thereby gained, to deceive the proletariat again. It means to go among the fighting workers in the

period of imperialism and socialist revolutions; it means to help them to become clear regarding the causes of the defeat on the reformist road; to teach them to understand that the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary and inevitable; to teach them from day to day to prepare for the fight for this dictatorship; to teach them how to build up the revolutionary organisation which is capable, under any circumstances, under the worst fascist terror, to lead the workers in the fight for socialism. Already in 1918 Lenin wrote in his book, "The Renegade Kautsky":—

"Kautsky has not the least understanding for the truth that the revolutionary Marxist differs from the petty bourgeois and philistine in that he knows how to make clear to the backward masses the necessity of the maturing revolution, to prove its inevitability, to explain its advantages to the people, to prepare the proletariat and all toiling and exploited masses for the revolution."

Only when the social-democratic workers grasp this, only when they remove the political corpse of Bauer from their path, only then will it be possible for them to say that the heroic workers of Floridsdorf, Steyr and Linz have not sacrificed their lives in vain.

Commission of Inquiry Reports on Austrian Events

On March 29 the delegation of the Commission of Inquiry into the Austrian events reported its activities to a press conference which took place in the Hôtel Moderne in Paris. The delegation consisted of eight members and spent fourteen days in Austria. In the name of the delegation Jean Painlevé, the Director of the French Scientific Film Institute and the son of the former Prime Minister of France of that name, gave a report which lasted about an hour and a half on the results of the delegation's investigations and the conclusions which it drew. Painlevé declared, *inter alia*, the following:—

The delegation was instructed by the Commission of Inquiry to present about one hundred questions on the causes and the development of the February insurrection in Austria to the representatives of various groupings in Austria. The delegation has succeeded in collecting many documents and many further documents are still coming in. As a result the work of the delegation will last several months still. In the meantime, however, it is possible to say the following:—

"For over a year the Chancellor of Austria, Dollfuss, succeeded, thanks to pseudo-legal measures of an authoritarian character based on an exceptional law issued during the war, in robbing the vast majority of the Austrian people of all political and social rights. At the utmost Dollfuss himself represented about one-quarter of the Austrian people and only a small minority of the population of Vienna. Appealing again and again to the spectre of Austrian national socialism, Dollfuss succeeded in causing the social-democratic leaders to retreat steadily and as a result the trump cards in the game were played into the hands of the Heimwehr. The Heimwehr was able to deliver one blow after the other against the working people of Austria. In the two weeks which led up to the bloody events of February the persecution of the working masses increased in direct proportion to the capitulation of the social-democratic leaders. It can be proved that the government announcements to the effect that 'Austro-Fascism,' as Starhemberg himself calls it, was about to be introduced, led to the persecution and arrests of workers and to the military operations of the police and the Heimwehr which provoked the armed resistance on the part of the workers."

Painlevé then described the week of bloody fighting and sketched its most important features. Referring to the defeat of the workers, he declared:—

"Despite the magnificent fighting spirit of the members of the Republican Defence Force the workers suffered a defeat owing to the fact that the social-democratic leaders completely lost their heads, owing to the pursuance of a defensive policy, and owing to the complete disorganisation of the connections with the masses with the result that the latter waited in vain for instructions and weapons."

Referring to the situation of the Dollfuss government after its victory, Painlevé declared:—

"The victory of the Dollfuss government has by no means

increased its mass basis. It has won no new supporters and must fear a re-opening of the insurrectionary struggle."

In conclusion Painlevé appealed for an international solidarity action on behalf of the thousands of prisoners and their dependents and the dependents of the workers who fell in the fighting.

On the day of its departure from Austria the delegation of the Commission of Inquiry sent a protest declaration to Chancellor Dollfuss, Cardinal Innitzer, the Minister of Justice Schuchnigg and to the Presidents of the Chamber of Judges and the Chamber of Advocates. The declaration contained, inter alia, the following:

"We protest against the present policy of the Austrian government which forces the families of the fighting workers into impoverishment and misery and refuses even the children of the fighting workers elementary help and assistance. We protest further against the extension of the unjustified mass arrests and against the violation of the right of free defence."

It was announced at the press conference that Chancellor Dollfuss, who did not succeed in preventing the work of the delegation in Vienna, had issued an open warning to all persons who came into Austria from abroad in order "to make difficulties for the government."

The work of the delegation in Vienna was able to deny categorically one of the official declarations of the Dollfuss-Fey government. The Vice-Chancellor Fey declared officially that the total number of dead on both sides amounted to no more than 350. However, the delegation succeeded in securing a copy of a secret circular issued by Fey himself in which the death roll of the official government forces, not including the fascist Heimwehr, was put at 827. The total government losses, including the Heimwehr, are considerably larger than even this figure. The figure will be at least doubled when the losses of the workers are taken into consideration.

The delegation was also able to make a second important discovery. A regimental order of Infantry Regiment No. 4 read out on parade put the losses of that regiment at 200.

