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## CORRESPONDENCE

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# The Approach of Big Class Struggles In France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The government of national union has just made use for the first time of the plenary powers invested in it by the parties of both the left and right wing. On April 4 the government published the first of its economy measures. This measure is destined to economise a sum of 2,760 million francs at the expense of the working masses. No less than 80,000 officials are to be dismissed, all salaries are to be cut by from 5 to 10 per cent., and pensions are to be cut down by a sum of 500 million francs. The ex-soldiers in receipt of pensions for war service are also to lose 1,200 million francs.

The representatives of the government even stress the fact that these successive measures must be considered as a beginning only. These measures have been made necessary, according to the government, by the urgent necessity of balancing the State budget. However, the actual deficit at the moment is considerably in excess of four milliard francs. Not only that, but the continuation of the economic crisis makes it more than probable that the discrepancy between the official estimates for income and expenditure respectively (about 600 million francs for the first two months of the budgetary year) will be greater than reckoned with. It is impossible for the government to restore a budget equilibrium along these lines, and in fact a far more important object of the government with these economy measures is to restore the confidence of the investing public in order to float loans to a total of about 20 milliard francs in order to fill up the depleted State

treasury and also to have a pretext to deliver a new and crushing attack on the working masses.

New economy measures are being prepared in order to reduce social expenditure, to reduce unemployment and local support, and to cut down the sums expended on the building and maintenance of schools. With the same excuse the railwaymen are to suffer cuts together with the officials. The annual deficit on the working of the French State railways is about four milliard francs. Later victims of the cuts are to be the employees in the public services, the employees of the Départements and the municipal employees. All these measures are to serve to introduce a fundamental reform of the State apparatus, "the public authorities are to moulded anew," as the French Prime Minister has declared. The aim of the government of national union is to set up an authoritarian State with a still more highly centralised State apparatus completely purged of all "unruly elements" as an important step on the way to the development from bourgeois democracy to fascism.

France is thus at the beginning of great struggles, struggles which will be not only economic but political. The government of national union has decided to throw down the gage once and for all to the civil servants and to the organisations which represent and defend their interests. If the resistance of the civil servants is successfully broken, then the industrialists will be able to continue their offensive against the wages and working conditions of the toiling masses, and not only that, but the govern-

ment will then be able to destroy the last remnants of those rights and freedoms which the workers have won from democracy and in this way to continue its progress towards fascism.

Even before the appearance of the first emergency decrees the Communist Party of France and the revolutionary trade unions warned the workers of their far-reaching consequences. On March 28 the Central Council of the revolutionary trade union federation (C.G.T.U.) adopted a resolution appealing to all its affiliated organisations and to all their officials to do their utmost to *organise partial actions and demonstrations with a view to preparing a general strike on the part of the State officials and civil servants in order to defeat the emergency decrees.*

Under the pressure of the revolutionary organisations numerous demonstrations and partial actions have already taken place in the postal services, in the customs services and in the tobacco factories (the production, distribution and sale of tobacco is a State monopoly in France.—Ed. "Inprecorr"), etc. On April 7 the employees of the Paris central telegraph office carried out a strike which lasted five hours. Demonstrations were organised on the streets and in the telegraph offices. The revolutionary union of postal, telegraph and telephone employees has issued the slogan for a limited strike (at least one hour) on April 13 and calls upon the "victims of the cuts" to support it with all possible energy. On April 20 the public employees are called upon to demonstrate in front of the Hôtel de Ville, etc.

The Doumergue-Tardieu government is well aware that the resistance to its measures will be energetic and powerful. It is manœuvring feverishly in all possible ways in order to reduce the extent of the fight. The ideal of the government is "not to force through the cuts, but to convince those concerned of their necessity," and it is therefore intensifying its hypocritical appeals to the victims and points out in particular that the emergency decrees and the cuts represent the lesser evil as compared with the possibility of a catastrophic inflation. In this way the government hopes to secure the support of the leaders of the big organisations of ex-soldiers for "voluntary sacrifices on the altar of the Fatherland." At the same time the government is organising a powerful press campaign with a view to driving a wedge in between the employees in the public services and the masses of the workers and peasants by inciting the latter against "the selfishness of the officials."

However, the government reckons above all on the support of the French socialist party and of the reformist trade union federation (C.G.T.) in order to carry out its emergency decrees of hunger and fascism. Both these organisations are doing their utmost to support the attack of the government. They remained completely silent about the proposed emergency decrees as long as ever they could, and now that they have been forced out of their reserve by the pressure of the masses, all they have to say is to deprecate the attitude of the "pitiable government" which is unable to find any other methods with which to fight against the crisis. Both "Populaire" and "Peuple" declared that the cuts represent a "wise operation." Neither the socialist party nor the reformist trade union federation have issued the least slogan for action against the cuts. They want to permit Doumergue to make his experiment in order to prove that he is unable to solve the crisis. They do not care about the fact that the experiment is directed against the interests of the working masses whose lot interests them very little.

The reformist trade union federation is doing its utmost to draw the attention of the masses away from this offensive of capitalism. It is assembling its most devoted supporters in loudly trumpeted "General Labour Councils" from which the workers willing and anxious to fight the government are being rigidly excluded. It has caused these "Councils" to adopt a programme for the "restoration" of capitalism which stresses the necessity of loyally supporting "democracy" and the "sovereign parliament," and which spreads the dangerous illusion that the bourgeois State could act in the interests of "collective welfare," just at a time when it is in fact preparing to strike still harder at the toiling masses and enslave them by an open dictatorship.

In the meantime the united front of the workers from below is consolidating and extending despite the services rendered by the social democracy to the bourgeoisie. The postal employees of all

shades of opinions took part jointly in the protest actions. At various places joint delegations to the "Councils of Labour" were elected, although it goes almost without saying that they were not received by these bodies. In St. Etienne, Calais and Grenoble trade unions affiliated to the reformist trade union federation have adopted resolutions of protest against the treacherous policy of the Central Council of the federation and affiliated themselves to the anti-fascist committees. A score or so of the branches of the socialist party have also affiliated to these local committees on the basis of a programme which includes a determined struggle against the emergency decrees.

The government of national union is determined to use all possible force in its struggle against the Communist Party. The government seeks to isolate the Party from the masses of the workers by insidious propaganda concerning the alleged putchist intentions of the Party and its alleged participation in alleged soviet espionage. The government would like to smash the Communist Party in accordance with the advice of the fascist Taittinger, a friend of Tardieu, who declared: "The general strike should be nipped in the bud now by ruthless action against the inciters." After robbing the State officials of their best leaders a statute would then be rushed through depriving them of their rights.

Despite the detailed revelations published in the official organ of the Communist Party "*l'Humanité*" concerning the arming of the fascist bands, the government carefully refrains from taking any action against the fascists. On the contrary, the government systematically encourages the fascists in their military preparations and protects them with the whole power of the police force. The organisation of patriotic youth has already intervened in an attempt to prevent the carrying out of a half-hour protest strike by the telegraphists at the Paris stock exchange. The attempt failed signally and the young fascists received a sound drubbing.

In this respect also the reformist trade union federation is one of the most active supporters of the government of national union. The C.G.T. had organised a great meeting to take place on April 8 in support of its programme for the restoration of capitalism, but when it became evident that masses of determined workers were going to attend in order to change the character of the meeting to one of resolute defiance to the economy measures of the government, the leader of the reformist trade union federation, *Jouhaux*, went to see Doumergue and after his visit the meeting was called off. At the same time the reformist federation caused placards to be issued declaring the Communist workers to be saboteurs and accomplices of the fascists.

Immediately after this the C.G.T. publicly accused the Communist Party in the vilest fashion of having "committed crimes against the freedom of the workers," and did its best to incite the masses against the Communist Party and to destroy the unity of action forming amongst the workers and at the same time to facilitate the operations of the government against the Communist Party.

The period through which the French Republic is now passing strongly recalls the *Bruening period in Germany*. He also prepared the way for the establishment of the fascist dictatorship by issuing emergency decrees similar to those now being issued by Doumergue and Tardieu. He too received the support of the social democracy on the ground that he represented a lesser evil and that to support him was necessary in order to save the republic. Like Jouhaux, the German reformist trade union leader Leipart called upon the masses to support a programme for the restoration of the capitalist economic system, and all the leaders of the German social democratic party accused the German Communist Party of co-operating with Hitler. But the lessons of the German events have not been lost upon the masses of the French workers. The French Communist Party strongly condemns all attempts to secure a rapprochement with the socialist party, attempts which are being proposed by certain elements which have been affected with panic at the approaching wave of big class struggles, and the masses are following the correct policy of the Communist Party and rallying to the united front from below on the basis of an irreconcilable struggle against the emergency decrees of the government, and against fascism, under the leadership of the Communist Party of France.

# Politics

## Three Years of the Republic in Spain

By B. Minlos

On April 14 it will be three years since the overthrow of the monarchy in Spain and the setting up of the republic, afterwards described in the Constitution as the "Republic of the Toilers of all Classes."

Up to about the end of 1931 the ruling classes—the big bourgeoisie and big landowners—made use of the petty bourgeois parties, and especially of the social democrats, as an instrument of power, the main purpose of which was to hold back the assault of the masses. The new upsurge of the revolutionary movement of the broad masses in town and country and the disappointment in the Republic, which spread also to the urban petty bourgeoisie, compelled the ruling classes to change their tactics. At the end of 1931 the so-called "Right republican parties" such as the *Radicals* under the leadership of *Lerroux*, who represent the interests of finance capital and the foreign concessionaires, the *Progressives* under the leadership of *Zamora*, who represent the capitalist landowners, and the *Conservatives* under the leadership of *Maura*, withdrew from the government. There remained in the government only the "*Left republican parties*": socialists, radical socialists, republican action, Catalan Rights, Galician republicans.

These parties, which remained in power until September, 1933, did practically nothing to solve the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution.

On the main question, the *agrarian question*, they confined themselves to passing a mutilated agrarian reform, by which up to the end of 1933 only 40,000 hectares of the land of the nobility had been expropriated for the benefit of 5,000 peasants, whilst in Spain there are two and a half million landless agricultural workers and one to one and a half million poor peasants. At the same time feudal servitude in the village remained.

With regard to the *Catholic Church*, it was only under the pressure of the masses that the government proceeded to dissolve the Jesuit orders, restrict a number of rights of the Church in the sphere of education, and gradually do away with State subventions to the Church. Nevertheless, in 1931, in the time of the republic, 65 million pesetas were paid out to the Catholic Church, in 1932 42 million pesetas, in 1933 24 million, and only in 1934 are subventions to cease.

The *national question* has not been solved, apart from the granting of a shadowy autonomy in the shape of the so-called "Statutes" to Catalonia (all the important positions, finance, customs, the army, etc., remain in the hands of the central government in Madrid). The Basque Provinces, however, are still waiting in vain for their "Statutes."

At the same time the *material and social position of the broad masses of the toilers* has constantly deteriorated in the course of the three years of the republic. The serious economic crisis and the rapid decline of foreign trade (exports in 1931 amounted to 961 million pesetas, in 1932 to 738 million, and in 1933 to 668 million) led to stagnation in all other branches of economy, especially in agriculture (exports consist of two-thirds of agricultural products). Under these circumstances unemployment has greatly increased. According to official statistics, on January 1 there were 619,000 unemployed, but their actual number amounted to not less than one and a half million. Unemployment benefit and social insurance are just as scanty as under the monarchy. In many villages downright famine prevails, a fact which even the bourgeois press is compelled to admit.

A whole number of laws has greatly worsened the social position of the working people. The law for the protection of the republic, incorporated in the Constitution, practically prohibits strikes. The law of April 8 hands over all workers' organisations to the arbitrary will of the authorities. About 10,000 *revolutionary workers and peasants are in prison*.

While the "Left republican" government sabotaged the solution of the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the forces of the revolution and the forces of open counter-revolution made preparations for the struggle, the former in spite of the resistance of the government and the latter under the protection of the government. Under these circumstances, with the increasing general disappointment in the republic, which spread to the

masses of the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat became the rallying centre of all the forces of discontent. The repeated attempts at a monarchist restoration by the military-monarchist circles were frustrated not so much by the resistance of the government, but rather by the defensive action of the working masses, in the shape of strikes, etc.

At the head of the parties of the Right there stands the notorious C.E.D.A. (*Confederacion Espanola de Derechas Autonomas*, i.e., Spanish Union of Right Autonomists), which was set up at the beginning of 1933 by the merging of a whole number of agrarian, clerical and fascist organisations. The most important political core of the C.E.D.A. is the young party of the big landowners and of big finance capital, the *Accion Popular* (People's Action), the leader of which is the big landowner *Gil Robles*. With the aid of demagoguery and intimidation the C.E.D.A. has managed to acquire a certain foothold among the well-to-do peasants and has also won adherents among the urban petty bourgeoisie, mainly among the technical intellectuals, who are being organised as strike-breakers. The programme of the C.E.D.A. includes the Corporative State.

