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## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

*International Fighting Day Against Imperialist War and Military Intervention Against the Soviet Union and China.*

*To the workers and working women of all countries!*

*To the young workers and young working girls!  
To the oppressed and exploited of the whole world!*

**T**HE fires of imperialist war and military intervention are already glowing in several big war craters. Overnight the destructive flames of a new imperialist slaughter can sweep throughout the whole world.

The flames of the Japanese robber war have been leaping up in the Far East for almost two years now. The struggle between the United States and Japan for the dominance of the Pacific Ocean threatens to develop rapidly into an armed conflict. Japanese imperialism has seized the whole of *North China* down to Peking in an imperialist robber drive. Its armies are ready at a moment's notice to undertake a military intervention against the Soviet Union. The Nanking government has betrayed the national emancipation of the Chinese people. It has capitulated before Japanese imperialism in order to be able to continue its counter-revolutionary war against the Chinese Soviets.

The permanent war in *Latin-America* is nothing but an expression of the greatest of all imperialist contradictions, the contradiction between Great Britain and the United States of America which are behind the warring states, Peru and Bolivia.

Two hostile armed camps are forming in *Europe*. In feverish haste the Hitler government is completing the military preparations of defeated German imperialism which has been preparing a war of vengeance for over ten years now. This intensifies in the extreme the danger of war in the Polish corridor, in Danzig, along the Austro-German frontier and in Upper Silesia.

Mussolini's Italy is striving to unite the Powers hostile to Versailles in order to secure military allies in a war with France and Yugoslavia. Under the flag of a struggle against Versailles, Italy, Germany and Hungary are preparing a new imperialist robber war.

At the same time France and its fascist and semi-fascist allies, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Czechoslovakia are making tremendous preparations under cover of an alleged defence of "democracy" against fascism to complete their armaments and maintain the Versailles robber treaty by means of a new imperialist war.

Now that France has temporarily dropped the leadership, Great Britain has taken over the chief

rôle of organiser in the preparation of a military intervention against the Soviet Union. The government of MacDonald and Baldwin are seeking allies in all the countries of the capitalist world in order to unite the imperialist powers against socialism. It supports all the provocations of the Japanese militarists on the eastern frontiers of the Soviet Union. Under the flag of defending the lives of its spies the British government has declared economic warfare against the Soviet Union. The British espionage service, the notorious intelligence service which organises the sabotage and espionage against the land of socialism, is following the Japanese example of Manchukuo and preparing a new basis for military operations against the Soviet Union in Chinese Turkestan.

The *Four-Power Pact* between Great Britain, Italy, France and Germany, between the States of the fascist and the "democratic" dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, is the joint attempt of MacDonald and Mussolini to solve the imperialist contradictions at the cost of the Soviet Union in a military intervention.

The capitalist world is unable to overcome its economic crisis either by its economic policy or by any world economic conference. It is seeking for a solution more and more in military conflicts. In most of the imperialist countries the stage of preparedness for war has almost been reached.

The reckless nationalist incitement both in the countries of fascism and "democracy" is exceeded only by the feverish pace at which the armament works and the General Staffs of the capitalist countries are working.

The advance of fascism in Germany and other countries is a sign that the bourgeoisie in its fear of the proletarian revolution is attempting to secure the military leadership against the forces of the proletarian revolution.

Pacifism, which serves to cloak the danger of war and the military preparations of the capitalists, supplements the nationalist methods of the fascists in order to chloroform the future victims of the coming imperialist war. The *Geneva Disarmament Conference*, which served to screen the increased preparations for war and the military alliances of the imperialist Powers, has become the scene of open preparations for war. "Democratic" France and fascist Germany defend with the same arguments and with the same zeal their right to arm for new imperialist wars.

The parties of the *Second International*, which

is now breaking up, and the leaders of the reformist Amsterdam Trade Union International, have already taken their places in the war front of their own imperialists. The German social democracy with the nationalist "Deutschland, Deutschland ueber alles" on their lips, pledged themselves to support the aims of Hitler's nationalist policy. The French social democracy grants French imperialism the means for armaments and defends the policy of the Versailles robber system. The leader of the British Labour Party, Arthur Henderson, represents the interests of British imperialism in Geneva, and in practice his party adopts the war policy of MacDonald as its own. The social democratic parties in Czechoslovakia support the policy of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie which, pretending that it is erecting a bulwark against German fascism, is in fact steadily leading the country to fascism. The Polish social democracy supports in practice the war preparations of the fascist government of Poland.

To-day the parties of the Second International are held together solely by their joint hatred of the proletarian revolution, of the revolutionary class struggle under the banner of the Communist International and all its actions, of socialism and its home, the Soviet Union, and by their joint efforts to overcome the imperialist contradictions in a war of intervention against the Fatherland of the international proletariat.

This is the reason for the fierce campaign of incitement conducted by all the parties of the Second International against the Soviet Union in connection with the prolongation of the Berlin Agreement between Germany and the Soviet Union. This is the reason for the proposal of the social democratic parties of the countries of the French bloc that the Soviet Union should join a fighting alliance of the democratic defenders of the Versailles robber system against the fascist countries. In place of the earlier slanders about red imperialism comes the criminal provocative incitement — why doesn't the Red Army march against fascist Germany?

The Second International conducts a campaign of incitement against the independent proletarian class policy of the Soviet Union which refuses to permit the power of the emancipated proletariat to be exploited by an imperialist Power. The Second International conducts a campaign of incitement against the peace policy of the Soviet Union which is opposed to all imperialist war-mongering and which is just as little inclined to support a new war for the re-division of the world as it is to support the defenders of the Versailles robber system.

The oppressed and exploited of the whole capitalist world, proletarians, working peasants and

petty-bourgeois, must not forget for one moment that they will be expected to bear the tremendous sacrifices in blood and suffering which the next imperialist war will bring.

The revolutionary proletariat of all countries conducts a struggle against the preparations for imperialist war and military intervention under fascist as well as democratic slogans, under nationalist as well as pacifist slogans. The revolutionary proletariat of all countries stand side by side with the working masses of the Soviet Union.

All the oppressed and exploited must line up in this fighting front if they want to oppose fascism, the Versailles system and imperialist robbery and fight for the free right of self-determination for all peoples and against all national and colonial oppression.

The workers, young workers, the poor peasant masses and all toilers, all honest opponents of war, all those who want no new imperialist war, no new mass murder must fight shoulder to shoulder with the millions of the socialist State for the destruction of the basic causes of war, against capitalism and for the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war, for the proletarian dictatorship and for the victory of socialism.

Proletarian Workers, you who want to prevent the imperialist war, the military intervention against the Soviet Union, the robber partitioning of China, the bloody destruction of the Chinese Soviets and the continuation of the slaughter in Latin-America, fight under the banner of proletarian internationalism against your own capitalists, against your own governments, against fascism and imperialist reaction, against nationalist and chauvinist incitement, against militarism and the militarisation of the youth, and against hypocritical pacifism.

Fight for the prevention of the transport of war materials to the belligerent imperialist countries and above all against the transport of war material to Japan!

Workers and working women! Young workers and working girls! Oppressed and exploited of the whole capitalist world!

The Communist Parties of Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, Rumania and Austria call upon you to develop and intensify the revolutionary mass struggle against imperialist war and military intervention.

Organise again this year on the *1st August an International Fighting Day against Imperialist War and against Military Intervention in the Soviet Union and in China!*

Show the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys your unbending and determined will not to permit a new piece of treachery as at the

beginning of the last imperialist world war. Show them that you are prepared to stake all your forces in the struggle against any imperialist war, in the defence of the Soviet Union and in the defence of the Chinese people.

Show your revolutionary fighting will on the 1st August in *powerful demonstrations, meetings and strikes* according to the conditions existing in your countries.

Down with the imperialist war in the Far East!  
Down with the military preparations for an imperialist war and a war of intervention.  
Down with fascism and imperialist reaction!  
Defend the Soviet Union!

(Signed) THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTIES OF GERMANY,  
FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, ITALY,  
POLAND, RUMANIA AND AUSTRIA.

## THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

**I**N the beginning of June the European Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress met in Paris. Delegates attended from nearly all European capitalist countries. The congress marked a new step forward toward the establishment of a workers' united front in the struggle against Fascism. The initiative taken by the *Italian, German and Polish* revolutionary trade union organisations has led to a great success. The Anti-Fascist Congress in Paris has developed into a real workers' congress.

The immediate reasons for convoking a congress of delegates of the anti-fascist workers of all countries, to discuss the problem of the international struggle against Fascism were the bloody events in Germany, where the Hitler dictatorship proceeds with unlimited murderous terror against all and sundry aspiring to the freedom of the toilers. The temporary victory of the Fascist movement in the very heart of capitalist Europe, the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship of the financial oligarchy in Germany, and its campaign to eradicate the most developed and strongest workers' organisations of the capitalist world—all these are not *national* limited questions involving the proletariat of one country only, but the concern of the whole of the international proletariat.

Other factors, too, however, determine the active international proletarian solidarity with the German working class, with its struggle against the murder-gangs of the Hitler dictatorship, which found its expression at the congress. In more than half capitalist Europe the unrestricted terror of Fascist dictatorship reigns. Even in the so-called "democratic" countries bourgeois-imperialist reaction resorts to the application of brutal, open force to an ever larger extent in the defrauding system of parliamentary democracy, in its struggle against the proletarian revolution, and preparations for a new imperialist world war. While in Italy and Germany undis-

guised terror is openly carried on, we see that in countries like France and Czecho-Slovakia increasing elements of Fascist methods and forms intermingle with democratic ones of bourgeois domination. In Spain, Fascism—under cover of Social-Democracy—is marching forward at high speed; in Belgium, the bourgeoisie governs on the basis of a law granting it full powers. In the U.S. the newly-elected president has been endowed with dictatorial powers. The Czecho-Slovakian government terrorises the working class by virtue of the latest mandatory law, which both the German and Czech Social-Democratic parties voted in favour of. The working class of every country of capitalist Europe therefore has serious reasons for joining the ranks of the international militant front against the advance of Fascism.

The instability of capitalist relations, on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism, increases every day in proportion to the sharpening of the world economic crisis. The number of socially de-classed elements grows as the crisis proceeds. Millions upon millions from the working class, from the urban petty bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and the poor peasantry, are pushed into the misery of actual pauperisation. The bourgeoisie makes one hopeless attempt after the other to ward off the proletarian revolution by every means of fraud; and brutal force! Nationalist demagoguery, "national service," chauvinist incitement, are combined with the mobilisation of the guns of Fascist murder gangs, and soldiers, against the toiling masses, who aspire to a better life than they now live. The representatives of monopoly capital concentrate their declining power, undermined by the growing revolutionary upsurge. They have not so much to concentrate as before, but they concentrate whatever is left, to strengthen themselves against the proletarian revolution, and for the preparation of the coming imperialist war. That is the most profound

significance of the advance of Fascism in a whole number of capitalist countries.

The tendencies of the financial oligarchy to fascistisation also benefit by the bankruptcy of democratic socialism. The active help of Social-Democracy in the rescue of capitalism, not only consists in its participation in the "fascistisation" of the bourgeois state; nor does it find its expression only in the fact that the social-democratic leaders, themselves, have played the rôle of hangers-on of the revolutionary working class—their historical rôle in the bourgeois state, in paving the way for and operating Fascism has been borne out, and still asserts itself, in the fact that they were the people who split the working class, who have driven and are still driving considerable masses of workers into the camp of Fascism. By splitting the working class, they have ensured that the large masses of the petty bourgeoisie and small peasants supported—not the working class, but the bourgeoisie; the divided working class not being able to convince this essentially vacillating mass of their ability to ensure the revolutionary way out of the crisis. A large section from among the working class who could not decide to take the risk, the expense, the difficulties, and sacrifices of a forcible revolutionary overthrow, were only too glad to believe the social-democratic leaders, who said that Social-Democracy, *as a recompense for their votes* would achieve socialism without bloodshed or force, without disturbing society. A part of the permanently unemployed declassed workers who so far thought that socialism was personified in the Social-Democratic Party, who expected "prosperity for all" from Social-Democracy, have supported the preparations for the Fascist dictatorship, when it became clear that their votes did not bring about socialism or "prosperity for all," but the re-establishment of the domination of capital and also the complete impoverishment of the worker. The coalition policy of Social-Democracy paved the way for Fascism, by the collaboration of Social-Democracy and the reformist T.U. leaders, and the financial oligarchy and the social-democratic policy, which destroyed the workers' united front, split the working class, and still does so daily.

