

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE



January 1st, 1934.

VOLUME XI

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL No 1

TEN CENTS
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OVERLEAF

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Published fortnightly in Russian, German,
French, Chinese, Spanish and English.

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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE I.L.P. SABOTAGES THE UNITED FRONT*

THE Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in its letter to the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain (published in the "Daily Worker" on September 23, 1933), on the basis of the decision of the Conference of the Independent Labour Party at Derby, which decided in favour of assisting the work of the Comintern, proposed to raise for discussion in all the Party organisations of the I.L.P. the question:—

(1) What mass actions on the basis of the united front of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the I.L.P. can and must be carried on in the near future with the aim of a successful struggle for a 10 per cent. increase in wages, against the Means Test and other partial demands put forward by the C.P.G.B. and the I.L.P.?

(2) Is it desirable for the I.L.P. to enter the Communist International according to Paragraph 18 of the statutes of the Communist International as a Party sympathetic to Communism, with the right of a consultative voice?

Instead of replying to the essence of the proposals of the E.C.C.I., the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P., in its third letter on October 6, 1933, limited itself to a formal statement that it is willing to "continue" to collaborate with the C.P.G.B. and to work out the points of a programme (or joint actions) and that regarding the second point—on joining the Comintern—it would "discuss the matter with the members of the party at the next annual conference, where a decision would be made," for which it would give instructions to its international sub-commission to prepare a detailed platform for the meeting of the National Council.

At the same time it brings forward more and more fresh charges against the Communist International.

These new charges are that the E.C.C.I., firstly, does not help to clear up the questions under discussion, since it "utilises the correspondence for the purpose of propaganda inside the I.L.P.;" that secondly, the International, owing to the "long delay in replying to the letter of July 7," takes the responsibility for the fact that "no decision was taken, although six months have passed since the Council first wrote to the E.C.C.I.," and that thirdly, the statement of the Communist International "regarding the position

of the I.L.P. at the recent Paris conference of Left parties is definitely wrong" and that fourthly, the National Council does not agree that the "open criticism of the policy of the Communist International," i.e., the "criticism" contained in the previous letter of the National Council and in the anti-Soviet articles of Brockway, are "harmful to the interests of the workers."

First of all we ask the workers in the I.L.P. whether it can be called propaganda which interferes with the clearing up of the questions under discussion when we bring to light those who are concretely responsible for systematically dragging out the organisation of the struggle in the united front, when we show up the Left reformists in the I.L.P. who are trying to upset the decisions of the conference at Derby on "assistance for the work of the Comintern"?

We ask whether the British workers can carry on a victorious struggle against the bourgeoisie, against Fascism and war, if they do not remove from their ranks those who interfere with and upset this struggle.

Soon after the split of the I.L.P. from the Labour Party, the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, which took place in November, 1932, welcomed this step forward and called on the members of the I.L.P. to join with the Communists in the united front of struggle against the National Government.

In many big actions of the working class, especially in the hunger march on London, the members of the I.L.P. took an active part in the struggle together with the Communists. In March, soon after the publication of the appeal of the E.C.C.I. on the united front, agreement was reached between the I.L.P. and the C.P.

The appeal of the E.C.C.I. on the united front in March was made at a moment when the temporary victory of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany had plainly showed to the workers where the treacherous policy of the Social-Democrats in splitting the working class and joining with the Fascist bourgeois was leading, and increased the striving of the working masses towards the united front of struggle together with the Communists.

However, we know that this turn was accompanied by an intensification of the struggle inside the I.L.P. The National Council tried to limit the united front to a struggle against Fascism and war. It did not accept the proposal of the Communist Party to extend it to the struggle against the Means Test, wage-cuts and other

* Reprinted from the "London Daily Worker," January, 1934.

partial slogans of the everyday struggle of the working class against capital.

This attempt to restrict the united front to joint action against war and Fascism and to pass by the urgent questions of the struggle of the British workers was in reality sabotage of the united front.

This first act of sabotage of the united front by the leaders of the I.L.P. was broken from below. The London and Lancashire districts made an agreement with the organisations of the Communist Party, which also included points on the struggle against the Means Test, against wage-cuts, etc., and the National Council was obliged to change its position.

The April conference of the I.L.P. at Derby opened the second stage in the struggle for the united front. This conference not only made a decision to widen the united front to all questions of the everyday class struggle, but adopted a resolution for the I.L.P. to assist in the work of the Comintern.

This resolution was passed in face of strong opposition from the National Council.

In this struggle at the conference the existence of two lines — the revolutionary and the Left reformist—was clearly shown.

While the majority of the delegates representing the revolutionary working masses of the members of the I.L.P. demanded collaboration with the Communist International, the official representative of the leadership of the I.L.P., Paton, spoke (1) against collaboration with the Comintern, (2) for collaboration with the Left Social-Fascist parties, and (3) for the "formation of one all-embracing workers' International."

The leaders of the I.L.P. were compelled formally to take up the position of the conference decision and to agree to negotiations with the Communist Party, but in practice they continued to sabotage any rapprochement with the Comintern.

The second letter of the National Council of the I.L.P. to the Comintern (dated July 7, 1933, the first letter was merely a formal statement as to the contents of the resolution) was already fully in the spirit of the Left reformist struggle against the Communist International.

While advocating in words the policy declared by the congress at Derby, the letter of the National Council stated that the "catastrophic" (!) situation of the international workers' movement is explained by the "failure" not only of the Second International, but of the Comintern, that the Communist International "hindered the united actions of the working class, which alone

was able to break the power of Fascism and capitalism."

Continuing its correspondence with the Communist International, i.e., formally not breaking away from the decisions of its congress, the National Council at the same time sent its delegates to the Paris Congress of Left Socialist Parties, thus resuscitating the policy of struggle against the Communist International and the revolutionary workers' movement, which was proposed by Paton, but rejected by the congress at Derby.

All this, together with the anti-Soviet articles of Mr. Brockway, compelled the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to state in its last (second) letter to the Independent Labour Party (published in the "Daily Worker" on September 23, 1933) that there is a danger that the assistance in the work of the Comintern which was decided on by the conference at Derby may be disrupted.

The struggle of the National Council against the Comintern coincided with the attacks of the open Rights in the I.L.P. on the united front.

What did the open Rights in the I.L.P. do after this?

One after another came decisions of the Executive Committees of a number of District Councils of the I.L.P. to "decline" to collaborate with the Communist Party (the Lancashire circular signed by Sandham, etc.), or to restrict the sphere of action of the united front (E.C. of the Yorkshire District Council, etc.).

Thus there is an open mutiny of some of the officials of the Party, who were known previously as opponents of the united front, against the masses of members of their own Party who had determined the decision of the Party Conference, a mutiny inspired by some of the leaders of the National Council (Paton).

What is the characteristic feature of the line of the majority of the leaders of the I.L.P. during this period?

How did the majority of the National Council defend the united front from this attack?

They did not do anything against these open agents of reformism. The National Council limited itself to passing a belated resolution of protest, and preserved complete silence (not reacting in any way) when the rank-and-file members of the Party began to demand the removal of Sandham, Abbot and others by people who were prepared to carry out the decisions of the conference (see resolution of the Liverpool organisation).

There cannot be any doubt about this silence.

Did not Sandham begin his attack immediately after the publication in the "New Leader" of Brockway's article with attacks on the Comintern and the Soviet Union? This article served as a signal for the extreme Rights to carry on a further offensive. It was a guarantee that their attack would not meet with any resistance from the official leaders.

It is true that the majority of the National Council accepted (?) the "new policy," declaring in words their "loyalty" to the united front, the necessity for carrying on a daily struggle against capitalism, and even their strivings towards the organisation of a united revolutionary party.

But deeds speak louder than words. The "struggle" of the National Council for the united front was all the time nothing but the formal acceptance of the proposals of the Communist Party without any attempt to organise actions, on the one hand, and an encouragement of a further policy of sabotage from the open Rights, on the other hand.

While the Rights like Sandham openly demanded a breach with the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Comintern, the breaking of the united front of struggle of the working-class, the official leaders of the I.L.P. (Brockway, etc.) in words advocated the united front, the "continuation of collaboration with the Communist Party and the Comintern," "protesting" against the resolution of the open reformists, thus making a pretence of a "struggle" against them, but in practice helped to break the united front, in reality established friendship with the enemies of the revolutionary movement, with the enemies of the Comintern, with the Left fragments of the Social-Fascist parties, with the Trotsky-Brandlerite lackeys of the Second International.

What is this but the division of labour between the Lefts and the Rights in sabotaging the decisions of the Derby conference?

Can the National Council complain under such circumstances if the Comintern appealed not only to the leaders, but to the entire party?

How else could the Comintern act if the members of the I.L.P., through their representatives at the conference, passed a decision to assist the work of the Comintern and later systematically decided in favour of the widening of the United front of struggle.

But the official leaders manoeuvre against the decision of their own party, create endless excuses, think out every kind of pretext so as not to submit to the direct instruction of the conference, so as to break down the policy of the united front under a plausible pretext.

And in the light of the facts which we have given the National Council decided to accuse the Comintern of "delaying" its replies and throws on to the Comintern the responsibility for the fact that "no decision has yet been made"!

The National Council really did not "delay" the despatch of its reply to the letters of the E.C.C.I. However, these letters, every one of them, being formal advisals on the one hand, and containing slanderous inventions against the E.C.C.I. on the other hand, were calculated on delaying the organisation of mass actions in the united front, and led to the danger of the disruption of the policy of assisting the work of the Comintern.

The Comintern welcomes every real step of the I.L.P., its lower organisations, its members, tending to extend the united front with the Communist Party.

It proposes the discussion at all Party meetings of the I.L.P. of the question of the I.L.P. joining the Comintern as a sympathising organisation.

But at the same time doubts arise as to the usefulness of continuing such a correspondence, when the proposals of the Comintern are only formally brought to the notice of the lower organisations and the members of the I.L.P., when nothing was done in practice to discuss the arguments and proposals of the Comintern fully in the whole Party.

Is it not evident from this that the correspondence is being used by the Left reformist leaders of the I.L.P., not with the aim of "assisting the work of the Comintern," but with the aim of sabotaging the decisions of their own Party, decisions with which, as we know, these leaders were not in agreement from the very start.

We now turn to the second group of questions, namely, how did the National Council reply to the proposal of the E.C.C.I. on the I.L.P. joining the Comintern as a sympathising organisation?

The I.L.P. leaders consent to "consult" the members of the party "at the next annual conference" with regard to the Comintern's proposal to the I.L.P. to affiliate to the Comintern as a sympathising party, and even instruct their International Sub-Committee to "prepare a detailed statement" on this question.

However, the letter of the N.A.C. is careful to say nothing about the nature of the instructions which the N.A.C. has given to the International Sub-Committee — to give reasons for affiliation to the Comintern or, on the contrary, to express itself against affiliation. Or is this question of so little importance that it is left to the decision of the Sub-Committee itself?

Simultaneously with giving this formal reply to the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the leaders of the I.L.P. hospitably give violent enemies of the Comintern and the Soviet Union, the counter-revolutionaries Trotsky, Thalheimer, and others, the opportunity to print in the central organ of the I.L.P. (the "New Leader" of October 13, 1933) slanderous articles against the Comintern and the Soviet Union.

It is significant that in the issue of the "New Leader" of April 13, 1933, the third letter of the N.A.C. to the Comintern was printed on a back page, evidently as concerning a question of no great importance, while in the limelight we have an interview with Mr. Trotsky and his letter to the I.L.P. on the organisation of a "Fourth International."

Thus we find all formal ceremonies carried out; correspondence is continued with the Communist International, and the N.A.C. even consents in time to "consult" the members of the Party on its proposals, but at the same time it tries to poison the minds of the members of the I.L.P. with social-Fascist, Trotskyist-Lovestonite propaganda; this is, moreover, done with every sort of bowing deference to internal Party "democracy" and with an appearance of an "impartiality" which nothing can upset.

The "impartiality" of the leaders of the I.L.P. and the editors of the "New Leader" consists, after welcoming the Trotskyist-Brandlerites to the pages of their organ, in inviting Comrade Manuilsky to take part in this "discussion" as well—a "discussion" which will be summed up by the "impartial" arbitrator, Mr. Fenner Brockway himself.

The "democracy" of the I.L.P. leaders consists in defending "open criticism" against the Comintern.

The Communist International has always expressed itself in favour of open and sincere criticism of the work of the Comintern and its sections, criticism which helps and assists revolutionary struggle for the cause of the working-class.

It is also well known that it is precisely the Comintern and its sections, and particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in distinction from the parties of the Second International, which did and do show actual examples of the most severe self-criticism, without which they do not consider it possible for a fighting revolutionary party to exist.

But at the same time the Communist International and the C.P.S.U. express themselves totally against "criticism" which does not correspond to the facts, which does not help but corrupts the ranks of the proletariat; which does

not assist but breaks down the work of the Communist Parties.

Such criticism they do consider inimical to the interests of the workers, and against such criticism they wage a decided struggle.

But can the label of "assisting" in the work of the Comintern and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat be attached to Mr. Brockway's slanders against the Soviet Union which, he tells us, concluded an "agreement" with Japanese imperialism, "recognised" Manchukuo, and by means of prolonging the trade agreement with German Fascism, prevented the overthrow of Hitler's régime during its "early period of economic weakness"?

Of course it cannot. We have repeatedly (see particularly editorial in No. 20 of the "Communist International," 1933, on the correspondence between the I.L.P. and the C.I.), not only thoroughly established the slanderous nature of these statements, but exposed the significant fact that these are not original lies created by his own brain, but repetitions of the anti-Soviet statements of Trotsky, the filthiest enemy of the Comintern and the Soviet Union.

Can the label of "assisting" in the work of the Comintern be attached to the statement of the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. (see its second letter) on the "failure of the policy of the Communist International" and on the Comintern having "prevented that united action by the working-class, which alone could have defeated the forces of Fascism and capitalism"? Of course not.

The letter of the Comintern, published in the "Daily Worker" of September 23, 1933, shows concretely how the heroic Communist Party of Germany fought and is fighting self-sacrificingly under the leadership of the Comintern against Fascism in Germany, and how the Social-Democratic Party of Germany betrayed and continues to betray the interests of the anti-Fascist struggle of the proletariat.

Undoubtedly, also, all members of the I.L.P. followed the Fascist mock trial in Leipzig, and together with all the workers of the world marvelled at the heroism and devotion to the cause of Communism, the cause of the revolutionary struggle of the working-class, displayed by the Communists on trial who are faced with the menace of death at the hands of the Fascist murderers.

The "open and sincere criticism" of the policy of the Comintern practised by the National Council of the I.L.P. and certain of its leaders is not only not calculated to further the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the working-class, but, on the contrary, serves to defend the bourgeoisie and the struggle against the Comintern, although

it attempts to disguise itself by pseudo-revolutionary Left phrases.

We have already said that the Left reformist leaders of the I.L.P. are already helping Trotsky in setting up a "Fourth International" as a weapon of the fiercest struggle against the Comintern.

In its third letter, the National Council "categorically" refutes this assertion, referring to the published materials of the Paris Conference of Left Socialist Parties, which are supposed to show that the I.L.P. was "in opposition to any declaration for a new International" and carried on a "solitary struggle for amendment of the Conference declarations, which it believed to be unfair to the Communist International."

It is true, at the Paris Conference the I.L.P. delegates did "vote" against the declaration for the establishment of a Fourth International. What, however, were the reasons which prompted this vote, and what were the "amendments" proposed by the I.L.P. to the resolutions of the conference? The answers to these questions we find in Mr. Fenner Brockway's report on the "work" of the Paris Conference, published in the "New Leader" of September 1, 1933.

While the Trotskyists wrote at the Paris Conference of the "bankruptcy" of both the Second and Third International, the I.L.P. delegates proposed to make a "more exact statement," namely, that a distinction should be made between the "failure" of the Second and Third (!) International. ("The policy of the former is reformist . . . The latter started out with a revolutionary conception, but its tactics and organisation have made it ineffective in resisting Fascism.")

While the Trotskyists expressed themselves in favour of taking immediate steps for the establishment of a "Fourth" International, the delegates of the I.L.P., for tactical manœuvring purposes, spoke against such immediate steps. Mr. Brockway gives the arguments of the I.L.P. delegates as follows:—

“. . . the I.L.P. was practically alone in urging that the possibility should not be ruled out of the Third International so changing its tactics and organisation as to allow it to be included within the unification of revolutionary parties."

The I.L.P. delegates know well enough that not only does the Comintern see no reasons for changing its Leninist tactics and organisation, which have been tested in tens of years of struggle, but it will never enter into any sort of negotiations on this question. Foreseeing this,

the I.L.P. delegates made the following statement at this same Paris Conference:—

"If the Third International proves unprepared to change its tactics and organisation, the time will have come to consider the formation of a new International."—(Fenner Brockway's article in the "New Leader" of September 8.)