The White Terror

An Appeal of the I.R.A. on the Lutsk Trial

To All Toilers and Exploited! To All Oppressed and Persecuted!
COMRADES,

Three and a half years ago the workers and peasants of Western Ukraine rose against the terror, the unbearable oppression, the bloody exploitation and cruel national oppression by Polish fascism.

The national movement was choked in blood. Pilsudski's troops left behind them 800 destroyed villages, hundreds of killed, thousands of maimed and wounded. There was not a single village or family which escaped the savagery of the fascist gendarmes. But the bloodbath was not sufficient for the Polish hangmen.

After three and a half years of tortures there commenced in Lutsk the trial of 56 accused peasants and workers. This trial brought to light innumerable fresh revolting facts which freeze one's blood; it revealed a horrifying picture of the sufferings of the accused which no toiler can view with indifference. There is not one of the accused who has not been tortured, mishandled: old revolutionaries, young girls, old peasants and young students, they all tell of the tortures.

After the tortures and three and a half years' uninterrupted tenacious struggle in the prisons and dungeons of fascist Poland, after repeated hunger-strikes, the 56 workers and peasants have also been mishandled in the court-room. In spite of these cruelties the accused raised their voices in protest against exploitation and national oppression, against the fascist dictatorship. The accused have assumed the role of accusers. Neither the postponement of the trial nor the tortures and mishandlings of the accused have helped the fascist dictatorship. The heroic struggles of the toilers of the whole world, the colossal advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the example of Dimitrov's heroic stand at the Leipzig trial, have inspired the 56 tormented victims of Polish fascism with fresh energy and new enthusiasm.

The trial is still proceeding; the mishandlings are also being continued. The accused are being overwhelmed by a regular flood of penalties; the fascist justice is preparing for bloody revenge. The 56 workers and peasants of the Western Ukraine are threatened with capital punishment or life-long imprisonment.

Hitler and Pilsudski, united by a common aim, are feverishly preparing for a fresh imperialist war. The real object of the Lutsk trial is to secure the hinterland, to prepare the jumping off ground for a predatory attack on the Soviet Union, to enslave the workers and peasants in Western Ukraine and in the whole of Poland. This is the inner meaning of the touching unity between the fascist judges and Hitler's agents.

Enraged by the failure of the indictment, rendered furious by the exposure of the bestialities and cruelties, frightened by the powerful wave of resentment rising throughout the whole world, the Lutsk hangmen are hastening to carry out their bloody deed.

The ghastly figure of death looms up in the Lutsk court-room. The clatter of the chains of the prisoners is heard throughout the whole country. Condemned cells are being made ready in the Polish jails.

Workers and peasants of the whole world! Increase and intensify your struggle! Come to the aid of your persecuted class brothers! Rescue the 56 accused! Enforce their release from the hands of the Lutsk hangmen! Bring the heroic fighters back into your ranks!

The powerful movement of international solidarity launched by the I.R.A. compelled the fascist hangmen in Germany to release Comrades Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev. The I.R.A. is also conducting a relentless struggle for the release of the Lutsk victims. The Red Aid of Poland is heading the struggle for the rescue and release of the Lutsk martyrs in spite of cruel terror and illegality.

Toiling masses! Hasten to their aid! Frustrate Pilsudski's designs! Rescue the 56 faithful soldiers of the revolution! Stay the arm of the hangman! Forward to the struggle! Raise higher the banner of international solidarity of the toilers!

Down with the system of tortures and mishandlings! Down with the white terror of the fascist dictatorship! Freedom for the 56 mishandled workers and peasants! Warmest greetings to the heroic accused of Lutsk. Freedom for Comrade Thaelmann and the prisoners of German and Austrian fascism! Freedom for all political prisoners! Strengthen the I.R.A. in its struggle against the fascist terror!

E.C. of the I.R.A.

In the International

Statement of the International Control Commission

Padmore, a member of the Communist Party, despite repeated warnings, did not break off his connections with the exposed provocateur Coujate and lived in the apartment of the provocateur Jean. In order to deceive the Party organs, Padmore repeatedly stated that he had already broken with Jean. Such conduct on the part of Padmore might lead to new arrests, as it made the work of the provocateurs easier.

Padmore carried on work which undermined the class unity of the toiling **Negro masses**, and, under the pretence of advocating the necessity for the unity of all Negroes on a racial basis, he tried to lay the path for unity with the Negro bourgeois exploiters and with their agents, the national reformists, which could not help leading to the interests of the Negro toiling masses becoming subordinated to the exploiters.

Padmore began to work openly for the benefit of national bourgeois organisations. With this aim Padmore entered into negotiations with the national reformists on the question of "saving Liberia" and collecting funds to cover the expenses of Liberia. Instead of mobilising the masses for the struggle for the genuine independence of Liberia against the imperialists who enslave Liberia and against the Liberian bourgeois government which bargains with the imperialists, Padmore took his stand openly on the side of the Liberian government.

After Padmore was removed from work in the committee, he did not pass on the documents to the comrade replacing him and did not hand over the contacts of the committee to anyone.