In April, 1933, there took place numerous municipal elections, and in September the elections to the Tribunal for the Constitutional Court. On each of these occasions the "Left" parties suffered a defeat, while the Rights, especially the C.E.D.A., won victories. The Reaction therefore decided on an open attack. *The socialist ministers were thrown out of the government and their places taken by representatives of the centrist radical party*, whose leader, *Lerroux*, became the head of the new government.

At the elections which thereupon took place there was revealed a strong polarisation of forces. On the one hand, the *Communist Party* achieved big successes, increasing its vote from 60,000 in 1931 to 400,000, and for the first time gained a seat in Parliament. The "Left" parties suffered a complete defeat: of the 291 seats previously held by them they retained only 98. The centre parties, including the radicals, achieved some gains. The Rights, headed by the C.E.D.A., increased their seats from 42 to 212, 114 of these falling to the C.E.D.A., which became the biggest party in Parliament. This result was partly due to electoral anomalies, partly to election terror, buying of votes and election swindles, and finally to the campaign of the Rights, especially in the villages.

After the elections, the *second Lerroux government* was formed, in which for the first time since the establishment of the republic there was no representative of the "Left" parties, but instead a representative of the Right *national agrarian party*. The government, which has no majority in Parliament, is absolutely dependent on the C.E.D.A.

Lerroux is preparing the way for open fascism. The question of "Agrarian reform," particularly the question of giving back a part of the land which has been confiscated, has been officially raised. The restitution of the property of the Church and the restoration of its rights in regard to education are contemplated. An amnesty for the ministers of the monarchy and for the rebel monarchist generals is being prepared. The price of bread and other articles of food has been increased on the demand of the big landowners. At the end of February the so-called "Left" radicals (*Barrios*) were turned out of the Cabinet.

The working people of Spain want to fight against fascism. *The present revolutionary events in Spain are a link in the long chain of revolutionary actions of the toiling masses in the three years of the republic*. According to official figures, there were 869 strikes in 1931, 689 in 1932, and 1,032 in 1933. The actual number of strikes, however, was very much higher. The bourgeois press estimates the number of strikes in 1933, including general strikes, at 6,000. About half of these strikes took place in the country districts. To this is to be added the cases, which are becoming more and more frequent, of confiscation of the crops, farming implements, land and cattle of the big landowners by the agricultural workers and poor peasants. According to bourgeois press reports there were 69 of such recorded cases in 1932, and 267 in 1933. Finally, it has come to repeated armed actions of the working masses against the authorities, especially in January and December, 1933.

The government is resorting to repression and terror. At first a state of alarm was proclaimed, and afterwards a state of siege. Branches of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade unions were closed and their newspapers prohibited. The death

penalty was introduced for political crimes. General strikes were declared illegal. Courts-martial are being introduced.

The greatest hindrance to the further development of the revolutionary strike movement, however, is the *disunity of the working class*. The socialists and the *anarcho-syndicalists* undermine and disorganise the revolutionary mass movement.

This is the situation in which the Communist Party, which has increased from 800 members in 1931 to 30,000 at the present time, and the revolutionary trade unions, which at present number 300,000 members, have to fight against the offensive of fascism. Among the masses there is an increasing desire for the *united front*, which is being realised in many places either with the local socialist and anarchist leaders or over their heads. Factory committees, peasant committees, workers' and peasants' defence units are being formed. The central leaderships of the socialists and anarchists, however, are preventing the setting up of the united front on a national scale. On February 19 and March 12 they broke the general strike announced by the revolutionary trade unions against fascism.

Should, however, Lerro, as a result of the treachery of the socialists and anarchists, succeed in driving the Communist Party into illegality, this will be only a temporary victory. Every attack of reaction only further deepens the chronic economic, social and political crisis and thereby aggravates the conflicts. The issue of the fight which is now proceeding will depend to a considerable extent on how the revolutionary advance-guard succeeds not only in welding together the proletariat, but in drawing the broadest strata of the working population and the petty bourgeois masses in town and country over to its side.

## The "Plebiscite" in Italy—A Day of Fascist Terror and Mass Struggle

By Ercoli

The first news which we have just received regarding the manner in which the fascist "plebiscite" was carried out and giving the real results of this parody of a "consultation of the people," thoroughly confirms all the expectations connected with it.

Fascism, which was confronted with an objectively serious situation and growing discontent of the masses, used every possible means in order at all costs to achieve a "sensational" result. With this end in view it exercised a monstrous terror during the days preceding the plebiscite and on the day of the plebiscite itself. In spite of this, in the most important centres of the country, the day of the plebiscite was a *day of struggle against fascism*; and the result of the voting is far from being what Mussolini announced and what the reactionary press of all countries describes as a "proof of the unanimous loyalty of the Italian people" towards Mussolini's bloody regime.

Starace, the secretary of the fascist party, speaking on the day after the plebiscite, made use of the most abusive terms against the minority which had voted "No," announcing fresh persecutions and the necessity of imprisoning all those who had declared themselves dissatisfied with Mussolini's regime. This fierce and open attack would certainly not have been justified if, as the fascists announce, only 15,000 out of ten million voted "No." The fact is that *hundreds of thousands* voted "No." This is the reason for the fury of the fascist leaders.

The value of the votes against the regime becomes all the more evident when one takes into account the conditions under which the voting took place. We quote from the report sent out by the C.P. organisation of Turin:

"The methods which were employed at the polling stations to compel the electors to vote 'Yes' were of three kinds:

"(1) At several polling stations there were no 'No' ballot papers. The polling clerk carried out the voting himself by simply entering the name of the elector who came to the poll.

"(2) At other polling stations the polling clerk, after handing the elector two voting papers, loudly asked him: 'Do you vote Yes or No?' and compelled him to answer openly in front of the armed fascists who occupied the polling station.

"(3) Finally, at other polling stations the elector was allowed to enter the cell in order to select the voting paper, but on coming out the polling clerk, who could easily tell by the colour of the voting paper whether the elector had voted 'No,' informed the fascists who were present of the way the elector had voted.

"Nevertheless up to 2 o'clock in the afternoon the results of the voting were far from coming up to the desires and expectations of the fascists. *Hundreds and hundreds of workers voted 'No,'* hundreds abstained from voting when they heard how the voting was being carried out. Thereupon, groups of armed fascists went through the whole town, before all in the working-class quarters, in order to compel those who had remained at home to go to the polling stations. If the reluctant elector could not be found, they themselves went and voted in his place."

In spite of this election terror, the Communist organisation of Turin, on the basis of carefully collected information, came to the conclusion that in this town alone 12,000 to 15,000 "No" votes were cast, while 35,000 to 40,000 electors stayed away from the poll. The fascists officially announced, however, that the number of "No" votes recorded in Turin did not amount even to 1,000.

Similar results are recorded by the C.P. organisation of Milan. The illegal election literature issued by the Communist Party was distributed in all the important works and factories, and the workers declared themselves in agreement with the instructions of the C.P.

The reaction was greater in the open country and in the small centres than in the big towns. The following facts are reported from a village in Liguria: A fascist militiaman, after having gone into the cell and selected his voting paper, handed the polling clerk a "No" voting paper. The polling clerk thereupon gave a sign to the fascists who were in the polling station. On leaving the polling station the militiaman was seized and savagely beaten. He was then handed over to the gendarmes in order to be conveyed to the hospital, but when he arrived there he was already dead.

The reports from Venetia and Venetia Giulia, especially from the districts inhabited by the Slav minorities, tell of monstrous terror. Eight days before the voting day a regular state of siege prevailed in these districts. The anger of the masses assumed fierce forms. In the villages in the neighbourhood of Trieste, local premises of the Dopolavoro organisation were destroyed by fire.

These first reports clearly show that the fascist plebiscite was a day of fascist terror, and at the same time a day of *struggle of the masses* on the basis of the directions issued by the Communist Party, and of outbreaks of their anger and indignation against the state of misery and slavery to which fascism has reduced them.

## The Fresh Collapse of Reformism in Belgium

By F. Coenen (Brussels)

The Belgian Labour Bank (B.B.T.), the culmination of the "magnificent" economic political structure erected by the extremely "realistic" and "creative" social-democratic Labour party of Belgium (P.O.B.), has just collapsed amidst much uproar and consternation into the bog of the daily scandals of the decaying capitalist regime, and is now dependent on such bolstering up as can be gained from the actual government, that of financial capital.

The immediate facts may be briefly summed up as follows: The B.B.T., unable to cope with the constant withdrawals of deposits, demanded urgently—for the second time—that the State should come to its aid, and has succeeded in obtaining a credit of 150 million francs, though not placed directly in its hands. Negotiations are proceeding for another credit, probably for the same amount. The co-operatives, which will receive the 150 millions in so far as they are depositors of the bank, and have been obliged to pay out the monies withdrawn by the members of their savings banks and workers' organisations, were obliged to grant the General Savings and Pension Fund (an institution guaranteed by the State, the lender of the 150 millions) a joint mortgage on their real property: on the "People's Houses."

This operation in itself delivers over into the hands of the bourgeoisie the buildings and premises owned by the social-democratic workers. In carrying out this transaction, the government has been careful to insist that it is anxious "to protect the interests of the small savers," and the sum advanced is to be "applied exclusively for the reimbursement of the deposits of the individual savers." A "strict control" of the employment of the money for this purpose is demanded. It need not be said that the "interests of the small savers" are a matter of complete indifference to the government, and play only a very small role in the matter. What is of importance to the government is to save for

the B.B.T. what can be saved, and this, of course, in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The central organ of the social-democratic party, "*Le Peuple*," very rightly designated the prime minister, *Count de Broqueville*, as a shameless horse dealer. But did not Vandervelde negotiate with him in 1913, before and during the general strike, in order to gain "industrial peace," that is, the organised "peaceful" throttling of the strike? De Broqueville has, of course, also come to an understanding with his colleague *Anseele*, who became minister of State in August, 1914, like himself, and is a member of the board of administration of the B.B.T. Besides this, the leaders of the S.P. Belgium and the B.B.T. have long since made use of their relations with certain key positions of the government in the Banque Nationale and the Société Générale de Belgique.

Since the outbreak of the crisis, the government has created an organisation, the *National Aid for Trade and Industry* (A.N.I.C.), which finances important undertakings which have got into difficulties. The B.B.T. had already obtained about 80 millions from this source. Besides this the government has subventioned, by more or less mysterious means in the form of loans of hundreds of millions, a number of large enterprises, including the Belgian Agricultural Bank, a clerical undertaking. In 1931 the State covered the loss of 650 millions sustained by the Banque Nationale in consequence of the depreciation of the English pound, and the social-democratic members of Parliament approved of this gift to the 1,200 rich shareholders of this bank.

During the present chaffering, Vandervelde and Anseele have doubtlessly pointed out how useful and necessary for the present government is the invariably loyal and creative "opposition" of their party. Were the government not to come efficiently to the aid of the B.B.T., indubitably the "socialist opposition" would be weakened, but more to the advantage of Bolshevism than to the advantage of the masked fascism of the government. These weighty arguments have taken their effect on the government.

What has led to the collapse of the B.B.T.? Above all the economic crisis, but not this alone; it has indulged in unfortunate speculations. The difficulties of the bank have been known to the initiated and the experts for three years. When the difficulties became overwhelming, the bank management not only resorted to an application to the A.N.I.C., but ceded 56 millions to the Société Générale. Its nominal capital of 50 millions appears to have only been covered to the extent of five millions, whilst its deposits attained the eightfold sum of its fictitious capital. The economic difficulties were increased by political difficulties: The events in Germany, and then in Austria have induced the small savers to the hasty withdrawal of their deposits. After the demands began to exceed the available means, the bank had only the choice between collapse and compulsory salvage.

The customers of the bank, the labour aristocracy (who still had savings after four or five years of crisis) and the social-democratic petty bourgeois, had obviously not the slightest faith left in the anti-fascism of their party, and feared the confiscation of social-democratic institutions by a Belgian Hitler or Dollfuss government. In order to pacify its clients, the propaganda newspaper of the great co-operative insurance company of the social-democratic party pointed out that a victorious fascism would incorporate this company in its "system," without touching the interests of the insured or the property of the company!

The B.B.T. was the culmination of the work of co-operative capitalist construction, the pride and the fame of "Belgian socialism." The "*Vooruit*" (Forward) was the first workers' co-operative, and has served in part in Flanders as a centre of resistance and attack for the social-democratic workers' movement. Here *Eduard Anseele* developed the theory that capitalism must be attacked and defeated on its own ground. In 1903 the first co-operative weaving mill was organised, the "United Weavers," developing in 1910 to the larger company of the "United Spinning and Weaving Mills." To this savings banks and joint stock companies were subsequently added, in order to extend and develop the production co-operatives.