Kautsky's words sound like a sneer, when, in his last article on Fascism he reluctantly admits that it was Social-Democracy which drove the declassed petty bourgeois and working class elements into the Fascist camp. This old, toothless, but nevertheless consistent traitor to the working class, who—as distinct from Marx—predicted that between capitalism and socialism there will be a "period of revolutionary transformation in

which the state can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat"—declared that between these two forms of society there would be "a political transition period in which, as a general rule, the government will take the form of a coalition government"—this lackey of the Fascists writes to-day:

"Coalitions with the most democratic of the bourgeois parties became necessary, to save the Republic which had been won, and its social achievements. But it would have been difficult even for a purely socialist government, notably without a socialist majority, to create satisfactory conditions after the ravages of the war and its consequences, the insane peace treaties . . . The socialist ministers, without a socialist majority, would of course have been unable to ban the crisis. Those who demanded this from them should at least have secured them the necessary power, by creating a parliamentary majority. Anyhow, even in this case, it would not have been possible to overcome the crisis by socialisation; it could only have been allayed . . . Large circles, notably of the middle strata, but to a no lesser extent also of the proletariat, saw and felt painfully, the misery of the times. They revolted against it. But in their ignorance they did not realise that the distress was determined by the powerlessness of Social-Democracy . . . They laid the blame for their misery not on the relation of forces of the parties, not on the incapacity of the bourgeois parties, and the powerlessness of the democratic party, but on the *Parliamentary system*. They were grieved by the picture of political and social relations as reflected in Parliament. They thought that they could make it more attractive by breaking the mirror."

Mr. Kautsky is accordingly obliged to admit that Social-Democracy, which took the path of coalition with the bourgeoisie, the way which he, Kautsky, announced as the way to Socialism—was condemned to complete impotence in the struggle against the crisis, and that thereby they had compromised the Parliamentary system and driven it into the arms of the Fascists. And still he sticks with the obstinacy of a certain foolish grey animal to "Coalitions with the most (?) democratic of the bourgeois parties became necessary, to save the Republic which had been won, and its social achievements." As though Social-Democracy had *saved* the Democratic Republic and the social achievements, as though it had not sold and betrayed these also.

No wonder that the Second International, which sticks obstinately and on principle, to the

policy of class collaboration, has once again taken the decision that social-democratic parties and their followers must boycott anti-fascist congresses. The boycott remained a castle in Spain; in accordance with the growth of the united front, workers organised in social-democratic and reformist organisations, who could not yet completely break with their parties and leaders, have sent a mass of delegates to the European Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress. Among the speakers at the congress were many social-democratic workers. They condemned the attitude of the Second International and of the German Social-Democratic Party. A Social-Democratic delegate from Danzig said, among other things:

"The social-democratic leaders have quashed the general strike in Germany . . . In our struggle, not the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party have led us, but Ernst Thaelmann."

All the social-democratic delegates from Germany to the congress declared that the policy of the "lesser evil" has paved the way to power for Fascism. They have placed on record that the Second International "censures the policy of the German Social-Democratic Party it is true," but in fact follows the line of the "lesser evil." And they appealed to the social-democratic workers of all countries to establish the revolutionary united front. Two hundred social-democratic delegates from the French, Belgian, English, Spanish, Italian and German sections of the Second International have declared:

"We, social-democratic delegates to the Anti-Fascist Congress, call upon our comrades, social-democratic workers of all countries, to break with the treacherous policy and return to the Marxist principle of uncompromising class struggle and establish a united front with all class-conscious workers in the spirit of the decisions of our congress for the fight against Fascism, the offensive of capital and imperialist war. Enemies of the proletarian united front are allies of Fascism. By united struggle

of all class-conscious workers we can smash the shaky and blood-soaked Fascist dictatorship, repulse the attack of capitalist reaction in all countries and ensure the victory of Socialism."\*

If it is true, that in the speeches of various social-democratic speakers, illusions were still apparent; that there is "a better Social-Democracy," that they can "effect a change" within the Second International; it is the task of Communist workers to convince them in the course of the common struggle that such points of view are illusory, of which everybody who wants to wage the struggle against Fascist and imperialist reaction and their origin—capitalism, must rid himself.

We cannot but agree with the definition of the manifesto adopted by the congress and which reads as follows:

"The struggle against Fascism cannot be led without completely breaking with the collaboration with the bourgeoisie, without implacable revolutionary struggle."

The platform outlined by the manifesto is a correct basis, upon which the forces of the international proletariat, the workers in every country, must be assembled for the united struggle for the support of the fight of the German proletarians against the murder dictatorship of Hitler, against Fascism in their own country. The organisation of committees of struggle against Fascism, anti-fascist defence corps, relief committees for the victims of fascist terror, is the correct way to ensure that the work of the Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress will become the starting point for organising the struggle in all factories, in all trade unions, co-operatives, cultural organisations, workers' sport organisations, and everywhere where the unemployed meet. We consider the work of the congress to be a beginning, the continuation of which must be the united struggle of the proletarian masses until Fascism is defeated.

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\* Re-translated.—Ed.

## PROHIBITION OF AUSTRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

ON the heels of the bloody fascist dictatorship of Hitler in Germany, we have the clerical-fascist government of Dolfuss in Austria! Three months of unbridled terror of fascist bands in Germany, thanks to the appalling betrayal of Social Democracy, has converted the land of the largest and most advanced proletariat of all capitalist Europe into a gigantic torture-chamber of capitalist inquisition and medieval obscurantism. The huge shadow of fascist dictatorship in Germany lays upon the whole of capitalist Europe, and increases the process of fascisation of capitalist countries in the interests of suppressing the revolutionary upsurge, which is growing on all sides, and preparing a new imperialist war for a new imperialist division of the world and intervention against the U.S.S.R. This process of fascisation proceeds at a furious rate throughout the countries of Central Europe. From the Visla to the Rhein, with rare exceptions, the map of Europe has been covered with the black hue of the open fascist régime or military-fascist dictatorship. But even in countries where bourgeois dictatorship is still concealed behind the deception of bourgeois democracy, bourgeois reaction is rampant, and the terror used against the working class and revolutionary movement of the masses grows daily. Fascisation is being realised more or less rapidly throughout all capitalist countries, opening the eyes of the mass of the workers to the real nature of bourgeois democracy, showing them, beyond question of doubt, that fascism grows organically out of bourgeois democracy; that bourgeois democracy and fascism are not opposed to each other, in principle, as systems of government, but merely different forms of the domination of the bourgeoisie, corresponding to different depths of the crisis and different phases of the class struggle. This process of fascisation—from those forms wherein fascism and bourgeois democracy are interwoven and concealed under the flag of “defending lands of democracy from lands of fascist dictatorship,” to the open fascist dictatorship of the National-Socialists—is characteristic of all capitalist Europe to-day.

In this process social-democracy is everywhere driving the working masses under the knife of fascist terror and bourgeois reaction, adopting merely different forms of demagogy and deception of the masses, corresponding to the different stages of fascisation of each bourgeois State. Was it so long ago that the corner stone of the demagogy of the Austrian social-democrats was the legend of the firm “democratic island,”

Austria, defended by the “mighty” social-democracy of Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler? Was it so long ago that the leaders of Austrian social-democracy proudly asserted that “they won’t drive us out with three soldiers and a lieutenant”? Not two months have passed since Otto Bauer swore at the Austrian social-democratic conference that he “would die for freedom,” and that “if the enemy (the Dolfuss government—Editor) ignores our readiness for peace, let him know that we are prepared for the worst—for the worst in the literal sense of the word.”

Was it so long ago that all the Second International theoreticians, in their fight against Communism and proletarian dictatorship, considered that the main thesis of the leader of Austrian social-democracy, Otto Bauer, was absolutely secure?

“In Austria, more than in almost any other country, there is the prospect that State power will be won by the working class along the road of democracy. If only the proletariat here will understand merely how to make use of their legal opportunities, then very soon the bourgeoisie will begin to shout, as Odillon Barrot did in 1849: ‘La légalité nous tue!’ (Legality is killing us!).

*“If at the same time our soldiers, our gendarmes, our schutzbund is defending republican legislation, then the bourgeoisie will be unable to smash this legislation, since the legal measures of the election address place the legal powers in our hands.”*

A war of competition is now going on in Austria between the “black” clerical fascism of Dolfuss and the “brown” fascism of Hitler. Nothing is left now of the “election address.” A régime of emergency laws is being introduced. The working class is being disarmed. About a thousand Communists have been thrown into prison. The Fascist-clerical government of the “Metternich of the twentieth century,” as the bourgeois press have dubbed Dolfuss, has declared the small Austrian Communist Party illegal; this party, which is heroically organising the Austrian proletarian masses for the struggle against fascist reaction, and unmasking the truly treacherous rôle of “Left” Austrian social-democrats more and more before the masses of the Austrian social-democratic workers. Even earlier the Young Communist League, the International Red Aid and other mass revolutionary organisations of the proletariat, were prohibited. There is a rabid offensive against the standard of living of the toiling masses. Despite the favourable spring season, the number of unemployed has



reached appalling figures for such a small country—350,000.

In these conditions, constantly strengthening open fascist dictatorship in Austria, social-democracy under Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler is consistently and steadily approaching the position of the leaders of German social-democracy. In the face of the approaching war and imminent decisive class battles for a capitalist or revolutionary way out of the crisis, social-democracy in each capitalist country is *occupying its place* in the ranks of dictatorship of *its own* bourgeoisie. The leaders of the Second International, and first and foremost in the person of its general secretary, Friedrich Adler, have started the legend of “good” and “bad” social-democrats, meaning by the latter—the German social-fascists, to deceive the masses. The behaviour of Austrian social-democracy very rapidly exposed this new manoeuvre of the Second International. Austrian social-democracy, like the German, made no reply to the call issued by the Communist Party for a general strike. Silently Austrian social-democracy transferred the disarming of the social-democratic Schutzbund. Like the leaders of German social-democracy, Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler are assuring the Austrian workers that there must be no strikes at the present moment, but that the “minor strategic positions” should be sacrificed for the purpose of “concentrating all forces upon preparations for struggle against the menace of the main enemy—Hitler national-socialism.” Thus, social-democracy is disarming the Austrian proletariat, by officially declaring Dolfuss’ clerical-fascist government to be the “lesser evil.” It was fourteen years ago that Lenin wrote the following about the then “left” heroes of Austrian social-democracy:

“Legal and *illegal*\* work must be combined . . . The heroes of vulgar opportunism jeered at this, smugly praising the ‘legality,’ ‘democracy,’ ‘freedom’ of the Western European countries, republics, and so on. Now, only downright sharpers, deceiving the workers with phrases, can deny that the Bolsheviks were right. There is not a single country in the world, not the most advanced or the most ‘free’ of the bourgeois republics, where there is not a reign of bourgeois terror . . . The party which has not recognised this up to now under the rule of the bourgeoisie, and does not carry on systematic, all-inclusive *illegal*† work, despite the laws of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois parliaments, is a party of traitors and

*scoundrels, which by lip-service to the revolution is deceiving the people.*”\*

Bauer and Adler, both traitors and sharpers, who deceive the Austrian workers by lip-service to the revolution, have now openly gone over to the side of their own fascist bourgeoisie, making use of the family quarrel between the Dolfuss fascist government and Hitler’s fascist government for this purpose. But Dolfuss and Hitler have differences by no means on questions concerning the struggle against the Communists and the revolutionary Austrian proletariat. The Dolfuss government deprives the revolutionary vanguard of the Austrian proletariat of all political rights: during the short period in which it has been in office it has issued 40 decrees against the working class. Dolfuss is fighting against Hitler on the question of Fascist Austria’s “independence.” The Dolfuss government has behind it a very narrow following of the Christian-Socialist Party and the “Heimwehr.” Dolfuss’ fascist government is therefore trying its utmost to use its position between three imperialist countries struggling for a way out to the Danube. It is manoeuvring between German, Italian and French imperialism. Hitler’s fascist dictatorship is doing its utmost to realise the Austrian “Anschluss” and create a new wave of nationalism in Germany, thus drowning the voice of inevitable dissatisfaction of the masses concerning the ever-worsening economic situation. The clerical-monarchist Dolfuss government, by pretending to be in opposition to the National-Socialist dictatorship in Germany, and relying at the present moment primarily upon Italian imperialism, is, at the same time, seeking ways of coming to an agreement with Hitler on honourable terms (i.e., without the fascist unification, “Gleichschaltung,”† which Hitler inflicted upon the Catholic Centre in Germany). There is proof of this in the recent revelations of Gabicht, leader of the Austrian National-Socialists, concerning Dolfuss’ negotiations with the National-Socialists about their entering the government.

On the other hand, Dolfuss’ fascist government is manoeuvring between the imperialists of the countries of open fascist dictatorship and the imperialism of the bourgeois-democratic countries. In this particular case, Dolfuss has nothing whatever against pretending to be a “fighter for freedom” against the German National-Socialists, and for this purpose pushes social-democracy into the forefront. In his interview with the Vienna correspondent of the “New York Times,” Dolfuss declared that his main task was the struggle

\* See “Concerning the Tasks of the Third International,” by Lenin. Lenin’s italics.