Thus the National Council, stating in its third letter that it would "consult" the members of the party on affiliation to the Comintern, is, in fact, preparing the ground for declaring the Comintern "unprepared to change its tactics and organisation," and to draw the I.L.P. into the Trotskyist-Brandlerite Social-Fascist "International."

Let us remind the British workers, and in the first place the members of the I.L.P., that in 1933 their Left reformist leaders (Brockway and others) are, under new circumstances, repeating the manœuvre which Wallhead, Clifford Allen and others undertook in 1920, and even in the same forms; that manœuvre which they succeeded in carrying out and which brought the I.L.P. through the intermediate stage of belonging to the Two-and-a-Half International, to a return to the treacherous Second International.

Members of the I.L.P. will undoubtedly also demand from the Left reformist leaders of their party a perfectly open and unambiguous answer as to what it is that Mr. Brockway and others object to in the organisation and tactics of the Communist International; and in particular which of the 21 conditions adopted by the Second Congress of the Comintern are unacceptable for the leadership of the I.L.P.

And then the members of the I.L.P. will see with their own eyes that the vague and general expression used by their leaders about the unsatisfactory, as they say, "tactics and organisation" of the Comintern conceals the disagreement of the Left reformist leaders on radical questions of principle of the proletarian revolution; the question of the revolution by violence; of the dictatorship of the proletariat and bourgeois democracy, of Fascism and Social-Fascism, of democratic centralism and the rôle of the Party in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power and for Socialism.

The members of the I.L.P. are now faced with the question of what to do now. Shall they again follow the old ruinous road they followed in 1920 to 1923, or go boldly ahead to Communism?

The way out of the blind alley into which the Left reformist leaders of the I.L.P. are bringing it is pointed by the Comintern; it is the way of practical organisation together with the Communist Party of Great Britain of mass united front action against Fascism and imperialist war,

for a ten per cent. rise in wages, for abolition of the Means Test, etc., of the discussion in all Party organisations of affiliation to the Comintern as a sympathising organisation, and of carrying resolutions in favour of affiliation.

The Communist International knows that "the transition from the desire to be revolutionary and from talk (and resolutions) about revolution to real revolutionary work is a very difficult, slow and painful transition" (Lenin).

But this transition has been begun by the members of the Independent Labour Party, and it must pass through a final, unconditional and decisive break with reformism.

In England to-day, as thirteen years ago, in 1920, the point is again to do away in the shortest possible time with illusions about the possibility of "unity" and "peace" with the Left reformists.

"It is time for all revolutionary workers to purge their parties of them and to form really united Communist Parties of the proletariat" (Lenin).

Affiliation to the Comintern as a sympathetic organisation is the practical, correct way of co-operating with the work of the Comintern, the way of joining the international working-class movement and of approaching a firm revolutionary position.

This is a question which the I.L.P. — all its members and all its Party organisations — must decide immediately, and on which the leaders of the I.L.P. must be forced to break their suspicious silence.

This step—affiliation of the I.L.P. to the Comintern as a sympathetic organisation — will further to a considerable extent the strengthening of the collaboration between the C.P. and the I.L.P., and the formation of a united front of struggle against the National Government — which is now, with the help of the new law on unemployment, coming out with a broad new attack against the working-class, and sharpening its dictatorial repressive measures.

THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION IN GERMANY— THE TASKS OF THE C.P.G.

F. HECKERT.

"... The revolutionary uplift in Germany, against the fascist terror, will inevitably grow. The resistance of the masses against fascism cannot fail to grow. The establishment of an open fascist dictatorship, smashing all democratic illusions in the masses and freeing the masses from the influence of the social democracy, is hastening the speed of Germany's development towards a proletarian revolution."

(From the resolution of the presidium of the E.C.C.I. "On the Contemporary Situation in Germany.")*

THIS bolshevik revolutionary perspective was formulated by the presidium of the E.C.C.I. at a time when, on the surface of political life in Germany, it seemed as though the unconquerable rule of a brutal band of fascist ravishers—open hirelings and representatives of German monopoly capital and the Junkers—was in full sway. This revolutionary perspective was met with malicious hooting by the enemies of the proletarian revolution—among them the social-fascists and their Trotskist-Brandlerist followers. The counter-revolutionists hissed spitefully, relishing their alarmist little theories of an "epoch of counter-revolution," of the "greatest defeat of the working class since the times of 1914."

Individual unbelieving and capitulating elements, who had torn themselves away from the masses, and who had deserted from the advanced position of the heroic struggle of the German proletariat (the little group of Remmele and Neumann), chorussed this social-fascist chatter, trying vainly to introduce disorganisation into the ranks of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard. (They were hindered in this by the monolithically solid, bolshevik C.P.G.) But in resistance to the unheard-of violence of the fascists—comparable only with the terror of Denikin or Kolchak—in resistance to the corrupting and schismatic activities of all the groupings of social-fascism and its agents in the ranks of the Communists—right opportunism—the revolutionary vanguard of the German proletariat quickly rebuilt its ranks, adjusted itself to the conditions of illegal work, opened up active revolutionary work on a wide scale among the masses of the working class, and very quickly overcame the depression which had set in for a short time among the proletariat. Only the blind can fail to see, right now, how revolutionary hatred for the fascist régime of blood and hunger is mounting up in the masses of the proletariat; how the masses are beginning to seek a way out through revolutionary acts, in the swift growth of sympathy with communism; *how the new revolutionary upsurge in Germany grows before our eyes.*

* No. 8, 1932.

Only hopeless Philistines or conscious deceivers of the working class can fail to understand that the establishment of the fascist dictatorship and the political *bankruptcy* of its policies, on the one hand—and the substantial opportunity for most speedy liquidation of the mass influence of social-fascism and the winning by the C.P. of a majority of the working class, on the other hand—*have put the question of the power of the working class, of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets, on the order of the day in Germany.*

The dilemma which the Communists put before the working class even before, and which the S.-D.'s obscured with every possible counter-revolutionary sophism ("Vote for Hindenburg—you will be voting against Hitler"); the dilemma: *either open fascist dictatorship of monopoly capital, or dictatorship of the proletariat*; this dilemma has now arisen in all its acuteness before the workers, including the Social-Democratic workers, on the basis of their own experience. The fact that the question of power is raised sharply by events in Germany does not yet mean that it is permissible for the C.P.G. to raise the slogan of power at once, as a slogan for immediate action, and to summon the masses to immediate struggle for violent overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The necessary and sufficient premises for this are not yet present in the contemporary situation in Germany. As yet our task is only the creation of the conditions for such an armed struggle against the fascist régime of hunger, poverty and bloody white terror. And the most important premise for this is—*the winning over of a majority of the working class of Germany to the side of communism by the C.P., through bold initiative and development of the united front in the class struggle against capital, against fascism and war.*

The masses are being convinced by their own experience of the bankruptcy of all the bourgeois parties, and above all of the social-democracy—that most important social support of the bourgeoisie; and of the correctness of the C.P., which has, in these conditions, every chance of becoming the *only mass party of the German proletariat.*

The struggle in Germany is developing between two forces—*between fascism and communism.* NO third course, besides the path of fascism and the path of communism, *exists, and none can exist.*

The social-fascist bankrupts are attempting, despite the swift dissipation of democratic illusions within the masses, to set up bourgeois democracy as a specific "third" path. The function of social-fascism as the *most important social support of the bourgeoisie and the fascist dictatorship*, and its effort to *eternalise the division of the working class and prevent the winning of a majority of the working class by the Communist Party* displays itself even more obviously in these activities. Consciousness is growing within

the masses of the working class, however, of the fact that all the bourgeois parties—some *openly* (the Nazis), and others *disguising themselves* in one way or another (the social-democrats)—represent and defend *fascism*—the régime of blood and hunger for the workers, the régime which leads to economic catastrophe, to the horrors of a new imperialist war, which is already on the doorstep. Together with this, a consciousness is ripening within those same masses of the fact that only one party—the Communist Party—represents, organizes and leads the revolutionary struggle against fascism and war, for bread, for freedom and power for the workers, for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship through an armed uprising, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism. The Communists know that the final liquidation of democratic illusions among the masses will not come about spontaneously, of itself, simply by force of the pressure of political violence and the lash of the fascist régime; precisely as illusions about fascism will not disappear of themselves—although the whole course of the crisis in Germany contributes in the highest degree towards the extermination of these illusions. The most active work of the Communist Party in leading the fights of the working class—a work which is indispensable for this first premise—is the exposing of the policies of the fascist dictatorship, the exposing of the traitorous rôle of the social-democracy as the main social support of the bourgeoisie and the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

That is why the *term of preparation of the revolutionary crisis in Germany depends now, more than ever before, on the persistence, initiative, and revolutionary self-sacrifice of the Communists. Then what is there new, now, in the political situation in Germany as compared with the moment of the coming of the fascists into power, ten months ago?* And what are the *most important links* in the next work of the Communist Party?

* * *

The Leipzig trial, and the attempts of fascism to conjure up a new wave of nationalism and chauvinism, testify clearly to the fact that there has begun, and is growing irrepressibly within the toiling masses, a process of disentanglement from all illusions concerning fascist demagogy: the masses are becoming convinced that there is no way out of poverty, ruin, and hunger on the path of fascism, of fascist "four year plans," of the organisation of forced labour camps. Fascism demanded a judicial endorsement of a new wave of terror against the working class and its party, the Communist Party. Fascism needed something new to switch the attention of the masses from internal affairs to the struggle against an "outside enemy." The fascist dictatorship is exposing itself before the masses of the nation as an open despotism of the bigwigs of mono-

poly capital. Through the lips of Hitler, it has proclaimed the end of the national "revolution." Through the decrees of Hitler it has introduced the death sentence for the instigation of economic strikes. It has given all the commanding economic positions to the magnates of big capital—Thyssen, Reinhardt, Schacht, Krupp, Siemens—who take part in the meetings of the fascist "general economic council," and who have been appointed as uncontrolled dictators over whole provinces of Germany.

Corruption, shameless robbery of the government treasury and of public funds, the intensified pumping into the bottomless pockets of the capitalists and the Junkers of government funds, collected penny by penny through taxes on the toilers—the whole system of bribery, robbery, financial speculation, and economic piracy, which the Nazis once "opposed" demagogically—has now flowered out exuberantly, and is incomparable even with the most crying speculations of the times of the Weimar republic (Osthilfe and others).

Only the Communist Party, from the deep underground, exposes this unheard-of robbery of the toiling masses by the magnates of finance capital.

The growth of industrial production in the summer months, and in particular, the growth in the production of steel, iron, cement, automobiles, and artificial fibre, carried a typically-expressed military-inflationary character. Industry is working for the storehouses—having in perspective either war, or a great new crash. The increase in industrial production of the heavy industries almost coincides with the military assignments of the Hitler government. Side by side with this, the consuming capacity of the internal market is shrinking sharply. While there was an increase of 126 per cent. in the amount of products of the textile industry thrown on to the market from July, 1932, to July, 1933—sales rose by only 2 per cent.—and that because of an increase in the stock of uniforms for the army, the fascist troops, and others. Especially sharp was the lowering of sales in the food industries—testifying to the growth of hunger in the families of the workers, the unemployed, and the poor. In the first quarter of 1933, the decrease in sales of products of the food industries was 11.7 per cent.; in the second quarter, by official fascist statistics, there was a decrease of another 4.9 per cent. In the needle industry, the decrease in the amount of sales in the first quarter of 1933 reached 8.4 per cent. The feeling of the capitalists is characterised by general uncertainty. Even the minister of economy, Schmidt, declared in his speech at Cologne, "Capital is so repressed, so scared and untrustful, that it cannot be sure of anything."

Der Deutsche Volkswirth of August 25 expresses itself in the same pessimistic spirit:

"The stock market is in sharp contrast with the

rise in production and with the decrease in unemployment; it displays a picture of utter stagnancy and a fall in prices."

Echoing these panicky tendencies of their bourgeoisie, the "left" social-democratic scribblers talk of an inevitable "destruction of European civilisation under the onslaught of Asiatic Russian-Chinese barbarism."

The more practical magnates of big industry see in war the only salvation from the approaching economic crash. A war boom—and even more so a war—promises them incalculable profits. They reckon on once again pouring the blood of the toiling masses into golden ingots. Krupp sends Hitler a congratulatory telegram on the occasion of Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations. The stock of the war enterprises is going up. The growth in the dividends paid out to the holders of shares in war enterprises and in enterprises connected with war corresponds, at the other social pole, with a further growth of need and poverty. It is true, there have been certain extremely insignificant decreases in unemployment in connection with the war orders of the government. Along with this, a catastrophic and universal growth of intensification of labour in the capitalistic enterprises "frees" ever new groups of workers from work, and cripples those who remain in industry by causing unheard-of, predatory squandering by capital of the life forces of the workers.

The movement of wages in 1933 is characterised by (1) considerable new decreases in wages, averaging 1-3 pfennigs an hour; (2) a decrease of 10-25 per cent. in real wages in different branches of production; (3) a sharp decrease in special payments; (4) a lowering of piece rates by 10-15 per cent.; and (5) the abolition of the formerly compulsory premiums for long service.

Together with this, fascism forces the transition to a short working week, lowering the wages of the entire working class through this. . . . Slave labour has been introduced into the forced labour camps. In proportion with the further sharpening of the internal situation in Germany—and even more so if an imperialist war should start—this military slave labour will become the lot of the entire German proletariat. The winter now beginning will be the hardest of all the crisis winters that the German working class has lived through. But this will be so not only for the working class. The poorest peasantry, which is obliged to buy additional bread, food for its cattle, etc., is just as badly ruined in the present situation, when the government is attempting in the interests of the land-owners and the rich peasants, to raise the prices on agricultural products. At the same time, the lowering of the purchasing power of the city masses leads to a further catastrophic fall in the sales of butter, meat, pork

and other products, which ruins the small peasant farms. The poor people of the cities, the lower office workers, the petty merchants and artisans, who expected the coming of paradise with Hitler's accession to power, have also come to themselves before the broken trough of their expectations and illusions. Local city governments have been declared bankrupt, and their short-term debts have been declared long-term ones. Unemployment continues to grow among the white-collar workers. The department stores and the big monopolies have received even greater powers, and are ruining the petty bourgeoisie even faster than before. The petty bourgeoisie, the majority of which still remains under the hypnosis of nationalism and chauvinism, is nevertheless beginning to understand that it has been fooled by fascism.

Sharp, intense hatred for the régime of blood and terror is mounting up in the workers' quarters of Germany. The fascist policy, instead of finding a way out of the crisis through the course of a preventive civil war against the proletariat, has sharpened all the class contradictions, and has not solved a single one of the problems which stand before capitalism. On this basis, a resistance to fascist violence is growing, a new revolutionary upsurge is growing in Germany.

The fascist government planned the demolition of the entire system of tariff agreements in industry. But it was afraid to carry this out, since the measure threatened to unloose a mighty wave of factory conflicts—since in this event the establishment of rates of wages would have been transferred to the industrial enterprises.

The fascist government planned the organisation of unified trade unions, in fascist harmony, for the regulation of conditions of labour and wages. But even these unified trade unions seemed dangerous to the fascist dictatorship. Therefore it decided not to carry out its original plan, and passed all functions of regulation of conditions of labour and wages exclusively into the hands of the "guardians of labour," its own creatures, recruited from the high officialdom and the big industrialists.

But this is only indirect proof of the resistance of the working class. The strikes, which do not stop, despite their prohibition by the fascist dictatorship, give *direct* proof of the growing revolutionary enthusiasm. The growth of the revolutionary movement in the form of strikes on the eve of the Hitler coup expressed itself, first of all, in the *swift growth of economic strikes into political ones*, and in the fact that many movements started at once as political ones. After the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, political strikes greatly predominated over economic ones. In February, 1933, out of a total number of 287 strikes, 225—i.e., 75 per cent.—*were political strikes*. As a result

of a wave of unheard-of terror the strike movement was weakened; but nevertheless in March, of 19 strikes which were reported by the bourgeois press, 10 were political; in April, out of 60 strikes, 52 were political; and in May, out of 58 strikes, 35 were political. Fascist statistics painstakingly conceal the number of strike conflicts in the industrial enterprises, so that the total number is hard to determine. The struggle has reached considerable sharpness in the forced labour camps, where there have taken place, during this period, more than 280 successful strikes, which often led even to the breaking up of the camps.

We shall cite a few examples of strikes which have occurred in Germany, which are characterised, as a general rule, by the *fighting* mood of the strikers, and which ended, in a considerable number of cases, with *victory* for the workers.