At a meeting on February 23, 1934, the I.C.C. decided to expel Padmore from the Communist Party for contacts with a provocateur, for contacts with bourgeois organisations on the question of Liberia, for an incorrect attitude to the national question (instead of class unity striving towards race unity) and for not handing over the affairs of the committee on which he had worked.

For the Anti-Fascist Unity of Action!

Resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P. of France on the Tasks of the Communists

1. The events of the last few weeks confirm the correctness of the decisions adopted by the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and the January session of the C.C.

The events of this recent period signify the strengthening of the revolutionary upsurge in the capitalist countries (Austria, Spain, etc.). Whilst in the capitalist countries the crisis is raging, the Soviet Union is achieving fresh victories in the building of socialism.

The movement of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers is developing and rising to a higher level, as is shown by the class struggles in February in France. The activity of the Communist Party greatly helped to launch the movement of the toiling masses, which, headed by the youth, put up splendid, magnificent resistance to the attacks of fascism, in particular on the occasion of the great manifestation of February 9; they realised the united front of action, which was always opposed by the socialist party. This is the victory of the policy unswervingly pursued by our Communist Party.

2. The united front movement, which has seized the socialist workers, proves that, contrary to the assertions and expectations of the opportunists, the crisis within the socialist party is deepening. Fresh sections of workers are turning to our Party, demonstrating their confidence in our Party, and numerous socialist workers are seeing the way out in the Soviet Power, the work of the Bolshevik Party and the main pillar of the Third International.

The Communists must repel any attempt aiming at minimising the responsibility of the socialist party as the main social support of the bourgeoisie in the development towards fascism. The socialist party, at the recent meeting of its national council, again declared its opposition to the united front between the socialist and Communist workers. It is attempting to win the workers for its "socialist" doctrines, which have led the workers of Germany and Austria into their disastrous situation.

3. The Party organisations must deliver decisive blows to fascism and its pace-maker, the Doumergue-Tardieu government, and, of course, expose the capitulation of the Left parties.

Such an orientation in the activity of our Party will help to overcome the inadequate tempo of our Party organisations in launching counter-actions, and also the passivity before, during and after the events.

4. The mobilisation of the Party, which led to the setting up of a united front of action against fascism such as France has never experienced before, was hampered by the opportunist Right tendencies which were revealed in the course of and since the February events.

The Party organisations, by increasing their efforts tenfold to realise the united front of action, will reject any policy aiming at establishing a bloc with the social democracy and will correct any violation of principles and any deviation towards the platform of opportunism.

5. The leading Party committees and organisations, utilising the experiences of recent times, will set themselves the task of rectifying in the shortest possible time the faults in the organisation work of the Party, in particular in regard to the demonstrations, the preparation and leadership of which must be secured in all circumstances. The most rapid liquidation of our weaknesses and of our unelasticity, in particular in regard to the organisation of a mass self-defence, constitutes one of the most important tasks at the time of preparation for the struggle against fascism and against the fascist provocations.

The Central Committee welcomes the example of the Communist, socialist and non-party workers of the 20th and 15th Paris districts, who by means of their mass self-defence were able to force the fascist bands to retreat.

6. The Party must exert all its forces in order to bring

about the defeat of fascism. For this purpose it is necessary to extend and consolidate the achievements gained by the application of the united front from below.

The organisations and members of the Party must be mobilised in order to ensure the success of the anti-fascist national rally on May 20, by launching partial actions in the factories, by preparing the political mass strike through broad united front work among the socialist and trade union workers, by forming united front committees in the factories and localities.

The first of May, which must be converted by the preparatory work of the Communists into a day of general strike and mass demonstration under the slogan of the united front of action, will mark an important stage in the preparation for the anti-fascist national rally. In our irreconcilable struggle against fascism we must mobilise the masses in order to demand the release of Comrade Thälmann, the leader of the C.P. of Germany, whom we must wrest from the clutches of the fascist hangmen, just as we have wrested Dimitrov from their hands.

7. The general strike of February 12 was for the whole Party and the working class a great demonstration of the tremendous rôle of the trade unions in the struggle against fascism and the importance of the strike as a weapon of the proletariat.

This confronts us with the task of systematic work by all Communists in the trade unions in order to extend the strike movement, taking as a basis the immediate demands of the workers and the struggle against fascism.

The Communists must constantly work for the strengthening of the unitary trade unions, in order to convert them into mass organisations, and for the organisation and development of the opposition in the reformist and autonomous trade unions.

The Communists emphatically support the action of the C.G.T.U. for the unity of the class trade unions and the creation of unity trade unions on the basis of a programme which is in harmony with the interest of the workers, and definitely rejects class collaboration. Taking these two conditions into consideration, the Communists will not be deterred by any formal questions from their concrete struggle for the unity of the trade union movement.

8. It is the duty of the Party organisations at the present time to make extraordinary efforts, because fascism is endeavouring to win the toiling youth over to its side, and to put an end to the grave neglect on the part of the Party organisations in regard to the leadership of the work of the Young Communist League.

The directives regarding the setting up of Communist youth nuclei alongside of every factory cell of the Party must at last be carried out. The Party must guide the work of the youth inside the mass organisations of the youth, must assist it in setting up the united front for winning the socialist young workers for the struggle against fascism, as well as in the preparation for the Youth Congress against fascism and war, which will take place together with the national anti-fascist rally.