On March 9, 1913, the B.B.T. was founded, with a capital of one million francs, for the purpose to undertake "financial operations of every kind." At the end of 1922 the capital was increased to five millions. The business progressed, the "People's Houses" became at the same time the savings banks and branches of this bank. In consequence of the inflation, the capital was later increased to 10 millions, and then by stages up to 50 millions.

Anseele had announced that the factories organised would be managed by the workers and technicians. But in reality the workers had no share in the management. The boards of management were composed of deputies and senators, trade union and co-operative secretaries and social-democratic bourgeois, all of whom received salaries, remunerations, etc. Dividends and exchange speculation too were the order of the day. The B.B.T. no longer confined itself to participation in textile undertakings, but took part financially in numerous iron works, building undertakings, chemical works, colonial enterprises (!), etc., part of which were wholly or overwhelmingly controlled by the B.B.T., whilst in many cases the bank was only one of many participants in capitalist undertakings. The B.B.T. has also subscribed to loans issued by fascist governments, for instance by the Bulgarian government!

It need not be said that the whole reaction of Belgium, whilst wholeheartedly endorsing the financial operations carried out by the government, is exploiting to the utmost, and with the greatest satisfaction, the adventure of the bank of the social-democrats. In the S.D. party itself the leaders are combating the panic mood, and announcing all kinds of means for placing the bank on a sound basis. The "left" social democrats join in camouflaging the negotiations, and add to the chorus demanding measures for a sound financial basis for the bank.

The *Communist Party of Belgium* is explaining to the workers the lessons to be drawn from this bank adventure, and summons the workers to call the culpable to account, and to drive from their ranks those who have delivered over their People's Houses to the bankers. It further calls upon the workers to organise and to fight against the attacks of the employers and government, for these are receiving increased support from the social-democratic leaders now that the "golden fetters" of the government of financial capital bind them hand and foot.

## Fascist Labour Service Camps in Czechoslovakia

By Karl Braun

Amongst the almost 900,000 unemployed workers included in the official statistics of the government are about 200,000 unemployed young workers whose greater part has never been in employment at all and is threatened with permanent unemployment. The young unemployed workers live in great poverty and misery, for they do not even receive the miserable support which at least a section of the adult unemployed workers receives.

With the assistance of the social fascists the bourgeoisie is now striving to exploit this terrible impoverishment of the hungry unemployed young workers in order to carry out a measure whose fascist character and whose great significance for the further development of war preparations are quite clear—the establishment of *labour service camps for unemployed young workers*.

It is understandable that the bourgeoisie puts forward the social-fascist press in order to make a favourable atmosphere for these fascist labour service camps. The campaign began about fourteen days ago. It is said that these camps are necessary not only in order to give the unemployed young workers bread and work and to save them physically, but also on account of the great moral effects, the increase of the spirit of collectivism, etc., expected to accrue from the venture. This is the same tune as the one sung by Hitler and Goebbels about their labour service camps. Their example is unmistakable. For instance, the Prague "*Sozial-Demokrat*" writes, after having praised the work of the socialist youth leagues for the introduction of the labour service camps:—

"State aid makes it necessary to collect the young people together in large colonies. They must be organised into mobile labour detachments which can be sent into action anywhere without difficulty. The members of these detachments must be properly fed, clothed and paid so that they have the possibility of satisfying their personal wishes and needs. It is a matter of course that this State aid must be built up on a voluntary basis. This necessity will result in any case from the fact that there will hardly be means enough at the disposal of the scheme to include all the unemployed young workers."

"Mobile labour detachments," the Czech national socialist "*A-Zet*" says plainer what this expression means when it writes:

"The extensive frontiers of our republic must be guarded efficiently and in such a way that it is possible to mobilise the

forces of our people as quickly as possible and send them to the frontier. To this end therefore it will be necessary to carry out now those measures which have been neglected in the past, chiefly for financial reasons. Not a penny for the unnecessary militarisation of the country, but everything possible for the protection of our republic. That is the slogan under which the government and its young people will plunge into the work."

The "Vecerni Ceskeslovo," which belongs to the same group, writes in a similar strain under the flaring headline. "*Young Labour Regiments to Build Frontier Fortifications.*" In other words, preparations for war in a way that could not be made plainer.

Even before the government has issued the law providing for the establishment of these camps as demanded by the social democracy, work has already begun to set up the camps. The first camp has already been opened in *Bratislava* (Pressburg) and it has a very definite military character. The man in charge of the camp is the military commandant of Bratislava, General Snejdarek. The camp has been set up on the outskirts of the town and its inmates will wear uniforms. Apart from their food they will receive pay of one crown a day. (There are 164 crowns to the pound sterling at par.—Ed. "Inprecorr.") Discipline will be maintained in this camp by non-commissioned officers of the corps of engineers. In the announcement of the opening of the camp it is stated expressly that the strictest discipline will be maintained in the camp.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that these camps will be fascist labour camps on the Hitler basis and that these camps will militarise the working-class youth for war. Actively supported by the social democracy the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie is striving to exploit the hunger and misery of 200,000 young workers in order to develop fascism and the preparations for war.

The Young Communist League together with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has immediately organised a broad mass protest movement against the establishment of these labour service camps, and a number of successful actions have already been carried out. On March 24 a big conference took place in *Kladno* and representatives of the unemployed young workers in Prague, *Kladno*, *Beraun*, *Karlsbad*, *Komotau*, *Bruex* and many other towns and districts took part. Representatives of social-democratic unemployed young workers also took part in the conference which issued an appeal to the working-class youth of Czechoslovakia, and in particular to the unemployed young workers, calling upon them to join in a joint struggle against the new labour service camps, against the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, against the imperialist preparations for war, and in favour of a revolutionary way out of the crisis. The appeal has met with a powerful echo amongst the masses of the young workers.

On March 28 a meeting attended by many of the young workers employed at the Inwald works in Prague took place and it was decided to prepare a strike against the introduction of the labour service camps. Similar conferences to that which took place in *Kladno* have taken place in many other towns or are in course of preparation.

Naturally, the struggle against the establishment of these labour service camps cannot be left to the young workers alone and it will in fact and must be carried on by the whole of the working population of Czechoslovakia under the leadership of the Communist Party, which is making it clear to the masses that the establishment of these labour service camps is both an extremely brutal measure of fascism and also a new step in the preparation of imperialist war.

#### The Development of the Food Industry in the Moscow District

Twelve million roubles have been set aside this year for reconstruction of old and the building of new food factories in the Moscow district. In *Tula* ten tons of ginger-bread and two tons of fruit pasties are to be produced daily. A potato-flour factory is being built, with an output capacity of 2,760 tons a year. In *Kalinin* and *Tula* the old breweries will commence working again, whilst in *Stalinogorsk* and *Orechovo Sujevo*, mineral water factories with an annual output of 25,000 hectoliters each are being opened. In the districts farther removed from Moscow 22 vegetable canning factories are being built. They will this year deliver 600 tons of canned vegetables.

## Dodecanese in the Clutches of Italian Fascism

By Kostas Grypos

Mussolini's terror and economic exploitation on the twelve islands of the Ægean Sea have become so unbearable that some weeks ago the population of two of the islands, *Kastellorizo* and *Symi*, rose in revolt. A sudden enormous increase of the customs duties (the sums thereby extorted are to serve allegedly to support the victims of the earthquake on the island of *Koss*, for whom Mussolini refused any relief from abroad) was the occasion which gave rise to the movement of the masses. The whole of the population of *Symi* demonstrated on January 12, demanding the restoration of gratuitous medical treatment and the cancellation of taxes imposed on medicaments. The fascist militia which is employed on all the islands to "maintain law and order" endeavoured in vain to disperse the demonstration. As the masses did not give way, *De Stephani*, the deputy governor of the Dodecanese, was compelled to deliver a pacifying speech from the balcony of the town hall.

On February 15 a second huge demonstration of the whole toiling population took place in protest against the 100 per cent. increase of customs duties on articles of mass consumption. This time things did not go off so smoothly. A strong military detachment which had been brought from *Rhodes* to *Symi* after the first demonstration of January 18 brutally attacked the demonstration. Ten women were arrested and only released after several hours of detention. As a result of these events the deputy mayor had to resign from his post.

The revolt on the island of *Kastellorizo*, situated near the coast of Asia Minor, assumed even greater dimensions. At a huge meeting at the beginning of February, attended by the whole of the toiling population of the island, the cancellation of the 100 per cent. increase in customs duties and the immediate dismissal of the hated mayor *Lakerdis* were demanded. Three people were arrested at the meeting and conveyed to the prison of *Rhodes*. On February 18 a second revolt broke out. With the exception of Mussolini's agents, almost the whole of the population of the island assembled in front of the governor's house, repeated their demands, including the release of the three prisoners. The fascist militia replied to these demands by firing on the meeting, wounding twenty persons, mostly women and children. These shots were at the same time the signal for increased terror on the island. Many inhabitants made their way at night by boat to the coast of Asia Minor in order to escape the terror.

According to later reports, revolts have broken out also on the other islands of the Dodecanese. The Italian government denies these reports, but has to admit the revolt on the islands of *Kastellorizo* and *Symi* and the rising indignation on the other islands.

Since the Italo-Turkish war of 1912 the twelve islands of the Ægean Sea have been under the rule of Italian imperialism, and particularly since the establishment of Mussolini's fascist dictatorship they have been subjected to cruel economic and cultural oppression and terror. On these twelve islands, which represent an important strategical basis in Asia Minor, Italian imperialism is carrying on a policy of settling hundreds of Italian families amidst a purely Greek population. On all the twelve islands "commissioners" and "deputy mayors" are the representatives of the Mussolini government, which succeeded in bringing over to its side the corrupt elements among the native mayors, as, for instance, *Lakerdis* of *Kastellorizo*, the bought agent of Italian imperialism and hated dictator of the island, who since the rule of the Turks has kept his position against the will of the population. Troops are permanently stationed at *Rhodes*, the largest of the islands, whilst on the other islands the fascist militia terrorise the population.

By means of corruption and violence the Dodecanese have up to now remained under the heel of Italian imperialism, which suppresses the Greek population, imposes the Italian language on it, fasciises the schools and ruthlessly suppresses any movement aiming at union with Greece or directed against the fascist rule.

The revolts in *Kastellorizo* and *Symi* indicate that the small heroic population of the twelve islands in the Ægean Sea is offering resistance to the fascist dictatorship of Mussolini. The toiling masses have shown their fighting determination. The international proletariat must support them in their struggle for the right of self-determination up to complete separation, both against Italian and Greek imperialism.

## Germany

# Severing—That is the Social Democracy

By J. L.

The bourgeois press brings a report to the effect that the German social democratic leader, Severing, has published a book entitled, "My Path to Hitler." In this book Severing points out that he has always been a good nationalist, that in 1919, 1920 and 1921 he fought exclusively against the Left-wing radicals. In 1920 the counter-revolutionary, Kapp, had offered him a seat in his Cabinet, but Severing had refused because Kapp was a monarchist. Hitler, however, was a republican, "a difference in principle which the Communists fail to recognise." As early as 1932 he, Severing, had declared:—

"When national socialism proves de facto that it is capable of developing any fruitful activity, then the social democratic party will recognise this movement."

In Severing's opinion national socialism has since provided this proof, for has it not used the police even more brutally against the revolutionary working class movement than even Severing himself did? And therefore Severing follows the example of his friend, the social democratic leader, Loebe. On the 20th July, 1932, he gave way to force, but now he was following exclusively the voice of his German heart. Since then Severing has again been in receipt of his well-earned pension as a Minister.

The social democratic press outside of Germany writes that if Severing really wrote such words then he is a renegade and a traitor. Further, there are renegades and traitors in the ranks of all parties, including the Communist Party. And in fact, the efforts of the social democratic press have succeeded in finding three former Communist members of various municipal councils who have abandoned their Communist convictions and gone over to Hitler. There are heroic and cowardly persons, loyal and treacherous individuals in all movements, and with this statement the case of Severing is settled for the social democratic press. "Let the dead bury the dead!" appeals the "Deutsche Freiheit," the organ of the social democratic party in the Saar district, and adds pathetically, "We demand wide horizons and comrades who ask not where we come from, but where we are going to. Break away from the past and march on into the future. Let us not waste our time on the burial ground of history."