† Lenin’s italics.

\* Our italics.

† See No. 10.

against Hitlerism: "By helping us, America will be helping the whole of Europe and the cause of freedom."

But the backing behind Dolfuss' government, which was never strong, is getting smaller every day. The Christian-Socialist party is crumbling more and more to pieces. Demagogic National-Socialist agitation and the influence of the National-Socialists is growing, especially in the rural, alpine districts. The indignation of the proletarian masses at the fascist terror of Dolfuss, and the treacherous acts of social-democracy, is also growing. Hence the later struggle and haggling with Hitler, who liquidated the opposition of the Catholic Centre in Germany, which is related to the Austrian Christian-Socialist Party. Hence the later struggle and dealings, actually a division of labour, with Austrian social-democracy, which insists on complete functions for itself as the chief social pillar of its own bourgeoisie, by means of counter-posing the clerical-fascist régime of Dolfuss to the fascist dictatorship of Hitler. Dolfuss is a "republic without democracy." But Dolfuss is the "lesser" evil, as compared with Hitler. Therefore, "support Dolfuss and thus save yourselves from Hitler!"

To deceive the radicalising, social-democratic workers the better, an extremely vulgar slogan has been issued of "neutrality in the internecine struggle of two fascist factions" and "neutrality" in the quarrel of the imperialists on the question of Austria. This latter slogan most clearly shows the connections between Austrian social-democracy and French imperialism, which has hoisted the flag of "defending democracy" and the "neutrality" of Austria. A direct expression of the same thing was the unanimous acceptance by the foreign policy commission of the French Parliament of Longuet's proposal, on the conditions under which a loan should be granted the Dolfuss government. "France is prepared to grant a loan provided Austria maintains a parliamentary régime, and *provided the reforms in the Constitution proposed are introduced by parliamentary means*" (i.e., provided there is "legalised" fascistisation). This is precisely what was referred to by Danneberg, the political reporter to the last Conference of Austrian social-democracy, when, on behalf of social-democracy as a whole, he gave consent to changes in the Constitution "by parliamentary means," for "the social-democrats are brokers by nature."

The central organ of the French Socialist Party, "Populaire," made a declaration on the eve of the session of the foreign policy commission of Parliament, to the effect that if the "reforms" go too far against social-democracy, then "our Austrian friends will resist it, and we also shall

not give our consent." This proves that the French imperialists have brought in a unanimous decision, after having *directly negotiated* with the leaders of social-democracy.

The alignment of class forces in fascist Austria is now quite clear. Austrian social-democracy, the "mighty" colossus with feet of clay, is no party of struggle against fascist dictatorship. Fascism and bourgeois reaction can be conquered only by a *revolutionary struggle* of the proletariat against bourgeois dictatorship. All the previous policy of Austrian social-democracy paved the way for Dolfuss' present fascist offensive. And the entire social-democratic policy of to-day — the logical sequence to its "general line" — serves merely to camouflage Austria's further fascistisation. This is sufficiently clear on the basis of what the "patriarch" of Austrian social-democracy, Seitz, said in his speech at the social-democratic May-day meeting, and what was afterwards confirmed in the face of the armed fascist camp in Vienna—after Seitz himself had accepted all the conditions of the Vienna police—to the effect that social-democracy "had been victorious" and that a victory can be gained over cannon and machine-guns, "without having any cannon or machine-guns."

The "small" Communist Party of Austria is the only force which is now mustering the masses for active struggle against fascism, and organising this struggle. It is the consciousness of this fact that makes Messrs. Bauer and Adler "protest," in words at least, against the prohibition of the Communist Party, to create an appearance of "revolutionary struggle" in the eyes of the social-democratic workers, and simultaneously incite the clerical-monarchist bands with supercilious gibings about the "insignificance" and "uselessness" of the Austrian Communist Party.

The task of the Austrian Communist Party is *not to lose a minute* and create a strong illegal apparatus, combining at one and the same time daring, persistent illegal work with no less daring, persistent work in all legal *mass organisations* of the Austrian proletariat in factories, workshops and trade unions; organising and leading *all forms of struggle* of the Austrian proletariat against the Dolfuss fascist government, as well as unmasking the foul rôle of Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler as agents of Austrian fascism.

The Austrian Communist Party has had no historical experience of illegal work and freed itself from sectarian traditions by Herculean efforts. It must now remember that illegal work does not amount to irresponsible revolutionary phrases about answering "every attack of the Fascist government upon the rights of the workers by armed struggle," but serious illegal organisation of the mass work of the party, the illegal

organisation and guidance of all forms of the revolutionary mass movement. Only in this way will it be possible to finish once and for all with the prejudices of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois freedom, which have been instilled into the

Austrian working class by Austro-Marxism,\* and to lead the Austrian proletariat to decisive battles for the overthrow of fascist dictatorship.

\* See "Social Democracy—Stepping-stone to Fascism." D. Z. Manuilsky, Ed.

## A GREAT VICTORY OF THE CHINESE RED ARMY

By WAN-MIN.

### I.—THE NEW KUOMINTANG POLICY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RED ARMY.

**T**HE heroic workers' and peasants' Red Army of the Chinese Soviet Republic has repulsed the fifth offensive of the Kuomintang. This is a very important victory.

During the past two years, from the time of the Fourth Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of China (January 7th, 1931) until the beginning of 1933, the Kuomintang, directly supported by international imperialism, (with money, arms, officers and technical military specialists) organised five general offensives against the Soviet Power and the Red Army in China.

In the *first* offensive (November, 1930, to the end of February, 1931) participated an army of 100,000 bayonets led by Chiang Kai-shek. In the *second* offensive (from the middle of March until the end of April, 1931) an army of 200,000 bayonets participated. After the disgraceful collapse of these two offensives Chang Kai-shek and his supporters began to realise that the Red Army could not be defeated by force of arms alone. For this reason Chang Kai-shek, in the *third* offensive (May-September, 1931), in addition to increasing the military forces (300,000 bayonets, 100 to 120 aeroplanes, and according to Kuomintang spokesmen, 150 to 200 heavy guns, 50 to 60 German and American war specialists) resorted to a number of political measures (convocation of the so-called National Assembly in Nanking, on May 1st, publication of a code of labour laws, issuance of a decree for a reduction, or temporary suspension of taxes and rent in "bandit regions," an appeal on "winning" customs independence from the imperialists, publication of a "special decree to punish criminal elements threatening the existence of the Chinese Republics," etc.) to strengthen the struggle against the "Red danger." Despite these measures however, the third offensive, which lasted four-and-a-half months, also ended in complete failure, following upon a series of the most brutal and bloody battles.

In connection with the occupation of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism, and the infamous policy of the Kuomintang, of capitulation and treachery, a stormy

anti-imperialist, and particularly anti-Japanese movement developed throughout the country, accompanied by a great popular movement against the Kuomintang. This fact temporarily prevented the Kuomintang from organising a new general offensive against the Chinese Red Army.

One of the most important points in the treaty concluded between the Nanking Government and Japan, upon the cessation of the Shanghai fighting, was that providing for a large part of the Japanese imperialist troops in Shanghai proceeding to Manchuria to suppress the anti-Japanese partisan movement and strengthen the Manchurian vantage point against the Soviets, while Chang Kai-shek was to mobilise all of his military forces for the organisation of a new, and even bigger, offensive against Soviet China.

Even earlier the Canton clique of the Kuomintang, headed by General Chang Chi-tang and the politician Hu Han-ming, in an alliance with the direct betrayers of the heroic defence of Shanghai, Chang Kuan-le and Tsai Tin-Kai, who did not hesitate to dub themselves "national heroes," had begun to compete with the Nanking clique, vying with each other in the attempt to demonstrate to the imperialists that they could best "suppress the Red bandits" and restore "law and order in China." Under the demagogic slogan that "in order to fight Japan it is necessary at first to put an end to the Communist bandits," the Cantonese undertook the initiative of organising the *fourth* anti-Soviet crusade which, it will be remembered, also ended in complete failure. After a month and a half of bloody fighting, the Red Army succeeded in repulsing the offensive of the Canton clique and extending the Soviet territory into the Kwantung and Fukien provinces. This fourth offensive ended just as disastrously for Canton as the previous three for Nanking.

The results of all of these four Kuomintang offensives are well known. Over forty divisions were defeated by the Red Army; more than 200,000 rifles, 5,000 machine-guns, hundreds of guns and heavy cannon, twelve aeroplanes, dozens of radio outfits and military radio sets, a large quantity of food and war equipment were captured by the Red Army.

*The Soviet territories were increased seven to eight times.*

The bitter experience of the repeated defeats induced the Kuomintang and its masters, the imperialists, to make a further serious attempt to draft a new plan of struggle against the Red Army. This plan was adopted by the Lushan Conference (held at the end of July and beginning of August, 1932) which was attended, not merely by all the prominent leaders of the Kuomintang, such as Chang Kai-shek, Wang Tsing-wei, Sun Tsi-wun, Sun Fo, and not only by representatives of the Young Chinese Party, the gentry and Tuhao from the provinces of Hupeh, Kiangsi, Hunan, Honan, Anhui, but also by scores of American, German, Japanese, British and French specialists both in the political and military fields. The new plan was built in such a way as to leave "three-tenths of the places to military, and seven-tenths to political measures." As the text of this plan states it contains "the entire wealth of historical experience of the prominent Chinese leaders of all the dynasties in the struggle against bandits, modified and amended to adapt it to the modern European and American civilisation." But the chief element of this plan is the experience of the "Tsin Kuo-fan plan."\*

This new plan of the Kuomintang is as follows :—

1. The creation of local organisations, Tia, Pao, Teng, Niang in the villages. Firstly, in the territories bordering upon Soviet soil. What are these organisations? According to Yang Yun-tai (Chang Kai-shek's secretary, who is an old official and big landlord), Tia is the most elementary organisation, comprising ten families, headed by a Tia Chang, who is appointed by the district police department. Pao is ten Tias, headed by an appointed Pao Chang. Where there is a network of Tias and Paos, it is easy to organise Tengs and Niangs. What difference is there between a Teng and a Niang? A Teng is an organisation of those adults in villages who do not necessarily participate in the fighting at the front, and are, therefore, not in need of special military training and do not possess rifles. Their task consists in facilitating the offensive of the Kuomintang armies and clearing the district of Communists and "Red bandits." Members of the Teng, therefore, serve as sentries on the border and at certain points, or as liaison men, stretcher-bearers, etc. The Niang differs from the Teng in that all members of the Niang must have rifles, and go through a special course of military training, under the leadership of a certain chief. The system of implanting Tias and Paos facilitates the practice of mutual responsibility, that is, if one of the members of any

family is suspected of sympathising with the Communists or "Red bandits," the whole Tia or Pao will be held responsible.

The basic idea of this organisational system is to create a police system in the village. Why is this necessary. In the opinion of the said Yang Yun-tai :

"Any country or locality which wishes to have law and order must necessarily go through a period of police rule. The best known policed countries are Japan and Germany, which achieved their successes precisely thanks to their police . . . In order to overcome the danger threatening China, it is necessary to convert our country into a police country, giving special attention to the village police. We must necessarily adhere to the old Chinese precious system of Pao-Tia. It may be confidently stated that the Pao-Tia is a village police but one without wages and ammunition."

Why does not the Kuomintang openly call the Pao-Tia a village Police Force ?

"Because," replies Yang, "should we openly call them a Police Force, they will not enjoy any respect in the villages. For this reason we must appoint them through leaders such as the Pao Chang, and Tia Chang, who have natural right and authority, for in the villages, with their present patriarchal system, they are sort of elders and very easily and successfully fulfil their mission."

Secondly, the new plan provides for "an improvement of the system of administration in the districts." This means :

"The unification of each five adjacent districts into a single fighting unit, headed by a representative, appointed directly by the general staff of the Nanking Government, and concentrating in his hands all the political, economic and military power in the five districts."

Why is this necessary ?

"In order directly to control, and carry out the orders and plans of the general staff of the Nanking Government on the struggle against the Red bandits and quickly solve all questions arising locally, despite the interference of the provincial authorities."

Thirdly, new decrees have been issued for the settlement of the land question in the "districts completely ruled by banditism," in districts with "partial banditism," and "in districts where there is no banditism," also decrees on the creation of "peasant banks" and organisation of co-operatives in the villages.

Fourthly, the plan provided for the strengthening of the economic blockade of the Soviet regions. For instance :

1. The Kuomintang is to execute all merchants who sell goods to Red Army units ;

\* Tsin Kuo-fan was the chief executionist of the Taiping revolution and the truest dog of the Ching dynasty and imperialists.—Ed.

2. The Kuomintang will strictly control the sale and purchase of essential commodities in all localities adjacent to the Soviet regions; thus a decree has been published upon the salt trade, forbidding the sale and purchase of more than two dins (about a kilogram) of salt without written permission of the local village or town authorities.