9. The mobilisation of the peasantry for the struggle against fascism remains a weak point in the activity of our Party. The decisive task at the present moment is the winning of the peasant masses for the struggle against fascism. Any neglect to organise this work in the rural districts constitutes a mistake, involving very serious consequences.

Not only the Party organisations in the rural districts have the duty to develop the most energetic work in order to organise the activity of the poor and middle peasants for their demands, but the city workers also must be won in order to participate in this work for winning the peasants, in particular the railway workers, the postal employees, as well as the teachers. All connections of the workers with the village must be utilised and fresh contacts with the rural districts must be organised (land Sundays).

The cells and districts must make definite proposals to the socialist workers in order to draw them into this important work among the peasants.

10. The Communists must be stubborn defenders of those

elements of the middle classes, who have been ruined by the crisis. They must stigmatise the fascist demagogy and prove that the middle classes can defend themselves only if they conduct the struggle in the anti-fascist front together with the workers.

The Party organisations have the task to combat any worsening or cutting down of the rights acquired by the ex-Service men and exert all their efforts to establish with them a community of action against the government of emergency powers, which is endangering their rights with the help of the fascist chiefs of the ex-Service men's organisations. Our mass work inside these organisations must be increased.

11. The main task of the Party organisations must consist in everywhere setting up the united front of struggle in order to draw the socialist workers into the revolutionary struggle. Everywhere our organisations must seize the initiative in action, propose to the socialist workers and their local branches that they participate in our national rally, and together with them set up committees in the factories and localities.

Where isolated committees exist the Communists must lead the action in order to induce the toilers united in these committees to participate in the national rally.

The policy of the socialist party must be exposed to the socialist workers and the whole of the working class by pointing out to them that it is the aim of the Communists to rally the masses in town and country for the energetic struggle against the National Union Government of emergency powers, for the arrest of Tardieu and Chiappe, against the offensive of capital, against fascism and war.

One of the permanent tasks of the Communists consists in developing in the course of action an uninterrupted propaganda for their programme of action after the seizure of power, and thus to show to the workers and the whole of the toiling masses the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

12. The carrying out of these tasks demands that all efforts be made in order to recruit fresh members to the Party, to consolidate the Party organisations and to remove as quickly as possible the organisational shortcomings which were recorded during the recent events.

One of the main weapons of the Party is "L'Humanité," the great workers' paper under the revolutionary leader, Marcel Cachin. The Party will do everything in order to strengthen the influence of our paper and to launch a big mass campaign on the 30th anniversary of the founding of "L'Humanité."

The main condition determining the capacity of the Party for action lies in its unity, in the mobilisation of the whole Party for the carrying out of the decisions of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee records with satisfaction that all districts of the Party and the Young Communist League have announced their determination to carry out the line of the Party, to reject any attempts to change it, and to demand its carrying out by all Party members.

The Communists of the Paris-Nord district, together with the whole Party, faithful to their traditions of struggle against the bourgeoisie and their allies, are holding high the flag of the Communist Party and reject all attempts of the remnants of the opportunist-sectarian group of Barbé (Rolland) to smuggle social democratic and Trotskyist contraband into the Party.

The Communist Party, which is rallying round its Central Committee and which honourably stood the test in the struggle, demands of all its members the necessary self-sacrifice and discipline in order to be able to take over the leadership of the large mass struggles for defeating fascism and bringing us nearer to the Soviet power.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Seventeenth Party Congress and the International Proletariat

By our Moscow Special Correspondent, L. F. BOROSS

III

The Construction of Socialism and the International Class Struggle

In two full sessions the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dealt as a special point on the agenda with the report of Comrade *Manuilski* on the activity of the delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the E.C.C.I. The reception of this report and the discussion on it showed how complete and far-reaching is the consciousness in the Bolshevik Party of the unity of the Party with the international movement of the world proletariat. The representatives of the brother parties from other countries spoke at the congress not merely as guests. They took part in the activities of the congress as members of the united world Communist Party. It was treated as a matter of course by them and by all the other delegates to the congress that they were fighters in the same army, even if they fought on different sections of the front. The storms of applause which swept through the congress at the mention of the names Thaelmann and Dimitrov, and the ovations which greeted Comrade Stalin as the leader of the world proletariat when he dealt with international problems at the congress were spontaneous expressions of this consciousness of the essential unity of the international proletarian movement.

It would be wrong, however, to seek for the international character and the international significance of the congress exclusively or even mainly in the treatment of international questions at the congress. The discussion of internal political questions at the congress in the historical report of Comrade Stalin, the discussion of the questions of the second Five-Year Plan and the organisational conditions for its fulfilment, also dealt in no small degree with questions of vital importance to the international working class.

However, just this indissoluble and unconditional unity of the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in all countries comes in for the most violent campaign of slander and vilification on the part of the class enemy. At every important action carried out by the working class in the capitalist countries the anti-Soviet press dishes up the old story of the mysterious "Hand of Moscow" which is supposed to be in everything with a view to "misusing the working class of the capitalist countries in its own interests."

