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## CORRESPONDENCE

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## The Smouldering Fires of War

By L. M.

## I. No Relaxation of Tension in the Far East

The Japanese government has released the arrested Soviet citizens, employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Japanese Foreign Minister is making peaceful declarations. The question of the fishery concessions appears to be approaching solution. Does this mean a lessening of the tension in the Far East? Does this mean that the threatening danger of war, the danger of counter-revolutionary war by the Japanese military clique is banished? By no means!

Japanese imperialists cause Pu-Yi to be crowned emperor of Manchukuo. And the new "emperor" has already received Mongolian princes and feverish preparations are being made in Manchuria and in Chachar for an attack upon the Mongolian People's Republic. The Japanese Foreign Minister sends provocative protests to the Soviet government on account of alleged violation of the territorial sovereignty of Korea by Soviet airmen. Military preparations in Manchuria are being continued.

The chief danger, however, is the political situation in Japan itself. The fascist military clique is continuing its attacks against the Seito government. Japan, too, has its Stavisky affair, and fascism is taking advantage of the boundless corruption of the political parties and the bureaucracy in order to attack the political parties and the parliamentarism in general. One Minister after another is overthrown in order to get the Seito government out of the way and prepare the ground for fascist military dictatorship. The two political parties of Japanese finance capital—*Minseito* and *Seiukai*—are experiencing a severe inner crisis; openly fascist groups are crystallising in both parties. Fascisation is being continued in the mass organisations of the bourgeoisie, in the various military and semi-military formations. The purely fascist terrorist organisations are displaying feverish activity.

It is true, the fight in the various groups is not yet decided. Even bankers, industrialists, representatives of finance capital are opposing the war plans of the fascist military clique. They are in favour of a slower tempo in the war preparations; they clearly perceive the threatening economic, military and social catastrophe and would like to rest satisfied for a time with the booty they have already captured. The adventurous policy of the Araki group is encountering a certain measure of resistance even among the court camarilla and the upper bureaucracy. The strained situation in the country itself is increasing and becoming more unbearable; the crisis is growing and approaching a decision.

The fascist military clique has gone over to the offensive. It is seeking a solution of the inner crisis in foreign-political adventures, it is heading for war against the Soviet Union, and the most important means of power of the State, the commanding positions in the bourgeois mass organisations, are in its hands.

The inner-political crisis which is maturing in Japan, the fight within the bourgeois parties, the open government crisis, are of decisive foreign-political importance. The next few days or weeks may bring a decision. There is no relaxation of the tension in the Far East.

## II. The Polish-German "Rapprochement"—A Means for Bringing About an Understanding Against the Soviet Union

The Polish-German understanding, the new agreement on the cessation of hostile propaganda, the negotiations for a new commercial treaty are certainly of great political importance.

Hitler Germany has undoubtedly capitulated to Polish imperialism. The question of Danzig, the Polish Corridor, Posen, Upper Silesia, East Prussia is relegated into the background for the time being. The imperialist antagonisms between Germany

and Poland remain; they have not been solved. Hitler is trying to drive a wedge between Poland and France, to shake the French system of alliances. Hitler is endeavouring to cover his rear in the East in order the better to wage the fight against Austria. Hitler is seeking to drive Lithuania into a corner in order thereby to strengthen the position of German imperialism in the Border States. The peace talk which Hitler is indulging in deceives only those who want to be deceived. In spite of its capitulation to Pilsudski, and in spite of the Eastern Locarno, German imperialism has no more renounced a "revision" of the Eastern frontiers than Pilsudski Poland has abandoned its hostility to German imperialism.

The Polish-German "rapprochement" is, however, an instrument for an understanding against the Soviet Union. This understanding has probably not yet been arrived at. Poland emphasises its "friendship" towards the Soviet Union. Poland is dissatisfied with its French allies and is endeavouring to take advantage of the antagonisms between Germany and France. Warsaw views with satisfaction German imperialism's drive to the South-East. Polish imperialism is endeavouring at the same time, however, to take advantage of the antagonism between the Soviet Union and the imperialist world, and is keeping the door open for its entry into the anti-Soviet front. Warsaw has not two, but three irons in the fire. German imperialism provisionally renounces its claim to Danzig, the Corridor, Posen, and Upper Silesia, and swallows the Eastern Locarno in order to demonstrate to the English imperialists that not only are the national socialist mercenaries standing ready for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, but that the military political prerequisites for an anti-Soviet bloc are maturing.

The German-Polish attempts at adventure do not mean peace, an easing of the tension in Eastern Europe. They represent an attempt to solve the imperialist antagonisms at the cost of the Soviet Union. But they are again reckoning without their host.

### III. The Fight for Austria Still Proceeding

Neither the political nor the economic conditions for the restoration of the Habsburg monarchy are ripe yet. Neither the Hungarian industrialists nor the Austrian agrarians desire a customs union between Hungary and Austria. In Hungary neither Horthy nor Goemboes is in favour of the restoration of the Habsburg monarchy under Otto's sceptre. Big landowning aristocrats, a section of finance capital, the Catholic Church and Jewish trading capital, both in Austria and in Hungary, advocate a Habsburg restoration. And from the attitude of the French press it is to be seen that for French imperialism a monarchist restoration would be the lesser evil. The States of the Little Entente, however, are against the restoration of the Habsburgs.

France, it is true, has succeeded by its policy in bringing about a situation in which German fascism to-day is engaged in an open struggle with Italian fascism. The Austrian question renders difficult the formation of a bloc between Italy and Germany against France. German fascism has not yet won Austria, but it has to a very great extent lost Italian support. Mussolini is now forging the military-political alliance between Hungary and Austria under Italian hegemony. This bloc is directed against the "Anschluss," i.e., against Germany. It is directed at the same time against the Little Entente. The meeting in Rome between Dollfuss, Mussolini and Goemboes served this purpose. In this connection, however, Hungary is playing a double game. Hungary wants an alliance with Italy, but Goemboes also wants Germany's friendship. Germany is aiming at the Anschluss or the Gleichschaltung of Austria. Italy, France and the Little Entente, however, are against the Anschluss.

The present state of affairs cannot last. Austria is not viable, and Dollfuss, Starhemberg, Fey and their fascist bloodhounds and murderers of workers cannot render it viable.

The way out? There is no peaceful solution of the Austrian question in imperialist Europe. Every attempt at a solution means war, and the inner situation of Austria is so unstable that the threatening disaster is drawing ever nearer.

Mr. Eden's European tour has not yielded any result. There has been no compromise on the armament question. The armament race is still proceeding openly and secretly at a frantic pace. As, however, the secret armaments of Germany are not a secret, the German armaments question can give rise at any moment to a war conflagration.

The inner political situation of France is also so tense that it too can lead to an explosion.

## Politics

### Argentina's Neutrality in the War Between Bolivia and Paraguay

By Aurelio Alcaraz (Asuncion)

Argentina is allegedly preserving "neutrality" in the war between Bolivia and Paraguay for the soil and mineral wealth of the Gran Chaco. Behind the mask of its "peace-promoting" activity, behind the cloak of anti-war agreements, concluded with Chile and Brazil, whilst coming forward as champion of "peace" at the Pan-American Conference, the Argentine government of General Justo is participating in the slaughter which up to now has already cost the lives of 20,000 proletarians, peasants and students.

General Justo, who owns 100 square miles of land in the Chaco district, is the best protector of the war profits pocketed by the Argentine capitalists who, together with the foreign imperialists, are exploiting the big industrial and cattle-breeding undertakings of Chaco. British-Argentine companies are raising war loans in Buenos Aires; supplies of munitions, arms, aeroplanes, etc., are being transported unhindered through the ports and railways of Argentina. The Mihanovitch Shipping Company, the leading shipping concern on the La Plata River, has placed all its steamers at the disposal of the Paraguayan government. In the district of Argentina, bordering on Paraguay, the authorities are arresting the "peons" who live there in almost complete slavery and delivering them over to Paraguay to be used as cannon fodder. The workers who have emigrated from Paraguay to Argentina are likewise handed over by the police to Paraguay.

Active war opponents are savagely persecuted and handed over to the military courts of Paraguay. In this way Cannete, Montero, Ruib Diaz and other leading opponents of the war were arrested and thrown into prison in Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, where, among others, the Communist leaders, Obdulio Barthe, S. Drelichman, as well as the revolutionary trade union organisers, Perfecto Ibarra, R. Altamirano, and many others are also incarcerated.

The Argentine government has set up a "Special department for combating Communism," in which Russian white-guardists and specialists from the U.S.A. are working. The head of this department managed to sneak into the Latin-American anti-war congress in Montevideo (Uruguay) and thereby secure the arrest of about 100 delegates after their return to Argentina. In the course of this campaign Oscar Creydt, the leader of the young Communist Party of Paraguay and general secretary of the Latin-American Anti-War Committee, and Marcos Kaner, the revolutionary trade union organiser, as well as other revolutionary fighters from Paraguay were arrested and handed over to the murderous government of Ayala-Benitez.

In addition, the Argentine government mowed down with machine-guns 2,000 defenceless native Indians who had fled from Bolivia to Argentina to escape the horrors of war.

But the toilers of Paraguay, who are being ruined by the war, which has lasted more than eighteen months, are putting up increasingly energetic resistance. Strikes, peasants' revolts with guerilla warfare, raids on food trains, refusal of soldiers to obey orders, fraternisation at the front are becoming more and more frequent.

The C.P. of Paraguay, at its forthcoming first national conference, will give an appraisal of its experience in the fight against war and draw up its programme. The revolutionary organisations and the masses in the other Latin American countries and in the whole world must assist the Party in its struggle against war for Gran Chaco, a war which constitutes a part of the preparations for the new imperialist world war. The workers and peasants of the whole of America, in particular of Argentina, have the greatest interest in supporting this struggle of the C.P. of Paraguay. The solidarity of the toilers of the whole of Latin America will help to hasten the workers' and peasants' revolution in Paraguay and Bolivia, the two countries which are conducting a war for the possession of Gran Chaco.

## Declaration of the C.P.'s of Yugoslavia, Italy and Austria on the Slovenian Problem

Through the forceful division of the Slovenian people between two imperialist "victorious States"—Yugoslavia and Italy, leaving a fraction of the Slovenes in Austria—the Slovenian districts have become the scene of national revolutionary struggles of the masses of the Slovenian people and at the same time the soil for the most intensive imperialist intrigues and demagogical agitation, which are linked up with the preparation for a new war. In the approaching period of a new cycle of revolutions and wars, the Slovenian problem can either become the lever for a revolution of the workers and peasants which would liberate the peoples, or an instrument of imperialist counter revolution. Hence the Communist Parties of Yugoslavia, Italy, and Austria consider it necessary to announce their common standpoint on the Slovenian question.