Fifthly, roads are to be built in all the localities adjacent to the Soviet districts, in order to facilitate the movement of military detachments.

Finally, and most important of all, *the strengthening of all methods of political provocation with a view to demoralising the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army.*

In this respect the Kuomintang resorts to :

1. The most shameless, the meanest demagogic agitation to delude the masses that the Communist Party and the Red Army are "destroyers of the rear of the Kuomintang in its struggle against Japanese imperialism," and that therefore the success of this struggle requires primarily the crushing of the Communist Party and the Red Army.

2. The most disgraceful method of bribery of the elements already expelled from the C.P. of China (for instance, Yui Fi), the unstable elements (Hu Ju-ho and others) and the old opportunists (Hsui Si-ching) and Trotskyists. These mercenaries have been publishing statements in the Kuomintang newspapers to the effect that they have voluntarily resigned from the Chinese Communist Party. They are slandering the Red Army, the U.S.S.R., the Comintern, the C.P.S.U., Comrade Stalin and the leading comrades of the Chinese Communist Party, and acting as police spies, are rounding up Communists in the streets of Shanghai, Tientsin, Peiping, etc.

This is the basic content of the so-called "seven-tenths political measures" of the new Kuomintang plan in the fifth offensive against the Chinese Red Army.

And what did the "three-tenths military operations" stand for in this plan? Did it mean a reduction of the military forces compared with the previous offences? Not at all. This time the Kuomintang has mobilised enormous military forces, which not only exceed the armies participating in the previous expeditions, but which have never yet been witnessed in the history of China. This time all the permanent and reserve troops at the disposal of Chang Kai-shek (that is in the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhui, Hupei, etc.), together with the Canton, Fukien, Hunan, Shensi, Szechwan and even part of the Shansi troops were mobilised for the fifth offensive. A total of eighty-six divisions, 650 to 700 thousand men were mobilised.

International imperialism this time rendered even greater assistance to the Kuomintang. Thus Amer-

ican imperialism sent dozens of transports of ammunition, aeroplanes, bombing planes, military and technical specialists, and, under the pretext of sending "wheat" for the starving in the flooded areas, provided food to the Kuomintang expeditionary army. American imperialism has built an aviation plant in Nanchan and a metallurgical plant in Nanking. The Japanese, British, American, Belgian and other imperialists unanimously granted the Kuomintang request for a two years' moratorium on the Boxer contribution, so that the latter might utilise the funds for the "destruction of Communism in China."

Wang Tsing-wei, Chang Kei-shek, Sun Tsi-tsi and the other prominent leaders of the Kuomintang declared during and after the Lushan Conference of the Kuomintang, that they had succeeded in "combining the treasure house of ancient Chinese culture with modern European-American civilisation in the struggle against Communism." This time again, in the fifth offensive, they succeeded in combining "military," "political," "economic," and "transport" measures in a general strategical plan. They therefore confidently boasted that, in three months, the bulk of the "Red bandits" would be destroyed, while in half a year all the "Red bandits and Soviets in Central and South China" would be finally liquidated.

Chang Kai-shek once more (for the *n*th time) publicly declared that should his promise to crush the Reds fail again, he would not return to Nanking alive.

It is time for these promises to be kept. Already ten months have passed since the Lushan Conference.

But despite the new defeat of his army, Chang Kai-shek is still hale and hearty, and returned to Nanking unharmed for participation in the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang (held in December, 1932).

## II.—THE INGLORIOUS DEFEAT OF THE KUOMINTANG.

We shall now sum up the results of the fifth offensive, primarily from a military point of view. Let us see what was the outcome of the battles of the Kuomintang troops by months and districts.

In *July*, 1932, the 1st Canton division was routed in the *central* Soviet district, half the combatants were disarmed, while the commander of the division, Li Chan-cho was wounded; the 4th Canton division was also defeated and its majority was destroyed in battle; the 1st Canton training division was recalled to Canton owing to discontent and "suspicions of sympathising with Communism."

In *August*, 1932, the 27th, 90th and 8th Nanking divisions were badly defeated in the same *central* region. The 6th Nanking division, operating in the north-eastern district of Kiangsi, was defeated and

forced to retreat with great losses. Large sections of the 30th and 31st Nanking divisions operating in the Hupeh-Honan-Anhui district joined the Red Army, while the remaining section was crushed. In the same district a partial defeat was sustained by the 3rd, 35th, 75th and 83rd Nanking divisions as well as by the newly-formed 20th Nanking division. The 51st Nanking division was defeated in the *Hunan-Hupeh* district and the 5th Nanking division was heavily defeated there, while its commander, Fang Shao-tsin was seriously wounded. A large section of the 83rd Nanking division, operating in the *Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi* district joined the Red Army, while the remainder of this division was routed.

In *Sep.*, 1932, the 28th Nanking division and a section of the 33rd Nanking division were defeated in the *central region*, the remaining section joining the Red Army.

In *Oct.*, 1932, the 5th and 6th Nanking divisions, the newly-formed 2nd Nanking division, and the separate 4th Nanking brigade, sustained the most serious defeats in the *central* district. In the *Hunan-Hupeh* district, the Red Army repulsed the attack of the Chang Lian-shan division, and the 46th Nanking division, which was partially defeated.

In *Nov.*, 1932, the Red Army repulsed the offensive of the 1st Nanking division, and of the division headed by Wu Mien-chi in the *Hupeh-Hunan-Anhui* district. The 42nd Nanking division was defeated in the *Hunan-Hupeh* district on the border between Hupeh and Shensi.

In *Jan.*, 1933, the Red Army defeated the 5th (2,000 men being taken prisoners), 11th, 14th, 53rd, 57th and 55th Nanking divisions in the *central Soviet district, and north-eastern district of Kiangsi* (united into a single Soviet region). Four of the six divisions of the 29th army commanded by Tian Sun-yao in the Szechwan district were defeated and partially disarmed, while the other two divisions joined the Red Army; the first brigade of the 20th Szechwan army was also defeated and partially disarmed. The newly-formed 34th Nanking division was routed in the *Hunan-Hupeh* district.

From *February to the beginning of May*, 1933, in the central area, nine Nanking divisions (the newly-formed 5th division, the 11th, 37th, 39th, 52nd, 53rd, 57th, 74th and 90th) met with the following fate: Four were completely defeated; five were partially defeated; the commanders of two divisions Li Ming and Shyen Shi were arrested; three brigade commanders were killed, four brigade commanders were taken prisoners, and many regimental commanders, together with 30,000 soldiers made prisoners by the Red Army. The Nanking forces lost 30,000 rifles, hundreds of machine-guns, while 9,000 soldiers joined the Red Army. The arrested divisional commanders, to-

gether with five lower officers issued an appeal to the people exposing the criminal policy of the Kuomintang, its disgraceful surrender to imperialism, and its brutal persecution of the workers, peasants and all toilers. Eighteen divisions of the Kuomintang army suffered serious defeat.

The soldiers of the so-called fiery 19th army, who, together with the workers, took an active part in defending Shanghai displayed colossal revolutionary heroism in Fukien. They came out openly against the attack upon the Red Army. A section of these fighters (two to three regiments) succeeded in joining the Red Army with their arms: another section (about 1,000 men) were either executed by the firing squad, or buried alive. A large section comprising about 8,000 men, was disarmed, some of them being thrown into military prisons in Nanking and Fukien, while others were sentenced by the Kuomintang military tribunals to imprisonment with hard labour, and are now working as coolies on the roads being built at Fukien. We have no full information yet on the quantity of arms captured by the Red Army from the Kuomintang forces. We shall therefore limit ourselves to the following examples:

1. The 4th Red Army in July-August, 1932, captured about 11,000 rifles, 50 machine-guns (light and heavy), 20 (mountain, artillery and mortars) guns and one military radio outfit.
2. The 1st Army at the same time captured from the Cantonese 3,500 rifles, 100 machine-guns and five guns;
3. The 3rd Army in June-July, 1932, captured from the Fukien army 5,000 rifles, two aeroplanes and 50 machine-guns.
4. The 1st and 3rd Armies in December and January captured 3,000 rifles, 50 machine guns and one radio station.
5. The 15th Red Army Corps in August-September, 1932, captured 1,600 rifles and 35 machine guns.
6. The 2nd Army in August, 1932, captured 8,000 rifles, 20 machine-guns and five heavy guns.
7. The 1st, 3rd and 5th Red Armies in Kiangsi, captured in February 30,000 rifles and hundreds of guns.

### III.—THE VICTORY OF THE RED ARMY.

Our 1st, 3rd and 5th Armies, together with the 10th and 16th Corps, operating on the Kiangsi-Kwantung, Kiangsi-Fukien, southern and north-eastern front of Kiangsi won one victory after another. *They not only heroically repulsed the enemy, but successfully attacked them as well.* The strength of these units of the Red Army was increased by two-fifths. The 4th Army for military tactical reasons, and to come to the aid of the 2nd Army, temporarily

abandoned certain parts of its territory; but not only preserved its man-power, but also gained a series of victories over the enemy. The number of the 4th Army also increased considerably. Throughout this great fifth offensive of the Kuomintang only our 2nd Army sustained partial reverses, at the end of October and beginning of November, 1932, while one of its divisions suffered a heavy defeat on the Chankiang-Tienli front, this being due to the difficult economic situation in the rear (the floods, resulting in a shortage of supplies). But, with the aid of the 4th Army which arrived from northern Hupeh, the 2nd Army which was surrounded by the Hunan-Hupeh-Shensi-Honan armies of the enemy succeeded in breaking through without further serious losses and capturing fresh territories in the western part of Hupeh and southern part of Shensi.

Is it not clear, therefore, which of the belligerents won and which lost in the fifth offensive? Only the hopelessly blind or the totally shameless Kuomintang adherents can speak of a "defeat" of the Red Army.

But, we may be told, the Red Army has lost much territory in the Anhui-Honan district, and also in Hunan-Hupeh district. Isn't this a defeat?

Yes, it is. We had once (in November-December, 1932) lost a part of Soviet territory, *this is a partial loss*, but it does *not at all signify the defeat of the Red Army in the fifth offensive*. Let us analyse the question in essence. Is it true that our 2nd and 4th Armies have completely lost their territories? No, this is untrue. They have temporarily lost only the city centres (for instance, the districts of Shang-Cheng, Ho-Chu, Hwan-an, Ho-Shen, and the small towns Hsin-Ti, Ting-Lia-Chai and others by the 4th Army and the Hun-hu lake, the town of Tsiang-Li, Tien-Tsian and Tien-Meng by the 2nd Army). The countryside remained in the hands of the Red Army and of the peasant partisan detachments. This is testified by the Kuomintang newspapers themselves. Thus the special correspondent of the newspaper "Ta Gun Pao," referring to the situation in the former border Red regions in Hupeh, Honan and Anhui, wrote:

"Thanks to the division of the large forces, the Red bandits frequently succeed in hiding their rifles, which they bury underground. Whenever a small detachment of the Kuomintang army arrives in a village, the Red Guard immediately digs up the rifles, surrounds the detachment, and disarms it. If a large detachment arrives, they again bury their rifles, and either pretend to be peaceful inhabitants or flee to the mountains.

"The troops have no means of dealing with them. In the evening a telegram has been received that Shuan-ho (14 km. from Ting-Lia Chai) has again been captured by the Reds.

The same newspaper reports on June 22nd:

"According to arrivals from the army the formerly scattered Red bandits in the north of Hwan-ai and Mao-chen, and in the south of Chuan-Shen and Shang-chen, are again attempting to join forces. They have already formed themselves into large units of 5,000 to 7,000 men each. In the opinion of Kuomintang army officers, there is not a single trustworthy inhabitant throughout this vast district."

On December 1st, 1932, the newspaper wrote:

"After the Hsui (i.e., Hsui Hsiang-Chiang, the commander of a Red Army) had moved in a western direction, it appears to be quieter in the east of Hupeh. In reality, however, it must be admitted that the Red bandits have not yet left the eastern district of Hupei."

The same newspaper reported on December 12th, as follows:

"Lately alarming reports about bandits have been received from the eastern part of Hupeh. For instance, Governor Hsia-tou-ing has many times prepared to go to Hwan-an and Mao-chen to make a study of the situation locally, but the army units there have wired to him that bitter fighting is constantly proceeding between bandits and the troops in the district of Kutun-lin in the Hwan-an counties, so that normal communications do not exist. We have pointed out, more than once, that few adults are to be met with in the bandit districts. But why is it that now that the main forces of the bandits have retreated, a large number of Red fighters has again appeared? They do not drop down from the sky, do they?"

The situation around Ho-lung's former base, according to the "Ta Gun Pao" of November 24th, was as follows:

"Secret operations of Red bandits were still continued in the surrounding villages. They were led chiefly by young women. In one village, for instance, five detachments were discovered belonging to the organisation of Red bandits, and three of the arrested detachment chiefs were women."