Naturally, the international proletariat has no objection to the "Hand of Moscow," the hand which produced the October Revolution, which led the working class of the Soviet Union to power, which emancipated the slaves of capitalism into the free citizens of a workers' and peasants' power, which is leading the millions of the toilers in the Soviet Union to unparalleled well-being by steadily raising their material and cultural level, and which has created an invincible bulwark of the international proletarian class struggle against capitalism. However, the Party Congress did much to divest this story of the "Hand of Moscow" of its mystery. It revealed this hand as the hand of the international proletariat whose fingers are closing around the throat of the world bourgeoisie.

When the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union leads millions of workers and peasants in the Soviet Union up to the very threshold of the classless society, when it storms the last defences of the remnants of capitalism in the Soviet Union, when the Communist Party of China establishes its power and influence on a huge section of the Eastern neighbour of the Soviet Union and fights in other parts of China for the emancipation of the working masses, when the Austrian working class fights for six days against the armed power of the bourgeois State and performs wonders of proletarian heroism, when the illegal Communist Parties in Germany and Poland defy the brutal terror and organise and mobilise the masses for a storm against capitalism, when the revolutionary unity of the proletariat makes great progress in France and Great Britain, when the Spanish Communists heroically do their duty

at their responsible revolutionary posts, then these are all indissoluble parts of a united struggle for the proletarian world revolution. Naturally, the existence of the Soviet Union alone is one of the strongest weapons in this international struggle, a weapon which is increased in its efficiency a thousandfold by the socialist victories which have been achieved in the Soviet Union.

The representatives of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries who were present at the congress showed what the proletariat in the capitalist countries understands by the "Hand of Moscow."

The "Hand of Moscow" showed itself when Comrade *Wan-min*, the representative of the Chinese Communist Party, declared to the congress when speaking of the factors which made for the successes of the Chinese C.P.:—

"Our victories and our successes are the victories of the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Our Party utilised the victory of the first Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union and the report of Comrade Stalin to the January plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. to show to the Chinese masses in practice that only the Chinese Bolsheviks and the Soviet Republic of China can free them from their present situation. Our Party utilised the victories and the experience of the Soviet Union above all to show that the Soviet Union is the living example of the future development of Soviet China."

The representative of the revolutionary proletariat of Japan, Comrade *Okano*, also spoke of the "Hand of Moscow" when he declared to the congress:—

"You have built thousands of factories, you have abolished unemployment and raised the standards of living of the working class. You have led millions and millions of peasants to a new and better life. You are fighting unceasingly for the maintenance of peace. In our country we see, on the contrary, inhuman exploitation, two and a half million unemployed, starvation amongst the rural population, land hunger amongst millions of poor peasants, brutal terror and chauvinist incitement to war."

Comrade *Heckert*, the representative of the heroic and illegal C.P. of Germany, also spoke of the "Hand of Moscow" when he declared:—

"Is not your victory a call to the masses of the exploited and oppressed in all countries to take the path of the October Revolution? Is not your victory a permanent encouragement to the working masses all over the world to renew their struggles against the exploiters? Does not every day of the lives of our class comrades in the capitalist countries prove that they have nothing to lose but their chains, and does not your victory show that they have a world to win?"

That is the real "Hand of Moscow."

The congress also showed equally effectively the other side of this international unity of the proletarian revolution when the delegates repeatedly stressed the fact that the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is the work of the whole of the world proletariat. This was expressed above all in *Stalin's* words to the congress:—

"The working class of the Soviet Union is a part of the world proletariat, its advance guard, its republic, a child of the world proletariat. There can be no doubt that if it had not had the support of the working classes of the capitalist countries, then it could not have retained power in its hands, it could not have created the conditions for the successful carrying out of the work of socialist construction, and in consequence it could never have won the successes which it has since achieved. The international connections of the working class of the Soviet Union with the workers of the capitalist countries, the fraternal alliance of the workers of the Soviet Union with the workers of all other countries, are the keystone to the power and strength of the Soviet Republic."

In order to illustrate these words of Comrade *Stalin* in concrete fact it is not necessary to go back to historical events such as the heroic insurrection of the French Black Sea Fleet, or the fact that the existence of the Hungarian Soviet Republic prevented the Entente from providing the counter-revolution in *Ukraine* with the intended armed support. It is sufficient to take an example from the present day, for instance, the factory newspapers of the Japanese Communists which are issued illegally and

at the risk of their lives at a time when Japanese imperialism is doing its utmost to whip up the masses into a wave of insane chauvinism preparatory to an attack on the Soviet Union. On every page of these newspapers the Japanese Communists declare to the workers of Japan: "The war against the Soviet Union will be a war against the Japanese proletariat."

"It must not be imagined that the working class in the countries of capitalism will be content to take the passive role of mere observer of the victorious development of socialism in this or that country." (Stalin: "Problems of Leninism.")