The directors of the steel-casting factory "Sigridsgerder" posted notices of a 10 per cent. wage cut. The workers sent a delegation of 26 to the directors. When the directors continued to insist on their robbing plan, the entire factory association—700 strong—declared a strike. The bureaucrats of the N.S.B.O. (National-Socialist factory organisation) tried to win the strikers over to resume work by quoting Hitler's appeal. They promised that "new negotiations" would start on the resumption of work. *The workers refused any sort of negotiations, and refused the mediation of the N.S.B.O.; and through the strike they succeeded in making the directors withdraw the wage cut that very evening.*

In the "Thyssen" pit N. 18-19, the introduction of measures for the intensification of labour, with the consent of the N.S.B.O., was expected. The association, numbering 400 people, answered this by a strike. *Almost 100 workers were arrested.* Nevertheless, the strike continued.

The association of the railroad repair shops in Cologne—over 1000 strong—*conducted a victorious strike against a wage cut. All the members of the N.S.B.O. took part in the strike movement, against the will of their leaders. The Social-Democratic workers joined the general front.* The strike made a great impression on all the Cologne enterprises.

Here are yet a few more examples of how it was possible, under our leadership or in connection with the work of the R.T.U.O. to start active demonstrations. We cite only a few cases, characteristic of the form of the movement.

In the pits of Matthias Stinnes in Dortmund, a 2-hour strike was conducted against a wage cut. The strike ended with *full victory* for the workers.

In a certain fishing enterprise in North Germany, the workers attained, through a 20-minute strike, a *rise* in wages of 20 pfennigs on a ton of herrings.

In a certain metallurgical enterprise in Wandsbecke, it was proposed to introduce a deduction

from wages. The association threatened a strike, and the owner of the enterprise gave up the deduction.

In another metallurgical factory in Alton, it was proposed to the workers that they sign a paper saying that they will answer for badly done work. With the exception of three workers, *the entire collective refused to sign such an obligation.*

Cases are very frequent when it has been found possible, under the leadership of revolutionary workers, to reject masked robbery of wages in the form of "voluntary" donations. In the Palmin-Kost concern, it was decided to deduct one mark from the wages for German aviation. The workers refused.

In many parts of Germany we have examples where workers, at general meetings of the N.S.B.O. groups, *put forward demands for rises in wages to correspond with the rise in prices.* More than that there have been advanced, at N.S.B.O. groups, even *political demands on the prohibition of arrests of revolutionary workers*, etc. Here is a characteristic example: In the municipal enterprises of Cologne, our comrades conducted a demonstration for the release of our arrested functionaries. In the N.S.B.O. group, the workers put forward a motion for the release of our functionaries; but they did not succeed in voting on the motion. Then our comrades prepared leaflets containing the demand for the release of the functionaries, and at the same time began to collect signatures. 300 workers signed.

All these examples show that, despite the prohibition of strike struggle, it is possible, with correct leadership on the part of the party or the R.T.U.O. not only to develop many strikes, but even to lead them to victory. *One of the most important tasks of the R.T.U.O. and the red trade unions is—as formerly, the independent organisation and leadership of economic battles, connecting them up with political demands, an organisation of political strikes, and the broadening of strikes to the dimensions of big mass battles.*

A central position in the mobilisation of the masses and the organisation of strikes and of active demonstrations must be taken by one of our most important slogans: "Strike against wage cuts—even if only of one pfennig, against discharges, and for a rise in wages to meet the rise in prices."

The independent organisation and leadership of strikes demands bolshevik application of the tactic of the united front, and *the immediate creation of a cadre of stewards in every shop and factory and in every employment bureau.* In conditions of illegality, these delegates assume an outstanding political significance; and without the creation of such a cadre, the development of economic and political battles, and the leading of the masses to a decisive battle for power, are impossible. In the organisation

of cadres of delegates, it is necessary to use the experience of 1917-18. It is necessary also to include within this system thousands of former Social-Democratic workers. This system of stewards in the shops and factories will serve as an important lever in the construction of *illegal independent class trade unions*; and at the same time will help to strengthen the work of the Communist Party, and the R.T.U.O. in the centralised fascist trade unions.

Along with this growth of the revolutionary movement, the decay of the fascist organisations assumes ever sharper form.

The arrest of the opposition of the N.S.D.A.P. and their disposition in concentration camps is a well-known phenomenon. Now cases are becoming more frequent when storm-troopers simply do not appear for duty. The leader of the Storm-Troop Division No. 1-22 characterises this better than anyone in the following words:

"Anyone who fails to appear for parade will be immediately expelled by me from the storm-troop. . . . I must assume that those who fail to attend the assemblies of the storm-troopers, and who shirk duty, precisely at this moment, do so because . . . they think that the time has come when it is possible to carry on anew the work against the N.S.D.A.P. which they, perhaps, carried on before. If this assumption turns out to be correct, then we shall call the guilty ones to account, and shall proceed against them through the resources of governmental power. . . ."

"To call the guilty to account, and to proceed against them through the resources of governmental power"—this means dismissal from work, this means beatings and the concentration camp.

The growing unrest in the ranks of the N.S.B.O. has impelled the leadership of the N.S.B.O. to issue an order by which all former "Marxist workers" who have "insinuated themselves" into the N.S.B.O. are expelled, and by which all members of the N.S.B.O., the numbers of whose membership books are above 450,000 are made ineligible to hold offices or functions in the N.S.B.O. or in the fascist unions.

In this manner the N.S.B.O. has expelled thousands of rebellious "Marxist" workers from its organisation; but it has not been able to put a limit to the process of further disintegration which, organised by members of the Communist Party and the R.T.U.O. who have been sent in to the N.S.B.O., continues at an accelerated rate. The most important forms of the manifestation of this process are: the intensified participation of members of the N.S.B.O. in strikes and demonstrations organised by the C.P.G. and the R.T.U.O.; the advancing of wage demands; demonstrations for the release of arrested revolutionary workers, against the tax on margarine, and against high prices;

circulation of the leaflets of the R.T.U.O. ; failure to pay N.S.B.O. membership dues ; refusal to wear the N.S.B.O. uniform and to buy the magazine "Arbeiter-tum ;" and the sending of telegrams of protest to Hitler.

The radical mood within the N.S.B.O. is evident from the proposals which were brought in in July, August and September of this year for the socialisations of the factories, etc. For instance, in Hamburg a conference composed of 40 N.S.B.O. workers brought in a written proposal on "the socialisation of all marine navigation." Similarly, an N.S.B.O. conference which took place at the end of August, this year, in the Ruhr district, and in which 80 factory delegates participated, demanded "the socialisation of the mining industry ;" and we must add that the immediate influence of the C.P.G. and the R.T.U.O. was not present. After the presentation of this demand, all those who participated in the conference were arrested.

There are already hundreds of examples on the style of those cited above ; and they do not represent accidental, isolated manifestations, but spring from the class contradictions between the members of the N.S.B.O. and their fascist leaders, from the contradictions between the social demagoguery of the national-socialists and their policy, which is in fact the policy of monopoly capital. However, it is necessary to struggle energetically against any over-estimation of the disintegration of the N.S.B.O.—against any illusions that this disintegration is an automatic process which, when it reaches a certain definite development, will lead to the wreck of the N.S.B.O. and of the Hitler party. This sort of view is nothing other than a reflection of the social-democratic theory that "We must allow fascism to finish its rule." The view that fascism can no longer resort to demagogic manoeuvres is another expression of this very same theory.

In the rural districts also, the policy of the Hitler government, conducted in the interests of finance capital and the landowners, is beginning to appear in its true colours before the former adherents of the Nazis. Here are a few examples :

In the rural districts around the little city B v Oldenburg, a week before the "harvest holiday," the uniforms of the storm-troopers, banners with the swastika emblem, and portraits of Hitler disappeared—not without the active participation of the peasants. These Oldenburg peasants, who had still been supporters of the national-socialists only half a year before, flatly refused to "thank" Mr. Hitler for the harvest. What had they not expected from the third empire? the cancellation of debts, the abolition of taxes and the doubling and trebling of prices on their agricultural products, the abolition of debt slavery, and the giving of credit

without interest. But all this turned out to be a chimera.

In Oldenburg the peasants declared that they would have nothing more to do with the business. They gave no money to the endless collections, and gave no money for sending a delegation to Hameln for the "harvest holiday." Two lads who offered their services for the trip to Hameln had the glass in their windows broken at night.

Things occurred in exactly the same way in "K." (Oldenburg district.) Near Dalmenchorst, things went as far as a clash between the peasants and the Nazis.

In Mecklenburg the Nazis pretended to be the only "real friends of the peasants." In their struggle against the German nationalists, the fascists also resorted to demagogic means. They promised the poor peasants that, at last, the aim of their leader would be realised : a free peasant on free land. This, of course, did not come about. As a result the peasants are rebelling in many places. In a number of villages scores of peasants have been put into prison. Local papers threaten death to the "honour-forgetting traitors of the peasant estate."

These concrete cases show that dissatisfaction with Hitler keeps spreading in the rural districts also.

The sharpening of the difficulties of the bourgeoisie in the field of internal and external politics, and the failure of Hitler's government to fulfil a single one of his demagogic promises, must entail ever more open indignation of the toiling masses, even among the former adherents of the Nazis. The entire situation in Germany shows the possibility of *sharp changes*, when every conflict between workers and toilers, on the one hand, and fascist ravishers on the other, may develop into a mass struggle on a broad front, and involve *an explosion of mass dissatisfaction of enormous revolutionary significance*.

The situation in Germany, and the tasks of the party which follow from this situation, are characterised extremely pointedly in the resolution of the C.C., C.P.G., of October 10.* Here the following is said of the present situation :

"The eight months' existence of the blood and stravation government, the government of Hitler-Goering-Goebbels, have confirmed to the fullest extent that the brutal, unrestricted fascist dictatorship is incapable of solving a single political and economic question of present-day Germany. . . . The government of Hitler and Goering is exposed more and more before the masses as the government of finance capital and the Junkers. As a result of its adventurist policy, it is accentuating all the inner and outer contradictions of German capitalism, and leading Germany to disaster. In spite of the

* See No. 22.

most ruthless and bloody terror, a revolutionary upsurge is growing among the working class, which is completely deprived of all rights by fascism. The masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry are beginning to realise that they have been deceived by the national-socialists. . . . The fascists have commenced civil war in the country in order to prepare for imperialist war, and in order to shatter the German proletariat. . . .

"Under these conditions it is becoming clearer every day to the working people that fascism is the undisguised form of the dictatorship of finance capital and of the Junkers—who have made use of the discontent of the masses with the Weimar Republic in order to crush the revolutionary labour movement, in order to render the working people dumb slaves, and to consolidate the position of finance capital. Therefore, a rapid growth of a new revolutionary upsurge which has already begun, the new mounting up of strike waves and of revolutionary manifestations of the unemployed, and a turning away of the petty bourgeois and peasant masses from fascism is inevitable."

* * *

Fascism came into power on an enormous wave of nationalism and chauvinism, which had grown up on the favourable basis of the Versailles enslavement of Germany by the imperialist plunderers of the former Entente. The German monopolistic bourgeoisie incited a nationalistic passion among the petty bourgeois masses and even in parts of the working class, and used them as its strongest weapon in the struggle against the gathering revolutionary crisis. The proletariat was unable to overcome this wave of nationalism with an opposing surge of proletarian internationalism. And it could not possibly have done this, since its majority was still under the influence of social-fascism—which set up against the "ferocious chauvinism" of the fascists, its own "tedious and hypocritical chauvinism" (Lenin), only slightly veiled with pseudo-internationalist phraseology.

What is there *new* in the questions of German nationalism, that must be noted now, ten months after the establishment of the fascist dictatorship? The new developments consist of this: that the masses are becoming convinced through their own experience—illuminated by the Communist Party—not only that the reign of fascism has not brought with it the abolition of the Versailles slavery, or carried out other similar demagogic points of the fascist programme of "national revolution;" but also that it has loaded on the shoulders of the toilers, in the interests of the imperialist German bourgeoisie, a new war yoke—even heavier than that of Versailles—in the form of the forced labour camps and the new monstrous burden of growing militarism.

The new developments consist in this: that

if a wave of nationalism and chauvinism grew up in Germany before the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, then now it is beginning to subside. The thieving fascist accounts of forty million voters, who are supposed to have voted for Hitler, cannot fool even the bourgeois press across the border—not to speak of the proletariat. Who will believe in this "achievement" of gangs of murderers, provocators, and swindlers, who are in power, and who manipulate the results of the elections with the well-tested methods of political banditry and shameless trickery?

One thing is certain: the sharper the situation within the country becomes, the more strained class relations become, the faster the revolutionary uplift grows—then, the more intensively will this fascist clique resort to ever new demagogic nationalistic phrases and adventuristic manœuvres. The revolutionary proletarians understand the value of these nationalistic manœuvres very well. They (these manœuvres) fulfil two basic functions. Within the country, they are invoked to throttle the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and of the toiling masses, and to switch their dissatisfaction with their situation over into the channel of struggle against an "outside enemy."

Outside, in fascism's international policy, these manœuvres serve in the business of *extortion*, in the concrete *bargaining* of the German imperialist bourgeoisie with its imperialist competitors for *more arms for Germany*, and for the *revision of the Versailles boundaries*.

Fascism reckons on bargaining out the liberty to arm itself further, with the purpose in mind of re-designing the map of Europe in the future, in its own plundering style; it reckons on getting this freedom to arm *through its vanguardist role in the organisation, preparation and conducting of a crusade against "world bolshevism," against the U.S.S.R.—the fatherland of the world proletariat.* The dramatisation of "national unity" was to have been used as an "extra-diplomatic" *pressure* on the west-European governments, to make them more compliant for *separate* agreements with German fascism.

It would be a mistake to declare in Communist agitation, in the face of the nationalistic manœuvres of fascism (the withdrawal from the League of Nations, and the dramatisation of "national unity" through a "national" vote under the muzzles of the revolvers of the fascist bandits), that fascism has "decisively capitulated" to Versailles. In essence, such an "exposure" of fascism is simply nothing but a "left" variation of the social-democratic criticism of the international policy of fascism for "insufficiently consistent and skilful defence of the national interests of Germany."

In actual fact, fascism defends the external-political interests of German monopoly capital quite consistently; it carries on the most aggressive

imperialist policy that is permitted it by the forces of German imperialism, and it strains its relations with all its imperialist competitors to the limit. Further sharpening of these relationships means inevitable war. The Communist exposure of bourgeois nationalism and of the adventurist fascist foreign policy must include the following three points: In the first place, it must show that "peaceful" settlement of the Versailles contradictions within the capitalist system is *not possible*, either through Germany's participation in the League of Nations, or through her withdrawal from it; that the further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, which makes clear the impossibility of preserving the Versailles system, at the same time strengthens the aspirations of France and her allies for the preservation of Versailles, no matter what happens; that further sharpening of these contradictions will inevitably lead to a new imperialist war; and that the fascist government of Hitler is the main instigator of this war. In the second place, explanation is necessary of the fact that the Hitler government, in preparing war, raises the dividends of the magnates of the war industry, and has already brought incredible suffering to the toiling masses (forced labour camps, and the burden of militarism). It is necessary to explain that the piratic plan of German fascism figures mainly on a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.—the fatherland of all toilers—to tear Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russia away from it, and for the subjection of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and other countries to the German imperialist government, as feudatory governments; and that fascist diplomacy is displaying frantic energy in its attempt to create a grouping of the imperialist powers for the realisation of this counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. (the negotiations with Poland and France, the projects of Rosenberg and Lord Rothermere, etc.). It is necessary to explain, at the same time, that the imperialist war which is being prepared by German fascism, under the mask of the slogan of a struggle against Versailles (the annexation of Austria, the so-called corridor, etc.), would mean an attempt of the imperialist German bourgeoisie to replace the structure of slavery to Versailles by a new piratic grabbing régime of its own, advantageous for German capital and disastrous for the German toiling masses.

And finally, in the third place, Communist agitation must set up against bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism *its proletarian programme of social and national liberation of the German people in the path of the socialist revolution*. Only the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship will be the end of the Versailles slavery. Soviet Socialist Germany, rising up out of the ruins of the fascist régime of blood and hunger for the toiling masses, will inevitably mean the

beginning of a proletarian revolution in *all* Central Europe. At the same time it will have the utmost support of the proletariat of France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and all the other countries.

Only such agitation from the stand of militant proletarian internationalism, which explains to the masses the only road to social and national liberation, can entirely expose the adventurist, piratic policy of German fascism—the policy of terror and preventive civil war against the proletariat, and of a new imperialist war for the sake of profits for the capitalists and the Junkers. At the same time, such an exposure will put an end to all speculations of the social-fascist followers, that the Communists "are reckoning on a war."

Communism in every capitalist country has reckoned, and does reckon, on carrying the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat into an armed uprising against its own bourgeoisie, to a victorious proletarian revolution. But social-fascism—which divides the proletariat and collaborates with the fascist bourgeoisie—does everything it can so that the bourgeois cliques may succeed—with its (social-fascism's) direct support—in involving the proletariat in a second imperialist war.