Later a large section of Ho-lung's Red Army occupied the districts of Shi-meng, Suang-chi, Ho-fun, Wu-fun, etc., and approached their former base (Hun-hu). That is why the 2nd Army *again succeeded in capturing its former base at Hun-hu* in April of this year.

During the last months, the Red divisions and the partisans of the 4th Army, who remained in the old bases, again recaptured many of their lost positions, including Chi-li-ping, Ting-tia-pei, Shan-cheng and others.

Is it true that our 2nd and 4th Armies lost part of their former territories, and have not created any new base? No, this is untrue. They have captured new bases with even *greater territories and superior*

*defensive facilities and considerably more favourable prospects of further extension than the old bases.* The 4th Army, for instance, has occupied a vast section of northern Szechwan. The arrival of the 4th Army occasioned our local Party organisations in Szechwan to organise Red military units and partisan detachments, a part of which is carrying on a partisan struggle around Wang-hsian and Hsin-lin, another part has occupied the districts of Hsiu-shan, Yu-Yang, Pei-shui, Chiang-tsian and even temporarily held the city of Pei-ling in Eastern Szechwan. A part of our 2nd Army occupied the districts of Hsian-fun, Ho-fun, Wu-fun, Li-chwan, An-shin, Hsian-an, Tieng-shi, Pa-tung, Chang-yang in Western Hupeh, Suan-ching, Li-chow, Lun-chan, Tse-li, Suan-chi, Shi-meng, in Northern Huan and has actually joined our detachments in Eastern Szechwan (Yu-Yang, Wu-shan and others), and in the southern part of Shensi.

We won a splendid victory in the central Soviet district. The fifth offensive has shown that our territorial bases are so well fortified, that during this lengthy expedition our enemies actually failed to penetrate the territory of the central district even once. This was not the case in the past. Our 1st, 3rd and 5th Armies, together with the 10th and 16th corps *tremendously increased our Soviet territories.* In Western Fukien we occupied Lian-chen, Chen-lin, Gwei-hwa and Lin-hwa; in Northern Fukien: Tien-ling, Tei-ling, Tien-lo, Shun-tsan, Tien-si, Pu-chen, Pun-li, Tien-tsi; in Southern Kiangsi: Hsin-fun, An-shun, Shui-nu. In Eastern and Eastern-Northern Kiangsi we occupied Lo-an, Nan-fun, Hu-chwan, Tsun-shen, Li-hwan, Nan-cheng, Tin-si, Dun-hsian, Tse-si, Gwei-si, Yu-kan (a coal area), Yu-kiang, Lo-lin, Fu-liang (Ling-teh-cheng—the centre of the porcelain industry of China) and Chiang-shen (lead mine). In South-Western Kiangsi we occupied Shan-chao, Feng-li, Yun-hsin, Hsi-chwan. At the same time the 26th Corps of the Red Army occupied the districts of Shen-yun, Fu-ping, Yao-chow, Chu-yi, Shui-hwa, Cheng-ling, etc. In North-Western Shensi and with the aid of the 4th Army it occupied, as far back as December, the districts of Yu-hsian, Ao-chi, Hsin-ping, Me-hsian to the west of Hsian (capital of Shensi). The 24th Corps, from which no news had been received for a long time, revived its operations under the influence of the stormy developments in North-Western China and occupied a number of districts in Kansu, Yen-chi in Lin-hsia, the district of Ting-piang in Northern Shensi, and is now advancing towards the Yu-ping, to get in touch with the 26th Corps in Shansi.

Thus, in a territorial respect, the results of the Kuomintang offensive are as follow: The Red Army lost twelve to fifteen districts (the 4th Army lost

about seven to nine districts, and the 2nd Army five to six districts). The territorial losses of the Kuomintang (that is, territories won by the Red Army) amount to 79 districts, including 22 in Kiangsi, 14 in Fukien (including two provincial cities Shao-wu-feng and Ting-ling-fu) 12 in Szechwan, 11 in Shensi, 9 in Hupeh, 6 in Hwan, 4 in Kansu and 1 in Lin-hsia. Although not all of these districts continue to remain under our control, and many of them have changed hands, quite a number of them are permanently held by us. In any case the number of new districts occupied and held far exceeds those lost.

Thus the *Soviet revolution has now spread to the most important provinces of North-Western China in addition to Central and Southern China.*

Such are the facts. Which then of the belligerent sides has won, and which has lost territorially, as a result of the fifth offensive? We repeat, only madmen or those of the Kuomintang who have lost all shame can speak of a "defeat" of the Red Army and of the Soviets in China.

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But perhaps the Kuomintang, as a result of the introduction of the so-called "political measures" which occupy "seven-tenths" of the total plan of the fifth offensive, has really achieved its object, that is, has succeeded in winning to its side the toiling masses of the Soviet regions and destroying the influence and authority of the Red Army, Soviet power and Communist Party of China among the masses in Kuomintang China? Let us see how the toilers of the former Soviet districts, which are now occupied by Kuomintang forces, treat the Kuomintang and its armies. The Kuomintang newspaper "Ta Gun Pao" referring to the situation in Ting-tiachang (Nov. 8th, 1931) wrote:

"Although the Red bandits were repulsed, their organisations continue to exist secretly among the masses. This is the most unpleasant part of the whole thing."

Reporting on Eastern Hupeh and Southern Honan, the same newspaper wrote (Nov. 22nd):

"The masses of the people in these localities are as far removed from our troops as heaven is from earth; between the inhabitants and the troops there is not even a hint at friendly relations. Within some ten years this situation will probably change. Perhaps this assertion is too exaggerated. But the underground organisations of the Red Army have not really been liquidated."

The situation on the border between Hupeh and Honan is described as follows:

"After the main bases of the Red bandits were occupied by Government troops, it is possible to travel from Hsin-ti to Po-pi-ho, from Sun-hwattien to Lo-shen and from Hwan-an through Sunpu-to to Mao-chen. But in the vicinity of these



roads disorder and alarm reigns everywhere. Therefore, in the border districts between Hupeh and Honan it is best not to speak of the period of organisation of the masses, but of the period of the capture of the masses. . . . So far the number of people voluntarily submitting to the Government forces is still very small."

The same newspaper of December 13th, 1932, writes on the basis of correspondence from Hankow on the situation at Huan-an :

"The present bandit detachments consist of those fighters who were captured earlier in the battles around Chi-li-ping, Ting-tia-chen and Hsin-ti by the Government troops after bitter fighting. They were disarmed and released. This friendly treatment in civil war was designed to capture the sympathies of the masses. But these bandit soldiers, after being set free, unearthed their rifles, hidden in their villages (the Red bandits have more rifles than people), and again take up the fight against the Government troops."

Even the political measure which is one of the fundamental elements of the so-called Tsin Kuofan's plan of the Kuomintang, namely, the organisation of the ming-tuans of landlord detachments or Tang-Nian has produced no results. For instance "Ta Gun-Pao," of October 14th, 1932, writes about the ming-tuans in the city of Hsin-Yan :

"The ming-tuans who were formerly called a defence attachment have now been reorganised, by an order of the provincial authorities, into detachments for the maintenance of order. The organisational scheme remains the same as before. The district chief acts also as the chief of the ming-tuans who has the right to lead them and issue them orders. But the power is practically centred in the hands of his assistant, who is elected by the local population (that is by the gentry or Tuhao.—Author). The chief of a detachment of ming-tuans disposes of more than thirty rifles. Owing to their scattered organisation and the impossibility of concentrating their forces, the ming-tuans are still powerless to attack the bandits, but from their defensive struggle against the bandits they frequently emerge with obvious success. It must be said, however, that these victories are gained in the struggle against the "Tu-feis," i.e., real bandits, rather than the Reds."

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It may be confidently asserted that the crushing of the fifth offensive of the Kuomintang resulted in an enormous growth of the influence and authority of the Red Army, Soviet power, and Communist Party among the toiling masses in non-Sovietised China. There are innumerable facts to testify to this. Here are some examples :

1. *In the strengthening of the direct aid to the Red Army*, we are able to note : (a) the first loan to the sum of 600,000 Chinese dollars, which the Central Soviet Government had intended to realise in October, 1932, in the course of a month, chiefly in the Soviet territories, but which was realised in fifteen days, most of the bonds being sold outside Soviet China. In Shanghai and even in Wuhan the workers in many factories held meetings which decided to subscribe to the loan to the amount of a day's wages ; (b) the Shanghai workers collected from their paltry wages a large sum to buy aeroplanes No. 1 and No. 2 as a gift to the Red Army ; the Harbin workers, following the example of the Shanghai workers, also collected money, and bought an anti-aircraft gun as a present to the Red Army ; (c) in September, 1932, the pupils of the second middle teacher's school of the large city of Wao-ting (near Wei-ping) during the armed struggle against the Kuomintang forces, which continued for nearly a month, posted a great red placard calling for enrolment in the Red Army, etc.

2. *Extension of the Soviet Revolution to Northern and North-Western China* : (a) Establishment of the Soviet power and creation of a Red Army in the district of Ji-chao, in the province of Shantung, as a result of a peasant uprising headed by the local Party organisations of the C.P. of China in October, 1932 ; (b) The establishment of the Soviet power and organisation of Red partisan detachments around the city of Pao-ting as a result of a peasant uprising headed by the above-named student Communists in November, 1932 ; (c) The establishment of the Soviet power in Szechwan and the extension of the Soviet territory and the Red Army to Shensi, Kansu and Lin-hsia.

3. *The growth of the influence and the authority of the Soviet power and Red Army among the toilers in parts of Kuomintang China bordering on the Soviet districts* : (a) According to the admissions of the Kuomintang Press, contrary to the strict ban, *trade between the Soviet and non-Soviet districts steadily continues, owing to the co-operation between the toiling masses on both sides of the border* ; (b) On an invitation of the Soviet power and Red trade unions, 1,400 workers and peasants (mostly farm labourers and poor peasants) arrived in one of the Soviet districts in North-Eastern Kiangsi on May 1st and May 30th, 1932, to participate in the celebrations, though each one of them was threatened with death, at the hand of the Kuomintang executionists for doing this.

4. *The growth of the Chinese Communist Party in non-Soviet China* : In some of the biggest cities the growth of the Communist Party reached the same degree as at the beginning of 1927, i.e., at the time of the stormiest rise of the revolution, the only and very important difference being that, at that time, students

predominated in the movement, whereas at the present time, the great majority consists of workers.

All of these facts clearly show that the so-called "seven-tenths political measures" in the struggle against the Red Army, outlined in the general plan of the fifth offensive of the Kuomintang, have completely failed.

On the contrary, the result of our victories has been a *new wave of agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution* throughout China oppressed by imperialism and the Kuomintang.

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The question is sometimes asked: Why did the Kuomintang so noisily celebrate its triumph over the Red bandits in Nanking, Wuhan, etc., especially during Chang Kai-shek's arrival in Nanking to participate in the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang, and why did the Kuomintang diplomatic agents in London, Paris, New York, and elsewhere, talk so proudly of a great victory of their Government over the "Red menace" in China? It is not difficult to answer this question:

It is sufficient to recall the results of the previous four Kuomintang offensives against the Red Army. Did not the Kuomintang celebrate just as noisily "its victories" everytime, especially after Chang Kai-shek's return from the front to Nanking.

Why then does the Kuomintang celebrate a victory, when, in reality, it suffers a defeat? The Kuomintang needs this, firstly, to emphasise to international imperialism and the Chinese landlords and capitalists its merits, its determination and "militancy" in the struggle against the revolution; to retain their confidence and support; secondly, to sow panic among the toilers, in connection with rumours of the defeat of the Soviet Revolution, and weaken their enthusiasm and faith in the Red Army, the Soviet power of China and the Communist Party.

But, despite all their demagogy and slander, we have every right to proudly declare before all China, and the whole world, that the *worker-peasants' Red Army of the Chinese Soviet Republic, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party has heroically repulsed the fifth offensive of the Kuomintang and won a great victory over the Kuomintang armies. The new Kuomintang offensive supported by world imperialism has again ended in a disgraceful defeat.*

#### IV.—THE LESSONS OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FIFTH OFFENSIVE OF THE KUOMINTANG COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

What is the basic cause of the victory of the Red Army over the million-strong (including the irregular kulak landlords' troops) army of the Kuomintang, which is partially armed with the latest military technique? The cause, above all, *lies in the essence of the Red Army itself. It is an army of workers and peasants, an anti-imperialist, anti-landlord, anti-*

*bourgeois army.* Only such an army of the Soviet power, led by the Communist Party, the Party of Marxism-Leninism, fighting for the liberation of the toilers, can achieve the miracles of enthusiasm and heroism which are unthinkable either in a feudal or bourgeois army.