The Communist Parties of Yugoslavia, Italy, and Austria declare that, in contrast to the bourgeoisie, the proletariat of the three countries mentioned have common interests on the Slovenian problem which coincide with the interests of the oppressed Slovenian people. The united standpoint of the Communist Parties of these three countries on the Slovenian problem consists in the following:—

(1) All the three Parties are unconditionally in favour of the **right of self-determination of the Slovenian people up to separation from the imperialist States of Yugoslavia, Italy, and Austria**, which now violently oppress the Slovenian people. They also advocate the right of self-determination for all the other peoples and minorities (Croats, Germans, Italians) who live in the district where the Slovenian language is spoken.

(2) In view of the fact that the Slovenian people had already been living in a state of dismemberment in Austria, Hungary, and Italy even before the world war, that for years the Slovenian nation has been striving to liberate and unite its sections, that during the last world war it was still further violently dismembered through the imperialist treaties, that it is now being nationally oppressed and denationalised, as well as economically exploited by the Serbian, Italian, and Austrian fascist bourgeoisie, the C.P.Y., the C.P.I., and the C.P.A. consider it necessary to supplement and to make more concrete their main slogan of the right of self-determination up to separation from the given States by the slogan of **struggle for the unification of the Slovenian nation**. The C.P.s of all three countries declare that they unconditionally support the revolutionary struggle of the Slovenian nation for its liberation and unification, and will actively cooperate in the struggle for the realisation of this aim.

(3) The Communists in all three sections of Slovenia (Serbian, Italian, Austrian), in their general agitation and propaganda, as well as in the daily struggles, will systematically link up the struggle for the realisation of the liberation and unification of the Slovenian people with the struggle for the confiscation without compensation of the large estates, the church and monastery lands, together with the live stock and implements, dividing it up among the peasants, with the struggle against their own bourgeoisie, for the **establishment of the Slovenian workers' and peasants' government**. It is indispensable to link up these two struggles, because the entire Slovenian bourgeoisie is counter-revolutionary and because the Slovenian people can attain their liberation and unification only through the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the working class and in alliance with the proletariat of the dominant nations.

(4) Part of the Slovenian bourgeoisie directly supports the bourgeoisie of the ruling nations and their capitalist regime (e.g., in Yugoslavia the democrats and the rich peasants' party). Other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Slovenian parties (in the Yugoslavian and in the Austrian sections of Slavonia, the Slovenian people's party, in the Italian section, the clerical group around Besednyath and the Wilfan national group) as a result of their policy of national conciliation are dangerous social supports of the ruling fascist regime among the Slovenian people, especially among the peasantry. These people, who hold back and betray the national revolutionary struggle of the Slovenian people, have

made national oppression possible through their participation in the government for years (in Yugoslavia) as well as by their present sham struggle against the ruling imperialism. By keeping back the masses from the national revolutionary struggle they also further facilitate this oppression and are always ready openly to join the government bodies of fascist and national oppression. The social democracy also plays the same role. In Yugoslavia the social democracy covers up its Great Serbian policy by phrases about the progressiveness of so-called national unification. In Austria the social democracy altogether denies the national oppression of the Slovenes in Carinthia. In Italy the social democracy refused to come out for the rights of the oppressed national minorities even before fascism took over power.

The Slovenian Communists in their work and in their struggle should in the first place fight against the Great Serbian occupation with the same energy with which they come out against the parties that at present directly participate in the government, and at the same time also combat the fraudulent and treacherous policy of the Slovenian national reformist parties in order to wipe out their influence among the toiling masses. **The Communists of the dominant nations (Serbian, Italian, Austrian) will concentrate their struggle on the Slovenian problem against their own imperialist bourgeoisie for the unconditional and immediate liberation and unification of the oppressed Slovenian people.** They will support the national struggle and the work of the Slovenian national revolutionary group with all possible energy. Only the joint struggle of the toilers of the Slovenian nation and those of the ruling nation will guarantee success, the victory over the enemy and the oppressor.

(5) In bringing their standpoint and their main slogans on the Slovenian problem into the broadest masses of the Slovenian people and the people of the dominant nations, the Communists of the oppressed nation (Slovenian), as well as of the dominant nations (Serbian, Italian, Austrian), are bound to develop their activity for the realisation of their slogans on the national question **for the preparation and development of the daily mass struggles against all concrete forms of national oppression on the part of the Serbian, Italian, and Austrian bourgeoisie (closing down the Slovenian schools, persecution and suppression of the Slovenian language, literature and art; exploitation by means of taxes and attachments, economic disadvantages of the national oppressed toiling masses, colonisation and denationalisation measures; service in the army outside their native land).** These partial struggles are to be orientated towards the revolutionary realisation of the principle of self-determination and driving out the entire apparatus of occupation. Only through the development of such a daily struggle against the various forms and concrete effects of national oppression will the Communists be able to undermine the influence of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois national reformist parties of all kinds among the toiling masses of the Slovenian people and to lead these masses in alliance with the proletariat of the dominant nations and with the national revolutionary movement in other oppressed countries (Croatia, Macedonia, South Tyrol, etc.) in the decisive struggle for the main demands of the Communists on the Slovenian problem, as formulated above.

The determined struggle for the fulfilment of these demands and tasks is an important task for all the Communists in Yugoslavia, Italy, and Austria, particularly at present when we are on the threshold of a new cycle of revolution and wars.

### Rakovsky Breaks Away From Trotskyism

Moscow, February 20.

The newspapers publish a telegram from Rakovsky to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., declaring that he is ceasing finally and unconditionally his ideological and organisational struggle against the leaders and the general line of the Party, and submits to the Party decisions and to Party discipline.

The former ambassador for the Soviets in Paris was a pillar of Trotskyism. The Trotskyists and the bourgeois press have frequently reported that he was "murdered by Stalin."

## Germany

# Dimitrov Free!

## A Tremendous Victory of the International Proletariat

By Alfred

*Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev* are free! The determined struggle for their release from the dungeons of German fascism has ended with a brilliant victory. This struggle has been a bitter one, never ceasing for a single day in the whole year which has passed since the Reichstag fire.

German fascism was confident that it had prepared efficiently to "settle accounts with international Bolshevism" by means of the Reichstag arson affair. Its hopes of victory were boundless. And to-day? The whole fabric of the indictment a heap of ruins; a perversion of justice exposed in its utter brutality and unrestraint in the eyes of the whole world; an ignominious political defeat for fascism and a magnificent political victory for Communism—this is the picture presented by the close of the Reichstag fire affair, a picture in which the figure of Dimitrov stands out vividly against the background of the scum of humanity mobilised by the prosecution against the defenceless defendants.

The Reichstag arson affair has been formally concluded, but the two persons who have represented in the conflict the two deadly hostile principles still occupy the foreground of public interest. What will Dimitrov say, has been the question everywhere during the last few days—and what will Goering say, has naturally been the next question. For Goering has been the mouthpiece of the actual intentions and hopes of the national socialists with regard to the Reichstag fire, and has exposed these with brutal candour. If ever Goering's opinion has been "authentic" in a political matter, it has been so here! *He* was the author of the incendiary plan, *he* caused it to be carried out, *he* had the defendants placed at his personal mercy after they had been acquitted. Even during the last few days, as late as February 20, *he* caused a statement to be published by the semi-officially Hitlerist "Deutsche Nachrichtenbuero" (German News Bureau) that he had not the slightest intention of releasing the three Bulgarians, in spite of the Soviet citizenship which they had attained. He even repeated his threat to hang them. These threats should not be forgotten; their exact wording is worthy of note:—

"When asked about Dimitrov, General Goering said: 'It may be that Dimitrov did not set the Reichstag on fire. But he did his best to incite the German people. He was the most active Bolshevik agent in Germany. I told him in court that he deserved the gallows, if only for his criminal and seditious activities in Germany before the Reichstag fire. *This is still my private opinion.* If his side had won they would have hung us up without mercy. *I see no reason why we should be more considerate.* Now he is safely behind bolts and bars. He will remain there for the present in any circumstances. Such a man is too dangerous to be let loose on society.'

"

That Goering made this declaration on February 20, and yet the men thus threatened could be in Moscow by February 27, shows how obstinately Goering clung till the last moment to the plan of annihilating the acquitted men, and it shows at the same time the tremendous power of the joint pressure exercised by the authority of the land of the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet Union, with its millions of workers and peasants, and of the international protest movement. Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev have been literally torn from the clutches of German fascism and its bloodhound Goering, by a struggle unparalleled in severity.

At the trial Dimitrov gained the highest distinction which a revolutionist can receive: his enemies, whether clothed in the red robes of the judges, the foolish cinema pomp of the fascist ministers of state and police myrmidons, or the futile camouflages of the spies and paid mercenaries, feared him, trembled before the irresistible power of his personality. Dimitrov had the ear of the world, he tore aside the veil of lies which appeared to be almost impenetrable during the first few days of the trial, and showed who had woven its threads. If we wanted to sum up to-day all

that there is actually to be said about Dimitrov, we should have to go through the trial proceedings day for day and chronicle their events. If the summary is to be made briefer, then it must be made by the repetition of the sentence in which Goering himself has issued the finest testimonial for the revolutionist Dimitrov: "Such a man is too dangerous to be let loose on society."

The fear of Dimitrov and his comrades continued to press like a nightmare on the fascist rulers, even up to the hour of their release. The three Bulgarians were not informed beforehand that they were to be released, nor was any notice sent to the Soviet embassy in Berlin or to any other Soviet authority. Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev were wakened and told to make themselves ready. At 7 o'clock in the morning they were already in the aeroplane. It was not till the afternoon, when the aeroplane was nearing Moscow, that the Soviet embassy in Berlin was informed of the fact. So great was the fear of demonstrations in Germany, and with such fruitless means it was hoped to prevent the welcome of the victors by the Moscow workers. The effort was unsuccessful. The thoughts of millions of German workers could join proudly, in the evening of February 27, the anniversary of the Reichstag fire, the crowds of Moscow workers, gathered to greet the three heroes. A year ago the rulers of German fascism announced that this was the day of the final annihilation of Communism—to-day the tens of thousands of Moscow workers are joined by millions of proletarians of all countries, all races, all tongues, in acclaiming the men who embody the invincible and unbreakable power of the Communist idea.