* * *

The *decisive* task of the C.P.G., in its struggle to prepare the conditions for a violent overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, is the task of becoming the only mass party of the workers of Germany, in the shortest possible time. It must do this by liquidating the mass influence of social-democracy; by winning over the workers who have followed social-democracy until quite recently, on the basis of persistent and bolshevik application of the tactic of *united front* from below. The work of every party organisation must therefore be appraised first of all from the point of view of the question, whether or not it drew all the different groups of the working class—and above all the social-democratic workers—into the struggle against capitalism correctly and with enough initiative.

German social-democracy is in a condition of great organisational collapse and ideological bankruptcy—in a condition of the most profound crisis. A whole series of its organisations have entirely fallen to pieces. Part of them are in a condition of organisational shapelessness. The decrease in membership of the S.P.G. is enormous. Thus, for instance, in the Berlin Neukoeln district, where the S.P.G. still had 10,000 members as late as January 1, it now has hardly 300 members. One must keep in mind, besides this, the fact that Neukoeln was formerly considered a stronghold of social-democracy, and that its organisational condition in many other districts and cities of Germany is even worse than this.

However, we must not judge of the peril of the

S.P.G. for the working class by its organisational condition alone. Despite its disintegration and its organisational weakening, the S.P.G. is, as formerly, the main social support of the bourgeoisie and of the fascist dictatorship in Germany; for even now it chains enormous masses of workers under its influence and stands in the way of a revolutionary onslaught on the fascist dictatorship. The original plan of social democracy, which was worked out after the fascist coup, fell through. It was characterised by the tactic of a peculiar division of labour in the S.P.G. between two "separated" centres: when one, inside Germany, *openly* defended the fascist dictatorship, *openly* attempted (voting in the Reichstag for the policy of Hitler, and handing the reformist trade unions over to the fascists) to exist within the fascist régime as an "opposition" obedient to the fascist club-law; while the other centre, which had emigrated from Germany, veiled this policy with "left" phrases. Now the S.P.G. is obliged to reorganise itself anew.

Fascism has deprived social-democracy of its legal position and has thus thrust it forcibly into *unlawful opposition*—seeing in such a situation of social-democracy the best means, in the present concrete situation in Germany, of using the help of the social-democracy to restrain the workers from going over to communism. On this ground there has been a further disintegration of social-democracy, a rise of a whole series of groups and grouplets. At the same time, this very situation has made it easier for social-democracy to advance within the mass of the workers its "left," *most dangerous* wing, which has gone even further than the official leadership of the S.P.G., along the path of "left" phrases and traitorous, pseudo-revolutionary deeds. There are forming in Germany "left" pseudo-revolutionary groups—seemingly independent of the leadership of the S.P.G., and often even coming out against it—which are for the most part under the leadership of intellectuals, and which carry on the business of the fascist dictatorship together with—and under the decisive ideological influence of—counter-revolutionaries and renegades, from Thalheimer to Trotsky. Their basic aim is propaganda for the counter-revolutionary thesis that the C.P.G. has showed itself to be just as worthless as the S.P.G., and that it is therefore necessary to create a new revolutionary organisation.

The official C.C., as well as these "left" shock-brigades of social-democracy, is characterised by the ambition to imitate even the organisational forms of its party work from fascism. Social-democracy is trying to prevent the exposure of its traitorous rôle—an exposure which is inevitable in the event that the communists introduce discussion into the social-democratic ranks—by proclaiming a dictatorship of the leaders in the party.

"The functions of the leadership must enter much

more strongly than ever before into these new forms of struggle: initiative and orders from the leaders, work instead of discussion, iron discipline in the execution of all orders."

All this shows how *dangerous* for the C.P.G. at present is any underestimation of the social-democracy as the main social support of the bourgeoisie. At the same time such an underestimation sometimes slips in, in individual cases. Thus, for instance, the communist "Hamburger Volkszeitung" wrote: "Now the Leipartists and the Erntheitists can go; they have given fascism base service, *have served their purpose, and have lost their value.*"

Or differently:

"Although Hitler has smashed the apparatus of the S.P.G. we must now tell the workers that he will *some day* again make use of the services of Wells and Severing to restrain the fighters from their struggle against fascism. . . . We, the communists, must take steps to see that Wells and Leipart will not be able to play *again* the rôle of physician to the rotting corpse of capitalism."

In this, everything is mistaken from beginning to end. It is not true that the S.P.G. is dead, that its leaders have lost "all value" for fascism. Even though the S.P.G. is passing through a very profound crisis, and is disintegrating from within—mainly because the workers are leaving it—yet it is nevertheless alive enough to impede the revolutionary movement, and to carry on a struggle to lengthen the term of capitalism and the fascist dictatorship. It is also untrue that the S.P.G. can only "some day" again be necessary to fascism. The S.P.G. even now—being before the law in the position of an unlawful opposition—collaborated with fascism in its general office of the salvation of capitalism; and it depends mainly on the Communist Party, and on its activity, how long the S.P.G. will play the rôle of physician to the rotting corpse of capitalism.

It is perfectly obvious that such mistakes can only make the struggle for the liberation of the masses from under the influence of social-democracy more difficult for the party, and slow down the winning of the majority of the working class by the party. However, it is obvious that underestimation of the dangerousness of the social-democracy is not characteristic of the party organisations of the C.P.G., and shows itself only in individual links of the party. Precisely because the C.P.G. takes an absolutely correct, bolshevik position on this fundamental question, it has attained great success in the drawing of social-democratic workers into a united front in the anti-fascist class struggle.

The coming of social-democratic workers over into the C.P.G. can be observed more and more often. As early as May, the coming over of whole local organisations—often of 80-150 members—

was reported. Since then this movement has grown, although by no means all possibilities of hastening it have as yet been exhausted. In a number of cases members of the C.P.G., instead of intensifying their educational work, even opposed the acceptance of social-democratic workers—fearing a numerical predominance of former social-democrats in their organisations. However, we already have lower units, the majority of whose membership is made up of former social-democrats. Connections with social-democratic workers in the shops and factories are becoming ever tighter. For instance, a comrade from one of the districts tells of how “old, formerly fanatical social-democrats” helped our units in their work. The party organisation carried on good mass work there under the slogan: “Every communist must lead five social-democratic workers.” Social-democratic workers are dissatisfied when our comrades do not give them illegal literature to spread promptly and in enough quantity. The fact that a considerable part of the illegal party literature is spread by non-party and social-democratic workers has become a universal phenomenon. All this sets before the party the great importance of the task of *re-educating* these new communists, former social-democrats, of involving them in active work and, at the same time, *intensifying the struggle within the party against right opportunism*—the danger of which is growing, not only in connection with the political period we are living through, but also in connection with the influx of former social-democratic workers into the party.

The most important thing is to draw the rank-and-file social-democratic workers into active class struggle by a united front, simultaneously with this carrying on wide explanatory work—exposing the traitorous policy of the S.P.G. and, in particular, its most *dangerous* “left” organisations. It is necessary to develop to the highest extent the *enmity* which is rising up among the social-democratic workers

against the entire S.P.G.—which, as they feel, has betrayed them to fascism. Many social-democrats are beginning to understand the attempts of the “lefts” to regenerate the S.P.G. under a new name. “Everyone who at present still thinks”—say such former social-democratic workers—“that it is possible to re-establish the S.P.G., to set up a new stall which will be a middle link between the S.P.G. and the C.P.G., or to organise an even more ‘left’ party than the C.P.G.—that person is committing a crime against the unity of the working class.” These and other similar testimonials of former social-democratic workers, who have now come over to the communists, are the clearest proof of the fact that a hatred for social-democracy is awakening with incredible speed among the masses of deceived workers, “*and that this hatred is the best, the greatest feeling of the best people of the oppressed and exploited masses.*” (Lenin.)

When this hatred against the social-democrats embraces the working class, and when the Communist Party wins over to its side the majority of the working class, then will sound the last hour of German fascism. And as yet, we can exclaim:

“Let the bourgeoisie of the whole world continue to rage, let it drive out, put in prison, even kill the Spartacists and the bolsheviks—all this will help it no longer. This will serve only to enlighten the masses, to free them from the old bourgeois-democratic prejudices, and to harden them in the struggle. The victory of the proletarian revolution all over the world is assured. The basis for the international Soviet republic lies in the future.” (Lenin.)

The heroic German Communist Party is liberating millions of German workers, through stubborn struggle against the fascist dictatorship, from under the influence of the social democrats—who are betraying them. It is spreading its influence, and is preparing for the victory of the proletarian revolution, the victory of a Soviet Socialist Republic in Germany.

THE CONGRESS OF MILITANT YOUTH UNITY.*

(The results of the International Youth Congress and the preparation for National Youth Congresses against war and fascism.)

IN his introductory speech at the International Youth Congress against fascism and war in Paris, Henri Barbusse called this congress a big war council of the youth, a council convened to fight against the two bloody scourges of capitalism: war and fascism.

This "war council" presented an unprecedentedly broad front of the youth of all countries and the most varied opinions. It demonstrated with astounding force and unanimity the determination of the youth and their will to *action*. The congress will remain an unforgettable event in the memories of all who participated in it. And in our future work we must make it as unforgettable for *millions* of the youth.

This congress acquires particular importance in connection with the intensiveness with which the bourgeoisie of the fascist and "democratic" countries is making use of all ideological means, all means of violence and deception, every kind of decoy at its disposal to exercise its influence in the first place, over the youth. The youth forms the principal part of the acting troops, and will be the first to be sacrificed to the coming imperialist war.

Under danger of death the German delegates made their way across the border and fraternised at the congress with young French workers, with soldiers who rose in full uniform to speak. From a number of countries (Czechoslovakia, Belgium) delegates *walked* to the congress in the course of days and weeks. Representatives of Morocco, which is preyed upon by the imperialist vultures, fraternised with the toiling youth of France and Spain. All felt that the great example of the Russian revolution, the heroic example of Karl Liebknecht, live in the hearts of the masses of the youth.

The congress gave an indication of the deep yearning of the toiling youth for the united front of struggle. Of the total number of 1,100 delegates representing 34 countries, 111 were young Socialists 387 young Communists, 553 non-party; there was a considerable number of members of bourgeois, pacifist, sports, scout and trade union (both revolutionary and reformist) organisations. A number of the largest munitions plants were represented, and also troops, and the Swedish and Danish navies.

Of particular importance is the extensive participation in the congress and preparation for it of members of the Socialist youth organisation. In

France a tenth of the Socialist youth organisation actively and in an organised manner took part in the preparations for the congress. In Great Britain, in spite of the veto and sabotage of the reformist leaders, the I.L.P.'s Guild of Youth and many Labour youth organisations took part in the movement. In Belgium the Young Socialist Guard, reflecting the growth of revolutionary tendencies among its rank and file, disregarded the instructions of the social-democratic leaders by deciding to postpone its regular congress and send a delegation to the land of proletarian dictatorship.

The leaders of the Socialist Youth International were not present at the congress, for they feared and sabotaged it. And the delegates to the congress, and in the first place the members of the Socialist youth organisations present, realised *in whose interests, in the interests of which class*, the S.Y.I. leaders acted. Nothing could confuse these young Socialists; who had begun active struggle shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers in the Y.C.L. or turn them from the road they had chosen. The attempts of Trotskyist grouplets and masked agents of the social-fascist leadership to carry on disruptive work among the Socialist delegates, and represent the congress to them as "a political manoeuvre of the Communists," as also the attempts to conceal the treason of the Second International by complaining about the "fratricidal struggle" and "doctrinaire discussion" between the social-democrats and the Communists, were completely defeated at the congress, and found determined resistance on the part first of all of the Socialist delegates.

At this congress there met for the first time in the midst of capitalist Europe *the representatives of two worlds*—of the working and kolkhoz youth of the U.S.S.R., the country of splendid victories in the sphere of socialist construction, and of the youth of the countries of capitalism and bloody fascism.

The presence of a Soviet delegation at the congress, and the election of representatives of the Soviet youth to the International Youth Committee is of great importance. This meeting of the two worlds took place in the fifth year of the world's economic crisis and at the beginning of the second Five-Year Plan in the U.S.S.R., where the contrast between the conditions of the youth in the U.S.S.R. and in the capitalist countries is becoming still more striking.

The congress met the Soviet delegation and the speech of its chairman, Comrade Kosarev, with great enthusiasm, which testified to the determination of the representatives of the best and most active part of the youth to fight to the end against fascism and war, against capitalism and for socialism.

* This congress took place in Paris on September 22-24, 1933.—Ed.

"Comrades," says the declaration of the German, French, British and Spanish delegations on Comrade Kosarev's speech, "you must relise what it (i.e., Comrade Kosarev's speech—A.) means to us. We come from poverty. Fascism has deprived us of even the semblance of democratic rights. Some of our delegates are unemployed and have hardly a piece of bread to satisfy their hunger. Instead of work we are given forced labour in forced labour camps, in the hands of officers who are to prepare us for war. . . . Comrades, whatever we vaguely felt to be beautiful, what seemed to us the ideal, what many of us have already recognised to be right and necessary, we see the embryo and realisation of in your country. We see to-day, clearer than ever, that in your country there is socialism. . . . What exists in your country is our aim too; we want to achieve what you are creating, and for that reason whoever slanders you hurts us; whoever fights against you will strike us too; whoever attacks you will rob us too. And we proclaim that whoever wages or prepares to wage war against you is our greatest enemy."

The international youth congress formed an important factor in the mobilisation of the masses of the youth for the struggle against fascism and war.

Against the background of this congress, how pitiful is the malicious howling of the remains of smashed counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, which even on the eve of the congress prophesied its "failure!" The Socialist Youth International leaders, in their turn, also wrote in the resolution of the S.Y.I. congress (August, 1933) that the united front of the youth is "an illusion, a mirage, and a source of deception." Our international congress, the mighty embodiment of the united front of the youth, will give us the right to ask in every Socialist youth group in any country why these gentlemen are talking this way about the united front of the youth, which *has already become and is every day becoming an ever more heroic and active front of struggle against the class enemy.* These gentlemen tried and are still trying to discredit the united front and the International Youth Congress as a "political manœuvre;" while they themselves have resource to the basest manœuvres, rejecting the united front of the workers in action and struggle, on the hypocritical excuse that the first thing to be done is to "unite the tops" of the two Internationals on a single aim, and to carry out in the future a united front with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

In order to show how the Socialist youth are themselves beginning to expose the manœuvres of the social-fascist leaders, let us quote the speech of a young Geneva Socialist at a united front meeting

in Zurich on International Youth Day, September 1, 1933:—

"We greet you on behalf of the Socialist youth of Geneva. We greet you in the name of proletarian unity, sealed with the bloodshed on the evening of November 9, 1932, and practically realisable to-day in view of the anti-war conference. This meeting should and does show that the united front of the youth is realisable.

"In the first place we want to clear up all misunderstandings which may have arisen. It has been asserted that the youth anti-war congress which will take place in Paris very soon is a 'Communist manœuvre.' We fail to understand what manœuvre is meant.

"There are certain people, certain bureaucrats, who are sitting comfortably in their armchairs like rats around a piece of cheese and who place their personal interests above those of the working class, whose representatives they are supposed to be. These people are afraid of being disturbed, but most of all they are afraid of the working class's waking. So they resist all real revolutionary action, on the part of either the Communists or the earnest Socialists. These are the people who make the greatest hullabaloo about 'Communist manœuvres.'

"Can we apply the name of *manœuvre* to a step directed to bringing the labour movement direct to its destination—proletarian class struggle?"

The united front against fascism and war is ever extending, spreading to the whole world. This applies equally to the youth movement. Almost simultaneously with the Paris International Youth Congress, a national anti-war congress was taking place in New York. 3,500 delegates, of whom over 600 were youth, declared determined war on imperialist robbery in Cuba, on intervention in Soviet China, on Roosevelt's plunder and war plans, on semi-military compulsory labour and the increasing exploitation of the youth. And almost at the same time in another part of the world—in Shanghai—under conditions of ruthless terror on the part of the bloody imperialist and Kuomintang gangs, an illegal anti-war congress took place. At this congress representatives of the Chinese working class youth formed 35 to 40 per cent. of the total number of delegates. Side by side with their older comrades, they declared their firm determination to fight by all means against the imperialist robbery of China, against the Kuomintang government of national treason and disgrace, against the sixth march of the imperialists and the Kuomintang on Soviet China.

* * *

War and fascism were regarded at the International Youth Congress not in the petty bourgeois, pacifist light, not as an accidental, spontaneous disaster, not as the result of certain misunderstandings or intrigues,

but as phenomena connected with the very existence of capitalist society.