Of special importance is the fact that the power and militancy of the Red Army are not limited to the man-power and equipment of the army itself. The Red Army enjoys the energetic support and direct assistance of hundreds of thousands, and millions of people who go to the point of taking part in the fighting. Millions of the people have learned from the bitter civil war which has been going on for years between the Soviet Revolution and the Kuomintang counter-revolution (especially during the period of the fifth Kuomintang offensive) to check up and compare the programmes of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, on all the basic modern questions of Chinese policy and economics. Thus for example, the Kuomintang is demagogically declaring that it is "the only fighter against the Japanese aggression." What did the real facts show? Japanese imperialism occupied Manchuria, the Kuomintang responding by a "policy of peace and non-resistance"; Japanese imperialism attacked Shanghai, the Kuomintang responding by betraying the Shanghai defence, carried out by the soldiers of the heroic 19th Army in co-operation with the revolutionary workers; Japan captured Shanhaikwan, the Kuomintang responding by patiently waiting for "League of Nations interference." Now Japan has occupied Jehol, and a large section of Northern China, and the Kuomintang again offered no resistance and openly capitulated to Japanese imperialism by concluding a so-called "truce." The masses are waging an heroic and self-sacrificing partisan war in Manchuria against Japanese imperialism. The Kuomintang responded to all this by sabotage, passivity, and negotiations with Japan behind the scenes. The masses throughout China have been conducting strikes, meetings, demonstrations, and anti-imperialist conferences against the imperialists. The Kuomintang responds by arrests, executions and wholesale murders of workers, peasants, soldiers, students and all anti-imperialist elements.

The Government of Soviet China, under the leadership of the Communist Party, *openly declared war* at the beginning of 1932 on Japanese imperialism in connection with the Shanhaikwan events and the further Japanese offensive in Jehol and North China. The Council of Peoples Commissars, and the General Staff of the Red Army, issued an appeal to the population of China, emphasising their readiness to conclude a *fighting agreement* with any army and armed detachments under the elementary conditions necessary for the effective organisation of a popular

national revolutionary war against the Japanese and other imperialists. The conditions were as follow : (1) Discontinuation of the offensive against the Soviet districts ; (2) Granting democratic rights such as freedom of speech, press, meetings and strikes to the population of the given territory, and (3) arming the people for a fight against Japanese imperialism. The Chinese C.P. and the Soviet power rendered genuine material and moral aid to the heroes of the Shanghai defence, and the anti-Japanese partisan movement in Manchuria. The Chinese C.P. is leading throughout China the anti-imperialist revolutionary national emancipation struggle, in all of its forms, down to the national revolutionary war.

Thus, practice has shown that the Kuomintang Government is a Government of national betrayal and national disgrace, and, for this reason, the destruction of the Kuomintang represents *the basic condition to the success of the national revolutionary war of the armed people, against the Japanese and other imperialists in the defence of the independence, integrity and unity of China.* The Chinese C.P. and the Soviet power, and the Red Army led by it, are the only real fighters for the national emancipation of the Chinese people from the yoke of Japanese and international imperialism.

The Kuomintang demagogically declares that it, too, defends the interests of the workers and peasants, and not only upon its own territory, but on that of Soviet China as well. Experience has shown to the workers and peasants of the Soviet districts temporarily captured by the Kuomintang army something different. To begin with, we witness a *wholesale massacre* there. According to the same "Tu Gun Pao" in the one district of Tien-sian there were over 10,000 "Red bandits" killed ; on suspicion of belonging to the Reds over 16,000 people were murdered in the district of Chan-Kiang (both districts are in Western Hupei on the former territory of the 2nd Red Army). In the district town of Ha-sken (in the north of Anhui), the former district of the 4th Red Army, the Kuomintang henchmen killed all "suspects." According to the same "Ta Gun Pao" at the beginning of November "four suspicious looking people were executed in one day, one of them being a boy of 12 or 13."

Then there is the *restoration of the landlords' rights.* Under the second point of the Kuomintang land decree dealing with the solution of the land problem in the former "bandit" regions, "the lands which have already been divided by the bandits, provided documents and the old borders continue to exist, must be simply returned to the previous owners, and if the documents have been lost and the borders no longer exist, the land is to be returned to the previous owners whenever their ownership is proved." Serfdom is being restored in the villages where

mutual responsibility is being enforced, the "Pao, Tia, Teng, Niang" are being organised, etc. The whole theory and practice of the Kuomintang economic policy are fully in accord with the following remarkable statement made by Chiang Kai-shek on September 12th, 1932, at the enlarged plenum of the officials of Party, Government and military institutions in Wuhan. The Kuomintang economic policy is defined in this statement as follows :

"If the demand is made for an unjust reduction of rent, which deprives the landlords of all profit so that their interest in investing money in houses is killed, or if the demand is made for an unjust rise in wages, which is beyond the forces of the capitalists and compels them to close their business, such demands shake the economic foundation of society. We consider this impermissible. I want our Party and Government to give special attention to this aspect so as to enforce the necessary economic policy with the maximum of speed."

The Kuomintang further claims that the "Red bandits" have completely destroyed agriculture in the Soviet regions. What are the actual facts ? According to the admission of "Ta Gun Pao" October 3rd, 1932, "in the Red districts just occupied the rice crop is extremely high" (in the district of Hwan-Chwan) "in Shi-li-tow, within ten lis of the city, right next to the district of the Reds the rice crop all along the road is pretty good." In the Kuomintang districts adjacent to the Red districts, the situation is as follows :

"We then travelled to Chwan-lin-tien about 30 li (15 kms.). The land is empty for the entire distance. Only weeds grow in the fields. Here and there we see kaolian which is not above three chi (about a metre) however. Less than one or two per cent. of the fields have been sown. . . . Most of the houses have been destroyed. Some times we meet with small isolated huts which, at a first glance, appear not to have been destroyed, but which have no doors or windows and are vacant."

Here is a correspondence of September 7th, 1932, describing a trip from Shwan-chen to Ting-tia-chao (one of the basic districts of the 4th Red Army temporarily held by the White Army and recaptured by the Red Army in February and March of this year) :

"The rice crop throughout is very good. Most of it, however, has not yet been harvested. Sometimes women and children harvest rice, adult men are very infrequently met with. At a distance off 20 li from the district town, we met over one hundred peasants with loads of rice on their back marching in the direction of Shwan-chen. They were followed by armed soldiers. This was rice harvested by soldiers in the peasant fields. We

asked them which division they belonged to, but the peasants did not dare reply."

The same correspondent was forced to admit that the situation in Hwan-chwan was much worse than in the Soviet districts.

The above quotations from "Ta Gun Pao" were not taken accidentally. The point is that this trip of special correspondents was openly organised by the General Staff of the Kuomintang in the form of a "campaign to study the situation in the former bandit districts," so that the information carried by "Ta Gun Pao" actually represents official information of the Kuomintang Government regarding the situation in the former Soviet districts temporarily captured by the White Army. The object of this campaign was to fabricate lying slander of the Red Army and the Soviet power, to publicly discredit their authority and influence among the masses. For this reason every one of the forced admissions of the special correspondents of "Ta Gun Pao" concerning the situation in the Soviet districts is highly valuable, for us. It is clear to anyone that the positive facts speaking in our favour which were accidentally admitted by these Kuomintang correspondents do not constitute one-tenth or even one per cent. of the real truth about the Soviet districts. But even on the basis of these scanty facts it is possible to appreciate the entire superiority of the Soviet system to the Kuomintang and every other militarist system in China. Therefore there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Chinese toiling people are becoming more and more converted to the idea that its emancipation lies in a Soviet revolution.

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At the same time, it is necessary to consider still another fact of inestimable importance in exposing the lies of the Kuomintang and imperialism and revealing the growth of the authority of the Chinese C.P., the Soviet power and the Red Army. This is the victorious completion in the U.S.S.R. of the first Five-Year Plan in four years. This fact clearly and irrevocably tells the Chinese people that if the Bolsheviks have succeeded in ridding their country of "a more or less analogous situation to the present position of China, which has no heavy industry, has no war industry of its own, and whom everybody who cares to now has a peck at," and in converting the Soviet Union into a "country capable of producing all modern weapons of defence on a mass scale and equipping its own army with them," making it possible to offer determined resistance to every attempt at a military intervention from without and to every attempt at a military attack from without" (Stalin), the Chinese Bolsheviks, the C.P. of China, and the Soviet power led by it, following the example of the C.P.S.U., will succeed in transforming China

from a semi-colony of international imperialism, from an object of constant and ceaseless military aggression on the part of external enemies, aimed at the final partition of the country, into an independent, powerful and well defended country such as the Soviet Union. The example of the U.S.S.R. completely exposes the lie of the Kuomintang to the effect that the Bolsheviks are unable and unwilling to protect the "national interests."

It is clear that only the Chinese Bolsheviks (the C.P. of China) and the Soviet power of China led by them, will succeed in restoring and reconstructing the entire national economy on a new non-capitalist basis, assuring an independent economic development of the country and a really human life, after the example of the Soviet Union; contrary to the slanderous claims of the Kuomintang and imperialists that the Bolsheviks (i.e., the C.P. of China, the Soviet power and the Chinese Red Army) the "bandits" are capable only of destroying, but not of building. The victorious completion of the Five-Year Plan in the U.S.S.R. clearly shows that the Bolsheviks are capable of building the new, as well as of destroying the old.

The fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan in the U.S.S.R. "without enslaving credits and loans from outside" overthrows the "plan of state construction" of Sun Yat-sen, the Lytton Commission Report of "international co-operation in the development of China" and the plan of Sun Tse-wun and Chan Kun-po of "the industrial development of China," who maintain that China's economic development is impossible without the aid of international capital. Of course, not the Chinese bourgeoisie but the Bolsheviks, in an alliance with the U.S.S.R. and with the support of the great masses of workers and peasants, will build a new free human life in China after the example of the U.S.S.R., "only the Soviets can save China from final collapse and ruination" (Stalin).

The prospects of the future victory of the Soviet revolution in China are favourable. But this does not mean that after the defeat of the fifth offensive the Kuomintang is no longer capable of organising a new offensive against the Red Army, or that the Kuomintang is already dead, as some comrades maintain. The point is that the Kuomintang is not only an agency of international imperialism for carrying out an armed intervention against Soviet China, but also that the Chinese landlords and bourgeoisie have, so far, only been defeated on one-sixth, and that not the most important part of the territory of the country, and are still in possession of a million-strong army. They will fight to the last drop of blood for the maintenance of their power.

Nor does this mean that, in the further development of the Soviet revolution in China, the Red

Army will meet with an ever-weaker army. No, on the contrary. The greater the victory of the Red Army over the Kuomintang, the nearer approaches the threat of *an open armed intervention of the imperialists* against the Soviet power and the Red Army of China.

Our Soviet power and Red Army have a number of serious difficulties as well as defects and mistakes in their work. Among these difficulties is the struggle against imperialism, the building up of a new life under conditions of ceaseless civil war and economic dislocation, battles for the capture of big cities fortified according to the last word of military technique, etc. Among the existing defects and mistakes it is necessary to point out the failure of many of the Soviets and trade unions to carry on mass work on a sufficiently big scale, an incorrect attitude toward the middle peasant on the part of some of the Soviet authorities and Party organisations, and an insufficiently correct economic policy in some of the Soviet districts, etc. Nor is it true that everything in the rest of China is ready for the victory of the revolution as some of our comrades think and maintain. No, on the territory of the Kuomintang, in Manchuria and in the other districts occupied by the Japanese army, as well as in the biggest centres, the Chinese C.P. is still insufficiently strong to lead the workers, peasants and soldiers in decisive battles for power against the imperialists and their agents.

Much preparation work must still be carried out before this will be made possible.

All this merely means that the general international and internal situation is developing favourably for further decisive successes of the Red Army and Soviet power in China. Everything essentially depends upon the further political and technical work of the Chinese Communist Party in mobilising, organising and welding together the millions of toilers of China around the banners of the Soviet revolution in China.

Our Party calls itself a Leninist-Communist-Bolshevik Party, precisely because it not only does not fear to expose its difficulties, mistakes and shortcomings, but is able to successfully overcome them. "There are no fortresses which the Bolsheviks are unable to capture." The Bolsheviks will never be content with the successes and victories already achieved. The Chinese Red Army, under the leadership of the Communist Party, is preparing for the decisive victory over the enemies. We are confident that, under the leadership of the Chinese C.P., headed by its Bolshevik Central Committee, which is firmly and energetically pursuing the Leninist general line of the E.C.C.I., the Red Army will win a decisive victory over the Kuomintang and its master, international imperialism, in China.

We are headed for new battles and new and even more decisive victories of the Red Army in China.

## NEW ATTACK OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL ON THE U.S.S.R.

BELA KUN.