This day is a living demonstration of the fact that the Soviet Union is the protection and refuge of the proletariat of all countries, the decisive and successful representative of its interests. For the purposeful action of the Soviet government for the liberation of the prisoners, its unmistakable determination, finally forced Goering to abstain with much gnashing of teeth from carrying out his threats.

The victorious termination of this struggle for the release of Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev is at the same time a magnificent proof of the international solidarity of the proletariat of the capitalist countries, expressed on many occasions in bloody conflicts with their own fascists, their own Goerings. It has shown that it is the force, if exerted unitedly and powerfully, which can break open the prison doors of fascism.

This justified feeling of victory must not, however, mislead us into regarding the struggle against fascist "justice" as finished. On the contrary, this victory must spur us on to an intensification of the struggle, for although Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev are free—*Thaelmann, Torgler*, and many thousands of anti-fascists are still in the hands of the German hangmen, many hundreds of heroic fighters in Austria are threatened with death or long terms of penal servitude, and innumerable other victims, who have the right to claim solidarity, are pining in the prisons of the capitalist countries. The liberation of Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev shows what success is possible. There can be no doubt that Goering is anxious to take vengeance on Thaelmann and the other German anti-fascist for the defeat he has suffered in having to let the three Bulgarians go. We draw the attention of the international proletariat to this great danger. We combine this with a passionate appeal to all, not to delay for a moment, but to intensify the struggle beyond the confines of the protest campaign against the Leipzig trial farce, into a struggle to save Thaelmann. He too, the leader of the German proletariat, must be saved from Goering's axe. A storm wave of the utmost fighting determination must sweep over all countries! The consciousness of power which has been aroused everywhere must be utilised for the continuation and intensification of the struggle for Ernst Thaelmann. The imprisoned fighters against fascism are putting their trust in us. They must not be disappointed!



## The Victory of Proletarian Solidarity

By Georgi Dimitrov

Moscow, March 4.

The fifteenth anniversary of the Communist International is an important day in the fight of the world proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie and fascist reaction.

In this fight there has been won a great victory which will be recorded in the annals of the Comintern under the title of "The Leipzig Trial." The political importance of this victory is undoubtedly enormous.

The Reichstag fire was intended to serve, and did in fact serve, as the signal for the terrorist campaign of German fascism against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The fascist provocation of February 27, 1933, was to be the signal for the "annihilation" of Marxism, by which was meant the revolutionary movement of the German proletariat. The fascist fools wanted to display all the forces hostile to the revolutionary movement and the Soviet Union. They wanted to show the "historical role" of German fascism, the role of gendarme of capitalist Europe against the proletarian revolution. In other words, that which the tsarist absolutism of Russia, in the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, regarded as its "historic mission"—to be the bulwark of European reaction and the hangman of the revolutionary movement—German, "pure-blooded Aryan" fascism arrogates to itself in the epoch of the proletarian revolution.

The provocative burning of the Reichstag by the fascists—which we will deal in greater detail later—was the prelude to innumerable bestial acts, to the bloody March days of 1933 in Germany, which aroused the whole of toiling humanity against the fascist dictatorship.

The provocative Leipzig trial—the biggest trial in recent political history—was staged by the national socialist leaders in order to prove to the world that, at the end of February, 1933, the fascist hangmen "saved Europe from Bolshevism."

German fascism hoped at Leipzig that it would win general recognition as the "Rescuer." From the Indictment, which was kept strictly secret during the three months proceedings at the trial, it is to be clearly seen that the trial was directed not only against Communism in Germany, but chiefly at the Comintern, and at the same time against the Soviet Union.

The German press, at the commencement of the trial, did not even deem it necessary to hide this fact. My comrades and I were accused—as is openly stated in the Indictment—of being "plenipotentiaries of the Russian Communist Party," who had come from Moscow in order, by setting fire to the Reichstag, to organize an armed revolt in Germany with the aim of sovietising the whole of Europe. The prosecution brought forward false witnesses, who, at the preliminary enquiry, in accordance with the wishes of the fascists, deposed that "after this action," i.e., after the Reichstag fire, similar acts of arson were to be carried out in Warsaw, Vienna, and Prague in order "to spread conflagration over the whole of Europe."

What concrete tasks did German fascism set itself in staging the Leipzig trial?

(1) Rehabilitation of the fascist incendiaries and hangmen in the eyes of public opinion at home and abroad, screening of the real incendiaries by throwing the blame on to the Communists.

(2) Justification of the barbarous terror and the monstrous suppression of the revolutionary proletariat, justification in the eyes of public opinion of the whole world of the barbarous destruction of works of enormous cultural value, the destruction of science, the ruthless annihilation even of Left bourgeois "Liberalism," the wholesale pogroms, murders, etc.

(3) The trial was to provide the pretext for a new anti-Communist campaign and serve as the basis for a fresh "monster trial" of the Communist Party of Germany.

(4) The trial was to furnish proof that the fascist government was "successfully" combating world Communism and had saved capitalist Europe in good time from the Communist danger. The heads of the four accused Communists were regarded by the fascists as so much hard cash in the approaching bargaining with the imperialist countries, which in return for "Hitler's" "historical services" should offer Germany equality in the armaments questions, etc. The fascists attached extraordinary political importance to this trial.

Large-scale preparations were made for this trial. The fascists employed all the means at their disposal. The entire apparatus

of the police and the courts, the national socialist party apparatus as well as the comprehensive and widely ramified apparatus of the Ministry for Propaganda were brought into action. All this not only in order to bolster up the Indictment, but before all, cost what it might, to discover "suitable" witnesses. Six months passed in this frantic and desperate quest for witnesses.

The fascists were particularly interested in finding the necessary witnesses precisely among workers, among Communists and leading persons of the Communist movement. According to the plans of the fascist incendiaries, these witnesses were to furnish proof that the C.P. of Germany and the Red Front Fighters' League were preparing for an armed revolt in February and March, 1933, that instructions to this effect were sent out by them, and that the Reichstag fire was to be the signal for this revolt. The fascists did not even shrink from fabricating evidence. Thousands and thousands of Communists and revolutionary workers were subjected to the most monstrous moral and physical torture in the prisons and concentration camps in order to render them pliable witnesses, who would be prepared to confirm everything that this provocative Indictment demanded.

But the fascists suffered a complete fiasco. In spite of all their efforts, the only witnesses for the Prosecution were national socialist deputies, common criminals, coiners, thieves, mental deficient and drug addicts.

The fascists did not succeed in obtaining a single one of the witnesses they desired from the ranks of the workers, from among the active participators in the proletarian movement or among the responsible Communist functionaries. This was the Achilles heel of the Prosecution. On the other hand, this fact demonstrated to the whole world the magnificent steadfastness and fidelity, the boundless devotion of the German workers to the cause of the proletarian revolution, to the cause of Communism, and the Communist International.

At the Leipzig trial German fascism made its debut in the role of European gendarme against Communism. This debut ended in a disaster for the fascists: German fascism entered Leipzig as a proud lion and left it like a whipped poodle.

The trial was an acid test for the Communist Party and the revolutionary proletariat, as well as for the working class, the flower of which is pining in concentration camps and in the fascist prisons. And it became a splendid demonstration of fidelity to the red flag, of complete devotion to revolutionary duty and faithfulness to proletarian discipline.

The fact alone that the fascists were unable to find the witnesses they desired among the workers, the fact alone that all the workers summoned as witnesses behaved courageously before the Court as befitted proletarians, and this in spite of all the threats and tortures, proves the scandalous fiasco of the faint hearts and the opportunist pessimists in Germany and in other countries with regard to the perspectives of the proletarian revolution in Germany after the taking over of power by the fascists.

The warm sympathy of the German working masses during the trial, the sympathy with which my exposure of the fascist incendiaries was received, the sympathy I felt even in the Court-room and everywhere where I appeared under police guard, even in prison, the sympathy which was expressed in letters, greetings, etc., and which reached me by various ways in spite of all police obstacles—all this is an irrefutable proof that the German working class, in spite of the fearful blows which have been rained down upon it as a result of the treacherous social democracy, has not lost its courage, has not given way to despondency, but is continuing the fight under the indescribably difficult conditions.

The trial shows further what enormous force international mass solidarity constitutes under the leadership of the Communist International.

Fascism, and especially German, "classical" fascism, is an unbridled, bellicose nationalism and chauvinism. Its flag means war: war against the proletariat in its own country, and war for annexations outside its country. The whole ideological work of the national socialists—and it is tremendous—is directed towards eradicating and exterminating the feeling of international solidarity among the German working class. Hence the Communist International—the general staff of the revolutionary proletarian world movement—is the most dangerous and hated enemy of fascism. But the trial, and everything that took place in the whole world outside the four walls of the Court-room, showed that international solidarity still lives and represents a powerful force.

The mobilisation of the forces of the working masses of Germany, of the proletariat of the whole world, of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R.—all this converted the Leipzig trial into a battlefield, and the blow that was directed against Communism recoiled with shattering force on the heads of the German fascists.

This international solidarity was revealed in the fight of the German proletariat during the trial and was seen also in other countries. It not only created the prerequisites for the victory over fascism in Leipzig, in that the four Communists whom the fascists intended to behead were saved for further struggle, but it delivered an annihilating blow to the further provocative plans of fascism and frustrated Goering's plan physically to exterminate the cadres of the German revolutionary proletariat.

Between the dock where we fought against fascism and the fight of the proletariat of Germany and other countries there existed an indissoluble connection. This was shown not only by the response to our fight in the whole world and the expressions of sympathy we received from other countries. The German revolutionary proletariat, in the person of the accused at the trial, fought against fascism. And its fight set the proletariat of the whole world in motion. It inspired the fight of the Austrian workers against fascism, and the fight of the French workers. It provided an impetus for strengthening the fight against fascism in the whole world. Just as we accused in the trial felt encouraged and strengthened by the consciousness that millions of workers in Germany and in the other countries were supporting us, so the workers of Germany and of the whole world derived confidence and strength in following our fight against fascism in the Court-room.

The Leipzig defeat of fascism and our release is a tremendous victory for the Communist International. But the fight is still going on and must be increased. The anti-fascist public must not rest content with this victory. The fight for the release of the leader of the German revolutionary workers, Ernst Thaelmann, the fight for the release of Torgler and other prisoners of fascism is a question of honour for the international anti-fascist movement.

The Leipzig defeat of fascism is a victory for the international proletariat. We owe this victory to the Communist International, which, created fifteen years ago in the fire of struggle by our immortal teacher and leader Lenin and wisely, firmly and surely guided by our beloved leader Stalin, is leading the international proletariat to final victory over the bourgeoisie and its watch-dog, fascism.