These words of Comrade *Stalin*, written ten years ago, have been confirmed by the whole international situation. The higher towers the building of victorious socialism in the Soviet Union the higher rises also the flame of the proletarian class struggle in the capitalist countries.

Is it possible for the masses of the workers in the capitalist countries to remain passive observers when in the years of their greatest impoverishment and misery they hear that in a country in which their class comrades are in power the following has taken place in hardly three years:—

"An increase of the national income from 35 milliard roubles in 1930 to 50 milliards in 1933, whereby the share of the capitalist elements in the national income is little more than 0.5 per cent. at the moment, and almost the complete total of the national income is divided up amongst the workers, the peasants, the co-operatives and the proletarian State. . . . An increase in the number of employed workers from 14,530,000 in 1930 to 21,883,000 in 1933. . . . An increase in the wage total from 13,597 million roubles in 1930 to 34,280 million roubles in 1933. . . . An increase of the average yearly wage of an industrial worker from 991 roubles in 1930 to 1,519 roubles in 1933. . . . An increase in the insurance funds for workers from 1,810 million roubles in 1930 to 4,610 million roubles in 1933. . . . The general introduction of the seven-hour day (for workers above ground) in all industries. . . . The support accorded to the peasants by the State by the organisation of 2,860 machinery and tractor stations with a capital investment of two million roubles. . . . Credits to the collective farms to the total of 1,600 million roubles. . . . Tax facilities and insurance facilities to the total of 370 million roubles. . . . An increase of the number of pupils at all schools from 14,358,000 in 1930 to 26,419,000 in 1933, including an increase of the students at the high schools from 207,000 to 491,000. An increase of the number of children attending the Kindergarten from 838,000 in 1930 to 5,917,000 in 1933. . . . Etc., etc. (From the Report of Comrade *Stalin* to the Party Congress.)

And all this is only a modest taste of the uninterrupted and incomparably speedier development of the years to come—no, not the years, the months, the days!

Therefore above all, neither social fascism nor fascism, neither deception nor bloody terror, can bring law and order back for capitalism. Therefore the words of *Dimitrov* under the shadow of the gallows released such a storm in the whole world that the doors of his prison flew open. Therefore the knees of the executioners tremble whilst the executed heroes of the proletariat, the *Luetgens* and *Weissels* and hundreds of others die confidently with the smile of victory on their lips.

And therefore the war of destruction being prepared by world imperialism against the victorious country of socialist construction will not bring the world bourgeoisie the hoped for peace from the spectre of Communism. Therefore:

"For the bourgeoisie it will be the most dangerous of all wars, and that not only for the reason that the peoples of the Soviet Union will fight to the death to defend the achievements of their revolution, but because the war will be conducted not only at the front, but also in the rear of the capitalist enemy. . . . The bourgeoisie must not blame us if on the day after the end of such a war they fail to find quite a number of their favourite governments in countries which they now rule 'by the grace of God.'" (Stalin.)

Summed up briefly, the chief significance of the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the international proletariat consists in the following: On the basis of the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union it has proved to the international working class that there is really a way out of capitalist wage slavery, and that the Soviet power is this way out and the only way out. It is now up to the working class of the capitalist countries under the leadership of the Communist Inter-

national and on the basis of historical experience to follow this path and follow the encouraging example of the invincible, unshakeable Soviet power in the country of victorious socialism. And the working class shows daily in its struggles, in "hot-blooded" Spain, in the no longer so "comfortable" Austria, in "republican" France, in imperial and feudal Japan, in "democratic" England, that it by no means intends to play merely the role of a passive observer in the struggle for the building up of socialism.

The Week in the Soviet Union

Tasks of the Soviet Transport System

On the 23rd March a new decision of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was published "on the planning of transport and the improvement of the work of the local organs of the People's Commissariat for Transport." This decision represents a concrete programme of action for the reorganisation of the Soviet railway transport system. The great significance of this new decision lies in the fact that it increases the role of planning in the work of the railway transport system to an unparalleled extent and organisationally consolidates the railway station as a link in the transport system.

The carrying out of the transport plan, its success or failure, will be decided at the lowest unit of the railway system, the railway station.

Following on the decisions of July, 1933, on the transport system, the work of reorganising the Soviet railway districts was begun. However, this reorganisation was not thorough enough. The chief deficiency has since been declared to be the fact that the districts are still overloaded with tasks which, properly speaking, have nothing to do with the direction of transport. The latest decision therefore goes a step further and frees the districts from a number of tasks. Further, the decision provides for a new sub-division. According to this new division there will be two categories of transport: transports of State importance and transports of local importance. Out of the 58,000 goods wagons put into use on an average daily, 52,780 will be used for transports of the first category, and the remainder for transports of the second category, and for a reserve.

In order to improve the work of the station as the organisational unit of the transport system the new decision increases the rights of the station master. All the workers at the station are now placed under his command irrespective of what work they may be performing at the station. However, the station master will now also be responsible for the work of the station as a whole.

The decision appeals primarily to those Communists engaged on the railways and calls upon them to act as shining examples to their fellow railwaymen in the struggle for the carrying out of the new measures.