"Adopting the general slogan of struggle against a ruinous régime, the Amsterdam (anti-war—Ed.) and anti-fascist movements—henceforward merged—have made an investigation into the causes of war and fascism in order to overcome them, and have found these causes in the very system of capitalism." (Manifesto of the International Anti-War and Anti-Fascist Youth Congress.)

So were condemned the attempts of the social-fascists and pacifists to separate fascism from capitalism. At the congress determined resistance was offered to attempts to make use of the anti-fascist struggle to further the war aims of the so-called democratic powers (e.g., France and Czechoslovakia against Germany); the process of fascisation of democratic states was exposed and the community of the source of fascism—capitalism—in all capitalist countries proved; it was shown how the support of bourgeois democracy by the social-democratic parties prepares and clears the road for fascism, and that social-democracy is the principal social support of the bourgeoisie and its fascist dictatorship.

The slogan of "the enemy is in our own country," symbolically expressed in a large picture hung in the hall was the leading slogan of the congress. This slogan is of particular importance at a moment when, in a number of countries, the bourgeoisie and its social-fascist flunkies are, under cover of "anti-fascist" propaganda, carrying through furious armament and preparation for war against Germany; when, particularly in France and Czechoslovakia, successful attempts were made on the part of representatives of the following of the reactionaries and even the fascists, of the "gilded youth," of officers, to join the anti-fascist movement to make use of it in the imperialist interests of their own bourgeoisie.

The work of our class enemies was, of course, facilitated by the absence of clarity in principle, and of vigilance in this question during the preparations for the International Youth Congress.

What were the principal political slogans of the congress? They were *War against imperialist war*; struggle against the imperialism of the bourgeoisie of various countries; and for the defence of the Soviet Union. The congress particularly drew attention to the struggle against the fascisation of the so-called democratic countries, and the task of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship by means of revolutionary struggle.

The congress did not confine itself to expressing its sympathy for all colonial and oppressed peoples, but put forward the task of *active support* for their struggle for liberation. In view of the fact that munitions works are already working at capacity,

and that, even now, enormous quantities of armaments are being transported by sea and rail to the Far East, South American and Morocco, the congress made it one of the most important tasks of the youth to hinder by means of mass strikes, etc., the transport of armies and munitions.

The congress put before the delegates the task of consistent and undeviating struggle *against nationalist incitement and militarisation of the youth, against the bourgeois falsehood about the defence of one's imperialist "fatherland."* This has now become a task of more immediate importance than ever before. In democratic France 75 per cent. of every news-reel consists of military parades, manoeuvres and physical training. In fascist Germany special "subjects" have been introduced for the youngest school children, intended to imbue them with a chauvinist spirit and hatred for France, Poland, the U.S.S.R., Lenin and the Bolsheviks. All this is intended to kindle the spirit of militarism and chauvinism and to prepare for war. According to the new plans of the fascist organisation "After Work" (organised on the principle of the Italian "Dopo Lavoro") "all the spiritual wealth of the nations," art, theatres, music, cinemas, gymnasiums, and the best buildings are put to the fascisation and military training of the youth.

The congress viewed all its tasks in the light of concrete everyday struggle of the youth against every act of fascisation and militarisation, of struggle for even the most trivial of its economic and political demands. This political platform of the International Youth Congress is directed against both pacifist flabbiness, which often conceals the hypocritical face of the instigators of imperialist war, and, in particular, the Second International and the S.Y.I., which in all countries actively support the militarisation of the youth and preparations for war and intervention, drivelling about "League of Nations control over armaments," about "the defence of democracy, in the 'free' countries" (free for which class?—A.), about "general strike" against the "aggressor" (who is also defined by the imperialist League of Nations), and who in all countries without exception support compulsory labour for the youth, etc.

In the beginning of preparations for the congress, pacifist fallacies and illusions often penetrated even into the documents of the organising committee itself, which contained such vague and pacifist formulations as "we must seek the salvation of humanity by other means than war; we must put an end to all social gestures which threaten peace;" "the task of fighting for peace is the task of all men, and particularly of the youth, which is not yet involved in the muddled and fruitless discussions of the theoreticians and which wants to live." The campaign was often conducted under the slogan of

struggle against war in general, against bloodshed in general, even when it was a question of the struggle of the oppressed classes and peoples for liberation from their oppressors.

Later the campaign of preparation for the congress left behind these illusions and fallacies, and in his July article Henri Barbusse said to the youth :

“If you do not give definite, fearless and passionate expression to your ideas, do not definitely take up a deeply socialist and humane position, you will find yourselves, even against your own will, in the camp of the enemy, and fated to sacrifice yourselves for a cause which is not your cause ; you will yourselves abandon your just and wonderful rôle.”

In subsequent documents, i.e., the Manifesto of the International Youth Congress, the point was put still more clearly :—

“If there is a struggle in which you must take part, it is the final struggle, in which the old system which has outlived itself is opposed to the new system of the liberation of humanity.”

And further :

“Passive refutation of war and war preparations ? Never ! It would mean surrendering with bound hands to the pleasure of the imperialists, who are armed to the teeth. We want to fight because we know that the imperialist foe can be finally despatched only through the mighty struggle of the acting masses.”

If, during preparations for the congress, the pacifist slogan of “Enough bloodshed” often prevailed in the question of war in Morocco, the Manifesto of the congress formulates the task of actively supporting the struggle of the enslaved peoples for liberation. It is very characteristic of the mood of the masses of the youth that the numerous representatives of the pacifist, republican, etc., youth at the congress unanimously brushed aside the muddled pacifist arguments and adopted the platform of the congress.

* * *

Coming into this movement, the Young Communist Leagues played an important part in preparations for the congress. They organised a friendly contact with the masses of the youth, and made their first important step in the struggle for carrying out the decisions of the December plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. on mass work and on work within mass bourgeois youth organisations. The Young Communist Leagues saw plainly the way to get out of their sectarianism on to the road of broad mass work and struggle. The congress showed them how to work on a broad scale. But the sections of the Y.C.I. have only made their first steps in this direction. Not all the organisations of the Y.C.L., in the same way as not all the rank-and-file units of the Socialist

youth organisations, realised the importance of the congress. At first a number of Leagues (the Belgian, Swedish and Danish) resisted preparations for the congress. The same may be said of certain Communist Parties. The basis of this resistance was underestimation of the immediate danger of war and fascism in their countries, lack of understanding of the enormous political importance of the congress in mobilising the masses of the youth for struggle against war and fascism, and in mass work in general, and a sectarian fear of work in mass organisations and among the broad masses of the toiling youth.

The success of the congress struck a blow not only at the open enemies and saboteurs of our movement, but also at the pessimists, disbelievers and sectarians in our own ranks.

One of the main shortcomings in the preparations for the congress was a *peaceful, pacifist nature* of the campaign. Preparations were rarely accompanied by real action, by concrete organisation of the struggle against the already raging imperialist war and fascism, against concrete cases of militarisation and fascisation of the youth and exploitation of it in munitions works, in ports, mines, schools and trade schools, forced labour camps, universities, mass organisations, etc.

In spite of these shortcomings we have examples of good work, upon some of which we shall comment.

In Troyes, in France, air force manœuvres which were to take place under Marshal Petain were for the first time successfully hampered. By order of general headquarters, during the first day of the manœuvres after 9 p.m. the whole population of the town was to be indoors with lights out. Our comrades carried on extensive agitation from the very beginning among the whole population, and particularly among the workers of the three textile mills in Troyes (meetings at factory gates, numerous talks with the workers). In posters, proclamations and speeches the workers and the whole population were called on to come out into the streets in the evening, against the orders of general headquarters, and not only not to put out lights in the houses but to light bonfires wherever possible. General headquarters postponed the manœuvres for two days, but did not succeed in disorganising the movement. When in the evening of August 28 the signal was given and electricity and gas switched off in the town, bonfires and fireworks were lighted, the roofs of houses, covered with a phosphorescent substance, lit up ; in the squares the fountains, filled with paraffin, spouted fire ; telegraph connections between the army units were broken off, and the workers came out on to the street, fighting with the police, and demonstrated until 1 a.m., until the last army plane disappeared from view in connection with the aviation days.

The Czechoslovakian Y.C.L. also manifested considerable activity in connection with the aviation days (e.g., in Prague, Hradec and other towns).

There can be no doubt that such action, as it is mass action and particularly as it is connected with organisational work and struggle for the everyday demands of the youth, is of great political importance, particularly in view of the important part which air forces will occupy in the future war. It is really struggle against imperialist war *before it begins*, the most important thing at the present moment.

In some plants (Krupp, the A.E.G. in Germany) preparations for the congress were bound up with the struggle against semi-military training in the plant under the name of gymnastics and for pay for the time lost in this compulsory training. There are also examples which show that anti-war work is beginning in many gigantic plants of the war industries. For instance, in the Renault works where tanks are built and incredible terror and spying reigns, headed by one white guard Kryshkov, at first small illegal meetings were organised at which questions connected with the congress were discussed and delegates proposed. Then meetings were organised in workers' restaurants and before the factory gates, two of which were attended by three thousand workers. At these meetings the workers enthusiastically confirmed the candidatures for the congress, which were not mentioned openly. The result of this work was, for the time being, only to popularise our movement and its aims to a certain extent. We cannot by any means consider that this success has been consolidated. Work in the factories remains the weakest section of work, and precisely the weakness of this work explains the insufficiently militant nature of the whole campaign.

Together with this, during the preparations for the congress many organising committees got into contact with a whole number of large factories, including large plants of the war industries, which made it possible for them to extend and consolidate their influence in the factories and make them the foundations of the whole movement. This will undoubtedly be assisted by the decisions of the factory conference organised in connection with the International Youth Congress. This conference discussed such questions as the exposure and sabotage of war orders in the plants, timely information of the railwaymen and dockers of the transport of munitions, etc., even when they are masked as civil goods; connection between the large munitions works of various countries—Skoda, Schneider-Creusot, Krupp, Citröen, Renault, etc.; patronage of plants of so-called democratic countries over those of fascist countries; border conferences of delegates of neighbouring countries; struggle against the spying and provocation system in the factories

and against company sports and other organisations; against the militarisation of trade schools and the mobilisation of women workers, particularly in the chemical and textile industry; work among the unemployed, fight for unemployed benefits and against compulsory labour; connection between young workers and soldiers, and collection of the "soldier's penny;" fight of men due to serve for pocket money, return to the factory after service in the army, etc.

Here is an example of how one of the decisions of the factory conference is carried out which is worthy of imitation. Finding out that the Hotchkiss machine-gun works in Paris were sending machine-guns to South Africa via Havre, the young workers in the machine-gun works informed the young Havre dockers of the false labels attached to the cases of machine-guns. In Havre the young dockers refused to load the machine-guns, and for a long time two hundred cases of machine-guns remained in the port, being sent only when Peruvian sailors loaded them on to the ships. Although the struggle was not carried through to the end, the first step which the Hotchkiss workers have made is an example to be followed by the working class youth in all countries.

A number of the sections of the Y.C.I., aiming at overcoming their sectarianism, began to establish comradesly connections with youth organised in other organisations. For instance, in Kaschau (Czechoslovakia) the Y.C.L. organisation of 23 members invited all the other youth organisations to take part in preparations for the congress. At first only seven organisations responded, but later, thanks to the initiative and activity of the members, twenty-four youth organisations were drawn in including the "Hawk" scouts, the social-democratic organisations, the Hungarian scouts, etc.

A serious mistake of some sections of the Y.C.I. was that they failed to understand that *the united front does not call for refraining from explaining our standpoint as regards fascism and war*, and must not lead to blunting the edge of our principles, to giving up criticism of views which are hostile to the cause of the working class and the struggle against organisations hostile to the proletariat.

These are precisely the opportunist distortions of united front tactics which occurred in a number of Leagues. In some places there were leaders who failed to understand that there is not and cannot be a united front between us and the "gilded youth," with the following of the bourgeois fascists or with groups of counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. In some places it was not understood that we cannot carry on a consistent struggle against fascism and war without ruthlessly exposing the social-fascist "labour leaders," rotten and turned bourgeois to the

core, who vote for war budgets, propagandise and introduce compulsory labour, talk about the defence of the bourgeois "fatherland" and step by step facilitate the advance of fascism.

The congress adopted a highly important decision on convening national youth congresses against fascism and war in the spring of 1934. Thus the reports on the International Youth Congress must be inseparably bound up with preparations for the national youth congresses. But the preliminary results of the former campaign show that it is not sufficiently bound up with preparations for the national congresses, and that these preparations are still not sufficiently energetic. All the work must consolidate and extend the successes achieved, and if all the lessons of the International Youth Congress are taken into account there can be no doubt that this movement will assume still greater dimensions and a still greater, more militant and active character; that it will at the same time help to explain to the broadest masses, by means of extensive discussion and verification in the struggle, the correctness of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of the policy of the Communist Parties and the Soviet Union.

The youth movement must become the front-rank fighter wherever particular fearlessness and self-sacrifice is required in the struggle. The work of every youth committee, whether in a factory, a trade school, a forced labour camp, a school, laboratory or university, in the street or in a mass organisation, must be judged by the ability the committee has shown to concretise the decisions of the Paris Youth Congress, to organise concrete militant struggle in its particular surroundings and to unite the broad masses of the youth around this militant work. There are grounds

to count on preparations for the congress in single countries to fill up those enormous gaps which have existed in our work up to now. *It is a question, first of all, of work in the factories, ports, trade unions, in the fascist countries, among the peasant youth and the youth of oppressed nationalities, and among girls, particularly those employed in the textile and chemical industries.*

There are grounds to count on the connections with the soldiers, seamen and men due to serve established during preparations for the congress (in Czechoslovakia 43 barracks—1,400 men—were drawn in, in Sweden about 1,000 men in the navy, in Belgium about 900 soldiers, in Spain four regiments, of which one held a conference of about a hundred delegates) being not only consolidated but extended.

Under all these conditions we must place in the centre of attention the training of cadres of mass organisers and agitators, who will carry on the revolutionary mass work and be able to consolidate and extend the movement, will be intelligible to the masses and lead them. This type of worker, this type of activist of the youth movement, must become the central and most respected figure in every country, in every cell and organisation.

The revolutionary youth and the older revolutionary workers must clearly realise the enormous importance of extending this movement under the present circumstances of the world's ever closer approach to a new round of revolutions and wars. They must make every effort to make the national youth congresses to take place in the spring of 1934 and all the mass work in connection with these congresses an important stage in the extension of the movement.

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THE ONLY VERBATIM REPORTS AVAILABLE.

THE SIXTH KUOMINTANG OFFENSIVE AND THE VICTORY OF THE CHINESE RED ARMY.

By KAN-SEN.

WORLD imperialism has never rendered as open and active assistance to the Kuomintang in its struggle against the Red Army and the Soviets in China as it did during the sixth offensive.

The appeal of the Soviet Government of China, dated September 6, 1933, says:—

“... In this sixth offensive of the Kuomintang the role of the imperialists as organisers and incendiaries appeared more clearly than ever before. The imperialists of all countries are taking part in the sixth offensive not merely by money and arms, but by troops as well.

“American imperialism, in addition to granting to the Nanking Government 15 million American dollars under the pretext of the so-called ‘cotton and wheat loan’ and 40 million American dollars in credit for the needs of aviation, has sent to the aid of the Nanking forces, for the destruction of our life and freedom, 150 military planes, scores of steamers with guns, tanks, machine guns, poison gases and explosives, and they have hundreds of their pilots and other military and technical specialists in the Kuomintang army.

“The British Ambassador to China, Lampson, during his special journey through Szechwan, advanced to the militarist Lu Hsiang another 20 million pounds sterling and arms and ammunition for the struggle against our fourth Red Army.

“Despite the extreme acuteness of the struggle between the American, British, Japanese and other imperialists for spheres of influence and the division of China, against Soviet China they act together inspiring and pressing upon their lackeys, the Nanking, Canton and Northern militarists to join forces against the Red Army and against the Soviets.”

With the support of world imperialism the Kuomintang mobilized enormous military forces for the offensive against the Red Army. While in the first five offensives only Nanking forces actually took part (with the exception of the fourth offensive in which Canton forces also participated), for the sixth offensive the Kuomintang mobilised troops from all of its regions: the units under the command of Chen Tsi-tan moved from Kwantung, the forces of Tsai Tin-kai from Fukien, the forces of He Kiang from Hunan, and Kuomintang armies were moved from Hupei and Szechwan as well. Altogether fully a million men were mobilised, and no less than 642,000 against the central Soviet district alone. The imperialists armed these forces accord-

ing to the last word of military technique (war-planes, tanks, guns, poison gases, etc.). At the same time Chang Kai-shek, on the basis of a plan worked out by the German fascist general von Seeckt is attempting to surround the Red Army from all sides in order to drive the Soviet Government into a blind alley and resort to the chemical method of warfare for the final destruction of the Chinese Soviet Republic, the basis of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in China.