## The Throttling of Culture in Fascist Germany

By Edwin Hoernle

Whilst in the Soviet Union the cultural reorganisation and advance of the masses of the people is proceeding at a tremendous pace parallel with the economic and social work of socialist construction, when almost every day sees the opening of a new high school, a new polytechnic institute, a new great library, new academies, museums, theatres and other institutions of learning and culture, at a time when culture, knowledge and education are fast becoming the general possession of the masses of the people, the government of Hitler-Goering in fascist Germany are doing their best to trample down with their jackboots the last remnants of that scientific education and mass culture which existed in Germany.

One of the first laws issued by the Hitler dictatorship, the "Law against the overcrowding of the German schools and high schools" which was issued on April 25, 1933, was an anti-cultural measure. At first it hit the Jewish student youth only.

At the close of last year hardly one of the big daily newspapers in Germany failed to reproduce an article, obviously officially inspired, praising the book-destroying and anti-cultural activity of the Secret State Police and assuring the petty-bourgeois and middle-class public that this was part of the struggle against "dirt and trash."

At the end of 1933 a new law appeared to limit the numbers of academic students. The number of students passing their matriculation and valid for admission to the German universities in 1934 was limited to 15,000. What that means can be understood when it is realised that according to the figures of the German government itself the number of students passing their matriculation in 1934 will be 27,604 boys and 10,400 girls. In other words, three-fifths of the students who have passed their matriculation and are normally entitled to continue their studies at the universities will not be permitted to do so.

For what reason has this measure been taken? Secretary of State Pfundtner explained the reason in a speech broadcast by the German Radio Association (according to the report published in the "Voelkischer Beobachter" on January 12) as follows: "This severity was absolutely necessary, because the enormous number of students of both sexes previously studying in Germany was an evil heritage of liberalism." And the whole of the fascist press piously expressed approval of these remarks.

Not only that, but the official organ of the German national socialist party, the "Voelkischer Beobachter," declares that the limitation of the number of high schools students passing their matriculation and permitted to enter the universities to 15,000 is "only a beginning." And the "Berliner Tageblatt," once the leading daily organ of the German "democracy," adds insult to injury by referring to the mass of the students as "educated proletariat."

The phrase "educated proletariat" exposes at once the real background of these fascist anti-cultural measures. The small upper section of parasitic finance capitalists observes with horror the rapid growth of a mass of brain workers, of scientific socialists, for whom capitalism has no work, no bread and no interest. Still further, it is afraid of this "educated proletariat." The "Berliner Tageblatt" of December 29, 1933, writes quite frankly:—

"It is not even the lack of opportunities for employment which is the most serious factor in view of these seething elements in or side by side with society. The danger lies in the demands which these young people have been systematically taught to make towards life. It was high time that the State decided to take energetic measures against this steadily growing danger."

Mass education is a danger to fascism, for the finance oligarchy which is behind the fascist executioners of the German people. Why? Because education creates demands on life. The young people have their own demands on life, and who may make demands on life in a period of growing crisis for capitalism apart from the monopolist capitalists themselves? There was a time just after the end of the world war, when these monopolist capitalists themselves were very hopeful of the future and shouted with might and main, "A free path for the capable!" for they reckoned with an increasing boom period, with "prosperity for ever," with a tremendous extension of production, but events came for which they had not bargained. The demobilisation crisis of the immediate post-war years developed into a permanent crisis for the whole of the capitalist economic system. And on the other hand, the Russia of Czarism, weakened by war and devastated by civil war, developed into a powerful republic of united socialist Soviet republics.

The field of activity remaining to the hyenas of capitalism became smaller and smaller, and in consequence their growling and snarling grew more fierce against each other and against the country of socialist construction. The executioner's axe of fascism appeared to them as the solution of their problems, but with the victory of fascism the danger of the proletarian revolution has not become less, but greater. The bourgeoisie is compelled to intensify its violence.

It regards the "educated proletariat" as a particularly serious menace to its power, for these "young people" dare to put demands on life. So long as capitalism was in a position to acquiesce in these demands more or less, such demands were not at all unwelcome for the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they were a means of filling the academic sections of the population, the brain workers, with caste arrogance and obscurantism, a means of educating an aristocracy of education and intellect. But those days are gone. As early as 1925 in Germany the "Deutsche Bergwerks-Zeitung," the organ of the big mining and foundry interests, demanded that quotas should be set up for the students at the universities, and since 1931 the demand for quotas of admission at all German high schools and universities has become one of the iron stand-bys at all conferences of the industrial and commercial magnates of Germany, and in particular of the big industrialists of Rhineland and Westfalia. Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Rust are therefore doing no more than carrying out what the trust magnates have been demanding for years, and what the social-democratic "cultural representatives" of the type of Oesterreich and Loewenstein repeated when they registered their protests against the "inflation at the high schools." In this respect also the social-democratic party prepared the path for Hitler.

It is hardly possible to find a more flagrant comparison between a fascist society and a socialist society than by comparing

the attitude of the fascists to the universities with the triumph with which the Soviet Union hails the rapid increase of the student youth in the theses and articles published in the Soviet press on the second Five-Year Plan.

The Saxon Minister for the Prevention of People's Education, Hartnacke, described the urge of the youth to study as "an illusory craze for advancement." And what did he propose? The extension of mass education by raising its quality perhaps? Not at all, but the "ideal of leadership," that is to say, a still more limited choice, a still smaller "aristocracy of education" and on the other hand an ignorant mass of followers without any demands on life, a herd of led and misled followers. Addressing an audience of students who had been permitted to enter the high schools, that is to say, those destined to be "leaders," he declared: "The others must let themselves be led willingly and do their duty."

It would be an error to imagine that fascism will be content with putting up the bar at the high schools and universities. The local authorities are already giving instructions to the education authorities to begin with the "sorting out" still earlier, in the lower classes, even at the point where students leave the "Basic school" (elementary school—the prep school system is unknown in Germany) for the higher schools. The fascists term this attempt to throttle culture "a revolutionary deed" and "an attempt to comply with demand" whereby the demand referred to is not the urge of the masses for enlightenment and education, but the dictates of trust capitalism. It is a poor consolation which is given to those students who have matriculated, but who may not continue their studies at the universities when they are informed that on their proletarian golgotha the labour exchanges will pay special attention to finding them suitable jobs, and that in the national socialist State, "non-academically trained persons, providing they possess vital capacity and talent, have the prospect of rising to the highest leading posts."

The "young people" will soon notice what fascism really means for them, namely, the advancement of the lick-spittles and the characterless careerists, for only under a system of proletarian democracy where red professors may go straight from the work bench to the academy, and red directors develop from the ranks of the shock brigades in the factory have "vital capacity and talent" any chance of advancement or any social value.

With this new cultural-reactionary measure fascism is accelerating its own downfall. These measures do not diminish the danger which threatens fascism from the "educated proletariat," on the contrary, they increase the ranks of that proletariat which does not seek its education at the feet of professors decorated with the Swastika, but which spends its spare time after work in the company of Marx and Lenin, with the illegal appeals, newspapers and pamphlets, and in the secret study circles of the invincible and heroically struggling Communist Party of Germany.

## Thaelmann and Hundreds of Proletarian Fighters in Danger!

A leaflet illegally distributed by the Berlin-Brandenburg District of the C.P.G., appeals for the formation of defence committees. The leaflet states:—

The fascist government intends to organise before long a mass trial of Ernst Thaelmann and a large number of leading functionaries of the workers. The object which the fascists so utterly failed to attain by the Reichstag arson trial is to be aimed at once more on a larger scale: the revolutionary labour movement, the Communist Party and its leaders, are to be stamped as 'sub-humans,' rabble, and criminals. Vile lies and slanders are the sole means at the disposal of the blood-stained defenders of the bankrupt capitalist system, for fascism is bound to suffer ignominious defeat in any political and ideological confrontation with Communism, and to reveal its bankruptcy.

Revenge for the defeat in the Reichstag arson trial; this is the motto used by the fascists for their fresh onset of juridical terror and, above all, in the proceedings against Thaelmann, for which a complete army of spies, provocateurs, and document forgers are to be pressed into service.

The intentions of the Hitler government are clear. A new bloodthirsty attack is to be made against the Communist Party, which continues to live and to fight in face of savage fascist terror; against the Party which is fighting for the unity of the working class, for liberty and socialism; against the Party around whose flag the masses are once more gathering, to sweep away the Hitler dictatorship.

Ernst Thaelmann is in the greatest danger! How frightful the plans of the Nazi leaders are may be seen from the fact that the prologue to the Thaelmann trial has been the cowardly hostage murder of four friends and fellow fighters of Ernst Thaelmann. John Scheer, Eugen Schöhaar, Erich Steinfurth, and Rudolf Schwarz have been shot "whilst attempting to escape." The fascist murderers thought to intimidate the revolutionary workers by this deed, but they have accomplished precisely the contrary. The workers' quarters are shaken with the cry of rage aroused by the brutal murder of these four gagged and defenceless prisoners!

But not only the head of our leader and comrade Thaelmann is at stake! The Thaelmann trial is to represent a maximum performance of fascist justice. The indictment of Thaelmann and his Party is intended to serve as the basis for hundreds and hundreds of subsequent trials of workers and anti-fascists. The issue of the Thaelmann trial is of the utmost importance for the fate of thousands of proletarians on remand in custody!—Do not let yourselves be taken by surprise!—Take up at once the work of organising the mass defence!—Never forget the most valuable experience gained in the Reichstag fire case: it was solely due to the mass defence, to the mighty protest movement at home and abroad, combined with the courageous and astute stand taken by Dimitrov, which enforced the acquittal. The defendants became the accusers!

Hence the struggle to save Thaelmann must be intensified!

Ernst Thaelmann is one of the most faithful sons of the working class. Born in a proletarian family in the workers' quarter of Hamburg, he took an active part from his 17th year onwards in the socialist movement. As docker, seaman, and transport worker, he fought indefatigably at his work and in the trade union for the cause of the workers. During the war he carried on the tenacious illegal anti-imperialist work, and soon advanced to the Left-wing of the labour movement.

After the war, his courage and devotion raised him to the position of leader of the Hamburg proletariat. In the heroic Hamburg uprising he stood in the foremost ranks. Thaelmann carried on a relentless struggle against the policy of treachery and splitting pursued by the social democratic leaders. The reformist leaders expelled him from the trade union of which he had been a member for decades. Thaelmann took his place as beloved and uncontested leader in the Communist Party. His devoted struggle for the united front with the social democratic workers, for the restoration of the unity of the working class, for the firm fighting alliance with the small peasants and the middle strata, for the social and national liberation of the German people, caused ever-increasing masses of the people to recognise him as the true leader in the socialist struggle for freedom.