NOT much more than two years have elapsed since an official document of the Second International, of the prophets who propounded the watchword of "No More War," still saw the greatest danger to peace in the notion that, one fine morning, the Bolsheviks would overrun idyllic Europe with their Red Army. This document asserted: "War threatens Europe from the East"; it is the Bolsheviks who want war, since they base their expectations of revolution exclusively on war. "Where one looks for Socialism," the leaders of the Second International still said at that time, it is only "the Red Imperialism" of the Soviet Union that menaces the growth of this "Democratic Socialism." And so international Social Democracy sang its Hymns of Hate on dumping, forced labour and the failures of the Five-Year Plan.

To-day the theme of this Hymn of Hate on the part of the Second International has changed.

The Japanese imperialists have already initiated imperialist war, after their civilising rôle throughout the Far East had been publicly extolled by the President of the Second International, Monsieur Vandervelde. The triumphant completion of the Five-Year Plan in four years has synchronised with the chronic stagnation of the Second International's "Democratic Socialism." The democracy of the Second International revealed itself in a number of countries—above all, in Germany—as the forerunner of the open Fascist dictatorship of the finance oligarchy. Not all the endeavours of the Second International can whitewash German Social-Democracy. If the editor of "Vorwaerts," Friedrich Stampfer, releases soul-stirring articles among the emigrés in which he beseeches a merciful judgment of the international working class on German Social-Democracy; if he affirms that it was only under pressure of the Fascist terror that the Social-

democratic fraction in the Reichstag sang, in a minor key, the Song of Germany, he is now answered by the former Social-Democratic President of the Reichstag, Paul Lóebe, to the effect that they have adhered to the national policy of Hitler from inner conviction, and without any external pressure. The threatened outbreak of an imperialist war in Europe between the two antagonistic blocs of imperialist powers now in process of formation—a process aggravated by Hitler's accession to power—has had a shattering effect on the existence of the Second International. Since the re-establishment of the Second International as an international organisation of the Social-Democratic Parties, every one of which maintains an unbroken and indissoluble collaboration with its own bourgeoisie, this existence has been dependent in a certain measure on the international co-operation of the imperialist countries. Its existence being endangered, the Second International now proceeds to work up a campaign of incitement to war against the Soviet Union. The theme of this campaign of incitement is criminal provocation: "Why does the Red Army still not march against Hitler-Germany?" With many variations all the Social-Democratic big-guns of first and second rank repeat this in the press of the Parties of the Second International — the fly-papers of the counter-revolutionary, Trotsky included. The prolongation of the Berlin agreement, concluded by the Soviet Union and Germany in 1926, serves the Social-Democratic leaders as pretext for this provocation. In this campaign, incitement against the Soviet Union has, in some organs of the Social-Democratic Parties, actually reached the point of paroxysm.

The policy of the Social-Democratic Parties' International, which was founded on the principle of equal rights to class treason, has, from the beginning, been directed against the peace policy of the Soviet Union. It had so to be, since its existence was based on the struggle for capitalism's reckoning with the revolutionary working class, with Communism and proletarian revolution. The *most profound, most secret meaning* of the international policy of all the Social-Democratic Parties, the so-called "policy of conciliating the peoples," is just this: that by "conciliation" of the imperialist powers, their ability to fight world-Bolshevism is enhanced. The *historical tendency* of the policy of the Second International was and is the open conflict with the Soviet Union for life or death. *The changes in its methods of agitation*, from the anti-dumping campaign to verbal acknowledgment of the international proletariat's duty to protect the Soviet Union, have always been merely *opportunist phenomena*,

means of deception; they are merely *concessions* to the international working class, whose sympathies for the land of Socialism and whose readiness to defend the Soviet Union are in process of steady growth.

The real meaning of the Second International's "policy of conciliating the peoples" has been constantly revealed by the *concrete* foreign policy of the individual Social-Democratic Parties, and their collaboration with the worst intriguers of anti-Soviet politics. At the Vienna Congress of the Second International, the central point of the debates on foreign policy was the "struggle" for a Franco-German understanding, for financial support of German trust capital by the Paris Bourse, in order to avoid an economic catastrophe and a proletarian revolution in Germany. As the highest expression of the international solidarity of the working class, Otto Bauer, Rudolph Breitscheid and Leon Blum proposed a common petition from all the Social-Democratic Parties to the wolves of the Paris Bourse and their political agents from Tardieu to Herriot, begging them to open their money bags to Thyssen, Krupp, von Bohlen and the big German banks. Simultaneously with the negotiations of the Second International, other politicians conducted similar negotiations, with the *avowed* object of lining up Germany, under France's leadership, in the anti-Soviet front. The well-known German political busybody, *Rechberg*, conducted such negotiations with the French economic leaders of the Comité des Forges. Immediately afterwards followed the correspondence between the French ex-anti-imperialist and patented murder-patriot, Gustav *Hervé*, and Adolph *Hitler*, in which the plan of a Franco-German understanding directed against the Soviet Union and proletarian revolution in Germany was discussed. Hitler's speech in Duesseldorf, in which he developed his plans to annihilate the Soviet Union and world-Bolshevism has gained the ear of three representatives of the French finance oligarchy, as well as of the representatives of Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry. On behalf of gentlemen's club circles, Herr von *Papen* has conducted similar negotiations with French armament capital, in particular with the firm of *Schneider-Creuzot*.

These endeavours of the Second International, of its French, German and Austrian leaders, and of French and German heavy capital to "conciliate the peoples" have not coincided by accident. Leon Blum and Hervé and Schneider-Creuzot; Breitscheid and Hitler; Otto Bauer and Rechberg and von Papen; the flower of the German and French Sections of the Second International, and of the international of mass murder, have not fallen into the same line by accident.

What unites them all is the *common* aspiration to mend capitalism, if only for the time being, at the expense of the working people of their lands, and to arbitrate the imperialist antagonisms at the expense of the working people of the Soviet Union.

On this account the Second International's so-called "policy of conciliating the peoples" was and is diametrically opposed to the peace policy of the Soviet Union. The "conciliation of the peoples" by the Second International has always been a means of duping the masses, of lining them up in a common front with their own bourgeoisie, with international imperialism and with its international organisation, the League of Nations, to draw up a united front of imperialism against the Soviet Union.

The Communist International's repeated demonstrations that the Second International is a vanguard of international imperialism in the preparation of military intervention in the Soviet Union, were confirmed anew by the campaign of incitement against the prolongation of the Berlin agreement. The meaning of this frantic hatred is no other than the endeavour to drive the Soviet Union into a military imbroglio, and discredit the peace policy of the Socialist Soviet State, in the eyes of the European workers. The leading Social-Democratic worthies know very well that this peace policy of the Soviet Union is the expression of irreconcilable *proletarian class struggle* in the domain of international politics. Not, however, the expression of support for the imperialist policy of any group, or reconciliation with it. They know too well the Social-Democratic worthies, that by this peace policy the Soviet Union not only defends the Socialism which has become a fact for one-sixth of the globe, but that it fights against every imperialist war in every land. They know only too well that the Soviet Union supports none of the competing groups of imperialist powers, joins forces with none of these groups and promotes no preparations for war, no matter whether these preparations are being made under Fascist or democratic, under pacifist or National-Socialist watchwords.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has rightly characterised the Second International's anti-Soviet incitement on the occasion of the prolongation of the Berlin Agreement, when it writes in its manifesto:—

"They (that is, the leaders of the Second International—B.K.) are for a war against the Soviet Union, because they hope that by an anti-Soviet war the crisis of capitalism may be overcome at the expense of the liberated peoples of the Soviet Republics, and the smash of the capitalist system averted. They are for mili-

tary intervention in the Soviet Union and prefer Fascism to proletarian dictatorship, because they fear that the inevitable war between the groups of imperialist powers will lead to the revolutionary smashing of capitalism, to proletarian revolution . . . There are in all capitalist lands the "most extreme" enemies of the Soviet Union, who want to defer all questions in dispute between the imperialist countries, in order to be able to realise the "great plan" of overthrowing Socialism in the Soviet Union by the united forces of the whole imperialist world. In the vicinity of these "irreconcilable antagonists—these forthright Fascists—the Second International, with its campaign of incitement, also finds it is against everything that can secure the carrying out of the Soviet Union's peace policy."

This time, too, the lies of the Second International have short legs, and are easily caught. Just as Hitler's isolation in foreign politics forced him to recognise the prolongation of the Berlin Agreement, which had already been effected the year before, so he had not only to go through with this capitulation, but simultaneously to accept the castrated Four-Power Pact. On 17th May, by way of introduction to the acceptance of the Four-Power Pact in its new, castrated form, in which there was no longer anything about revision of the Versailles frontiers but general phrases, he made a speech in the Reichstag, concerning which the Prague "Social Democrat" observed that the substance of Mueller's and Brüning's speeches had been much stronger than that of Hitler's on 17th May. However, the fact of the conclusion of the Four-Power Pact already signified the completion of the bloc against the Soviet Union, or the acceleration of the process of its completion. This at once effected a change in the whole tone of the Social-Democratic press. In view of the impending signature of the Four-Power Pact, a turn towards Hitler's foreign policy became evident in the entire Social-Democratic press.

The Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" has published an article by Oda Olberg, the well-known Italian social-pacifist and "fighter against Mussolini," in which, after a few tears over German Social-Democracy's pact-making with Hitler, she repeats forthwith Hitler's ideas, to reconcile Fascist Germany with "democratic France." Hitler, in his speech, protested against the Storm Troops and the Defence Detachments being regarded as military forces; Oda Olberg comments on this in the "Arbeiterzeitung" as follows:—

"Militarily speaking, they (that is, the military formations of the National Socialists—B.K.) do not merit the misgivings of other

countries. They are specifically a weapon for civil war. That is as well known in other countries as by the Nazi leaders. No Frenchman, indeed, need have seriously feared that the men of the Storm Troops and Defence Detachments will make their words, 'we will smite France triumphantly,' come true."

The printer's ink of the inflammatory articles in the Social-Democratic press on the subject of prolonging the Berlin Agreement was not yet dry, when the Parties of the Second International declared Hitler the "Chancellor of fulfilment," just as though it had been Hermann Mueller or Brüning.

Together with England, Italy and Hungary, the representative of the Swedish Social-Democratic government at the Geneva Disarmament Conference voted against the motion that declared the National-Socialist military formations to be parts of the German army.

In its issue of 19th May, the Polish "Robotnik," recognising the special new feature in Chancellor Hitler's speech of 17th May, emphatically expressed its satisfaction by writing: "He (Hitler) has forgotten the Marxists and only inveighed against the Communists." This Social-Democratic paper, which a few days previously opened a cannonade of abuse of the land of Socialism, and the Communist International, for the prolongation of the Berlin Agreement, has had nothing more urgent to do than to write as follows:—

"Hitler has greeted Roosevelt's inquiry, which contains the proposal to conclude a general non-aggression pact, with thankfulness." The Polish Government must take advantage of the first opportunity to propose to the German government the conclusion of such a pact of non-aggression."

We can clearly see: the campaign of incitement

launched by the Second International and all its Sections against the Soviet Union, on the occasion of the prolongation of the Berlin Agreement was nothing but the preparation of their assent to the conclusion of the Four-Power Pact, this common creation of *MacDonald* and *Mussolini*, to the Pact; the parties to which are two Fascist countries—Italy and Germany—and two "leading democratic countries"—Great Britain and France—and which is in no small measure directed against the Soviet Union. Its object is to avert a war between the imperialist powers, and, under the leadership of the principal organiser of military intervention in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Great Britain, to restrain the imperialist antagonisms and convert the inter-imperialist struggle into a struggle against the U.S.S.R. All the Social-Democratic Parties, like their respective bourgeoisies, give their blessing to the Four-Power Pact with Hitler and Mussolini. That is the case inasmuch as this Pact actually represents a pact of war or, at least, the prelude to a pact of war against the Soviet Union. The French Socialists have declared in the Chamber, through the mouth of Frossart, that they are in agreement with the Four-Power Pact, with the Pact with Hitler and Mussolini. Against the Berlin Agreement between the Soviet Union and Germany, however, a campaign of incitement was launched by the Second International, because this Agreement—even if it affords no security against imperialist war—yet does *not* promote military intervention in the Soviet Union.

Savage incitement against the Soviet Union is the sheet-anchor of the Second International. Common hatred of Bolshevism, of the proletarian revolution, the land of Socialism, and the Soviet Union, still unites the Social-Democratic Parties to-day, every one of which already stands to attention in the battle-front of its own bourgeoisie.



## THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE DUTCH COMMUNIST PARTY

THE Central Committee of the Dutch Communist Party held its Plenum on May 20-21, to discuss the political situation and the tasks of the Party, for which purpose it was convened. Comrade Schalkett's report evoked considerable discussion.

The Central Committee recorded that the Parliamentary election results evince considerable growth in influence of the Dutch Communist Party.