However, world imperialism failed to achieve its purpose. On the contrary, the Red Army has won some great victories on many fronts.

1. The Red Army of the Central region of the Soviet Republic of China defeated the Nineteenth Army in the Fukien Province and repulsed the first attacks of the enemy against the Central Soviet region. Chang Kai-shek's attempt to surround the Central Soviet region on all sides, from the North Western section of Kiangsi, Fukien, Kwangtung and Hunan has thus ended in failure. *On the contrary, the Chinese Red Army has won a number of important victories, capturing the City of Lenchen in the southern part of Fukien, routing the 78th, 71st and 72nd divisions of the Nineteenth Army of General Tsai Tin-kai and capturing 4,600 rifles, 50 heavy machine guns, 30 light machine guns, 500 mausers, 400,000 cartridges, 3 military radio sets, 5,000 hand grenades, 2,500 dans (a dan is equal to 60 kilograms) of food, 2,000 helmets and 3,500 war prisoners (including a brigade commander, three regimental commanders, 4 battalion commanders); three Kuomintang regiments joined the Red Army (according to a report published by the Japanese “Nichi Nichi” in Tokio a complete division deserted to the Red Army). In the northern part of Fukien the Red Army gained a victory over the Kuomintang forces, commanded by generals Tsai Tin-kai, He Kiang, Lu Sing-pai, capturing the big city of Yanping, one of the three biggest centres of the Fukien Province, together with 12 steamers laden with food (salt, etc.) and ammunition (it took more than 10,000 workers to unload 8 of them); 2,000 workers of Yanping joined the Red Army and more than 85 per cent. of the workers joined the Red trade unions; one battalion of the 52nd division of the Kuomintang forces joined the Red Army. As a result, the Kuomintang forces in the Fukien Province are unable at present to develop any attack upon the Red Army, which has made it possible for the Red Army to concentrate upon repulsing Chang Kai-shek's main forces.*

The great victory of the heroic Red Army in the Central Soviet region speeded up the process of revolutionisation of the Nineteenth Army and of the workers and peasants in the Fukien Province. The militarists of Fukien, seeing that the Red Army was invincible, discontinued their offensive and came out against Chang Kai-shek and Japan to save their own faces. This is a great political victory.

The Red Army succeeded in defeating the enemy on many fronts and occupying big cities, despite the most determined offensive of the enemy forces.

Although Chang Kai-shek is preparing to throw more forces against us, although we have not yet succeeded in defeating this principal enemy on the front, yet the situation in Chang Kai-shek's forces has been seriously aggravated by the creation of an independent Government in Fukien which speeded up the disintegration in the Kuomintang camp and weakened the hold of Chang Kai-shek. The difficulty of Chang Kai-shek's position lies in the fact that he is forced, on the one hand, to use a section of his army against Fukien, and on the other, to withdraw to the rear several thousand of his soldiers owing to the fact that the Red Army has defeated the 79th Kuomintang division in the regions of Tsinsi Tsysi (Kiangsi Province) capturing over 1,000 rifles.

2. Active operations of the Chinese Red Army in all the Soviet regions. The Red Army units in the other Soviet regions also developed active operations against Chang Kai-shek's forces, combining their actions with those of the Red Army in the central Soviet region. *In the Szechwan Province the Red Army won important victories over the local militarists led directly by British imperialists.* The Soviet region in Szechwan has been broadened, *the Red Army recently captured one of the biggest ports in the Province, the city of Wansian, located on the Yangtse River.* The bombardment of Wansian by the British warships in 1925 is still fresh in everybody's memory. In this city, which is an open commercial port, British, Japanese, French and other concessions have existed ever since the conclusion of an agreement between the Government of the Tsin dynasty and British imperialism. At the present time Wansian, this most important strategic imperialist point in Szechwan is under the Red flag of the Soviets. *All the privileges of imperialism in this city have been abolished.*

This glorious victory of the fourth Red Army of China marks not only a blow at the Szechwan generals' offensive against the Soviet regions, but has weakened the rule of British imperialism in the Szechwan Province, created a threat to Hankow and demoralised Chang Kai-shek's forces.

The Red Army units operating in the western part of the Hunan and Hupei Provinces under the

leadership of Comrade Ho Lung are broadening the territory of this Soviet region. At the present time Red Army units have penetrated also the Szechwan Province, the districts south of the city of Wansian for combined action with the Red Army units which occupied this city.

In the south-western part of the Szechwan Province the Party has organised a series of peasant uprisings and two mutinies in Kuomintang brigades. These brigades held a number of county capitals including Mabian, Obian and Omei, setting up a local Soviet Government and forming a separate Red Army division. Thus one more new Soviet region has been added in the Szechwan Province.

The Red Army units of north-eastern Kiangsi penetrated the territory of Chekiang (the home of Chang Kai-shek) and captured the county of Kaihua. This has forced Chang Kai-shek to withdraw part of his forces into Chekiang from the Kiangsi Province, where he had planned to deal the main blow at the central Soviet region.

3. The atrocities perpetrated by the imperialist plunderers and the Kuomintang upon the peaceful population of the Soviet regions aroused tremendous indignation among the toiling masses of Soviet China and the Kuomintang territories. The toiling masses are rallying around the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army to fight against the imperialist intervention in China and the Kuomintang, and for the Chinese Soviets.

The toiling population of the Soviet Republic of China, freed from oppression, responded with great enthusiasm to the call of the Soviet Government to strengthen the ranks of the Red Army and defend themselves against the brutal rule of bourgeois-landlord Kuomintang, and the imperialists' attempts to wipe out the revolution. The masses are joining the Red Army under the slogan: "To be a Red Army man is your duty." Lately the following results have been achieved in the campaign to strengthen the Red Army (according to incomplete data):—

(a) At delegate conferences of agricultural workers, salesmen and artisans, called by the Executive bureau of the All-China Federation of Labour in the Central Soviet region, a decision was passed to form two divisions of farm labourers, salesmen and artisans. This decision met with an enthusiastic response among the local workers, and as a result, the preliminary plan of the extension of the Red Army was not only fulfilled but exceeded. On August 1 (anti-War day, anniversary of the Nanchang uprising, anniversary of the creation of the Chinese Red Army) a special model division of the Red Army was organised by the Soviet Government.

(b) Volunteers numbering 4,505 persons joined the Red Army from among the local armed detach-

ments of the Singo County, and 1,073 of the workers and toiling peasants, totalling 5,578 persons who formed a special division in the Singo County which became part of the third Red Army.

(c) In the Boashen County 2,750 people joined the Red Army, forming a new regiment; 2,895 people joined the Red Army in the Shenli County, forming two new regiments, and 3,900 people joined the Red Army in Shichen County, forming one regiment. A total of 6,000 people thus joined the Red Army in these three counties and merged with the fifth Red Army as a single division. This work of strengthening the ranks of the Red Army still continues.

(d) A model division numbering 1,900 persons has been formed in the Juitsin County and merged with the first Red Army.

(e) About 2,300 people were mobilised in the Gunlue County, 3,800 in the Gansian County, totalling 6,100 persons who were formed into a division.

(f) In the Yundu County 1,900 people were mobilised into the Red Army and merged with the 23 corps which is the basic military unit on the front, south of Kiangsi.

(g) In other counties such as Vanyan, Taihi, Lean, etc., about a thousand people joined the Red Army.

(h) The young Communists of the Kiangsi Province are conducting a campaign for the formation of a division named after the Young Communist International. This appeal has met with a wide response among the working youth. In the Yunfeng County over 500 young men have joined the Red Army and in the Gansiang county more than 400; over 150 youths have joined the Red Army in the Gunlue County as a result of the work of a single cell (all these figures have been taken from correspondence from the Soviet regions).

In the campaign for the strengthening of the Red Army, the working class in the Soviet territories of China, led by the Communist Party and Red trade unions have displayed tremendous activity, heroically supporting the Red Army. *The working masses have organised two divisions* which will unquestionably strengthen the leading part played by the proletariat in the Red Army. At a delegate conference of poor peasant groups, attended by 800 delegates, an address was delivered by *Mao Tse-tung, the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic, and a unanimous decision was passed to create an army of 80,000 Red soldiers.* A correspondent from the Soviet region says that "in the campaign to strengthen the ranks of the Red Army even the old men and women take an active part; although they are unfit for military service they are conducting vigorous agitation among the young

generation in favour of volunteering in the ranks of the Red Army. Thus in the Singo and Shichen Counties the toiling population of the cities and villages is sending its sons into the ranks of the Red Army. In the villages of the Gunlue County old women are telling their sons and husbands the need for joining the Red Army ranks. This is an unprecedented support of the Army by the great masses of the population in China."

Displaying tremendous activity and enthusiasm in the campaign for the strengthening of the Red Army, the population of the Soviet regions realises, that in order to defeat the sixth offensive of the counter-revolution it is necessary to strain all energy and direct it in the *struggle against the Kuomintang economic blockade, for the economic development of the Soviet regions, for the supply of the Red Army.* One of the last despatches from the Soviet region says that in the Soviet parts of Kiansi the work of extending the cultivated area by the ploughing up of vacant lands has been carried out with much success.

Thus in the Boashen County 6,000 dans of idle land were ploughed in 10 days, and in the Gunlue County over 5,000 dans were similarly ploughed. At the same time active agitation is being conducted for the improvement of the food supplies and a saving of food. The workers of the Yuidu County have voluntarily proposed to cut the wages paid to the workers engaged in transporting food. Special funds are being set up in many places to supply the Red Army through food economies by the population. *In the Singo County the women have formed special production brigades and are fighting for the realisation of the slogan, "not an inch of ground untilled."*

During the past two months the toiling population has returned to the Soviet Government 200,697 dollars' worth of Government bonds without compensation. Other economies amount to 22,596 dollars. In addition to donation of loan bonds, the toiling population organises voluntary collections to help the Government. At the same time various mass organisations in the Soviet regions are making proposals to the Soviet Government to issue a new loan to the amount of 3 million dollars for the development of co-operative trade and establishment of new enterprises. The Government is receiving scores of such proposals daily. In Juitsin the toiling population has subscribed 400,000 dollars to this future loan on its own initiative. The population of various Soviet districts is doing this, precisely because the support of the Soviet Government is, to the masses, tantamount to the protection of the land and freedom gained by them under the Soviets.

The movement in favour of the defence of Soviet China is developing also among the workers and peasants of Kuomintang China. During the strike of the workers of the Anglo-American Tobacco

Company in Shanghai in which more than 8,000 people took part, a slogan was advanced for "the protection of the Chinese Soviets, against the offensive of the Kuomintang and the imperialists upon the Red Army." The petty bourgeois and the student masses, who have no relations with our Party, have lately been displaying tremendous discontent with the Kuomintang, which has betrayed the three eastern Provinces in North China and clearly capitulated to Japanese imperialism. Tremendous indignation among the population was aroused also by the fact that the Koumintang has sent a million strong army against the Chinese Soviets, instead of fighting against Japanese invaders. At the anti-War Conference held in Shanghai there were more than 70 delegates from the Shanghai textile mills, tobacco factories, seamen, railwaymen and municipal workers, as well as from volunteer detachments in Manchuria, Chahar, Szechwan, Hapei, Kiansu, Kwantung, Kiangsi, Shensi, from the Red Army of the Chinese Soviet Republic and from the soldiers of the Nineteenth Army in the Fukien Province. This Conference unanimously passed a protest resolution against the policy of the Kuomintang and imperialists conducting a fight against Soviet China and the Red Army. Sun Tsi-ling, the widow of Sun Yat-sen, stated that "only the fight for the overthrow of the Kuomintang, the fight against the offensive upon the Chinese Soviets can insure the end of the war of Japan and of the other imperialists for the partition and division of China."

4. In connection with the victories of the Red Army, the growth of influence of the Chinese Soviet Government and in connection with the fact that the struggle of the masses against the Kuomintang offensive upon the Soviets and the Red Army is developing, not only in the Soviet regions but in Kuomintang China as well, *the contradictions within the camp of the counter-revolution have sharpened.* The finances of the Nanking Government are in a disastrous condition. As a result of the sharpening of the conflict between the United States and imperialist Japan, and in connection with the successes of the Soviet regions and the Red Army, the struggle within the Kuomintang is sharpening between the Nanking Government headed by Chang Kai-shek, and the group of Fukien generals (Tsai Tin-kai, Chang Huan-nai and others), between Hu Han-min and Chen Min-tsui on the one hand and Chen Tsi-tang and Chang Kai-shek on the other.

At the same time the direct attack of the imperialists against the Soviets and the Red Army has also been strengthened. American, Japanese, British, Italian, Dutch and other marines are prepared to land in the ports of Fuchow, Amoy, Swatow and Hong

Kong. In Tientsin the imperialists are creating an aerodrome for about 1,000 aeroplanes in order to be able to render assistance to Chang Kai-shek in his fight against Soviet China at any time and prepare for the war against Soviet Russia. British imperialism is sending its Navy to Wansian and preparing to repeat the bombardment of its population on an even bigger scale. Chang Kai-shek hastily transferred a large part of the "cotton and wheat loan" received from the American capitalists to the other imperialists to buy aeroplanes in the United States with the money thus received (see report in "Shin-pao"). Chang Kai-shek is building aerodromes in Linchuan, Tsinan, Nanchan and is reorganising his headquarters, and creating a new command for the struggle against Communism. Chang Kai-shek went to Fuchow to personally direct the operations against the Red Army. Extending his northern front for 133 miles he issued an order for a general offensive against the Red Army. At the same time he took a number of other steps to capitulate to Japanese imperialism, giving instructions to the outspoken pro-Japanese Huanfui and Chang Tso-ping to accept all the demands of the Japanese imperialists in order to obtain more effective assistance from them in the fight against the Chinese Soviets.

International imperialism is preparing even more energetically for the most brutal suppression of the Chinese Soviet revolution. The proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the entire world must clearly realise that the Red Army, by gaining a victory in this fight against the sixth counter-revolutionary offensive in Kiangsi *has not yet definitely defeated the main enemy Chang Kai-shek*, who possesses tanks, warplanes and all the chemical instruments of warfare and is directly supported by international imperialism. *The proletariat and the toilers of the whole world must strengthen their struggle in the defence of the Chinese Soviet republic and display new examples of international proletarian solidarity with the toiling masses of China, with their worker peasant Red Army in their heroic struggle against the offensive of the imperialists and Kuomintang.*

It is necessary to remember that although the Chinese Red Army and the wide masses of workers and peasants are conducting a heroic struggle for the Soviets, they are unable to prevent the shipment of arms, aeroplanes, tanks, guns and poison gas from America, England, Japan, France and other imperialist countries to China. True, in the imperialist countries the great masses of the toilers, our class brothers, are already beginning to develop a fight in the defence of the Chinese Soviet republic, but they have not yet carried out their primary task in full. Our leader, Comrade Sen Katayama,

who recently passed away, told us before his death that "the danger of an armed attack upon the Soviet Union is now greater than ever before. We must support the Red Army of China because it is a force capable of defending revolutionary China and the U.S.S.R."

Toilers of the whole world! In order that the Chinese Soviet Republic might not be subjected to further attacks from imperialism and the Kuomintang, to put up a real fight in the defence of the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the international pro-

letariat, and against the new imperialist war, that you might free yourselves of the capitalist exploitation and oppression in your own country, you must take up the struggle in the *defence of the Soviets in China*.

The Chinese Red Army and the great masses of workers and peasants bitterly fighting against the counter revolutionary offensive, against aviation, tank and chemical attacks, by the Kuomintang hordes, are waiting with impatience for your help and assistance.

EXAMPLES OF THE WORK OF C.P. OF JAPAN IN THE ARMY.

THE abridged translations of correspondence of revolutionary soldiers, cited below, were selected from articles published in the "Kheisi No Tomo" (Friend of the Soldier), the Communist Party of Japan's organ for soldiers, and permit an estimate of the Japanese Communist Party's intensive, painstaking work among the mass of soldiers.

The correspondence on "Twenty days of battle in a barracks" deals with the experience of groups of Revolutionary soldiers in one regiment, and shows how much persistence and enthusiasm the Japanese comrades bring to this work. However, when the author of the correspondence makes such an assertion as "There is absolutely not one soldier who would be for the monarchy" it reveals that the Japanese Communist soldiers do not sufficiently understand the significance of an organised consolidation of their influence as yet, and are somewhat inclined to overestimate its strength. The naming of the committee of struggle set up by the soldiers as "The Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Communist Party of Japan" and the creation of a "Troop of death" for distributing leaflets is also incorrect. In this respect, the Japanese comrades have not only exposed themselves to superfluous danger, but have also hampered their work among the masses of soldiers.