Village Correspondents' Movement

During February and March a series of district and sub-district conferences of the workers' and peasants' correspondents was held. The aim of these conferences was to survey and sum up the work of the workers' and peasants' correspondents' movement during the course of the past year.

The village correspondents in particular had big tasks to perform during the past year. The difficulties in agriculture which cropped up during the past year, particularly in the Ukraine, as the result of the kulaks sabotaging the collective agricultural movement, made it necessary for the village correspondents to expose the class enemy and to assist in securing his removal from the collective farms. The village correspondents had also important work to perform to support the organisation of the masses for the carrying out of the tasks put forward by the government and the Communist Party.

It can be recorded with satisfaction and certainty that the village correspondents have performed their work excellently. They also played a prominent role in the work for the improvement of labour discipline. The village correspondents were trained and hardened in the struggle against the class enemy, and they are well fitted to perform their arduous tasks in 1934. These new tasks are: the increase of the harvest yield and the solution of the cattle-breeding difficulties. These tasks can be performed only in a merciless struggle against the remnants of the class enemy and his influence in the rural areas.

The practical work of the village correspondents is carried out in the fields, in the tractor stations, in the cattle-pens; in fact, everywhere. They keep a watchful eye on everything, to see that things do not go wrong, and they describe everything they see which is worthy of praise or blame. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the village correspondents will undoubtedly carry out their work with equal success in 1934.

A Gigantic Work of the Second Five-Year Plan

One of the most tremendous tasks on the field of economic reconstruction in the Soviet Union is the cutting of the Moskva-Volga canal. One can get some idea of the extent of this work when one realises that the concrete and ferro-concrete work on it is three times as extensive as on the Dnieper power station. When the canal is finished the river Moskva will be transformed from a shallow stream unsuitable for large up-river traffic into a great water highway of tremendous economic importance.

However, the building of the Moskva-Volga canal serves not only to improve the inland water transport system, but it at the same time solves a number of politico-economic problems. One of the most important of these problems which is to be solved by the complex of hydro-technical operations, is the fundamental reorganisation of the water supply of the red capital, whereby the cultural level of the working masses will again be raised. The second Five-Year Plan provides for a water supply to Moscow of 250 liters daily per head of the population in 1937 and an increase of this average from year to year following.

No less important will be the sanitary improvement of the river Moskva and its tributaries the Yausa, Lichoborka, etc. The system of water filtering needs a thorough overhaul and reconstruction and the aim is to obtain a supply of clean water from the Moskva river of at least 30 cubic meters per second. The complete solution of this problem is only possible by the completion of the Moskva-Volga canal.

After the completion of the Moskva-Volga canal the inland water docks of Moscow will be connected up not only with the inland waterway Moskva-Oka, but also with the inland waterways to Leningrad, to the White Sea, to Gorki (Nishni-Novgorod) and the Caspian Sea. In this way a number of transport distances will be considerably shortened. For instance, the way to Gorki via the Moskva-Volga canal over Rybinsk will be 825 kilometres instead of the present distance of 1,060 kilometres through the Oka river. The inland waterways of the Soviet Union are to be used above all for the transport of fuel and building materials. However, the supplies of food to the Lower Volga district will also take up a considerable volume of the shipping on the new Moskva-Volga canal.

The canal begins on the Upper Volga near the village of Ivanko, above the junction of the Dubna tributary with the Volga. It then runs 89 kilometres in a south-eastern direction to the Utchansk reservoir. On this section it will serve for river steamers. The Utchansk reservoir has a capacity of 190 million cubic meters and serves as a filtering station for drinking water. From this point the canal will divide into two arms, one for shipping and irrigation and the other for the water pipes. The shipping canal will come to Moscow from the west, whilst the water supply will come into the town from the eastern side. The shipping canal will join the river Moskva in the Sukina marsh district, where a five-level lock system will be erected so that around Moscow a ring of inland waterways for steamers of large tonnage will be created.

Mass Subotnik on the Moscow Underground

On March 24 80,000 workers from 300 Moscow factories took part in a mass subotnik (voluntary working day) on the building of Moscow's underground railway. These voluntary workers dug out tens of thousands of cubic meters of earth from the shafts and transported it away from the spot. The expectations of the organisers of the subotnik were greatly exceeded.

The voluntary workers marched to the scene of operations led by bands and banners and headed by the secretaries of the Party committees and the chairmen of the factory committees. Comrade Kaganovitch worked in shafts seven and eight and took part in the work for starting up the lift in shaft nine. The secretaries of the Moscow Party Committee, Comrades Chruchtchov and Michailov also took part in the work. In shaft No. 23 the commander of the Moscow military district Comrade Kork was at

work. Everything possible is being done to have the first section of the line in working order by November 7, 1934.

Soviet Stratospheric Research

The Soviet Union has gained a new record in the field of stratospheric research. The stratosphere balloon sent up from Leningrad on March 25, without crew, ascended to an altitude of 21 km., and then descended safely. This altitude has never before been attained by a balloon without a crew.

The director of the Aerological Institute, Professor Moltschanov, states that further ascensions of such balloons are intended, and that it is hoped to reach an altitude of 30 to 32 km. under Polar conditions.