In 1929 the Dutch Communist Party obtained 37 thousand votes, now it has received 118 thousand. It has increased the number of seats from 2 to 4, whereas the Independent Socialist Party, the aim of which was to throw up a wall between the social-democratic workers and the Dutch Communist Party, lost two seats, and now has no mandate. Having launched out with an energetic campaign, the Dutch Communist Party was able to bring defeat to the Independent Socialist Party. The Party met with success not only in the towns, and industrial districts, but also in the villages among the horticulturalists and agricultural labourers.

The fact that the Dutch Communist Party led the election campaign under the slogan of a united front of the working class of Holland and the oppressed peoples of the Dutch East Indies and that two East Indians were elected to the Dutch Parliament are the most important points in the elections in question. One of the East Indian deputies, Sardono, has been confined since 1927 in a concentration camp at Digjil in the Dutch East Indies, and the Party is carrying on an energetic campaign for his release.

The increased influence of the Dutch Communist Party can be seen, moreover, in the steady growth in membership: on January 1, 1930, there were 1,100 members of the Dutch Communist Party; in January, 1931—1,600; November, 1931—2,700; March, 1932—3,700; October, 1932—4,700; December, 1932—5,500, and in May, 1933—6,200 members.

Furthermore, the Central Committee recorded that the Dutch bourgeoisie is pursuing its policy of robbing the masses at an ever-increasing rate, preparing for war, and proceeding to the road of Fascist methods of rule. Wage-cuts for Municipal workers and Builders insisted upon by the Government, prohibition of May Day demonstrations, abolition of the right to organise on the part of State employees and workers, the deportation of Musso and other Dutch East Indian

revolutionaries as "undesirable aliens," support given to fascist groupings, refusals to grant asylum to victims of Hitler's dictatorship, etc.

Social-democracy tries to camouflage its capitulation to the attacks of the bourgeoisie, and the international bankruptcy of social-democracy in general, by launching out with a frantic campaign against the growing influence of Communism, and the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee recorded that it is by force of the intensification of imperialist contradictions, which inevitably lead to imperialist war, that the interests of the Soviet toiling masses—as also of the whole of the international proletariat, demand that strong resistance be made to all provocative attempts on the part of the imperialists to switch their own internecine war over to intervention against the U.S.S.R. by means of a universal crusade against her. The forces of Japanese imperialism and the Hitler dictatorship are working in this direction first and foremost. The Central Committee established the need for making use of the contradictions between the imperialist Powers in the interests of the proletariat, for supporting the endeavour of the U.S.S.R. to maintain peace. Social-democracy, engaging in foul calumny against the U.S.S.R. and its policy of peace, is the lackey of the bourgeoisie in the work of preparing for imperialist war and anti-Soviet intervention.

The Central Committee of the Dutch Communist Party calls upon the workers strongly to resist this calumny of the enemies of the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the proletariat, and do all in their power to fight against preparations for war.

Social-democracy also endeavours to support the position of the Dutch bourgeoisie, and the fact that it counts upon French imperialism, and to prevent the present struggle from turning against German fascism, and especially against growing fascism in Holland itself. In this it is supported by the independents (Independent Socialist Party) through its "boycott" campaign.

The main task of the Dutch Communist Party at the present moment is to increase its efforts to organise a militant united front of workers *in demonstrations, in active resistance and strikes* against the attacks of capital, against the approaching imperialist war, the growing danger of fascism, at the same time doing its utmost to unmask the treachery of social-democracy. Therefore the following question was the central one in the discussion of the Central Committee:

consolidation of the revolutionary trade union opposition in the factories and trade unions, improvements in the organisational work and party structure, since the party is the vanguard of the working class, and there is every possibility of doing so, in view of the growing influence of the Party. The Plenum decided to carry out a special recruiting campaign in June this year, and adopted several decisions on the work of Communists in the revolutionary trade union opposition. (These decisions will be published in the near future.)

The Central Committee calls for an increased enlightenment campaign concerning the extremely tense international situation, and the tasks of the working class. It is especially essential to strengthen enlightenment work among the social-democratic and non-Party workers,

The time remaining must be utilised to the full for preparation for the Dutch anti-Fascist Congress.

The Plenum of the Central Committee passed a special resolution of greetings to our heroic fraternal Communist Party in Germany, solidarisng with its policy completely. It has been decided to issue special stamps to collect funds to aid the German Communist Party.

Further the question of preparing for the Dutch Young Communist League Congress and increasing the work among the working youth was discussed.

In conclusion, the agrarian programme, which was discussed at the last Congress of the Dutch Communist Party, was confirmed in its final form.

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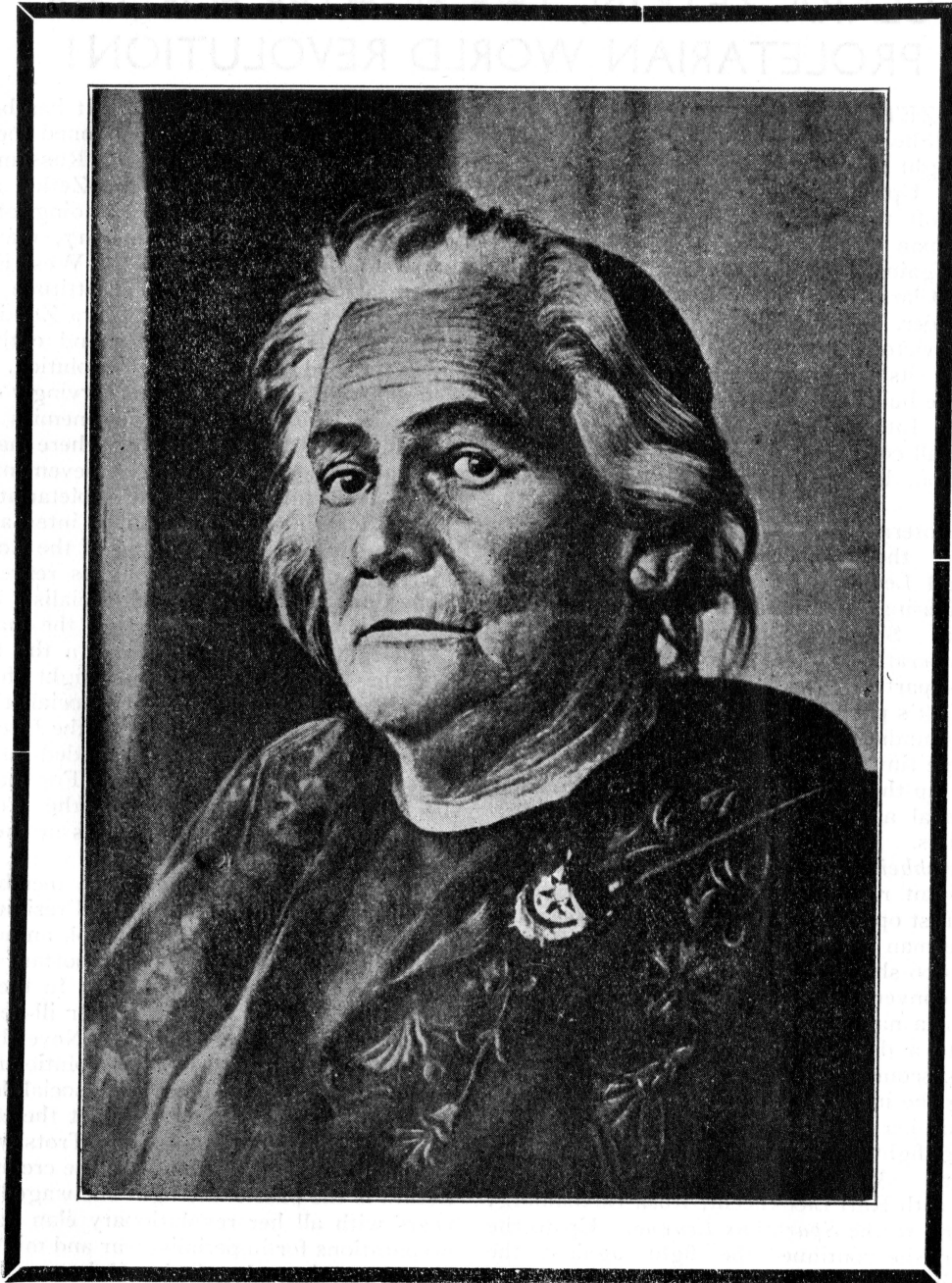
cluded her report with the words: "Only the overthrow of capitalism can save humanity from the danger of war. Only the world revolution leads humanity to freedom. Let us act, let us fight! Let us mobilise the masses for this fight!"

"The war against the working people, the working people against the war" is the title of the last pamphlet Comrade Clara Zetkin was able to finish. Even in the last days of her life she commenced a new work against social democracy. Her last public appearance in Germany was when she delivered her famous speech as the oldest member at the opening of the German Reichstag on August 30th, 1932, which was devoted to the fight against fascism and to the anti-fascist united front, and which aroused the greatest admiration of the workers of the whole world. "I hope," she declared in the face of the fascist

Parliament, "to have the pleasure of opening as its oldest deputy the first Soviet Congress of Soviet Germany."

She was always filled with courage and the joy of battle. "Let us unselfishly devote our whole forces up to the last moment of our lives to accelerating the revolution until the victory of the proletarian world revolution!" she declared after Lenin's death. "Then we shall help to erect the only monument worthy of Lenin, worthy of all the great ones who advanced at the head of the proletariat, pointing out to it the way and the goal—worthy of all the unnamed and unknown fighters who, fighting and falling for freedom, attained to greatness. This monument is the Communist society."

PRESIDIUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.



CLARA ZETKIN

## CLARA ZETKIN, THE FIGHTER FOR THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION!

**C**LARA ZETKIN, the great revolutionary, is dead. She gave more than 50 years of her life to the fight for the cause of the socialist world revolution. Up to the last moment of her life she held aloft the flag of Communism.

The German working class, which is fighting heroically against the bloody fascist dictatorship, honours in Clara Zetkin its tried, courageous and beloved leader. The working class of the country of the victorious proletarian revolution honours in her its true comrade and friend in the fight for the building up of socialist society. The Communist International, the working men and women of all countries who are fighting for their emancipation, honour in her their revolutionary heroine.

In the international Labour movement our Clara was the comrade-in-arms of Friedrich Engels and Lenin. She fought together with Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. She entered the ranks of the old social-democratic party of Germany at a time when this party was still illegal and persecuted by Bismarck's police régime. She took an active share in founding the Second International, but at the same time she was one of the first of those who took up the fight in the ranks of the Second International against the revisionists and other opportunists. As editress of the women's newspaper *Gleichheit* (Equality), she proclaimed since 1892 militant revolutionary Socialism and mobilised the first opposition to the opportunist leaders of the German social democracy. At the beginning of 1906 she already wrote that these leaders wish "to convert the social democracy into a tame lap-dog of a national-social or social-liberal character, into a dog which offers its paw to every bourgeois scoundrel."

During the imperialist war she was arrested on account of her anti-militarist agitation, her self-sacrificing fight against chauvinism and social-patriotism. After her release she belonged, together with Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and others, to the *Spartakus League*. Up to the year 1919 she continued the fight against the opportunist leaders in the ranks of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany. She then entered the *Communist Party* which had just been founded, and since then remained right up to her death a member of its Central Committee. She wrote: "The Second International cannot even

say: 'All is lost save honour.' It has before all lost its honour, because it abandoned the fight."

Right from the beginning the Russian revolutionary movement was for Clara Zetkin a source of fighting energy and understanding of revolutionary Marxism. When, in 1917, many other Left Radicals in the ranks of the West European movement adopted a sceptical attitude towards the tactics of the Bolsheviki, Clara Zetkin immediately supported these tactics and enthusiastically welcomed the October Revolution. Since then she indefatigably and unswervingly defended the Soviet Union against all its enemies and, full of enthusiasm, always and everywhere made international propaganda for the achievements of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat.

Clara Zetkin was a genuine internationalist. Immediately after the founding of the Communist International she took part as its representative in the Congress of the French socialists in Tours, where she succeeded in winning the majority of the delegates to Communism. In the following year she fought a magnificent fight for Communism at the Congress of the Socialist Party of Italy in Milan. On her initiative the *International Women's Secretariat* was founded and *International Women's Day* set up. For many years she led the women's work of the Communist International. She was for years at the head of the *International Red Aid*.

Since the year 1921 she was a member of the Executive Committee and of the Presidium of the Communist International, and took an active part in the discussions of the most important questions and the realisation of decisions. In the last few years Clara Zetkin, owing to her ill-health, was obliged to curtail her activity. Nevertheless she always continued with living revolutionary hatred the undeviating fight against the social-democratic agents of the bourgeoisie, against the enemies of the Comintern from Kautsky to Trotsky.

One of the greatest things to the credit of Clara Zetkin is the passionate fight she waged for many years with all her revolutionary élan against the preparations for imperialist war and military intervention against the Soviet Union. Already in 1922, at the Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., she delivered the report on the fight of the Communist Parties against the danger of war, which is no less important to-day. Clara Zetkin con-

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