However, Severing was not a subordinate official in the working class movement who betrayed his class under the threat of torture and death. Severing was the leader of the German social democratic party who was trusted for years with the key position of the power of the social democratic party and who used this power for years ruthlessly against the revolutionary working-class movement. The Prussian police ministry, under Severing, was presented to the social democratic workers as the "bulwark of the republic" against fascism. In order to maintain this "position of power" the workers were asked to accept every possible sacrifice, the toleration of the Bruening government, the innumerable wage-cuts, the constant cutting down of unemployment, health and other benefits, the conclusion of the Concordat with the Church, the compensation payments to the Hohenzollerns, the building of armoured cruisers and the election of Hindenburg as Reich's President. All these things the social democratic workers were asked to bear patiently in order that Severing might make the Prussian police ministry into the "bulwark of the republic." Severing was the essence of the official policy of the German social democratic party. What a howl of triumph arose when Severing, the man who betrayed and crushed the Red Army in the Ruhr district, the man who ordered the disarming of the revolutionary workers in Central Germany, who dissolved the proletarian defence detachments in 1923 and who prohibited the Red Front Fighters' League, once prohibited a reactionary Stahlhelm organisation in the Rhineland for a few months! What a campaign of boosting was carried out when the Prussian coalition government decided to pay out support to the workers locked out by the heavy industrialists in 1928, and when Severing came forward as the official government arbitrator and arranged a compromise solution at the expense of the workers! When the "Left-wing" social democrats attacked the coalition

ministers at the congress of the social democratic party a representative of the Central Committee stood up and declared that any party would be proud to have such statesmen in its ranks as Braun and Severing, and the social democratic officials assembled at the congress applauded this real representative of the social democratic spirit with enthusiasm.

This was the role played in the social democratic party by the man who persuaded the Prussian Cabinet to do nothing whatever against the coup d'Etat of von Papen on the 20th July, 1932. Even the bourgeois ministers, Hirtsiefer and Klepper, were in favour of resistance, but the social democratic leader, Severing, decided in favour of submission without a fight. Severing knew that behind the mass struggle of the workers against fascism was the spectre of the social revolution which he hated like poison in accordance with the example of his master, Ebert. For Severing the dictatorship of Hitler was already the lesser evil as compared with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When Hitler came to power Severing did not need to fly or to conceal himself. He was not sent to a concentration camp, he was not maltreated or threatened. And now that he publicly goes over into the camp of Hitler he does not do so in fear of his life, though this would be no excuse for a political leader. Severing does not merely want to live in Hitler Germany, he wants to live a comfortable life there. Whether Severing personally is courageous or cowardly, of upstanding character or characterless is not of the least interest, but the decisive political factor is that the social democrats put such people who were open traitors to the working class years ago at the head of their party.

Therefore, the case of Severing is not a personal one and not an individual one. At the head of the Communist movement are men like Thaelmann, Dimitrov and Scheer, workers who have risked their lives for the cause of their class a hundred times, not only now, under the fascist terror, but before. For these workers the struggle of the working class is a vital element of their lives, and neither threats nor promises can make them waver. And such proletarian fighters are not only at the head of the Communist Party, but hundreds of thousands of them are in the ranks of the Party itself and have defied torture and death again and again. Dimitrov was able to declare with pride that in months and months of feverish work the fascist police did not succeed in discovering one single official of any prominence in the Communist Party amongst the thousands of arrested workers who was prepared to give evidence against his Party in the Reichstag fire trial. It is not surprising that amongst the hundreds of thousands of lower officials there were perhaps a dozen who bowed their heads to the fascist terror and became traitors. The fact that the traitors were so few is a proof of the iron proletarian discipline and the unshakeable revolutionary loyalty which the Communist Party had instilled in its members and officials.

On the other hand, the attitude of the social democratic leader, Severing, is not an isolated case. Severing, Loebe and numerous lesser-known leaders, particularly from the ranks of the trade union bureaucracy, like Ehrenteit in Hamburg, have done no more than go a step farther on the path of treachery than the whole of the social democratic leadership. The fight against the fascist dictatorship which they promised a thousand times was sabotaged not only by Severing but by the whole leadership of the social democratic party and the German Trade Union Federation (A.D.G.B.) when they rejected up to the bitter end every proposal for a joint struggle together with the Communists against fascism. The whole social democratic Reichstag's fraction with Wels at its head took part in the fascist Reichstag engineered as the result of terror and deceit and they made no protest against the forcible exclusion of the Communist deputies and no protest against the transparent provocation of the burning of the Reichstag. In this way they assisted the Hitler bandits to cover themselves with the cloak of legality. On the 17th May the whole social democratic fraction voted for Hitler's "peace policy." The social democratic leader,

Wels, resigned his position on the Executive Committee of the Second International in order to prove what a good nationalist he was and to purchase for his party the right to exercise "a loyal opposition." A year earlier than Severing and Loebe, the social democratic leaders of the Reformist Trade Union Federation (A.D.G.B.), **Leipart** and **Grassmann**, officially recognised the "national services" of Hitler in their trade union organ and praised their own "national services" in the past. They declared themselves willing to co-operate in the working of the fascist State and appealed to the workers to demonstrate on the 1st of May, "conscious of their social position," according to the instructions of Hitler and Goebbels.

The whole of the social democratic leadership was well on the same path as Severing has pursued to the logical conclusion. A section of this leadership then went abroad and secure from molestation began to hurl "revolutionary" phrases against the fascist dictatorship, not because their democratic or socialist conscience had awakened in the meantime, but because Hitler and Goering refused to give them the possibility of co-operating in the "Third Reich" as "a loyal opposition." They even admit frankly in their new "revolutionary" programme that "a new situation" arose for them and made "a new policy" necessary because fascism refused to make any compromise with them or permit them to work legally.

Severing is not lying when he declares that he has always been a good nationalist and that he has always fought exclusively against the Left-wing of the working class movement. All he needed to do was logically to continue the path he was on in order to end up in Hitler's camp. From the very beginning national socialism was not the deadly enemy for him, but merely a successful competitor for the favours of the bourgeoisie.

Severing has played his role as an agent of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class for decades, not merely since yesterday. He was playing it before the war when, as a friend of **Noske** and **Schippel** in the circle of the "Sozialistische Monatshefte," he supported the revisionist attacks on Marxism. He remained loyal to this role during the world war as a Kaiser socialist, and he continued to be loyal to it in the years from 1918 to 1921 when, as the leader of the police, he organised the terrorist suppression of the revolutionary struggles of the workers. Like **Noske** when he set up his "Free Corps," Severing assisted the fascists to build up their military organisations, when he caused the formation of the "Frontier Defence Force" in Upper Silesia, and when he shielded the Black Reichwehr. The organiser of the white terror against the revolutionary working class has become a lackey of Hitler fascism and this development has proceeded with an inner and inevitable logic parallel to the development of the social democracy itself into social fascism. The case of Severing is a classical demonstration of the truth that the word "social fascism" is not merely a new term of abuse, as the supporters of the social democracy, the **Trotsky**s and **Brandlers** declare, but an exact and scientific term for the last phase of the development of reformism.

The German social democratic party cannot shake off its Severing so easily. For years its **Noskes** and **Severings**, who are now the pensioners of the Third Realm, were at the head of the party and as the representatives of the party they let loose their reign of terror against the revolutionary workers, in the name of the social democratic party they gave orders to slaughter the revolutionary workers. If that was in accordance with the principles of a "working class party" what is wrong with licking the boots of the fascist executioners? The social democrat, **Grzesinsky**, who can no longer exercise his capacities as the watch-dog of the bourgeois order of society in Hitler's Third Reich, has now left for China to serve under **Chiang Kai-shek** as police bloodhound against the Chinese working masses. The social democracy has not considered it at all necessary to dissociate itself in any way from this fine member.

Indeed, how could a party whose programme is still one of alliance with the bourgeoisie in a struggle against the proletarian dictatorship and against Communism, dissociate itself in principle from fascism and from those of its members who have since openly gone over to fascism? What is the fundamental difference between Severing and Loebe, who have succeeded in "integrating themselves in the totalitarian State," and **Leipart** and **Wels** in Germany, or **Bauer** and **Seitz** in Austria, whose attempts in the same direction were repulsed?

Has the social democracy taken any measures against any of

those leaders who supported the policy of capitulation up to the shameful 17th May? So long as **Leipart** and the others who have remained in Germany do not write a book expressly supporting Hitler they can still be considered as good social democrats. **Wels**, who did his best with the "integration" business by resigning from the Executive Committee of the Second International, is still a member of the Central Committee of the German social democratic party. The Left-wing phrasemongers of the Miles group announce with pride that this central committee permits them to spread their ideas, but on the other hand, social democratic workers who, as emigrants in Paris, have formed united front committees with their Communist fellow workers for the fight against fascism and for the organisation of revolutionary work in Germany, are being expelled from the Party.

It is a logical and uninterrupted chain which leads from Severing and Loebe, who have succeeded in finding favour with Hitler, to those who are still waiting in Germany to be accepted with favour, to those who are working abroad to take Hitler's place in Germany after his overthrow in order to work once again in the service of the bourgeoisie, to the "Left-wing" social democrats who are enthusiastically in favour of a "revolutionary dictatorship" and, if necessary, even for workers' Soviets, who want to hear no more of the past and who at the same time preach unity with **Wels**, **Stampfer**, **Aufhaeuser** and all the other colleagues of Severing and Loebe who have not yet been so successful as the latter two.

Severing and Loebe believe that the Hitler dictatorship will last a long time and therefore they want to make themselves comfortable in the Third Reich. **Stampfer** and **Wels** see no possibility for themselves of being accepted back into grace in the Third Reich and they hope therefore that the Third Reich will quickly come to an end in order then, as **Wels** has declared quite frankly, to save Germany from Bolshevism in the coming revolution. That is the whole difference between them.

We are to let the dead bury the dead? We are to leave the past in peace? We are to spare the social democratic leaders the bill for their crimes? We are to recognise them as fighters against fascism because to-day they are not where Severing and Loebe are?

No, gentlemen of the social democratic leadership, the account cannot be settled as easily as all that. The dead are abroad, the spectres of the past are all around us and millions of the living are influenced by them and prevented from finding the straight path to the struggle for the victory of the working class. The corpse of the social democracy is not yet underground and the living must bury it, the living masses of social democratic workers who do not want to go with Severing and Loebe, **Wels** and **Stampfer**, who do not want to perish under the ruins of the decaying system of capitalism which has death gnawing at its vitals.

We shall take good care that the case of Severing does not disappear from the agenda all too quickly. **Severing—that is the social democracy.** The path of Severing—that is the path of the social democracy. The breach with Severing—that is the breach with the social democracy, that is the way to the revolutionary class struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the establishment of Communism.

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### International Mass Actions Must Save Ernst Thaelmann

Prague, April 1.

A committee has been formed here of representatives of the large industrial undertakings of Prague, and has undertaken the task of informing the public on the treatment accorded **Thaelmann** in prison, of exposing the manoeuvres of the Nazis in their preparations for **Thaelmann's** trial, and of organising the struggle for his release. The committee has sent a communication to Hitler protesting against the maltreatment of **Thaelmann**, and demanding his release, as also the release of **Torgler** and the other anti-fascist fighters. A letter has also been sent to **Thaelmann**, informing him of the formation of the Prague Committee, and expressing fighting solidarity with him.

The Juridical Association of Czechoslovakia has applied to the German Minister of the Interior, requesting a reply to its application for permission to visit a concentration camp, in order to see with their own eyes the conditions under which the prisoners live. The Czechoslovakian Juridical Association now further demands permission to visit **Thaelmann**.

A women's meeting held in Prague sent a protest to the German embassy, demanding the release of **Thaelmann**.



# Austria

## The Leader Principle in the Austrian Constitution

By Gruber (Vienna)

In order to make out to the public at home and abroad that political life in Austria is being normalised, a new Constitution is to be proclaimed shortly. The need to set up a new Constitution proves that the Dollfuss government itself realises how weak is the crutch which it uses to-day, namely, the War-Economy Powers Act of the year 1917, by means of which the Hapsburg government adopted economic measures without consulting Parliament. The necessity of a new Constitution demonstrates the unconstitutional character of the present government, which has abolished Parliament and the Constitutional Court.

The new Constitution, however, only serves to normalise the present usurped power of the Dollfuss government. This is expressed in the fact that the basic idea of the new Constitution is the "authoritarian" principle. The present regime is also designated by its supporters as an "authoritarian government." This "authoritarian regime" is, however, nothing else but the national socialist "incorporation" based on the "leadership" principle, which the Austrian government has so vehemently denounced.