Five Million Hectares Already Sown

In some Southern districts the sowing campaign is already almost completed. The work of the collective farms is carried on with the utmost elan. A total of over five million hectares of land has already been sown all over the Soviet Union. At the end of March last year not even one million were sown. On March 25 2,579,000 hectares were sown in the Ukraine, as compared with 274,000 at the same time last year.

In the Camp of Social Democracy

The Dissolution of the Paris Social Democratic Party of Germany

By Albert Wrage

Events have taken place in the Paris local group of the social-democratic party of Germany which are of particular importance because they more or less reflect the mood of the social-democratic workers in Germany and in emigration. Since their arrival in Paris the worker emigrants of the social-democratic party have made serious reproaches against Wels' leadership, and a part of them began already last Autumn, in spite of the prohibition of the party leadership, to join the united front movement of the World Committee against imperialist war and fascism. The pressure upon the leadership of the Paris local group was so strong that they were compelled to don a very "Left" garb in order to keep their members in the organisation. These members are mostly Reichsbanner and party functionaries who had come into immediate conflict with the fascists and had partly realised the united front with the Communists in their local or sub-districts before and during Hitler's seizure of power. These workers, who are to-day fighting in the ranks of the united front, are slandered by Trotsky in the following shameful manner:—

"These people constitute a motley crowd which only in the rarest cases can claim membership of the former social democracy as political credentials. The mass of these 'emigrants' consists mostly of members of the former Reichsbanner, partly of elements whose political past is very obscure, and whose individual 'services' for socialism consisted perhaps in individual scuffles with Nazis and Stahlhelm people (!) . . . only those who belong to the sphere apart from and beyond the Reichsbanner can be reckoned as the political (!) emigration of the S.P. of Germany."—"Our Word," beginning of March.)

In harmony with Trotsky, the social-democratic party committee has attempted to settle with the opposition by means of economic coercion. The leaders of the Paris social-democratic emigration, Menshevists of the type of Gurland and Schwarz, who are employees of the International Federation of Trade Unions, imagine that they will be able to break the resistance of the oppositional workers by scattering them in the provinces of

France, rendering it difficult for them to get identification papers and threatening them with the loss of financial support. It is intended to remove from Paris all those members who do not belong to the bureaucracy, to isolate them from each other, and thus prevent their revolutionary development.

All these attempts have ended in complete failure. At the end of February about twenty social-democratic functionaries in Paris published an appeal addressed to the Hamburg social-democratic workers who had recently declared their solidarity with Thaelmann. The social-democratic workers of Hamburg and of the whole of Germany were informed that the undersigned social-democratic workers have formed a shock brigade united front in loyal co-operation with the Communists, which is collecting money for the financial support of the fighting anti-fascists and for the establishment of illegal printing presses, as well as for the organising of factory patronages.

This appeal started the avalanche rolling under which to-day the Paris local of the social-democratic party of Germany lies crushed. The Central Committee itself threw aside its "Left" mask by expelling on the 1st of March the signatories to the social-democratic appeal!

A part of those who have remained in the social-democratic organisation hit upon the desperate idea of founding a cartel of German revolutionaries. Clause 8 of the proposed statutes reads: "The founders of the 'Left' cartel are the Paris group of the socialist party of Germany, the representatives of the socialist labour party of Germany and the C.P. 'Left' opposition. This means an alliance with Trotsky. And Trotsky, in the negotiations which have been already conducted, shows no disinclination to unite with the bankrupt reformist politicians, but he insists on having the sole leadership in his hands. This brought about the collapse of the 'Left' cartel for the time being."

There only remains to tell of the miserable end of the social-democratic local group in Paris. On March 15 the Central Committee had before it a resolution maliciously abusing the C.P. of Germany and the Comintern, and at the same time declaring the Prague Central Committee of the social-democratic party of Germany to be chiefly responsible for the defeat of the German proletariat and the originator of the split, rejecting its programme and proposing the creation of a new revolutionary party.

To the split of the workers by Wels and Severing—which is now being overcome in the illegal fight by the coming over of masses of the social-democratic workers to the C.P. of Germany and the proletarian united front action—there is to be added a new split by the founding of the Trotskyist party.

On March 22 there took place a members' meeting at which the above resolution was rejected by a narrow majority. The defeated minority announced their withdrawal from the social-democratic party of Germany. To crown it all, the rump group split again on the same evening. The notorious Menshevik Gurland moved that the local group should declare itself dissolved, and left the meeting with his followers. Eight people were left. They adopted the solemn decision to bring about an understanding between the Prague Party Executive and Mr. Trotsky. An attempt which by no means seems hopeless.

The complete dissolution of the Paris local group of the social-democratic party of Germany is only one of the many symptoms of the break-up of the Second International. The uninterrupted treachery of the social-democratic leaders and the heroic behaviour of the Communist Party of Germany in face of the Hitler regime is leading to the best social-democratic workers severing their connections with the reformists. An energetic and tactful policy of the united front will accelerate this process and bring fresh valuable recruits to Communism.

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