Courageous as ever, the leader of the C.P.G. remained with the fighting troops in the face of the greatest danger, and did not choose, like the S.P.G. leaders—at whose door lies the guilt for the victory of fascism—the safety of exile.

Workers, peasants, middle classes, office workers, employees, social democratic, Christian, and non-Party workers! Ernst Thaelmann has shown you the way. He pointed out time and again that the social democratic leaders were paving the way for fascism. You did not always understand the C.P.G. and its leaders! To-day you recognise how right Ernst Thaelmann was in his warning. Give faithfulness for faithfulness! Form a mighty united front for a great defence movement for the leader of the C.P.G.! Save him and all revolutionists from the fascist executioners! Form Ernst Thaelmann committees at once in all works and factories, all workers' quarters! Organise mass protests by ensuring that our leaflets, newspapers, etc., are made accessible to the great masses of the workers. Carry the truth about Thaelmann and his heroic Party from man to man! Let everyone become in his own environment a fighter against fascist terror! Organise mass protests by linking up with every movement, even the smallest, and combining it with the call: Release Thaelmann and all anti-fascists! Enough murder! Organise the sending of letters on a mass scale to Ernst Thaelmann, Berlin, Untersuchungsgefängnis Moabit! Millions of workers are backing up Ernst Thaelmann to-day! Millions of workers are alarmed at the fate of their leader! Millions must take up his defence, and the defence of thousands of unnamed anti-fascists and of their Party!

Berlin, 10th February, 1934.

Communist Party of Germany (Section of the Communist International). District: Berlin-Brandenburg.

## Austria

### The Fascist "Reorganisation" in Austria

By Gruber (Vienna)

Dollfuss is trying to make himself at home on the points of the Heimwehr bayonets. The "reorganisation" is proceeding merrily. A decree providing for the compulsory enlistment of the workers in one big fascist union will be issued during the next few days, and about the middle of the month the new provisional constitution of Austria is to be promulgated.

The destruction of the rights of the federal states of Austria and the abolition of federalism is proceeding rapidly, but not without a certain amount of friction in the government camp itself. The intensified policy of terrorism against the working class, which then developed into civil war, began with the mobilisation of the Heimwehr in the Tyrol. The example of the Tyrol Heimwehr was then followed by the Heimwehr in the other federal states. After the suppression of the heroic February insurrection of the workers the Heimwehr proceeded to reap the harvest of its "victory."

The demands of the Heimwehr included the dissolution and abolition of all the provincial diets and the handing over of all power in the federated states to the leaders of the Heimwehr. However, they have not succeeded in securing the granting of these demands everywhere in the way they would have liked. The diet of Tyrol dissolved itself, but it handed over all legislative powers to the Christian-social provincial governor Stumpf. It is true, however, that the Heimwehr maintains traditionally good relations with this man. But in the Vorarlberg district difficulties have arisen. In this district the provincial governor Ender, also a member of the Christian-social party, has been given exceptional powers, but the diet has as yet refused to dissolve. Not only that, but it would seem that Ender refuses to take his orders from Starhemberg in the leadership of the Vorarlberg Heimwehr, which calls itself the "Fatherland Service" and represents a sort of provincial police organisation.

In Upper Austria the candidate of the Heimwehr, state secretary Gleissner, has been elected provincial governor and through him the Heimwehr will exercise the necessary influence on the provincial council of which he will be the head. In Salzburg the Christian-social candidate Rehrl has been re-elected provincial governor. As his deputies he has appointed another member of the Christian-social party and a member of the Heimwehr.

In Lower Austria the Heimwehr has had to be content with the election of its candidate Major Baar as the representative of the provincial governor. In the Burgenland the leader of the Heimwehr Sylvester has been elected provincial governor in place of the former provincial governor Walheim of the Land League. In Carinthia the situation is still unclear. The previous provincial governor Kernmaier, a member of the Land League, has been deposed by the government. An agreement has been come to that his successor will be the leader of the Heimwehr General Huelgerth, but up to the moment the general has not been elected because it was not possible to come to an agreement concerning the composition of the provincial council.

This lack of uniformity and unity in the organisation of the new federal administrations gives some idea of the internal difficulties which the Austrian government still has to overcome even after its victory.

The difficulties facing the government in its attempts to integrate the working class in the new fascist state are, however, still greater. Up to the time when the Chambers of Labour were "integrated," the government sought to solve its difficulties by providing equal representation in these bodies for the three trade union organisations recognised by the state, the free, or social-democratic, trade unions, the Christian trade unions, and the "independent" or Heimwehr unions. According to this scheme the majority of the working class was always in the minority in the labour councils. The union of post office workers has since been "reorganised" along these lines. However, the leaders of the social-democratic trade unions, acting under strong pressure from the masses of their members, refused to appoint their representatives to the Labour Chambers under this new system.

Following on the armed insurrection of the workers, however, the government has now dissolved all the organisations of the

working class, and above all, naturally, the free trade unions. However, now as before, the government is anxious to secure the co-operation of the reformist officials in the building up of fascism. The government needs the social-democratic officials and cannot get on without them. The government cannot leave 700,000 workers organised in the free trade unions without an organisation—that is to say, without some organised control. If the government did this it might one day have a very unpleasant surprise. Many of the fascist and yellow trade union leaders imagine that now that the big free trade unions have been dissolved the little fascist and yellow unions can win the masses of the membership of the free trade unions and to this end they are holding meetings every day, but the government knows better. The government is well aware that the yellow company unions can never have the same influence over the workers, who rightly distrust them, and that furthermore these yellow unions have not the necessary apparatus to take over the members of the free trade unions and exercise any considerable influence on the masses of the workers. The government knows that it needs the reformist officials now, just as it did before.

Therefore the government is about to form a single big union of workers and commercial employees for the whole of Austria and this union is to be, side by side with the Labour Chambers, the only representative of the interests of the workers. All other trade unions are to be dissolved. This state fascist all-in trade union is to be led not only by those Christian and Heimwehr trade union leaders who are already in the government camp, and not only by the national socialist trade union leaders, but also by those reformist trade union leaders who are willing to let themselves be "integrated" in the government plans; and these men will be widely utilised.

The government proposes to consolidate its influence on the youth by introducing compulsory military training for all lads from fourteen years of age onwards. An organisation along the lines of the Hungarian Levente is already being prepared.

On all fields of the new reorganisation of Austria the principle of "leadership," or as it is called in Austria, the "authoritarian policy" is to be carried into action uniformly. In other words, officials are no longer to be elected from below, as previously, but will be appointed from above. This principle is already in operation in the so-called Patriotic Front, in the Heimwehr, and in the Christian-social defence formations as the Dollfuss regiments are called. The principle is now to be extended to the trade union organisations, to the new reorganisation of the sport organisations, and to all other fields.

In the next few days the provisional constitution of Austria is to be proclaimed. The keystone of this new constitution will be the granting of almost unlimited exceptional rights to the government and to the president of Austria. The new constitution will, in short, contain everything which the Dollfuss government has already given to the bourgeoisie during the time of its existence.

In this way, and according to the instructions of the Papal Encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno," the "Christian, German, Corporative, Social State" is to be built up. Its ideological basis is offered by the pronouncements of the Pope on social questions and its practical basis is the mounds of bodies of the workers shot down, beaten, stabbed to death and hanged in the bloody days of February.

### The Main Slogan: Strengthen the Communist Party!

By B. Keller (Vienna)

During the uprising the Austrian Communists stood shoulder to shoulder with the fighting Schutzbuendler. The moment the Schutzbuendler took to their arms, the Communists hastened to them to take up arms in their turn. This was done in the **Karl Marx House** in Heiligenstadt, in the workers' club in Ottakring, and again in **Floridsdorf**, in the XII. and X. Districts in Vienna, and in many places in the provinces. In many cases Communists took over the leadership in place of the cowardly social-democratic bureaucrats, who had fled abroad. At **Schwechat**, near Vienna, the struggle was carried on for a day longer under the leadership of the Communists, after the social-democratic leaders had already given the order to the workers to lay down their arms.



For obvious reasons the names and details of this brotherhood of arms between the Communist and social-democratic workers cannot be published. It must suffice for us to remember that in Floridsdorf alone the Communist Party had four dead, one of them the political leader of this district, Comrade Angerer, who fell during the defence of the municipal tenement buildings.

Wherever the Communists had not the opportunity of taking part in the armed struggle, from the first hours of the struggle onward they did their utmost to lead the masses into it. Already by the Monday afternoon a great banner hung from the electric wiring in the main street of Meidling (Vienna XII.), with the inscription: "**Disarm the police! Down with the Dollfuss government!**" In the evening hours of the same day, when the police and the Safety Corps were firing ruthlessly on even the smallest groups of persons in the outskirts of the city, the first mimeographed leaflets appeared. On Tuesday fresh appeals appeared, and again on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday.

On Monday and Tuesday the main task of the Party was to lead the fighting workers from the defensive to the offensive, and to endeavour to extend the general strike to the railways, post office, telegraph service, taxis, etc. On Wednesday, when the running of the trams in Vienna was taken by the majority of the undertakings as a sign that work was to be resumed, the slogan was issued: "**Stop work! Do not attack in the rear your brothers now in the midst of an armed conflict with the state power! Form Workers' Councils!**" In face of the lying propaganda made by the press on the restoration of "peace and order" in Austria, it was urgently necessary that the working population, especially the workers of the factories and works, should be informed that fighting was still going on, not only in Vienna, but in the provinces. But towards the end of the week, when the social-democratic leaders simply gave the order: "Throw away your arms! Save himself who can!" then the Communist Party had to call for the orderly retreat; it said: "Hide your arms, do not throw them away, do not deliver them up."

Besides this extremely important support given the struggle by means of leaflets and handbills, the Communists endeavoured in various places to organise demonstrations in the streets.

It need not be emphasised that during the days of the uprising all the leading functionaries of the C.P. of Austria were directly in the Party cells, with the fighting workers.

Our main task to-day is to weld insolubly this close fighting alliance between the revolutionary social-democratic workers and the Communists, by means of uniting them in the Austrian C.P. Our main slogan now is: "**Make an end to social democracy! Join the Communist Party!**"

This slogan is awakening widespread echoes everywhere.

Social democracy is still completely disorganised. To-day, a fortnight after the proclamation of the uprising, not even the organisations of the capital city have any contact whatever with their leaders. These leaders were arrested in part in their secretariats or in their homes, many fled abroad, and the large remainder at once commenced to swim with the patriotic stream. In the trade unions, the co-operatives, and the sport organisations, the social-democratic leaders are endeavouring to establish contact with the "Patriotic Front," in order to save their positions and to be able to have at their disposal the property and equipment of their organisations.