The Dollfuss-Fey government remains the highest authority in the State. It alone has the right to introduce legislation. In the "Wiener Zeitung" of April 1, Ministerial Councillor *Dr. Hatcher* cynically seeks to justify this by stating that by reserving to the Federal government the initiative for legislation it is intended to prevent purely demagogic laws, which do not serve the interests of the State, from being enacted or time being wasted in discussing such laws. The Bundestag (Federal Assembly) will not have even the right to propose amendments to government Bills, but only the right to accept or reject such Bills. This veto right, however, is rendered completely worthless by the emergency legislation, by virtue of which the government can issue laws by means of emergency decrees, and the Federal President is even enabled to alter the Constitution. In addition to the Bundestag, the Constitution names as "legislative bodies" the State Council, the Economic Council, and the Provincial Council. These "Councils," however, do not differ as regards their powers from the present Chambers (Chamber of Trade and Commerce, Workers' and Employees' Chamber, Lawyers' Chamber, etc.), as they are to have only the right to express their opinion on government Bills. And finally, the government is in no way bound to pay any heed to their opinion. It is expressly stated in the "Wiener Zeitung" article from which we have already quoted:—

"The authoritarian principle is to be further followed, in that the government in drafting Bills must be completely independent as regards the opinion of the council meetings."

Care is taken that these "councils," or individual members of these councils, shall not mobilise public opinion in support of any opposition to the government, for the deliberations of these councils are to take place behind closed doors. Precisely on this point there is revealed the whole fraud of the new Constitution, for it would be certainly simpler and less expensive if the Constitution provided that the government could have its draft Bills examined by experts when it sees fit.

The Bundestag will consist of representatives of these "councils." As *Dr. Merkl*, Professor of the Vienna University, points out in the "Wiener Neueste Nachrichten," International scientific criticism will deny that the Bundestag has the character of a Parliament, because it cannot claim to represent the whole people. It will consist of delegates from bodies appointed more or less by the government or the Federal President.

The authority of the government is just as little restricted by the federalist principle. Austria, it is true, will still be called a Federal State. But the monarchy could with equal right have been called a Federal State, as it was composed of representatives of various kingdoms and provinces. Also at that time there were Diets in all these provinces. The Diets, however, have only the right to adopt decisions on the execution of the laws, as the main legislation is reserved to the government. The representatives of the provinces form only a minority in the Bundestag, and this Bundestag, as already pointed out above, has no real legislative power.

Thus Austria will in reality be no longer a Federal State; fascism is burying the last remnants of federalism.

Even after the new Constitution, the whole authority of the "authoritarian policy" remains with the Federal government. From where, however, does the Federal government derive its authority? It is appointed and deposed by the Federal President. Even if one assumed that the present Federal President Miklas might make an attempt to depose Dr. Dollfuss, it is impossible to see how he could do so without the sanction of the government itself, as a deposition without the counter-signature of the government would have no legal force.

It is also not shown how, according to the new Constitution, a Federal President is to be appointed. The government declares this Constitution to be a transitional Constitution, and apparently hopes that it will not be compelled to deal with this question in the near future.

The absolute authority which the Federal government assumes comes to it only by the simple fact of its existence. It is in power; it has crushed the working class; it has rifles and bayonets and therewith legislative power. That is the meaning of the new Constitution.

In Italy and Germany the Fascist dictatorship base their authority on the legend of a leader and the party behind him. All similar attempts have failed in Austria. One cannot make of the pocket Chancellor a counter-part of Mussolini and Hitler; he remains only their caricature in miniature.

Therein lies one of the weaknesses of the "authoritarian policy" which will render it easier to destroy all illusions regarding the new Constitution. The broad masses will not believe that the new Constitution denotes any change of policy. Their hatred and contempt of the "authoritarian" dictatorship will remain the same. Thus the new Constitution will not fulfil its purpose.

## Otto Bauer's Latest Demagogy

By Gustav (Vienna)

The guns of the fascist government troops have shattered the last remnants of democratic illusions. The Austrian working class, whose heroic sons fought on the barricades in February, has been compelled by the most effective argument there is—the argument of the most abominable fascist dictatorship—to recognise whither the democratic path leads.

The great leader of the people, Otto Bauer, hesitated for a long time since the February revolt to take up an attitude to this question. Both in his pamphlet and in the first numbers of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung," he carefully avoided any reference to this question. This fact helped in no small measure to increase the indignation of the workers against the social-democratic party. In the meantime Communism began to gain ground rapidly among the more advanced social-democratic workers. The Austrian workers began to realise that the teaching of the dictatorship of the proletariat is inseparably bound up with the teaching of the necessity of a revolutionary party, the Communist mass Party.

It was not to be expected, however, that the social democracy, and certainly not Otto Bauer, would voluntarily abandon the political tribune; rather could one safely reckon that this master of political trickery would engage in a fresh "left" manoeuvre. And this has proved to be the case. In No. 4 of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" Otto Bauer outlines a programme of the further tactics of the Austrian social-democratic party, and in No. 5 he already deals with the Communists.

The very title of Otto Bauer's article, "New Ways to the Old Goal," shows what he is aiming at. It is, in truth, the old goal of the socialist party of Austria, which, however, is to be reached by "new ways," by splitting the working class, preventing proletarian class unity for the overthrow of capitalism. In order to achieve this end, Otto Bauer is even prepared to make concessions to the mood of the working class. He points to the decisions, adopted by the Second International in August last in Paris, that in the countries with a fascist dictatorship this dictatorship can be overthrown only by a revolutionary rising of the people. This decision also applies to Austria now that democracy has been destroyed also in that country.

Otto Bauer—likewise as a concession to the masses of workers who have become more revolutionary—designates the aim of the anti-fascist revolution as "at first a revolutionary dictatorship of the working class . . . which will have the task not only of disarming the bands of fascist murderers, not only of bringing the blood-stained breakers of the Constitution before the revolutionary

court and clearing out the officials who, in the service of fascism, are to-day breaking all the laws, but of depriving the big land-owners, the capitalists and the Church of their economic power.

In Otto Bauer's statement, however, the chief emphasis lies on the two little words "at first." The dictatorship is to be a "transition form." Not, however, in the sense of Marx and Lenin, with whom the dictatorship of the proletariat is a transition stage to the Communist society in which there will no longer be any classes and also no political forms of rule. No, for Otto Bauer the dictatorship is only a transition stage to—democracy.

"Only when the revolutionary dictatorship will have fulfilled these tasks will a real, genuine, permanent democracy be possible in Austria." He shamefully describes this democracy as "socialist democracy." The fact that he thereby commits a small inconsistency does not trouble Otto Bauer. In the very same breath in which he describes this democracy, which is to be founded as a socialist democracy, i.e., as one which presupposes socialism, he declares the contrary, namely, "socialism therefore presupposes democracy."

Thus Otto Bauer only apparently changes his attitude to democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In reality he is only employing new words for the old game which he has played with dictatorship ever since 1918. In order to deceive the workers, Otto Bauer, ever since the overthrow of the Hapsburgs, has declared himself in favour of the dictatorship, but under certain conditions. This "acceptance" of the principle of the dictatorship was expressed in the programme adopted at the Linz party congress in the year 1926. The Linz programme has remained on paper, but its result in practice was that the Seipel government was able to crush the revolt of the Vienna workers on July 15, 1927. For at that time the members of the *Schutzbund*, believing and hoping that the party executive itself, in accordance with the Linz programme, would summon them to the fight against Schober's police, maintained "discipline" and looked on while the unarmed workers were shot down. Thus the acknowledgment of the principle of dictatorship "under conditions" as laid down in the Linz programme, saved the bourgeoisie.

The second occasion on which Otto Bauer conditionally accepted the principle of dictatorship and revolution was at the extraordinary party congress, when he formulated the notorious "four conditions" under which a general strike might be called. These conditions have merely been of service to the bourgeoisie. Just as the Communists predicted, the conditions showed to the bourgeoisie what formalities they must avoid in crushing the working class. They disorganised the working class and brought the greatest confusion in its ranks at the decisive moment.

Otto Bauer once again proclaims acceptance of the principle of the dictatorship, but again only conditionally, only "at first." It should be remarked, by the way, that this time also he carefully avoids speaking of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but refers only to a "revolutionary dictatorship of the working class."

Marx and Engels always taught that as long as classes exist there can be only one form of democracy for the workers, the proletarian dictatorship. As soon, however, as classes disappear, democracy also disappears, for democracy, too, is a form of class rule. Under Communism, where there are no classes, there will be no democracy as a form of rule. Those who proclaim democracy as their aim wish to lead the proletariat on the wrong path. The proclamation of this aim exposes Otto Bauer's manoeuvre of revolution against fascism. Otto Bauer, with his new ways, cannot be taken any more seriously than Wels with this programme of "revolution against Hitler."

Otto Bauer's article: "The Communists and Ourselves," published in No. 5 of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung," clearly reveals the purpose of his "left" manoeuvres, which is to keep back the social-democratic workers from restoring the unity of the proletariat under Communist leadership. He seeks to maintain this split in the proletariat with the old hypocritical slogan: "Unity, Unity and Determination," and adds: "What reason have we for splitting our ranks now? That fascism can only be fought with revolutionary means and that the aim of the revolutionary fight must be a revolutionary dictatorship of the working people as a transition form to a socialist democracy—regarding this there can no longer be any dispute."

But pardon, Herr Bauer, we Communists want to do the exact contrary of what you charge us with wanting to do. It is we who want and are organising the revolutionary unity and determination. You, however, under the slogan of unity, have for 15 years

led the Austrian workers from one defeat to another. You have always prevented every united front for struggle by alleging that the unity of the proletariat is already realised in the social-democratic party. But it is not merely a question of the workers being embraced in one organisation without ideas, but of using the organisation for the revolutionary fight. This is what you have never done. Therefore, with you the unity of the proletariat was only a fetter. This "unity" must not be restored. People who for 15 years have committed "mistake" after "mistake," as you have done, are either political imbeciles or deliberate deceivers. In either case they must not have the leadership of the working class.

The question of leadership is now the main question confronting the working class.

If Otto Bauer succeeds in retaining the leadership in his hands, fascism will never be overcome and the proletarian dictatorship never set up. No doubt the social-democratic leaders would very much like to wash away their sins with the blood of the February insurgents. But social democracy must die if the proletariat is to be victorious. The leadership of the working class must pass over into the hands of the Communist Party, Section of the Communist International, which in the Soviet Union is building up Socialism on a sixth of the globe, which in Soviet China rules over a territory as big as Germany, and which in Hitler Germany is the only Party conducting the anti-fascist fight. The Austrian workers must not be diverted from joining the Communist Party by Otto Bauer or his "left" agents. They must help to create in Austria the Bolshevik mass Party which leads to the Red October.

## Great Britain

### Statement of the C.P. of Great Britain on the I.L.P. Conference

The York Conference of the Independent Labour Party met at a time when problems of the gravest magnitude stood before the working class, who are increasingly showing their desire for a united struggle against capitalism and for a break with the policy of reformism and parliamentarism, which disorganises the workers' ranks and helps the capitalists' starvation attack.

But the entire influence of the I.L.P. National Council was exerted in order to prevent a clear discussion on and facing up to the basic questions of class struggle. Beginning with Maxton's presidential speech which deliberately avoided reference to vital issues and ending with McGovern's demagogic attack on the Communist International (comparisons between Stalin and Henderson, but not a word about the political principles involved) the entire conference was arranged in order to prevent a clear discussion on the two conflicting lines within the I.L.P., i.e., the line of reformism and the line of revolution.

The National Council succeeded in winning a majority against the proposal of the revolutionary section of the membership for affiliation to the Communist International as a party sympathising with Communism, but it is a hollow victory obtained by methods which will not stand the test of time.

In fact, the existence of a militant opposition on the floor of the York Conference and the number of votes frequently cast against the policy of the leadership marks a definite stage in the history of the I.L.P., and shows that the former general sentiment among the membership in favour of a fighting policy is now consolidating itself along more clear-cut and revolutionary lines.

There can be no stopping of the fight within the I.L.P. between the policies of reformism and revolution. Many young and virile members of the I.L.P. have taken up the challenge of the reformists (the Left Brockway as well as the Right Sandham) and have made a splendid start in the fight to win the I.L.P. for affiliation to the Communist International and the driving out of the Left reformist leadership.

From the very moment when the majority of the Derby Conference 12 months ago decided in favour of "assisting in the work of the Communist International," the National Council set out to defeat that decision and to prevent the membership from advancing to a clear revolutionary position.

The friendly response of the Comintern with its offer of immediate negotiation was met with coldness and hostility. There was no limit to the attacks made in the letters and articles of the I.L.P.

leaders. All possible enemies of the Comintern (Trotsky, Thalheimer, Lovestone, etc.) were mobilised as a source of anti-Communist ammunition.

The C.I. was accused of helping fascism to power in Germany and of holding back its sections from the class fight in the alleged interests of the Soviet Union, which in turn was charged with acquiescing in the policy of imperialism. The mighty revolutionary Communist Party of the Soviet Union was even accused of bribing the Communists of other countries.