The correspondence, "How a Soldier's Committee was Created," gives us an example of the various forms which can be used in the work among soldiers and of the skilful approach of a communist to soldiers. But apprehensions arise lest the author of the correspondence has regarded the everyday struggles as an end in themselves. That would be extremely dangerous. Every pettiest discontent of the soldier should be used, but the work should not be limited to that. The task should be to organise protest offensives among the mass of soldiers on the

most burning questions and win the soldiers to support the Communist Party, to convert the Imperialist War into a Civil War.

I.—A TWENTY-DAY BATTLE IN BARRACKS.*

(The experience of N Regiment before the departure to the Front.)

Days go by without rest or sleep in the barracks where reserves have been gathered for the formation of a war-time staff. All are excited, exclamations of "Banzai" (Hurrah) resound everywhere, banners flutter. Not one of the soldiers utters a word about either his family or his native place. The officers, endeavouring to exhibit the power of the Imperialist Army, enflame the excited soldiers still more with military-patriotic agitation.

We were separated from the first party dispatched to the front immediately after settlement in the barracks. For some reason or other, we 15 or 16 men were put in the second draft. Everyone was busy caring for the horses, cleaning the arms in preparation for the offensive. But we lay peacefully on the parade ground under the trees, passing the time in conversation.

Nobody knew why we had been left behind, no one of those left behind knew the others; therefore, everyone acted carefully and talked only about the summer rains, about sick relatives, told of the Russian-Japanese War, etc. Then we observed that something in a uniform with wide epaulets was perambulating nearby. One of the comrades surmised that "That is a gendarme snooping about here." And then we understood that it was a spy. Like a flash, we all stood up at once, but the gendarme, evidently scenting trouble, set off at a run. It became clear to us now why they had not dispatched us to the front and who those left behind were.

* "Kheisi No Tomo," 2, March 10, 1933.

From the conversation it was revealed that we were all members of the "*Nomin Kumeai*" (*Peasants' Union*) and consequently of the same ideas.

But now, we decide, it is impossible for us to remain silent. We will being an active struggle, we resolved. "Are there any objections?" But just then they separated us at work; one went to this, another to that company. A method of communication was worked out. Responsible persons were elected. An "order to advance" was immediately given.

* * *

But the first attack failed. However much we had agitated, however much we had tried to explain "to whom the war was profitable," "how the families lived who were left behind in the villages," "that Manchuria is for the bourgeois and the landlords," and so forth—all was in vain. The war fever excited all. They were polite to us only at a distance. When we approached they snorted and scampered off.

But our spirits did not fall. And well after a week had gone by the results of our agitation began to tell. They were detected when the troops began to leave the station amid the "joyful cries of those who saw them off."

Even meetings with relatives had been prohibited till this time. And now when, perhaps for the last time, the soldiers saw their wives with children on their backs and their aged parents, the effects of the officers' agitation completely vanished. However much they shouted "Banzai" (Hurrah) only an insignificant handful of soldiers responded. What had become of the former enthusiasm? All had pale, gloomy faces. The number gradually increased of those who said, "That was the truth which you told us." All looked as if they were being buried alive. But—"to do nothing." The chagrin of all knew no bounds, when we explained about how we would all go together to the front and against whom we should turn our arms. Then we cheered up and decided to begin a more general offensive, to carry on intensive work also among the regular soldiers (on actual service).

Those who remained behind and were not dispatched in the front ranks were subjected to a merciless military drill. The soldiers thought "It's better at the front. It's better to go to death."

"Let us go and drink tea with biscuits," we invite five or six regular soldiers and start a conversation about the village, about the family, etc.

"What will happen to the family if I die; will they be able to sow the fields?" "Try going blind, of course, your bride will forsake you," or about children that must soon be born or about sick relatives, or about whether "It would be good if

there were no war," and "What should be done in order to end the war."

* * *

The regular soldiers at first felt shy about speaking. There were even those who became gloomy when the conversation turned to family questions. The first day produced no substantial results, but already on the second day 20 were gathered together and on the third day about 50 regulars. Besides, the reserves called upon us with the request to relate what is going on throughout the world. On the fourth day 100 more men were gathered together at the canteen. And those with one and two years' service began to talk freely about their discontent. They began with abuses of a company commander who had punished one young soldier when he had broken down with fatigue from the morning drill. Somebody said that one of the soldiers who had been through the Russian-Japanese War had a daughter who had been sold into prostitution. Questions came to light also about those who were in arrears with rent payments for last year. All the conversations led up to one point, "War is not needed."

We talked a lot about the need to protest against the war, which is being carried on to occupy Manchuria in the interests only of rich men and landlords; about the need to compel the rich and the landlords to provide for the families of those who were called to the army, in particular for those in the front line. The notion that "War is not necessary" was converted into the cry "Down with war!" which began to resound on all sides. *A remarkable anti-war meeting was opened.*

The orderly officer arrived in a hurry. However loudly a soldier shouts in a secluded place, as soon as he appears before an officer he again becomes undersized.

The command was heard: "Attention!"

Then one of the soldiers stood up and, turning to the officer, said: "For some time past we have been somewhat fed up with talk about infringements of discipline. There is a request that at the canteen and at places of amusement the soldiers be not compelled to salute, etc. Just because this is demanded at such places people forget to salute there where they should." In a chorus all supported him: "He's right!"

The officer, flushing all over, withdrew for aid to the regiment headquarters. But when five or six staff men appeared at the canteen the electric lights suddenly went out. The sounds of blows resounded, of bursting beer bottles, of a silent struggle in the darkness. When the officer on duty switched on the light the staff men had already gone. The officer on duty pouted but being alone there was

nothing for him to do and he cheerlessly set sail for home. *The anti-war meeting was continued.*

* * *

Five or six of us reserves were sent to the guard-room the following morning. Obstinate, we answered "Don't know" to all questions and we were released after two days. The news reached us after that that the regiment commander had declared that nevertheless "he does not prohibit leaves of absence" on the following Sunday. All rejoiced; indeed, after such an affair, nobody expected absences to be permitted. We realised our strength for the first time and daringly began to prepare for the second struggle.

Before the leave of absence, every Sunday morning, the commander of the regiment repeated: "You have read and seen the supreme decree. The greatest offence is overstaying a leave of absence. Warriors must respect orders and observe fidelity to the emperor." We repeat these words after the commander and think to ourselves "A warrior must be clever." "Away with the supreme decree." *Such was the unanimous opinion of all.* We began immediately to set up a plan of struggle against the "Supreme decree."

On Saturday evening, there was a meeting of reserves and two years' service men. 50 to 60 men from every company were in the room. "How shall we put an end to the operation of the decree?" "We will all protest and simply not carry it out." "That's right." "Count me in." "Are there any objections?" Thus the resolution was immediately accepted. All the parts were distributed. We decided to communicate our resolution to the soldiers of all companies during the night. It is true, several did not regard it seriously enough. Several skipped for joy when they were informed about it. There were also some among the youth who were afraid. In such cases, perhaps incorrectly, the influence of old soldiers and threats were brought to bear. But during the night the preparations in general were carried out.

* * *

Well, and in the morning, as usual with a stern face, the commander made a speech. The officers lined up the ranks. After the commander a soldier in the front rank repeated: "The duty of a warrior . . . the observance of fidelity . . ." A voice is heard from the rear rank: "The warriors protest!" *Voices resound simultaneously from all companies: "We protest, we protest!"* For the time being the commander of the regiment was stunned and stood ten minutes like one rooted to the spot. The officers also dropped their arms and only exchanged glances. Against their will they came to permit the leaves of absence.

After this they exposed the five or six known

persons, who this time sat for three days in the guard-room. The examination went easily. On the next Sunday the leaves of absence would be absolutely unobstructed.

The joy of the soldiers in all companies knew no bounds. They were filled with confidence in their own strength and in the power of solidarity. Craven fear before military discipline quickly vanished. All were full of impatience, and their hands itched to do something.

* * *

The day of the regiment jubilee drew near. "We will arrange a demonstration again on the day of the jubilee," was the talk of the soldiers, and the initiative came this time from the masses. Official selections were not made, but the soldiers said: "It is necessary to observe the directions of Kumako." "It is necessary to follow after Kisi," and about ten soldier representatives were elected generally. 50 or 60 men gathered together as usual in order to consider what to undertake on the day of the jubilee, so as "To arrange for this." A suggestion was made to issue leaflets and slogans: "We protest point blank against the Imperialist War." "Recall everyone out of Manchuria at once." "Provide for the families of those called away to the army and who occupy the front line!" "Leave of absence, free assembly and correspondence." "Reduce the term of service to one year." And others.

Gradually, one after the other, the soldiers begin to speak. Their speeches are accompanied by exclamations: "That's right." "We support you." About ten proposals were accepted in this manner.

But how should we sign ourselves? Here we were at our wits end. What, after all, should it be called? Nobody knew in general whom we represented. Somebody exclaimed: "And what if we call it the Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Japanese Communist Party?"

Everyone stared, but nobody was scared. The suggestion was immediately accepted.

A "troop of death" was organised for distributing leaflets; several men were organised for the preparation of leaflets for the following Sunday.

* * *

At night, as usual, the commander of the regiment again summoned six men.

But it proved that in the rush the squad for the protection of those who distributed leaflets was not set up. The distribution of leaflets proved unsuccessful.

We were in such a frame of mind that we wanted to cry and cry; indeed, it seemed to us that it would not be regrettable to die if only these leaflets were distributed.

It is true that all this is scanty experience, but *absolutely not one soldier is for the monarchy.*

I understood clearly that the workers and peasants in military uniforms are our adherents.

2.—HOW THE SOLDIERS' COMMITTEE WAS CREATED. (The Story of a Revolutionary Soldier.)

We will relate, as detailed as possible, the manner in which comrades who carried out instructed work set up a soldiers' committee.

(1) By means of conversations giving special attention to confidences of an autobiographical character and to expressions of the frame of mind, good relations are set up with all.

(2) The general confidence, friendly relations and respect of all are won.

(3) As a rule, the lead is taken in all activities.

How were these three most important tasks carried out?

(1) The first days of barrack drill had already passed, and now one could already get leave of absence to town. First of all an excursion circle was formed for the purpose of seeing Tokio. It's not a matter of a name. To those who like free amusements and are unacquainted with the streets of Tokio I offer my services as a guide to the Ueno Zoological Park. In this way I was able to get in close contact with fellows from the villages. I not only carry on friendly conversations with them, in which we come to know one another and confide our discontents and indignations; I not only drag them about to different places such as Ueno, Asamusa, but in the evening, upon our return from these excursions, *I lead them into the factory districts and call at acquaintances who are members of trade unions, where we are treated with tea and the rest. I draw the soldiers into conversations about trade union affairs. That is a good school for fellows out of the villages.*

When summer comes there are no soldiers who do not like to dodge military study and drill under the sultry, scorching sky. We organised swimming circles and on free days we all go together to swim. One day we go to Sumidanov river, the next day to the Dzing swimming pool. Sometimes 20 or 30 men gather together. And I am always the instigator.

(2) Then reviews of clippings from newspapers and journals were organised for those who preferred study to outings. From the magazines "King" or "Nikhon Tamasi," everyone clipped the articles, short stories, anecdotes and poetry which interested him and pasted them up for reading. But as there was no regular order it was impossible to ascertain what each one had pasted up.

Sometimes exotic and religious articles appeared, but the clippings from our "Sekki" and "Rosin" always aroused the most attention.

All wanted to know about the struggle of the workers and peasants. Who are the "Red Bandits?"* What is the situation in the Soviet Union? This evoked great interest from all.

Since there was much fuss connected with getting permission from the regiment commander for taking out every book and, moreover, since money was demanded to acquire the book, a reading circle was set up and this facilitated the exchange of impressions and opinions.

It happens at times that some are interested in some kind of stupid book. In such cases we never failed to grant them the book to read so as to draw out the lesson or theme from the contents (although this is also difficult) and discuss it.

If, as a result of the discussions, the fellows became interested in our ideas and ask us to give them "secret originals," then we give literature commenting on Leninism: we point out appropriate clippings to them.

(3) During the autumn the sporting season begins, with a burning fever for the game of baseball.

We organised a baseball team also, but we had no sport equipment.

It is perfectly clear that if we were to ask permission to organise baseball detachments that, although baseball is a great deal more sensible than visits to a cheap cinema in Asamusa, the permission would not be granted. Therefore, without asking permission, we organised detachments and began to practise. The chief officers silently consented. But is it not impossible to forbid baseball? We challenge the soldiers of other companies to games and become acquainted with them. After that we challenge a different regiment. The game developed more and more till the fever of the game took possession of all.

(4) In this way it proved that there was not one man in the company who was not in touch with the work of our group. Almost all came to know one another. They knew who was the son of a tenant, who a merchant, who a turner, etc. After that we knew in detail with whom to reason first so as to use him later to recruit one or another fellow; we knew whom to promote so as afterwards to draw his fellow townsmen together; we knew how to put one corporal out of the group and isolate him, how to use another; and we knew against which officer in particular to direct the hatred of the superior officers, etc.

Further, in the process of work in the group, there appeared one or two men who had rendered us assistance. Afterwards we succeeded in drawing these fellows into our group and in organising about them a group of sympathisers.

* The Red Army of China is so-called by the Japanese Soldiery.

(5) The anniversary of the 18th of September just happened to fall on a Sunday. When it was learned that the soldiers were to be held in camp on that day to attend political lessons, and that non-appearance would be recorded, preparations began for a struggle, aiming to hamper the work of these classes.

The regimental staff officers, having noticed the general discontent, decided quickly to change the lessons to Saturday evening. We were taken aback but momentarily changed our tactics and in the few hours which remained were able to talk it over with the fellows about sabotage. We decided to sleep during the lessons. And so it came about that, while one part of the auditorium kept their eyes slightly open, the other slept and in this manner the majority let the lecture slip past the ears. This also annoyed the officer, and he was quickly washed out.

(6) We succeeded in convincing all that it was imperative to organise the struggle, not only for the special demands in connection with the anniversary of the 18th of September, with the holidays and the manoeuvres, but also for the every-day demands of the soldiers; and in as much as they aspired to this, as a result of these preliminary conversations, *they decided to create a society of the friends of one-year soldiers*. Leaders were elected.

Our friendship was not based on wine and women but on our joint struggle for the demands of workers and peasants in uniforms. All were informed that in joint struggle against the officers the society of Friends battles to win various demands such as, for example, to put windows in the lavatories, to secure a larger quantity of boiling water for the laundry, to lengthen the time for washing in the bath, not to drive sick soldiers to work by force.

Various grievances are brought to light at the meetings of the society. Then, of course, all like one in solidarity, we go to the officers with the complaints. If previously these requests were presented in an unorganised manner, then at present an officially elected committee steps forth with them. Upon our return we report to the society on the results. Close contacts are established between the members of the society. *Thus our soldier's committee arose.*

Of course, the society cannot handle the complaints of all those who are aroused and discontented. Such have still remained, also, who prefer the method of individual infringement of discipline or isolated, tough escapades.

Although such kinds of discontent are also connected with our work, it is imperative to direct them into organised channels. It is necessary to make even pettiness a starting point for the society's struggle. The reasons why we have not succeeded in directing all discontent into organised channels is that we lack a strong centre, we lack a planned distribution of work (although we have also had some experience in mass work) and we lack preliminary plans. It is imperative to attract daring and active people to our circle and thus to strengthen it organically.

* * *

Revolutionary workers and peasants who live in barracks, take a lesson from the experience of these comrades!

Create soldiers' and ships' committees in all barracks and on all ships!

NOTE.

With the next issue, the "Communist International" will commence the publication of documents of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C. of the Communist International.

REVIEW OF THE "PARTY LIFE" SECTION OF THE AMERICAN "DAILY WORKER" FROM OCTOBER 22 TO NOVEMBER 2, 1933

UNTIL recently the *Daily Worker* did not deal with questions of Party construction, notwithstanding their decisive importance. Over four months have passed since the "Open Letter" which concretely raised all the basic questions of the development of the Party, and, though with great delay, namely, at the end of October, the *Daily Worker* introduced a special Party life section in which it touched on the most urgent questions for the first time. The aim of this section was to help the district organisations, the cells and all the Party members to carry out the "Open Letter" by means of a discussion and exchange of experience of work. For the period from October 22 to November 2, 1933, we have several letters and articles on a number of questions as well as comments by the editors. Among other things, the difficult question of fluctuation in the Party membership is dealt with. The cause of this fluctuation lies mainly in the poor work of the Party cells and also in the mechanical and uncouth approach to the new members. The articles say that the holding up of applications is a serious hindrance in the recruiting work of the Party. Frequently applications which are received in a district or cell are held up for a long time or not looked into at all. For example, on checking up the materials of the fourth New York section, 300 applications were found which had not been attended to by anybody. It was discovered that only six out of these 300 had been so insistent that they had got into the Party through another organisation. Some of these comrades at the present time are leading workers in the mass organisations of Harlem. It is very probable that there are many loyal and capable comrades among the other 294 whose applications were not considered for such a long time.