As opposed to this tendency towards Gleichschaltung among the middle and higher bureaucrats, there is a certain trend among the members to join the Nazis—"out of revenge," so to speak. The Nazis are working systematically, visiting all the lower social-democratic functionaries, inundating them with propaganda material, inviting them to conferences, etc. But since this trend is one arising out of the feeling of defeat and betrayal prevailing during the first few days after the collapse of the armed uprising, the Nazis have not yet been able to gain any organisational success—except in the sphere of the trade unions.

But the class-conscious revolutionary worker members of the social-democratic party are drawing the correct conclusion from the defeat, and from its causes, derived from social-democratic policy during the last two decades. They are finding the way to the Austrian C.P.

Symbolical of this development among the best elements of the Austrian working class was the stand taken by the engineer Weisl, who courageously proclaimed his allegiance to the Communist Party when brought before the court-martial, and went to the gallows with the cry: "Long live Bolshevism! Long live the Third International!"

Backed up by these most advanced workers, the Austrian C.P. is succeeding everywhere where it intervenes in rapidly destroying all tendencies to Nazi co-ordination among the members of the social-democratic party.

To-day the social-democratic workers themselves say to us: Up to now all that has separated us has been the question of the conquest of power by the way of democracy. This discussion is now done away with, for there is not one of us who believes any longer that the Dollfuss government can be overthrown by anything but force. Our leaders betrayed the uprising (extremely penetrating discussions are carried on with regard to the military details of the uprising), therefore we draw the only possible conclusion and come to you.

This movement caused hundreds of Schutzbundler to come over to the C.P. in groups, in Vienna alone, during the first week after the uprising. Functionaries of other social-democratic organisations, too, are joining the C.P.A., bringing with them for the use of our illegal apparatus all the equipment which they have had in charge for the S.P. or its organisations.

The Communist Party is exerting its utmost efforts, hundred per cent. of its functionaries' apparatus, in order to ensure the organisational consolidation of this movement, and to give it its right place in its ranks.

A special edition of the "*Rote Fahne*" has just appeared, containing an appeal dealing with the part played by the social-democratic party during the uprising, and calling upon the workers to join the Communist Party.

The Communist Party appeals at the same time for the formation of anti-fascist guards, as the organisational expression of the anti-fascist fighting determination of the broad masses.

This influx into the C.P.A. enables it to strengthen its positions in the works and factories. Here the most important task is the formation of Communist factory cells. New factory cells are already in course of formation. A difficult problem is presented by the penetration of the great mass of free trade union workers. In the works and factories the reformist functionaries have not lost the leadership over their members. To-day they are exercising their influence in the majority of cases in favour of Gleichschaltung.

In the sphere of the trade unions, the Nazis, the Heimwehr, and the Christian trade unions are working on fairly parallel lines, though, of course, there is a certain competitive struggle among them. The government and the employers are leaving it to the workers to join whichever of these unions they desire, offering as inducement that in this manner the funds and social equipment of the disbanded free trade unions may be "saved"—that is, may pass into the hands of the fascist trade unions. A great proportion of the social-democratic trade union functionaries are urging this co-ordination.

There is, however, no doubt that it is precisely in the works and factories that social democracy—whether co-ordinated or not—will make its first attempt to give organisational consolidation to its influence again, before it begins to build up its illegal political organisation.

Hence the Communists in the works and factories are confronted by specially important tasks. It is important that where illegal remnants of the free trade unions still exist, the leadership over them should be secured, and where the trade union organisation has been completely shattered, the trade union organisation of the workers should be built up on a class-conscious revolutionary basis.

The decisive cause of the defeat of the February uprising of the Austrian workers was the absence of a strong Communist Party as leader. In order to advance from the February uprising to the victorious Red October, we are creating to-day the first prerequisite by building up the Communist mass Party.



## Austria and the U.S.A. Labour Movement

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

The American C.P. reacted immediately and militantly to the heroic revolt of the Austrian workers. It organised demonstrations before Austrian consulates and the embassy on a united front basis wherever possible, and made the revolt a living issue for hundreds of thousands of workers.

The day after the news of the Austrian general strike and civil war reached the United States the Communist Party called for a demonstration of Communist, socialist and other workers before the Austrian Consulate in New York. Ten thousand workers gathered at the busiest corner of the world, 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue, to be met by a barrage of police horses, blackjacks and clubs. Half a dozen times the ranks of the marchers were broken, to be reformed again, and finally the police were forced to desist and permit the workers to march for two hours. Socialists and Communists joined enthusiastically at various points in the demonstration, and many were badly beaten. The C.P. called the demonstration after 73,000 copies of the regular edition, and 50,000 copies of a special Austrian edition of the "Daily Worker," containing the call of the Central Committee, had been sold out in the preceding few hours.

Robert Minor, representative of the C.C., and a committee entered the office building where the consulate is located, to be thrown out by police hidden there. They were later admitted when the police feared the marchers would storm the building, and lodged a protest against the bloody slaughter of the Dollfuss regime. Before the demonstration representatives of the Y.P.S.L. (Young People's Socialist League), Student League for Industrial Democracy, etc., had agreed upon a united front call, to be published in the special edition of the "Daily Worker." At the last moment the issue had to be held up for a time and the appeal pulled out, due to the intervention of the S.P., which compelled the young socialists to withdraw.

The following day the C.P. called a meeting which 9,000 workers attended, at which Comrade Browder, secretary of the C.P., Comrade Hathaway, editor of the "Daily Worker," and a number of other speakers interpreted the events in Austria. A total of 629 dollars was contributed for the Austrian revolutionists by the workers present. The tactics of the united front were discussed, and all workers urged to attend a meeting called for the next day by the S.P., A.F.L., and socialist unions, to be held at Madison Square Garden, the largest hall in the city. They were urged to fraternise with the socialist and other workers, to demand the unity of the entire American working class against the fascist offensive of the capitalist class. The next day the "Daily Worker" featured the socialist mass meeting in various places on its front page. Left-wing unions also urged their members to attend, and asked for a speaker at the meeting; this request was refused.

A general strike to attend the mass meeting was called by the socialists for 3 p.m., and the Communists called the Left-wing workers out also. One capitalist paper estimated that half a million came out. "The Worker" issued a special Austrian edition of 50,000 two hours before the strike, and all of them were sold to the great crowd unable to get in to the meeting.

The S.P. and A.F.L. and unions dominated by them called a meeting in Madison Square Garden, the city's largest hall, two days later. They invited as the leading speakers La Guardia, mayor of New York City, and Mathew Woll, vice-president of the A.F.L. and head of the National Civic Federation. The latter group is the most rabid of the open-shop, labour-hating, big corporations in the country, while Woll is the most fascist-minded official of the A.F.L. and its greatest opponent of socialism. La Guardia is a pseudo-liberal ex-military officer. The Communist and "Left" wing workers protested bitterly at the invitation to these fascists, and made such an uproar at the meeting that La Guardia and Woll dared not enter the hall.

Hathaway tried to quiet the workers in the section where he was sitting, and succeeded, and did likewise in the next section. Then he went up to the platform to ask the chairman if he could speak to the audience for a moment, in order to try to obtain order throughout the hall, the provocations of the socialist chairman and speakers was so great that workers everywhere protested

vociferously and indignantly, making it almost impossible to hear any speaker. The socialist and union leaders and their thugs on the platform attacked Hathaway with fists, feet and chairs, bending the iron rail over which they had thrust him. He was led from the hall covered with blood, and general fighting ensued, in which scores of workers were bruised. Throughout the rest of the meeting persistent cries of "We want Hathaway!" drowned out the speakers.

Outside Madison Square Garden Hathaway addressed the thousands of workers barred from the hall, 10,000 of whom marched down to Union Square to meet in indignant protest against the fascist tactics of the socialist leaders.

Though Madison Square Garden was one-third empty, other workers were refused admission, for fear they might be Left-wing workers. Thousands of these came with their banners and bands, which were taken from them at the doors. They were also searched for leaflets and copies of the "Daily Worker," though thousands of pieces of literature were smuggled in and distributed. The unfortunate character of the meeting, marring a real united front in solidarity with the revolutionary Austrian workers, made a tremendous ferment throughout the city, and the C.P. organised a number of meetings to expose the provocations of the S.P. leaders and clarify the issue of the united front. At one open meeting of the C.P. over 7,000 workers were present, a number of them socialists in a hostile mood. The discussion was such that thirty workers applied for the admission to the C.P. Some members of the Y.P.S.L. spoke, denouncing their misleaders.

The C.P. and Y.C.L. issued a call to the workers to greet as they deserved a trade delegation of Austrians who were scheduled to arrive on February 17. The delegation was taken off the ship by government officials before it docked, however. Two days later a demonstration was held before the Austrian Consulate in Washington, denouncing the butcheries of the Dollfuss fascists. Throughout the country meetings and demonstrations of protest and solidarity were held, most of which the S.P. officials refused to endorse and permit their members to participate in. In Philadelphia 20,000 workers struck at 3 p.m., 2,000 demonstrating in the main square. Later 3,000 A.F.L. members met and demanded that Roosevelt condemn Dollfuss. Green, head of the A.F.L., sent a telegram to this meeting, urging that the workers protest "in a proper and effective way, through governmental and other publicity channels," i.e., in a respectable manner.

The S.P. press handled the news of the revolt in the same fashion as their confreres in Europe, Vandervelde, Bauer, Adler, and Deutsch. The New York "New Leader," their English weekly, wrote: "They have not resorted to physical conflict as a free choice. . . . They have been patient." Norman Thomas, S.P. leader, stated: "The socialists did not provoke the battle; it was forced upon them by the ever-increasing repressions. . . ."

In the Morgan-controlled N.Y. "Daily News," vilest of the gutter tabloids, where a leading socialist, Karsner, is an editor, an S.P. official, Waldman, urged the police to club the Reds at demonstrations such as that at Madison Square Garden. In discussing the demonstration before the consulate this sheet also urged police violence against the workers. In the "liberal" N.Y. "World Telegram," an ex-socialist, Broun, could "not see how any one can regret the dead and injured" in Austria: "They have fallen to such small purpose. . . . Revolutions are not won at the barricades, no matter what the revolutionaries tell you." This despite the fact that the entire capitalist press admitted that notions about the futility of barricade fighting since the Paris Commune must now be revised.

### Arrests in Turin

Turin, March 5.