The Communist International patiently answered all of the slanders, it carefully explained the political principles at stake and what the I.L.P. must do in order to become a party really sympathising with Communism.

The I.L.P. National Council answered with an avalanche of questions of a technical organisational character, and even when these questions were answered produced a number more. Further, in order to cover up its own political position, its reformist policy and practice, the National Council suddenly announced its conversion to the idea of a dictatorship of the proletariat, a conversion which was not even mentioned at the York Conference and which vanished as rapidly as it appeared.

All that took place at York amply justifies the estimation given by the Communist International that the leadership of the I.L.P. pursues a Left reformist policy, i.e., the covering of reformist practice by revolutionary and high-sounding phrases. The I.L.P. is not being led forward to the camp of revolution, but back to the swamp of reformism. It is no wonder that because of the many manoeuvres a large number have left the Party.

The leaders have slammed the door on the Comintern, and have secured a decision in favour of "an all-inclusive revolutionary international." What difference is there between this decision and the old, old policy of "an all-embracing international," advocated by the I.L.P. from 1920 onwards, and to be achieved by the amalgamation of the revolutionary Communist International and the reformist Second International?

The leaders have permitted, and even encouraged the growth of the Sandham Group, which openly advocates return to the Second International. (In this connection the Conference directly censured the leadership by referring back Sandham's Parliamentary candidature which the N.A.C. had re-endorsed.)

The leaders have deliberately gone back on the united front decisions of the Derby Conference by securing a vote in favour of limiting the united front to certain issues and from time to time. This is a step against a revolutionary collaboration in the daily struggles between the I.L.P. and the Communist Party.

This opposition of the I.L.P. leaders to the Comintern and the proposals put forward by the Communist Party of Great Britain is in striking contrast to the growing friendliness displayed towards the Labour party.

At the I.L.P. Conference not one leader warned the delegates about the danger of the mass fight against capitalism being split up and broken by the propaganda about wait for a third Labour government. Not one leader dared to analyse the policy of the Labour party and to show to the workers that they must fight not for a Labour government, but for Soviet Power.

It is true that the National Council members did not openly speak about returning to the Labour party, but they cannot completely conceal what they are hankering after. The absence of a fighting line against the Labour party and the frequent friendly references to it and suggestions that the Labour Party leaders are having a change of heart, made in the I.L.P. press, show that the I.L.P. leaders would like to come to an understanding with Henderson and Co., who have already put out feelers on their side.

In short, the I.L.P., which left the Second International in 1920 only to return to it in 1923, via the 2½ International, is to-day being led along the same road. Just as the 1920 policy meant that important sections of the working class were deceived into supporting the two treacherous Labour governments, so does the present policy mean that the workers are being held back from the struggle against fascism and war and for Soviet Power, and are being led step by step into supporting a third Labour government.

Precisely at this moment, when large numbers of workers, influenced by the swiftly moving events at home and abroad, are trying to understand how to fight their way out of the capitalist crisis, the I.L.P. leaders are doing their utmost to spread confusion and doubt. This is the worst crime of Left reformism. They play with the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat," but deliberately

avoid the question of **Soviet Power**, which is the form of the workers' dictatorship and which can only be achieved by renouncing parliamentarianism and fighting for the overthrow of capitalism.

They talk about revolution, but pretend it can be brought about by pacifist methods and purely industrial action, thereby preventing the masses from understanding the necessity of preparing working-class violence against the fascist-inclined ruling class. They are for the united front, but continually propose limitations on activities and pretend that this united front can be carried on without a relentless fight against the chief saboteurs of united action, the General Council of the T.U.C. and the leaders of the Labour party.

They are for struggle against the danger of imperialist war, but in reality help the imperialist war preparations by slandering the Soviet Union and attacking its peace policy. They are for a "revolutionary international," but persistently attempt to discredit the Communist International by slandering its policy and caricaturing its discipline.

The York Conference of the I.L.P. shows the imperative necessity of strengthening the fight against "Left" reformism in Britain, and for the winning over of the militant workers for the clear line of revolutionary struggle and support for the programme of the Communist International. It showed the splendid possibilities before the militant section of the I.L.P., organised around the Affiliation Committee, of continuing their struggle for affiliation to the Communist International and the most effective daily forms of the united front.

The letters of the Communist International to the I.L.P. on the problems confronting the British workers will greatly assist in the conducting of this ideological theory and practical struggle. They place a treasure trove of international theory and practice in the hands of the working-class movement of this country which will be an invaluable aid in the development of the present daily struggle towards the final aim of establishing a Soviet Britain.

Finally, the Central Committee of the Communist Party declares that it will continue its struggle for the greatest possible expression of working-class unity and will immediately take up with the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. the question of the next steps with regard to the continuation of the united front. It urges all district and local organisations of the Communist Party to seek the most effective ways of developing the united front which, despite all difficulties, has greatly assisted in strengthening the workers' fight against capitalism and the advance towards Soviet Power.

## First of May

### The First of May

By Wilhelm Pieck (Berlin)

When in 1889 the first Paris congress of the Second International decided to appeal to the workers every year on the 1st May for a fighting demonstration in favour of the eight-hour day in the form of a one-day general strike, the bourgeoisie all over the world howled with rage. The international bourgeoisie realised fully that this international fighting day would strengthen the solidarity of the working class all over the world, that the demand for the eight-hour day would mobilise the working masses for the class struggle and thus seriously threaten the profit of capitalism.

Since then all the enemies of the working class have attempted to prevent the masses taking up the struggle on the 1st May. Both deception and violence have been used, but they were unable to achieve their aim. The irreconcilable contradiction between the profit interests of capitalism and the vital interests of the working class which arises from the capitalist property system must inevitably find its expression in the class struggles between the capitalists and the workers. The class struggle will end only after the proletariat has won State power and established a classless system of society after the extermination of the last capitalist influences on society. The task which faces the working class to-day more than ever before is to make this the living will in the brains and hearts of the workers, and to develop this will into action. It is a task which calls more and more urgently for performance. And to-day still this is the chief significance of the May Day demonstrations in the capitalist countries.

Although the May Day demonstrations were first decided upon

at a congress of the Second International, the reformist leaders of the social democracy have endeavoured from the very beginning to weaken the revolutionary significance of the decision. The demand for the eight-hour day was "supplemented" by the demands for labour protection and peace. Naturally, the social democratic leaders took the supplementary demands no more seriously than the demand for the eight-hour day. This was seen clearly when, after the world war, they participated in the government in various countries. The original form of the decision to demonstrate on the 1st of May as a one-day general strike was altered by the supplementary, "where that can be done without damaging the interests of the workers." An attempt was even made to destroy the strike idea altogether and to fix the day for the demonstrations on the first Sunday in May. The elementary demand on the part of the workers that the employers should pay full wages for the 1st of May was rejected by the reformist leaders with the hypocritical excuse that this would "lower the moral value of the May demonstration."

The reformist leaders retreated step by step before the attacks of the employers on the May Day demonstrations. The fact that before the world war powerful May Day demonstrations of the working class did take place is accounted for by the rapid intensification of the class struggle and the recognition by the proletariat of the necessity of international solidarity and the necessity for a ruthless struggle against the class enemy. This great class contradiction was expressed again and again in spontaneous outbreaks on the part of the working masses, in great strike struggles, political mass strikes, and collisions between the working masses and the armed forces of the State. In these struggles the reformist leaders placed themselves more and more openly against the workers. When they did not succeed in preventing the outbreak of the struggles then they did everything possible to throttle them as quickly as possible by treachery or by the open organisation of strike-breaking.

The outbreak of the world war exposed this treacherous role of the reformist leaders most clearly. They destroyed the international solidarity of the proletariat by supporting the nationalist interests of the bourgeoisie. However, out of the ruins of the world war the class struggle rose up again, and once again the international solidarity of the proletariat began to threaten the bourgeoisie. And once again it was the reformist leaders who hurried to the assistance of the bourgeoisie. In those countries where the social democratic leaders had been taken into the government by the bourgeoisie they either openly opposed the May Day demonstrations, declaring that now that the workers were participating in the government everything could be satisfactorily and legally arranged and that therefore the May Day demonstration was senseless, or they tried to rob the May Day demonstration of its revolutionary significance by declaring the 1st of May to be a "State holiday," in order thereby to crush the demand for a general strike on the 1st of May. Very often the May Day demonstrations were met by these leaders with the use of violence. The most typical example of this was the **May Day demonstration in Berlin in 1929**, when the social democratic Police President, **Zoergiebel**, prohibited the demonstration and caused his police to open fire on the demonstrating workers. As a result 33 working-men and women were slaughtered.

The counter-revolutionary development of the social democratic leaders was also expressed in the monstrous reign of terror instituted by them as members of bourgeois governments against the revolutionary working class movement in order to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie, a reign of terror which also cleared the way for the advance of fascism to power. The fact that **Loebe**, the social democratic President of the Reichstag, and **Severing**, who held many official positions in Prussia and in the Reich, have now openly gone over into the camp of the fascists, demonstrates the logical conclusion of the counter-revolutionary development of the social democratic leaders.

The Hitler party which was given State power by the German bourgeoisie with the task of consolidating capitalist rule and increasing the exploitation of the working masses, is also attempting to carry out this task with deceit and violence against the working masses. With the executioner's axe, murder, torture and concentration camps, the fascists are doing their best to intimidate the workers and prevent them from taking up the struggle against the capitalist class. With social demagoguery, lies and deception the fascists are trying to confuse the workers and prevent them from recognising their real class interests.

The fascist "May Day celebration" is a typical example of this. Just as the fascists stole the songs of the working class and used them with a counter-revolutionary text, so they are trying to steal the May Day demonstration and give it a counter-revolutionary content. The German workers are to be misled with a demagogic phrase about the "national honour of the German worker." The Hitler government has declared the 1st of May to be a "State holiday" and the German workers are to be compelled to lose a day's pay and at the same time demonstrate in the fascist May Day parades. Last year considerable sections of the working class actually took part in these parades and adopted a waiting attitude, but in the year which has passed the Hitler government has shown them clearly that it means not higher, but lower wages, not improved working conditions, but worse working conditions than ever before, not greater freedom, but an intensified form of wage slavery and exploitation.

These facts will be hammered into the minds of the German workers this year by the fascist "National Labour Law," which comes into operation on the 1st of May. This new law, which was dictated by the interests of the employers, radically abolishes all the rights of the workers in the factories, rights which existed at least on paper in the institution of elected factory councils. The "principle of authoritarian leadership" is declared to be the cardinal principle of the new fascist labour law, and in practice it means the absolute and arbitrary dominance of the employers in the factories over the workers. The employers can cut down wages and worsen working conditions at their own arbitrary discretion.

That is the "May Day celebration" which the fascists are preparing for the German workers. Not all the cunning propaganda boosts of the Minister for Lies, Goebbels, will be able to conceal the real nature of the fascist "May Day celebrations" from the workers. All anti-fascist working men and women in Germany must be united in the determination to take up the struggle immediately against the fascist slave labour law and to give this struggle expression on the 1st of May by boycotting the fascist May Day parades and celebrations and organising May Day demonstrations against fascism. The united forces of the workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition, is the weapon with which the proletariat in Germany will be able to defeat fascism and to make the 1st of May into a day of celebrations for the emancipated working class.

In one country in the world, on one-sixth of the world's surface, in the **Soviet Union**, May Day has become a day of victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the Soviet Union the revolutionary significance of the May Day demonstration has been translated into action. The workers and peasants hold State power through their Soviets. The land, the factories, the machinery, the raw materials and all the tools of production are in the hands of the working masses who themselves organise production. In the Soviet Union there is neither unemployment nor economic crisis. The seven-hour day has been generally introduced as also has the five-day working week, full labour protection, generous sick benefit and generous provision for the weak, the infirm, the pregnant, the mothers and the children. A powerful Red Workers' and Peasants' Army is supported by an armed proletariat and both are prepared to defend every inch of Soviet territory with their lives if necessary against any attackers.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and its great head and organiser, **Stalin**, the workers and peasants and their heroic shock brigades have carried out the first Five-Year Plan and laid the basis for the establishment of a socialist order of society, and in their work for the carrying out of the second Five-Year Plan they are now erecting the building of socialism and the classless society. The workers' delegations which travel every year to the May Day celebrations in the Soviet Union are filled with the enthusiasm of the emancipated workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, who are fraternally allied with the oppressed and exploited workers and peasants of the capitalist countries. These delegations of workers have ample opportunity to see for themselves how the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union is preparing the way both economically and culturally for socialism.

The workers and peasants of the capitalist countries have still to carry out this gigantic task. The May Day celebrations must be a spur to them to intensify their struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and fascism and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

## Appeal of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia

### To the working people of Czechoslovakia!

The world revolution is advancing. Its main stronghold, the Soviet Union, is stronger and mightier than ever. The whole world is inundated by a wave of anti-fascist struggles.