A worker wrote a letter on January 16 to the Party Committee of the first section of New York district asking for information on the Communist Party. Six months later, in June, a card was sent to the district with the remark that old Broadway, where this worker lives, is not in their district. Thus, after holding up its reply for 180 days, the section committee found it possible to send a formal and nonsensical reply instead of giving the information required.

During the needle trades strike an advanced negro woman worker was asked to join the Party. She handed in an application which was countersigned by a responsible Party worker, and a mem-

bership card was immediately sent to the section. The section committee, however, kept the card for three months and returned it to the district committee with the note "not called for." The district committee sent a letter to the comrade, and she immediately came. When she was asked why she had not come for the card, it turned out that she had been going to meetings in the I.L.G.W.U.* and thought that this was the organisation to which she had applied. These examples show that recruiting work, in some cases, is carried on in a formal and lax manner and is not accompanied by explanatory work. The editors of the *Daily Worker* propose a number of measures to assure the rapid acceptance and verification of new members, to reduce and put an end to fluctuations.

There is interesting material on the work of the units in the letter of the Agitprop of cell No. 809 in Chicago. This cell has existed for a year. The comrades in the cell acted rightly and brought up the "Open Letter" of the C.C. for discussion at a general meeting. As a result it was decided to draw up a plan of work for six months so as to join in the work of carrying out the "Open Letter." The plan was drawn up on the basis of the proposals of various members of the cell. Among other things the plan contained such points as for the cell to send members to help other cells where the work of the district organisation was concentrated, to draw the workers in these factories into active revolutionary work. Regarding the work among the unemployed, the plan correctly touched on the state of the unemployed councils, though it is true that it forgot the important point of the necessity of developing the struggle for relief and unemployment insurance. The plan included the question of raising the level of political education of the members, the question of the *Daily Worker*, recruiting, the distribution of literature, finance, work in the organisation of small house owners. This was the first plan in this section. Several weeks later a general meeting of the cell was called at which the head of the section Agitprop praised the plan and invited other cells to follow this good example. But the representative of the district committee, who was at the meeting, took a different view. He criticised the plan and stated that it was useless and no good. He pro-

* Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

posed his plan—to organise a Y.C.L., and a pioneer group and to strengthen collaboration in the *Daily Worker*. Of course the comrade from the district committee was not right in his sweeping criticism of the plan of the cell. It was a very good thing that the plan had been worked out by the members themselves, in connection with the discussion of the "Open Letter." Besides that, the plan contained some good points. The comrade should have pointed out what was missing in the plan and should have given helpful advice as to how the plan was to be put into effect. But he acted wrongly and discouraged the comrades. At the same time, it does not follow that the correct criticisms of the plan of this cell should not be taken into account.

On October 22 there was an article by Comrade Amter on how to improve the work of the Party among the unemployed in New York. Amter writes that in New York over 50,000 families have been taken off the relief lists, 35,000 families received their red cross parcel for the last time in September, that mass evictions are taking place, the amount of relief has been greatly cut down, etc., while the Party organisations of New York have neglected their work among the unemployed. According to Comrade Amter, this weakening of the work is due to the following causes: (1) An opportunist analysis of the situation by some Party members. Some workers *temporarily* received a rise of wages and some received *temporary* jobs. This was sufficient for some of the comrades to decide that unemployment was declining. These comrades did not realise that after this little and illusory boom there would be another crash and that there was already taking place a rapid rise of prices which would lead to the situation growing more acute. (2) A one-sided adoption of the "Open Letter" which specially emphasised the necessity for a turn of the work of the Party to the factories and trade unions. The New York comrades understood this to mean that less work was to be done among the unemployed. It is true that they somewhat increased their attention to the work in the factories, carried on big strikes, but they not only failed to link this up with increased work among the unemployed, but, as we have said, they neglected the work of organising and leading the struggle of the unemployed. (3) The opportunist disbelief in the possibility of obtaining social insurance and unemployment insurance by the struggle of the workers, a disbelief shared by a number of comrades. Such causes hinder the work among the unemployed not only in New York.

The bureaucratic methods of work and the poor contacts of the unemployed councils with the masses are also a hindrance. There are still

workers in the unemployed council who, because they were promoted by the Party committees, do not think it necessary to report on their work to the unemployed masses, although in reality it is precisely a Party member, and particularly one appointed by the Party organisation, who should be the real mass worker, the leader of the masses, closely welded to them and at the same time work among these masses under the leadership of the Party and according to its directives.

As the result of the isolation of a number of unemployed councils from the unemployed masses, the Party organisations react badly to their demands on the basis of which it would be possible to mobilise the unemployed and draw them into the class struggle. As the result of this isolation, the agitational work of the Party organisations is not connected or is badly connected with the organisation of the masses by the Party.

However, there are examples showing how much can be secured by some energetic work among the unemployed. One comrade met a longshoreman who was threatened with eviction. He went to the docks and called a meeting of longshoremen and discovered that many of them had also received notice of eviction. He returned to the first longshoreman and called a second meeting of two hundred people at his house. Delegates were elected to negotiate with the house owner—a bank in Wall Street. The delegation caused a big stir in the bank, after which it went back to prepare for the coming of the police. In this district, where Communist meetings had previously been greeted with bricks and rotten potatoes thrown by the boys from the Catholic youth club, this time a meeting was held with definite success, and contacts were even made with the youth. This was the result of the work of *one* comrade, who not only agitated, but without waiting for directives, took the initiative himself and linked up his agitation with action and the organisation of the masses.

Further, the principle of concentration of work is not applied at all among the unemployed. Work among the Negroes is at a very low level. Harlem district is one of the concentration districts. Nevertheless in spite of the desperate situation of the Negroes, very little has been done to win these masses. A great shortcoming of the Party work is that it has given no lead in the training of cadres for work among the unemployed. Among the unemployed organised by the councils, only a small number has been promoted for leading work. The blame for this again lies in the bureaucratic approach, the disbelief in the strength of the workers themselves,

the inability to promote the best workers, to teach them and help them.

We find interesting experience in trade union work in the "Party Life" section of October 28th. Eighteen welders from a big steel works left their jobs because the management refused to increase their wages. In the revolutionary T.U. group at this factory there was not a single welder and therefore there were no contacts with them before they left. Some of these welders were connected with the A.F.L. and after they left they all joined the A.F.L. Before this the revolutionary T.U. group held regular meetings, published leaflets, etc., but did not get much further. It was decided to get into contact with these welders and utilise their departure so as to rouse the fighting spirit of the workers and carry on a strike in all the shops under revolutionary leadership. The difficulty was that the workers were working three shifts. It was therefore decided to call meetings by shifts. The first meeting was called in the shift where the Trade Union group had the largest number of members. To the surprise of all the local comrades, at 1.30 midnight forty persons gathered of whom only six were members of the union. At the meeting they spoke of the case of the welders and the general situation. The Revolutionary Steel and Metal Workers' Union was held up against the A.F.L. The meeting decided to propose to the workers of all the shifts to discuss the situation in each shift so that a general meeting of all the workers could be called three days later in one of the biggest halls in the town. *Out of the forty workers at the meeting, fifteen joined the Revolutionary Union.* During the next two days meetings were held in the other shifts, the conditions were discussed and preparations made for a general meeting. In connection with this meeting and the work at this factory we should note the following: (1) The workers did not live near the factory but were scattered all over Chicago district; (2) this was the first time that a meeting had been called of the workers of one factory. About a hundred came to the meeting. They spoke chiefly of the Revolutionary Steel and Metal Workers' Union, its structure. Its programme of class struggle was contrasted with the policy of the A.F.L. They spoke of the victories of the workers in Pennsylvania and Buffalo. The workers were called on to fight under the leadership of the Metal Workers' Union. The A.F.L. sent two organisers to the meeting who tried to speak, but owing to the correct tactics of the comrades, the feeling of the workers was such that it was impossible for the A.F.L. representatives to say a single word. It was decided that every shift should elect a committee, and these

committees should jointly draw up a programme of demands to be discussed at a general meeting, after which a specially elected committee would present these demands to the employers. With the exception of the welders who remained loyal to the A.F.L., *all the workers present joined the Metal Workers' Union.* But the welders were called on to struggle jointly with the workers from the Revolutionary Union. At the next meeting of the shift there were many more workers and *during the first week 160 joined the Revolutionary Union.* In one of the shops a 4-hour break in the work was made as a protest against one of the measures of the management. It is important that work was stopped in one of the chief shops, that this took place under the leadership of the Revolutionary Union, and that *the struggle ended in a victory for the workers whose demands were fully satisfied.* The workers became convinced of the necessity and possibility of a struggle and the ability of the union to lead them, and they became bolder. Many of them came to the secretary of the union and asked for application forms. In one week another ten workers joined the union, and the sale of the *Daily Worker* greatly increased. The determination to strike increased among the workers, and if this successful work is carried further it will be possible to develop a strike and form a very strong trade union organisation in this factory.

In the issue of October 30th, we have another example of trade union work in a steel plant. There are 26 Party members and seven Y.C.L.ers working there. Six of them are Negroes, five or six are native Americans and the rest are immigrants, mostly Finns. During the last few months good American elements have come into the union, some of them being undoubtedly ready to join the Party. The members of the union number 200, of whom over 50 per cent. pay dues. Trade union work is conducted on the basis of factory and territorial groups and every group has a trade union organiser. There are T.U. groups in many of the chief shops—rolling, open-hearth, cast iron, pipe, and other shops. The groups meet weekly. The members of the union who are not yet organised in groups and who live far away are still organised by territorial delegates who call weekly meetings, see to the supply of literature, etc. It cannot be said that all these groups function as they ought to, but they have begun to become active. Of course, we should see that the other members of the union working in the factories are organised into factory groups. By keeping close contacts with the T.U. organisers, drawing in new members and, above all, by greater responsibility being imposed on the Party

fractions, we may obtain great success in the development of trade union work in this factory.

The prestige of our union, writes the paper, is much stronger than our organisation in the factory. Some recruiting work was done in the factories, but only individual comrades took part in this and not the whole group as such. Although readiness to fight is growing in the factories, there are comrades among the Party members who are inclined to pessimism and passive waiting. They do not sufficiently quickly react to the discontent and complaints of the workers in the factories and they give poor information to the centre on important events. There is not enough political educational work carried on by the cells and the trade union fractions, owing to which the political level of the Party comrades is still often very low. To a great extent all these shortcomings are due to the fact that the cell has not received concrete guidance from the District Committee. At the same time the factory meetings have never been visited by leading Party workers from the higher Party organ.

In the issue of October 25, Comrade Browder writes on the financial accounts of the Party organisations. The financial system of the C.P.U.S.A. needs careful control and revision. The financial basis of the Party must be widened, by increasing contacts with the masses and obtaining the support of the masses. A definite system of accounting must be introduced and measures taken to assure that the money is expended according to schedule, and reports given to the members. The staff must be carefully selected from among the most reliable and tested comrades. The apparatus must be small with a strict allocation of duties. The latter is particularly important in the case of mass organisations where organisational *scatteredness* sometimes allows unreliable elements to get into the financial apparatus and discredit the movement. The method of collecting money at mass meetings must be seriously examined. Long speeches at these meetings must be avoided and a brief but clear explanation of what the money is required for must be given. Mass collections must be linked up with political work and the aim of the collections must be set out exactly. Unproductive overhead expenses must be definitely cut out.

First of all the cells or units which are nearest to mass work must be supplied. Expenses on mass agitation, papers, leaflets and schools must have preference over expenses for the upkeep of the apparatus. The system of financial responsibility and accounting must be applied in the internal activity of the Party. For example, the fund for literature must be inviolable. We must not forget that this is a political matter, that serious educational work among the masses cannot be done without literature. It must be sold and paid for and the literature fund must increase. The income from the sale of the *Daily Worker* and the collections for the fund of this paper must be spent entirely on the needs of the paper. It sometimes happens that the paper continues to send copies to subscribers who have not paid for a long time. The different items of expenditure must be clearly set out and it must be decided in advance what the various sums will be spent on.

In conclusion, we may say that the appearance of the "Party Life" section in the *Daily Worker* is to be welcomed greatly, the more so that it has begun to appear every day. In future this section must be enlarged. In addition to a criticism of shortcomings it should deal with the positive experience of work in the localities. The paper must show how the carrying out of the "Open Letter" will increase the activity of the cells and the local Party organisations will establish personal contacts between the Party organisations and the higher Party organs, operative Party leadership will raise the political level of the Party workers and Party members, and how the cadres will grow as a result of this.

The paper must establish contacts between its "Party Life" section and the Party correspondents in the localities and must not only publish articles but small notes dealing with current work, the struggle and development of various cells and Party organisations, especially factory cells.

The "Party Construction Section" of the *Daily Worker* must concentrate its attention on checking daily how the Party organisations are carrying out the instructions of the "Open Letter," especially in regard to the question of concentration work in the big factories and the struggle against the Socialist Party of America and the leaders of the A.F.L.

L.

INDEX OF ARTICLES CONTAINED IN THE "COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL" JOURNAL FOR 1933

I. ARTICLES ON ENGLAND, DOMINIONS AND THE U.S.A.

Month & Number	No. of Articles and Size	Of which On England, the Dominions and the U.S.A.	Name of Author and Article
January—1, 2.	10 art. 204 pages.*	3 art. 75 pages.	Pollitt—XII Congress of C.P.G.B. Sinani—Gt. Britain, U.S.A. and the War in South America. Valia—Development of Communist Movement in India.
February—3-4, double-number.	6 art. 134 pages.	2 art. 30 pages.	Stalin—Mr. Campbell Exaggerates. Gussev—Which Way Out ?
March—5-6, double-number.	7 art. 156 pages.	1 art. 39 pages.	Marxism and Labourism
April—7.	6 art. 90 pages.	—	—
May—8, 9.	15 art. 194 pages.	5 art. 85 pages.	White—Struggle of British Unemployed and Some Lessons of February 5th Demonstration. Seumas MacKee—The Constituent Congress of the Irish C.P. T. Bell—Results of Elections in Irish Free State and Tasks of Irish Communists. Antonova—Marx and Engels on Ireland. Gussev—Tasks of the C.P.U.S.A. in Struggle for Social Insurance.
June—10, 11, 12, dated 22. VI.	13 art. 308 pages.	4 art. 50 pages.	Rust—The I.L.P. Changes its Line. Letter of the E.C.C.I. to the I.L.P. Pat Devine—Interventionist Campaign of the Die-hards and Proletarian Resistance in England. Valia—Constitution for the Enslavement of the Indian People and the Policy of the Indian Bourgeoisie.
July—13, 14.	12 art. 154 pages.	3 art. 39 pages.	Letter from the Comintern to the British I.L.P. Rust—Fenner Brockway Drops His Mask. Pollitt—The Anti-Soviet Policy of British Imperialism and the Protest Movement of the English Proletariat.
August—15, 16.	8 art. 180 pages.	2 art. 45 pages.	Safarov—Arthur Henderson, an Incarnation of National-Labourism. Shubin—The Bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. Put Their Stake on War.

* Page=Typed MS. Printed page=approximately one-third of this.

September—17, 18.	11 art. 186 pages.	4 art. 70 pages.	Rust—How the Leaders of the I.L.P. Sabotage the United Front. Green—Some Questions of the Work of the C.P.U.S.A. Smith—The Roosevelt Programme of Attack on the Working Class. Gometz—Revolutionary Events in Cuba and the Tasks of the C.P.
October—19, 20.	15 art. 218 pages.	10 art. 145 pages.	White—Some Features of the Development of Fascism in England. P. Dutt—Will British Trade Unions Go the German Road ? I.L.P. Letter to the Comintern. Comintern Letter to the I.L.P. Note to the Letters Published. The Agitational Work of the C.P.G.B. Rust—The London Daily Worker. Platt—The Roosevelt Programme of Industrial "Recovery." Sinani—A New Phase in the Development of Revolutionary Events in Cuba. Stanton—The Extraordinary Conference of the C.P.U.S.A.
November—21, 22.	16 art. 189 pages.	4 art. 91 pages.	Pollitt—The Year Which Has Passed Since the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and Struggle of the C.P.G.B. P. Dutt—The Economic War Policy of British Imperialism. Shields—Ireland's Fight for Independence. Review of the "Daily Worker", U.S.A.
December—23, 24.	10 art. 231 pages.	1 art. 20 pages.	B.F. In the Paradise of the Second International (New Zealand).

II. DOCUMENTS.

- No. 5-6. Workers of the World, Unite ! (Declaration of the E.C.C.I. on 50th anniversary of death of K. Marx.)
 „ 8. Resolution on Situation in Germany.
 „ 11. Letter of the E.C.C.I. to the I.L.P.
 „ 13. Against Imperialist War.
 „ 14. Letter from the Comintern to the British I.L.P.
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