In view of the new plebiscite to be held on 25th March, the fascists are making preparations for maintaining the pretence that all the workers, and the whole population, approve, support, and defend fascism. To this end the government is having arrests made on a large scale in every part of Italy. Among those arrested are one-time prisoners who have served several years' penal servitude.

## Proletarian Commemoration Days

# Fifteen Years of the Communist International

(Theses for Speakers)

## I. The Place Occupied by the Communist International in History

(1) Fifteen years ago, on March 4, 1919, in Red Moscow, the First Congress, under Lenin's leadership, established the **Communist International**—the new **International Workingmen's Association**. The Fifteenth Anniversary of the Communist International is the Fifteenth Anniversary of the **United World Communist Party**.

The Communist International, **the most outstanding achievement of the working class of the world**, which was gained on the basis of the experience of the entire preceding world labour movement, regards itself as the historical successor of the **Communist League and the First International**, and is guided in its struggle by the principles of **revolutionary Marxism**, which found its further development in **Leninism**.

"The **First International** laid the ideological foundations of the international proletarian struggle for socialism. The **Second International**, in the last period of its existence, prepared the ground for the expansion of the labour movement among the masses. The **Third, Communist International**, in continuing the work of the First International, and in accepting the fruits of the work of the Second International, has resolutely lopped off the latter's opportunism, social chauvinism and bourgeois distortions of socialism, and set out to realise the dictatorship of the proletariat." (See introduction of the Programme of the Communist International, par. 3.)

(2) The counter-revolutionary character of opportunism which triumphed in the Second International of pre-war days, but which, under the conditions of the "peaceful epoch," was not clear to everybody, has been plainly evident since the **imperialist war of 1914**, when the leaders of the Second International openly went over to the side of the bourgeoisie. The bankruptcy of the Second International was also the bankruptcy of opportunism. The shameful betrayal perpetrated by the leaders of the Second International brought the greatest disorganisation and cleavage into the ranks of the world labour movement. The only correct reply to all the burning questions placed on the order of the day before the masses of workers by the war, as well as the misery caused by it and the collapse of the Second International, was given by the **Bolsheviks** headed by Lenin.

(3) The **Bolsheviks** comprised the only consistent Marxian tendency in the socialist movement. They not only exposed all the opportunist trends in the socialist movement of Russia, but also in the international labour movement. They exposed the Right and Centrist wing of the Second International as well as the semi-Menshevik mistakes committed by the German "Lefts" (Rosa Luxemburg). Already long before the war the **Bolsheviks** severed organisational connection with the **Mensheviks**.

The programme adopted by the **Bolsheviks** in 1900 was the only programme among the programmes of all the socialist parties of the world, which proclaimed the **struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat** as the basic task; and they subordinated all their tactical and organisational principles to this great historical task.

With this historical task as their object, the **Bolsheviks**, in preparing for the revolution of 1905, for the bourgeois-democratic revolution, pursued the course of that revolution growing into a socialist revolution, fought for the **hegemony** of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement, and for winning over the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities as the allies of the proletariat. Holding that "the proletariat has no other weapon in the struggle for power except its organisations" (Lenin), they created a party as "the highest form of class organisation of the

proletariat" (Stalin), as a party of a "new type," as a party of revolution, in contradistinction to the old type of parties of the Second International, the parties of reforms, the parties which orientated themselves on collaboration between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Starting from small underground circles, through leading broad masses in the revolution of 1905, by winning over the majority of the working class in an open struggle for power in the revolution of 1917, the **Bolsheviks** achieved the victorious **October Revolution** and the creation of the **Communist International**, and have now become the great **Communist Party of the Soviet Union**, which stands at the head of the **Dictatorship of the Proletariat** and is leading the construction of a classless socialist society in the **U.S.S.R.**, the **vanguard of the Communist International** and the **most powerful factor in world history**.

The credit for preparing and creating the **Communist International** is due to **Lenin**. **Lenin's** characterisation of the epoch of imperialism as an epoch of monopoly and moribund capitalism, its last and highest phase, **Lenin's** outline of the perspective of the imminence of the proletarian revolution and of the main task of the epoch as **the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat**, the sharp formulation of the question about the complete severance of all ties with the opportunists of the Second International and the creation of a **new International**, constitute in the main the **platform** advanced by the **Bolsheviks** in the **Manifesto of the Zimmerwald "Lefts"** and subsequently adopted by the **First Congress of the Communist International**.

(4) **The great October Revolution, which marked the beginning of the world proletarian revolution, was the decisive factor in the birth of the Communist International.**

The **October Revolution** utilised and extended the great experience of the **Paris Commune**, the revolution of 1905, and the revolution of February, 1917, began to put into effect **Marx's slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat**, and created a new type of state, the **Soviet type of state**.

The decree to transfer the land to the peasants and the manifesto of the Second Congress of the Soviets to all nations and governments proposing the immediate cessation of war created a colossal impression on all fronts and in the rear of the imperialist war, and gave an impetus to the revolutionary activity of the broad toiling masses all over the world.

The question as to the attitude to be taken towards the **October Revolution**, towards the **Soviets**, became in 1917 the **main question** of the international labour movement, which had entered the period of stormy revolutionary upsurge.

The **Second International** as represented by its most prominent leaders (**Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Vandervelde, MacDonald**) became the most vicious enemy of the **October Revolution** from the very outset. Advancing the slogan of "pure" (i.e., never realisable) democracy, or "democracy in general," spreading deception concerning the "above class character" of such democracy, as opposed to the **Leninist slogan** of the proletarian dictatorship, the **Second International** completely departed from the **Marxian doctrine** of the class character of the state. **Lenin's** struggle against **Kautsky** and against the whole **Second International** for the purity of the **Marxist doctrine** of the state and the **Dictatorship of the Proletariat** was the ideological preparation for the creation of the **Communist International**.

Despite the counter-revolutionary position of the leaders of the **Second International**, the broad **toiling masses**, under the influence and as the allies of the **October Revolution**, everywhere fought against the war, and the imperialists responsible for the war, in the form of mighty strikes, demonstrations, hunger riots, mutinies in the armies and navies, guerilla warfare, revolts, organisation of Soviets, and the capture of power in various places.

The banner of rebellion was everywhere the banner of the October Revolution and of the Soviet government.

Soviets arose spontaneously in Poland, Germany, Hungary, Finland, Norway, Bulgaria, Italy, Austria, Canada, Latvia, and Slovakia.

These great class battles in the lands of imperialism, and the rising wave of the national liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies, were an expression of the world character of the crisis of the capitalist system and of the international significance of the October Revolution, as the first stage of the world proletarian revolution.

(5) In the fire of these great battles Communist Parties were born in a number of countries (Austria, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Finland, Holland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Bulgaria).

On January 24, 1919, eight Communist Parties and organisations, headed by the Communist Party of Russia, addressed to all revolutionary proletarian organisations standing "on the basis of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of a Soviet power" a platform for a new International, and urged them to take part in an international congress which was "to adopt the title of the First Congress of the Communist International."

The International Conference of Communists which met in Moscow on March 2, 1919, declared itself on March 4 to be the First Congress of the Communist International.

The victory of the Soviet power in Russia and the struggle for power waged by the proletariat in several countries of Europe enabled Lenin to say a few days after the First Congress that "the foundation of the Communist International is a stable affair."

The historical service of the First Congress lies in that it laid the basis for a single world party of the revolutionary proletariat, and that it formulated its basic task as the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world in the form of Soviets.

"The world historical significance of the Third Communist International lies in that it began to put into effect Marx's greatest slogan, a slogan which sums up the century-old development of socialism and the labour movement, a slogan expressed in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat."—(Lenin, volume 24, page 248, Russian edition.)

In Lenin's thesis "on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat," which was adopted by the First Congress, in several basic documents of the Second Congress, and, later, in the programme adopted at the Sixth Congress in 1928, the Communist International proclaims its chief historic mission to be the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet power.

The Communist International openly declares that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be accomplished only by means of violence. "The violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat." (See Programme of the C.I., section 4, para. 1.)

(6) Having raised the class struggle to a higher level, the October Revolution opened a new page in world history. The Communist International is leading class struggles in the epoch of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, in an epoch of struggle between two worlds, when the proletariat already holds power and is building socialism in one-sixth of the globe, and when, in its struggle for power in the remaining part of the world, it relies on the colossal power of the C.P.S.U., the leader of the first proletarian state.

The Communist International is relentlessly fighting against the Second International as being chiefly responsible for the cleavage in the labour movement, as being the main enemy of the proletarian revolution within the ranks of the working class.

Organising and consolidating the revolutionary workers of all countries in their struggle for Soviet power, the Communist International is the only force capable of healing the breach in the working class and establishing real unity in its ranks.

Leading the struggle of the international proletariat against bourgeois domination—for the complete emancipation of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies subjugated by imperialism, for a Soviet government in each country, for the complete victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the Communist International is the first really world-embracing International.

## II. The Communist International in the First Period of the World Proletarian Revolution

(7) The fifteen years of the Communist International have been fifteen years of uneven but constant development of the world proletarian revolution.

Side by side with the great lessons of the October Revolution, the most significant lesson the international proletariat learned during the past fifteen years was the outcome of the November Revolution in Germany of 1918.

Having been from the very outset a proletarian revolution both in regard to its character and its driving forces, the November Revolution was a fact of tremendous world significance. In Soviet Russia, the German proletariat had a mighty ally with whom a victorious proletarian revolution in Germany would have been not only in a position to repel counter-revolutionary intervention on the part of the Entente and fully to achieve the social and national emancipation of the toiling masses of Germany, but also in a position to guarantee the victory of the Soviets in the countries of Central Europe.

"History . . . pursued such a peculiar course that it gave birth in 1918 to two separate halves of socialism. . . . Germany and Russia in 1918 embodied most clearly the material realisation of the economic, industrial and social conditions of socialism on the one hand, and the political conditions of socialism on the other."—(Lenin, volume 22, page 517, Russian edition.)

The Bolsheviks, with Lenin at their head, under the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" won the majority of the working class, the vast reserves of its allies, as represented by the peasantry and the nationalities oppressed by tsarism, created a Red Guard, organised armed insurrection, and achieved the revolutionary seizure of power. In October, 1917, the working class of Russia, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, smashed the machinery of the bourgeois state, expropriated the expropriators, and began to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviets and to strengthen fraternal contacts with the proletariat of all countries.

In view of the extreme weakness of the Communist Party which developed out of the Spartacus Bund at the beginning of the revolution, the outcome of the November Revolution in Germany depended upon German social democracy.