Whilst the bourgeoisie is resorting to war, the masses are advancing on the path to revolution.

The Second International is bankrupt. Its path leads to the fascist dictatorship. The pride of the Second International, German social democracy, ended with Hitler. The second largest party of the Second International, the social democratic party of Austria, ended with Dollfuss. The path taken by German and Austrian social democracies is the path inevitably taken by all parties of the Second International. The heroic uprising of the Austrian proletariat was a revolt on the part of the sincere social democratic workers against the policy of the Austrian social democracy and of the Second International, and the beginning of the going over of the masses of the Austrian workers to the Communist International.

The bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia has entangled itself hopelessly in the contradictions and antagonisms of its rule. Its waggon has stuck in the bog. The bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia beat the air like madmen. With the aid of the inflation—that is, by means of the most shameful possible pillaging of the working people—it is endeavouring to find a means of escape from the economic crisis. By means of the fascist dictatorship, by means of a determined course steered towards an open fascist regime it seeks desperate remedies for the contradictions and chaos in its own camp. It seeks to suppress the whole of the working people. And by means of much rattling of sabres, armaments, militarisation of all public life, and chauvinist agitation, it is preparing openly for a new imperialist war, hoping by this hazardous game to free itself from the noose.

The policy of the Czechoslovakian parties of the Second International, as also the policy of the Czechoslovakian party of the national socialists, resemble the policy of the German and Austrian social democrats like two peas. It is the policy of unreserved and complete support of all the demands and actions of the bourgeoisie. It is the policy of direct participation in the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. It is the policy of unrestricted participation in the preparations for a fresh imperialist war. A policy which aims at splitting and paralysing the working class. A policy which hands over by direct means the working class of Czechoslovakia to the mercies of the open fascist dictatorship.

Only the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia shows the masses the way out of the crisis, the way of the revolutionary united front, the way of the struggle against fascism and imperialist war, the way of struggle for the Soviet power.

The 1st of May will be a great trial of strength between fascist reaction and the proletarian revolution. The Second International has desecrated the revolutionary tradition of 1st May. It has transformed the fighting day against the world bourgeoisie into a parade of co-operation with the bourgeoisie. Hitler and Dollfuss, who also "celebrate" the 1st May, follow in this same line. The government and the social fascist parties of Czechoslovakia intend to stage the coming May Day as a chauvinist war parade. The sincere social democratic workers must not permit themselves to be misused for this purpose.

Their place, and the place of the whole toiling population, is with the Red Communist May Day demonstrations, the demonstrations of the revolutionary united front against fascism and imperialist war, and for the Soviet power.

Rank and file workers! To take part in the May Day parades of the social fascist or other bourgeois parties is tantamount to agreement with inflationist wage cutting, with mass dismissals, with terrorist methods in the works and factories, with fascist prohibition of the right to strike.

To demonstrate for higher wages, against dismissals, for the seven or six hour day with full wage compensation, for the right of combination and strike, is to march in the united front of the Communists in the May Day demonstrations.

Unemployed! Participation in the social fascist May Day parades is equivalent to supporting those who cut down your unemployment benefit, who have robbed tens of thousands of you of any assistance whatever, and are preparing to introduce compulsory labour.

To demonstrate for adequate relief for all unemployed at the expense of the capitalists and the State, and against compulsory labour, means that you will join as one man in the Red Communist May Day demonstrations.

If you want to demonstrate against these usurious high prices, and for the confiscation of the necessities of life for the benefit of the starving population, you will join in the Red Communist May Day demonstrations.

Proletarian youth! Participation in the May Day parades of the social fascist or other bourgeois parties is equivalent to putting up with your own misery, your unemployment, the preparations for military camps for young people, for pre-military youth education and barrack drill.

To demonstrate against all this, and for a better, freer, and more joyful life for youth means that you will march side by side with the Communists at the Red May Day demonstrations.

### Poor peasants and small handicraftsmen!

If you want to demonstrate against taxes, usury, distraints, for the confiscation of the estates of the large landowners and of the church, and for the free distribution of this land to the peasantry, then join the Communists in the Red May Day demonstrations.

Workers organised in the trade unions, members of proletarian organisations!

To demonstrate for the political rights of the toiling people, for the freedom of combination and of the press, means that you will join the Communists in the united front at the May Day demonstrations.

### Anti-fascists!

To demonstrate against fascism, for the release of the anti-fascist prisoners, for the protection of the proletarian organisations and press, for the disbanding and disarming of the fascist formations, for the support of the proletarian self-defence corps, means that on May Day you will demonstrate together with the Communists.

### Opponents of Imperialist War!

If you want to demonstrate against imperialist war, for the defeat of your own bourgeoisie and for the victory of the proletariat, then you will join in your masses the May Day demonstrations of the Communists.

### All workers!

Resolve at your work places and organisations that you will take part in masses in the Red May Day demonstrations. Form May Day united committees. Agitate from man to man, from woman to woman. On 1st May all must gather in the united front under the banners of Communism!

### On 1st May we demonstrate:—

Against fascism and imperialist war. For the defeat of our own bourgeoisie and for the victory of the proletariat!

For the revolutionary solidarity of the toiling people of Czechoslovakia with the heroic proletariat of Germany and Austria. Freedom for Thaelmann and all anti-fascist prisoners! Long live Soviet Germany and Soviet Austria!

Long live the Soviet Union, the stronghold of the world revolution and the fatherland of the world proletariat!

Against the inflationist pillaging of the working people, for bread, work, and higher wages and unemployment benefit.

Against the pauperisation of the poor peasantry and handicraftsmen, for the expropriation of the large landowners and the landowning church, and for the free distribution of this land to the peasantry!

Against national oppression, for the right of self-determination of the peoples!

For the political rights of the working people. For the defence of the Czech C.P. and Y.C.L., and all revolutionary organisations!

Against social fascist treachery and the splitting of the proletariat. For the revolutionary united front. Down with the Second International—long live the Communist International!

For the programme of emancipation of the Czech C.P.! Long live the general strike!

Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

### For Soviet power in Czechoslovakia!

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia  
(Section of the Communist International).  
Young Communist League of Czechoslovakia.

## In the International

### Forward St. Denis! Forward the Who's C.P. of France!

By Maurice Thorez (Paris)

The anti-fascist wave is rising. Demonstrations, strikes and mass actions are following one another. Under the sign of the united front, resistance is being organised against the government of the National Union, which is preparing for the open dictatorship of fascism, against the emergency orders decreeing misery and slavery. This is to the credit of the Communist Party of France; this is the victory of the Leninist policy of the Communist International. The socialist workers, who for a long time were kept away from the Communists by the lies and calumnies of their leaders, are opening their eyes to reality. They realise that they have been deceived. They are turning to the Communist workers, to their brothers. In spite of the prohibition and the expulsions by the socialist party and the "Left" socialists, they are working in the anti-fascist committees which are affiliated to the Amsterdam movement. They are taking part in demonstrations from which their leaders are absent. The adult and young socialist workers are turning to Communism, to Moscow.

At this moment some opportunists of the C.P. of France are proposing to the Party that it abandon its policy of the united front from below and carry out a policy of a bloc with the social democracy. At this moment there are voices demanding that the C.P. of France shall finally abandon the positions of Bolshevism in order to return to the social democratic rubbish heap.

The Communists of the St. Denis district have spoken loudly and plainly against the intolerable demands of some members of their organisation who wish to retard the progress of the fighting united front under the leadership of the C.P. and prevent the coming over of the socialist workers to Communism.

The Communists of the St. Denis district have given a fitting reply to those who are encouraging the social-fascist enemy, which must give them cause to think.

Most of the delegates, in their speeches, bluntly expressed their indignation against this social-democratic and Trotskyist deviation, against the faction mongering and the open lack of discipline of some supporters of this deviation.

In the resolution adopted at the St. Denis Conference it is stated, *inter alia*:—

"The conference approves the condemnation by the Central Committee of the attempts to revise the correct tactics of the Party and rejects any proposal aiming at a bloc policy.

"It condemns in the sharpest manner any attempt to conceal the face of our Party, to rob the proletariat of its only leader in the fight against the bourgeoisie and against fascism, and thus deliver it over to the influence of the socialist party, the confederates of fascism.

"It likewise rejects the Trotskyist attempts to disintegrate the Party by demanding that ideas antagonistic to the Party and the International be discussed."

The attitude of these remnants of the Barbé group was sharply stigmatised, especially by the delegates from the St. Ouen district, who exposed Barbé as an element constantly hostile to the line of the Party. The Brandlerist attitude of Rolland was likewise condemned. Rolland has returned to the formula: "Compel the trade union bureaucrats to fight!" He limits the role of the party to exercising pressure on the socialist party, whereby the Communist Party is to be reduced to a mere supplementary force of the social democracy.

The Communist Party has nothing in common with the socialist party, which is the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, it is the duty of the C.P. to rally together all proletarians, including the socialist proletarians, to organise them and to lead the revolutionary fight of the masses against fascism and for the Soviet power in a completely independent manner. Another sentence in the resolution adopted by the Conference of the St. Denis district reads as follows:—

"The Conference, mindful of the political unity of the Party and the unanimous carrying out of its decisions, demands of the C.C. that it forbid Comrade Doriot to propagate his opportunist views, and that it compel this comrade to observe the discipline of the Party."

The Party cannot permit the elementary principles of Bolshevism to be combated and denied. The Party cannot permit that, under the pretext of that "freedom of opinion" which Frossard and other renegades demanded of it in their time, the Bolshevik leadership of the masses who are engaged in the fight against capital and against its confederate, the social democracy, is compromised.

Lenin replied to these demands of the opportunists of all epochs as follows:—

"If we judge people not by the brilliant uniforms in which they deck themselves, not by the imposing appellations which they assume, but by their actions and by what they actually advocate, it will be clear that 'freedom of criticism' means freedom for opportunism in social democracy (to-day we would say in the C.P.—M. T.), freedom to convert social democracy into a democratic reformist party, freedom to introduce bourgeois ideas into socialism."—"What is to be Done?"

The Party cannot permit a systematic and open fight to be waged in its own ranks against the correct policy of the united front of struggle and against the decisions of the E.C.C.I. and of the C.C. of the C.P. of France, which are binding for everybody.

The Communists of the St. Denis district have said all this plainly and clearly to those who need to be told it. Now, when the district Conference has spoken, those who have not yet clearly seen will have to reply to the second demand addressed to them in the following paragraph:—

"In the present situation the Conference demands of all Communists that they proceed to work in the spirit of the decisions of the C.C. and of the theses of the C.I. and carry them out fully and entirely. There is no more time to be lost now."

Forward, St. Denis! Forward, Communists in the whole country! Forward on the path of Bolshevism, on the path of Lenin and Stalin, for strengthening and consolidating the anti-fascist united front of struggle, for the organising of this front in the factories, for the setting up of elected committees! Forward to the winning of all socialist workers for the revolutionary fight, without, however, ceasing to stigmatise the criminal policy of the socialist party, and in particular its "Left" wing (Zyromsky, Pivert, etc.)! Forward to the victory of the Soviets in France, under the leadership of the C.P. of France!

## In the Camp of Social Democracy

### Dutch Social Democracy Discards its Pacifist Mask

By A.

At Easter the Dutch social democratic labour party held its congress, which lasted for four days. The whole of the press, including the German Nazi press, has paid considerable attention to the decisions adopted at the congress.

With its Easter congress decisions the Dutch social democracy openly identifies itself with the armament policy of the rest of the parties of the Second International. Whilst formerly the Austrian socialist party was the model example of "radicalism," the Dutch socialist party was the representative of "unswerving pacifism." At its congresses in 1928 and 1931 it "demanded" "national disarmament independent of international disarmament," and decided "that the party and its representatives should not give any support to a mobilisation, because an order for mobilisation must be or could be regarded as a drive for war, or would call forth the danger of war." Albarda, the parliamentary leader of the social democratic labour party, used the words—which have since become famous—"brave disobedience" to describe this policy.

The chief decision of the congress was the formal alteration of this point in the party programme. The alteration was moved by the Central Committee of the party, which succeeded by means of demagogy and trickery in securing its adoption, not, however, without encountering considerable opposition from a number of delegates, who in their speeches clearly expressed the great indignation of the rank and file members of the party. At the same time it should be borne in mind that the composition of the party congress in no way correctly reflected the real opinion of the members. About 70 per cent. of the delegates voted for the alteration. The result would, however have been different

if the voting had taken place not according to the number of delegates, but according to the local groups. The result of the vote does not express the fact, for instance, that the largest local organisation, **Amsterdam**, voted against the war resolution.

During the discussion on the alteration of the programme a number of delegates fiercely attacked the Central Committee. Thus, for instance, van der Wijk, representative of Amsterdam, declared: It was impossible by means of imposing congresses to conceal the fact that the Central Committee is completely out of touch with the workers. The Central Committee was now making a definite swing to the Right. In the Programme Commission, to which he belonged, he had been deprived of the right to speak freely. The government had already violated democracy in Holland, but the Central Committee maintained silence regarding this. On the other hand, it was preparing to take part in the government, in a government which included among its members such a man as **Colijn**, whose hands were still red with the blood of the sailors of the "Zeven Provinciën." It was with such "democrats" that Albarda wished to co-operate, and for this reason they were making the cleavage which separates the social democratic labour party from the revolutionary workers' parties as deep as possible.

A Hague delegate accused the Central Committee of having demanded disarmament so long as it was not an immediate question; now, however, when this was the case, they dropped disarmament.

The new war programme of the Dutch social democracy is significant not only in view of conditions in Europe, but also having regard to the **colonial antagonisms**, which are becoming increasingly acute, between Holland and England on the one side and Japan on the other. As regards **Europe**, the Dutch social democracy declares itself ready to fight on the side of France and England in defence of the interests of the Dutch bourgeoisie (**Vliegen**, a member of the Central Committee, delivered a speech enthusiastically praising the French army, which had up to now maintained peace as against Hitler!). As regards the colonial differences, however, the new war programme prepares the Dutch workers to defend the colonial profits of the Dutch bourgeoisie against Japanese competition.

The alteration in the party programme demanded by the Central Committee was not the only point of attack by the discontented members, the approval by the social democratic members of parliament of the exceedingly unsocial turnover tax, and the servile declarations of loyalty on the occasion of the death of the Queen's mother, were subjected to very sharp criticism. Plain words were also spoken regarding the holding of numerous highly paid positions by the highest officials of the party.

The Central Committee, in order to excuse its attitude towards the League against Imperialist War, denounced it as a band of conspirators and adventurers. "If we had not severed connections with the League, the government would have had a pretext for proceeding against the party," declared **Albarda**, and the government will no doubt not be slow to take the very plain hint given by Albarda to adopt repressive measures against the League.

The opposition to the Central Committee was not united. The speeches of the oppositional delegates revealed a good deal of **vagueness and confusion** on many points. It is one of the most important tasks of the Communist Party of Holland to create the necessary clarity among the social democratic workers, which is more urgently necessary than ever to-day. The social democratic party congress itself has clearly shown that there exist good prerequisites for success in this direction.

## Our Martyrs

### Petko Miletitch

**Petko Miletitch** was born in the year 1898, a child of a peasant family in one of the poorest districts of Montenegro, in the province of Kolashin. In the years 1907 to 1912 his father played a leading part in the struggles against King Nikola of Montenegro. Petko took part in these fights as far as his youth permitted. The persecution and imprisonment of his father and of his whole family were for the young Petko his first lessons in the sphere of political struggles.

After leaving the elementary school Petko went to Hungary to become a joiner's apprentice. Here he witnessed the establishment of the Soviet Power. He actively participated in the

Hungarian proletarian revolution as a member of the Communist Party. After the overthrow of the Soviet Power in Hungary he returned to Yugoslavia and joined the C.P. of Yugoslavia. Up to the year 1920 he worked mainly in the joiners' trade union. In the Party, however, he was one of the leading and unswerving fighters against the unbolshevist policy of Sima Markovitch.

In the year 1920 **Petko Miletitch** went to Montenegro and, together with the last Comrade **Thomashevitch**, was one of the leading Party workers in the setting up and development of the Young Communist League and of the trade union movement in Montenegro. Apart from his political work, he occupied the position of technical instructor of the toilers in the Central Asylum for poor children in Montenegro. He was one of those comrades who already at that time adopted a correct attitude to the Belgrade government and the national question in general, which the Party as a whole had not yet attained.

When **Dr. Wuschakin Markovitch** proclaimed the open armed revolt in Montenegro against the imperialism of the Belgrade government—a revolt which in its essence was Communistic—**Petko** was one of the closest and most important collaborators of **Markovitch**, and up to 1924 fought with weapons in hand in the ranks of the insurgents. After the defeat of the revolt **Petko Miletitch** fell into the hands of the Belgrade hangmen, and right up to the end of 1926 was kept in prison chained hand and foot.

The indictment brought against him contained the accusation that he had carried on activity hostile to the State, and had led and organised the masses in the armed revolt against the Belgrade government and for a free, independent Montenegro. In the prisons of Podgoritz and Cetinje **Petko Miletitch** headed a number of fighting actions carried out by the political prisoners.

The prison regime greatly weakened the health of **Petko Miletitch**, but his fighting will was only strengthened thereby. He was discharged from prison in the year 1926 and after a short time was compelled to emigrate from Yugoslavia. In emigration **Petko Miletitch** remained the undaunted and active fighter against the policy of the Belgrade rulers, and devoted all his energies to organising and strengthening the Communist and national revolutionary movement in Yugoslavia.

During a journey through Yugoslavia, **Petko Miletitch** fell into the hands of the dictatorship. He was subjected to horrible torture in order to extort information from him regarding the connections, the activity and the organisations of the C.P. of Yugoslavia. Comrade **Petko Miletitch** heroically endured these tortures as only Bolsheviks are able to endure them. All the means of the police failed to shake or to frighten him even for a moment. In their fury, the police decided to murder him secretly in prison. A powerful international protest action prevented the designs of the hangman, **Alexander** the last. **Petko Miletitch** was handed over to the court.

His attitude before the court was exemplary. He defended, not himself, but the honour and dignity of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, of the champions who have fallen in the fight against the military-fascist dictatorship, of the Communist International. He was sentenced to seven years' hard labour and conveyed to the Mitrovitz prison hell, but here, too, he did not cease to be a fighter in the foremost ranks of struggle against the terrible hard labour regime, against the tortures and the slow murder of the political prisoners. At the end of 1933 he was the organiser and leader of the heroic hunger strike of 250 political prisoners, including Communists, national revolutionaries and national fighters, and in this fight he remained steadfast right up to the last, even refusing artificial nourishment by means of rubber tubes while lying in the hospital. He succeeded in smuggling a letter out of the prison, in which he welcomed the international revolutionary solidarity of the toilers who had once already saved his life, and called upon the world proletariat to strengthen the fight for rescuing all those who have sacrificed everything for the emancipation of the toilers.

A short time after this strike, which was choked in blood, Comrade **Miletitch** again raised the banner of struggle and headed a demonstration of unarmed prisoners in the prison yard. In this demonstration he was killed, devoted to his last breath to the revolutionary proletarian struggle.

Comrade **Miletitch** has given us an example of a Bolshevik leader of the masses. He has shown how the masses are to be mobilised and led into the struggle against the class enemy, an example which will teach the young generations how the establishment of the Soviet Power must be prepared in Yugoslavia and in the whole world.

# Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

## The Week in the Soviet Union

In order to liquidate the organisational shortcomings in the work and structure of the apparatus of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture of the Soviet Union and its organs in the Republics, districts and localities, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars adopted a decision on April 4 regarding its reorganisation.

Numerous functional departments and trusts of the Commissariat have been abolished and the following chief administrations are to be organised in their stead: main departments for grain and oil cultures, sugar beet, cotton, flax and hemp, livestock breeding, horse breeding, veterinary, sub-tropical cultures, forestry, tobacco, silk production, universities and technicians and political sections.

The apparatus of the Agricultural Commissariat of the R.S.F.S.R., and of the other republics and provinces, as well as the organs of the Commissariat for Agriculture in the regions and districts are simplified in regard to their structure and functions.

In regard to the machine and tractor stations, it has been decided to do away with the departmental heads of the M.T.S. so that the tractor brigades shall be under the immediate supervision of the director of the M.T.S. Agronomists and mechanics are to be attached to groups of collective farms and tractor brigades and be under the direct supervision of the senior agronomist or senior mechanic of the machine and tractor station. The structure of the machine and tractor stations will be as follows: Director, Political Department, senior mechanic, who will be responsible for the correct and complete utilisation of the tractors, senior agronomist, oil administrator, book-keeping. In this way the M.T.S. will be simplified and responsible concrete leadership in them secured.

The Commissariat for Agriculture is pledged to carry out this reorganisation of the apparatus by May 15 next.

### Foreign Workers in the Soviet Union Engage in Political Competition

The German workers of the **Electro Combine of Moscow** have challenged all foreign workers in the Moscow factories to a political competition. The object of this competition is to achieve a higher level of work for the foreign comrades and to perfect their ideological equipment by political study. In the Electro factory itself a course of study has already been held which had as its theme Comrade Stalin's speech at the Seventeenth Party Congress. In the other factories the workers have recently commenced to study the documents of the Seventeenth Party Congress.

The foreign workers in the **needle factory in Kunsevo** have already completed a course of political study on the question of the Party Congress and even challenged the Russian workers in the factory to a competition. In the "**Molotov**" **thermometer factory** in Moscow the workers have connected the study of the new tasks set by the Party Congress with the practical checking up of their own work in the factory. They have drawn up a plan which envisages the employment of new methods for improving the quality of thermometers. The proposals contained in this plan correspond to the decisions of the Party Congress on the reorganisation of the management system. The proposals contained in the plan have been adopted by the management. It is highly probable that such political competitions will not remain confined to Moscow, but will be taken up by foreign workers in all parts of the Soviet Union.

### New Works

The **Potash Combine** was formally opened in **Solikamsk** on April 3. A delegation of workers and collective farm peasants made an inspection of the combine. The shock-brigade workers met in the potash workers' club, from where they marched at the head of thousands of demonstrators to the site of the combine. Here

platforms were set up and a great meeting held. The opening speech was delivered by the secretary of the Party Committee of the Potash Combine, **Comrade Federenko**. The director of the Combine, **Comrade Sifronovitch**, also spoke. A representative of the Academy of Science, **Professor Nikolajev**, greeted the shock-brigaders of the Combine and pointed out that the factories of the Combine had proved to be on a high technical level. The collective of the potash workers has already mastered this technique.

The opening of the potash combine was a festive day for all toilers of the Soviet Union.

In the **Orsk** district a new nickel works, the second in the Soviet Union, is being built. Its raw material basis is the ore deposits near **Kalilovo**. The new works are to produce 500 tons of pure nickel a year.

On April 15, the first cracking plant in **Sarakov** is to commence working. The plant has been produced by the **Tobolsk** works for cracking and electric equipment.

### International Education

The People's Commissariat for Education has decided to reorganise the **Moscow Ethnological Museum** and to convert it into a "House for International Education." It is to serve the mass work for the consolidation of brotherly solidarity of all nationalities of the Soviet Union as well as of the capitalist and colonial countries. The Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union (**Voks**) is carrying on work on a large scale for the international exchange of books. In 1924 the **Voks** sent abroad 5,900 books and received from abroad 2,028. In 1933 the **Voks** received from abroad 140,662 books and sent abroad 86,928. Seventy-two countries are at present taking part in this international book exchange, among the most active being the United States, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. In 1933 the **Voks** had already 4,368 foreign correspondents.

### Record Production of Pig Iron

On March 27, for the first time in the history of the Soviet smelting industry, 23,095 tons of pig iron were produced. On the same day the steel output amounted to 26,150 tons. This big output was due to the fact that the most important works in the smelting industry exceeded their daily production plan.

### From the Red Capital

A huge **Sports Stadium** is being built in **Ismailovo**, near Moscow. It will be the largest in the world. It will have accommodation for 140,000 spectators. In the centre of the stadium there will be a huge football ground, cinder tracks, and a huge green space for mass spectacles. On both sides of the main field there will be tennis courts with accommodation for 15,000 spectators, a cycle track, a children's town and grounds for military exercises.

A brigade of the electro-institute, under the leadership of **Professor Maisel**, is working on a system of powerful searchlights for illuminating the stadium, whilst the sculptor **Korlev** has been entrusted with the artistic decoration of the stadium. There will shortly be an exhibition of plans and models of the stadium in the **Moscow Park for Rest and Culture**.

### Before the First of May

On March 28 a conference took place in the **Moscow Soviet** of the most famous painters and architects of Moscow who have been entrusted with the artistic decoration of the capital for the **May Day** festivities. The tasks of the artistic decorators consist in representing in a clear and graphic manner the historic decisions of the Seventeenth Party Congress, the achievements and the life of the country of Soviets.

The towers and shafts of the **Moscow Underground Railway** construction are to be made use of for this purpose. The artistic decoration of the **Red Square** and of all the other squares will be carried out under the direct supervision of the **Moscow Central Commission** for **May Day** festivals. The decoration of the workers' dwelling houses will be carried out by the housing and building administration of the **Moscow Soviet**.

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