Having been placed at the helm of state by the revolt of the workers, the German social-democratic party betrayed the proletarian revolution. Betraying the revolutionary workers to the maddened officers, disarming the revolutionary soldiers, rallying the counter-revolutionary detachments in Berlin, outlawing the Red Guard and concluding secret and open agreements with the employers and with the General Staff, the social democrats Ebert and Scheidemann left it to the "Independents," to Kautsky and Haase, to appease the workers by glorifying the crimes the social democrats committed on the pretext of defending democracy. Flying the flag of the "democratic road to socialism," German social democracy split and disarmed the working class, destroyed the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, handed all power over to the hands of the bourgeois "National Assembly," incited the German workers against the October Revolution, and fought for the fulfilment of the terms of the Versailles Treaty. By the whole of its policy it prepared a safe road for fascism. The path of the German social democracy was followed by all parties of the Second International.

(8) The path of October, the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat, brought the Soviet Union to socialism.

The path of bourgeois democracy brought Germany to fascism.

With the active support of the international proletariat the working class of the Soviet Union has, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, repelled the attacks of the united forces of imperialism and of the counter-revolution at home, and after restoring the economy of the country, destroyed by the war, it extensively developed its victorious socialist offensive.

Lenin's plan of building socialism in the Soviet Union provided the basis of the First Five-Year Plan, the Five-Year Plan of laying down the economic foundations of socialism. Despite all the prophecies of bourgeois economists and of the leaders of the Second International, who predicted the collapse of the Five-Year Plan, despite the desperate resistance of the world bour-

geoisie, the class enemy at home, and also his agents within the ranks of the working class and of the Party, such as the Trotskyites and Right opportunists, the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. under Stalin's leadership completed the **First Five-Year Plan in four years and three months**. On the basis of its achievements, a programme of great work has been mapped out and is being successfully fulfilled—the **Second Five-Year Plan—a Five-Year Plan for the construction of classless socialist society**.

As a result of these victories the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. freed itself for ever from the scourge of unemployment, abolished pauperisation in the villages, raised the general well-being of the broad masses of the toilers, achieved great victory on the front of cultural struggle, and created the prerequisites for the continued further raising of the material and cultural level of the masses. The liquidation of the last capitalist class—the kulaks—and the victory of the collective farm system, solved the most difficult task of the proletarian revolution—the socialist reconstruction of the village.

Having demonstrated to the world the great deeds the proletariat in power is capable of, having demonstrated all the advantages of socialism over capitalism, the Soviet government has become a beacon for the toilers and the oppressed of all countries.

Increasing the split in the working class, disrupting the united front of the workers in the struggle against the offensive of capitalism and fascism, supporting the reactionary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the form of its Weimar Republic, sanctioning the gradual liquidation of all the gains of the working class, making one concession after another to reactionary forces, "social democracy" has plunged Germany into **Hitler's fascist dictatorship**. Economic disaster, millions of unemployed, the robbery of the workers, the new form of capitalist slavery as expressed in "labour service," bloody terror, mediævalism, and the conversion of advanced and cultured Germany into the worst centre of world reaction and war, such are the achievements of the German social democracy and the Second International.

(9) During the years which have elapsed since the November Revolution bourgeois democracy has clearly revealed itself, not only in Germany, but also in other capitalist countries, as the **disguised form of bourgeois dictatorship**.

Under the conditions of the general crisis of the capitalist system, the ruling classes in the lands of "democracy" (United States, France, Great Britain), as well as in the lands of fascism (Italy, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Japan), are more than ever before revealing their true nature as exploiters and slaveowners.

"The ruling classes in the capitalist countries are carefully destroying or nullifying the last vestiges of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy which might be used by the working class in its struggle against the oppressors; they are driving the Communist Parties underground and resorting to open terrorist methods in order to maintain their dictatorship."—(Stalin, Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress on the Work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., section 1, para. 2.)

The whole post-war development of the world has shown that the **Soviet government alone represents "proletarian democracy, democracy of the toiling masses, democracy directed against the exploiters."** (Programme of the C.I.)

(10) **The October Revolution was the starting point of the revolutionary crisis of the countries of Western Europe. The outcome of the November Revolution, on the other hand, made the success of a number of big revolutionary battles fought during the first period not only in Germany (the January days of 1919, the March uprising in 1921) but also in other countries of Central Europe more difficult.**

The mighty wave of the proletarian revolution led to the formation of the **Hungarian Soviet Republic** on March 21, 1919. Under the leadership of Communists the Hungarian Soviets disarmed the gendarmerie and the police, organised a Red Army, nationalised the banks and the big industrial enterprises and buildings, and carried through a number of measures to bring about a radical improvement in the living conditions of the working class. The heroic struggle of the Hungarian Soviet Republic against the armed forces of the Entente to a considerable extent deflected the interventionist forces from Soviet Russia. After existing about four and a half months, the Hungarian Soviet Republic was **betrayed by Hungarian social democracy and drowned in blood by**

**the international counter-revolution. Not "democracy" but fascism took the place of the Soviet power.**

The mistakes of the Hungarian Communists, expressed in the liquidation of the independence of the Communist Party and its merging with the social democrats, and in its failure to distribute the land, should serve as a serious warning to all other Communist Parties. "No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic." (See stenographic Report of the Second World Congress, 1921, Russian edition, p. 561.)

The **Bavarian Soviet Republic**, which arose on April 13, 1919, under Communist leadership disarmed the bourgeoisie, armed the proletariat, proclaimed the nationalisation of industry and the banks. But it, too, was crushed by the White Guards, with the **active co-operation of German social democracy**, after having existed eighteen days.

The fights in Bavaria, as in Hungary, revealed with exceptional clarity the **complete desertion of the social-democratic parties to the camp of the bourgeoisie, and the decisive role of Communist leadership in the victory of the proletariat.**

(11) The outstanding role played by the **Second World Congress of the Communist International** (July 19-August 7, 1920), which was a **powerful demonstration of the splendid successes of the October Revolution and of world Bolshevism**, was that in a struggle on two fronts it solved the most important problems of Communist **strategy, tactics, and organisation.**

In that period Lenin regarded Centrism as the main, "colossal immediate danger" confronting the young Communist movement. Pitilessly exposing the Centrists (Dittmann, Crispin, Frossard, and others), who, under the pressure of the masses, came to the Second Congress to negotiate with the Comintern, Lenin insisted upon the **absolute non-admission of Centrists into the ranks of the Communist International.** The thesis of the Second Congress "On the main tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International" and the "Twenty-One Conditions of Affiliation to the Communist International" were directed against this main danger, Centrism.

The Second Congress also combated the "infantile sickness" of "Left-Communism" as represented by semi-anarchist elements, whose position expressed itself in the demand to boycott bourgeois parliaments and other organs of bourgeois democracy, and to withdraw from the reformist trade unions.

The whole of the subsequent struggle of the sections of the Communist International to win over the masses has shown the **colossal historical importance of Lenin's fight against the Centrist (Right) and sectarian ("Left") deviations.** The struggle of the Communist International for the correct line in **trade union work** acquires exceptional importance. Although the Comintern has succeeded in overcoming the social-democratic and anarcho-syndicalist survivals on the trade union question (regarding the trade unions as non-political organisations, conducting only economic struggles, and the demand for the "independence" of the trade unions of the proletarian party) and in getting all the sections to recognise the necessity of work in the reformist trade unions, the greatest impediment in the struggle of the Communist Parties to win over the majority of the working class is to this day their underestimation of the importance of this work.

In its struggle against social-democratic "parliamentary cretinism" on the one hand and against the "provincial anti-parliamentarism" of the "Lefts" (Bordiga, Wynkoop, and others) on the other, the Comintern has on the basis of the decisions of the Second Congress succeeded in the matter of using the bourgeois parliament for revolutionary ends (Clara Zetkin's position in the fascised German Reichstag was a splendid example).

(12) The decisions of the Second Congress on the **National-Colonial question** illuminate the path of the **oppressed peoples** in their revolutionary struggle for their national and social liberation and points out the **leading role of the proletariat** in this struggle.

These decisions, pointing out the path of the unity of the national liberation struggle of hundreds of peoples oppressed by imperialism with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of the "foremost" capitalist countries, attract to the side of the **proletarian revolution many millions of its reserves in the capacity of allies of the proletariat.**

In the struggles with Menshevism and Austro-Marxism, with the nationalism of the Bund, the nihilism of Rosa Luxemburg and other "Lefts" on the national question, **Lenin and Stalin**



raised the Marxist national policy to a high level and worked out the theory, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary proletariat on the national-colonial question applied to the epoch of imperialism.

The October Revolution, liberating hundreds of peoples in the land of the Soviets, gave rise to a vast wave of national-revolutionary movements, revolts, and wars for national liberation, involving the Arabian East, China, India, Indo-China, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Korea.

The imperialist war of 1914-18, which resulted in the breaking up and division of a number of nations between various countries (millions of Ukrainian people between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, a considerable number of Hungarians between Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, Macedonians between Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria, etc.), brought about a stormy upsurge in the national-revolutionary movement in Europe. The Versailles "Peace" led to an exceptional accentuation of the national problem in Germany.

Decisively coming out against the "underestimation of the intrinsic strength of the national movement, not understanding the deep national and profound revolutionary nature of the national movement" (Stalin), the Communist International at the same time conducts a struggle against the remnants of chauvinism among the Communists of the oppressing nation, and also against deviations in the direction of national reformism, by putting forward the slogan in the struggle for national liberation about the right of nations to self-determination up to separation and the complete independence of the colonies, the Communist International proclaimed as the basis of its national policy the joint revolutionary class struggle of the toilers of the oppressed and oppressor nations. The Leninist national policy of the Communist International is an irreplaceable weapon in the struggle against fascism.

(13) The decisions of the Second Congress on the agrarian problem have equipped the proletariat as the leader of the broad masses of the peasantry.

"Indifference and positive dislike displayed by the parties of the Second International towards the peasant question is not only to be explained by the special circumstances attending the developments in the west. It is to be explained primarily by the fact that these parties do not believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat, that they fear the revolution and do not intend to lead the proletariat to power." (Stalin: Leninism, "The Peasant Question.")

The decisions of the Second Congress generalise the experience of the agrarian policy of the Bolsheviks, the policy of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, which was based on the calculation of the class struggle in the rural districts and tested in the three revolutions in Russia, and of the lessons of the mistakes of the Hungarian, Polish and Latvian Communist Parties in the revolutionary battles of 1918-1920. These decisions were entirely embodied in the Programme of the Communist International and were subsequently enriched by the experience of the collectivisation of agriculture in the U.S.S.R., by the experience of a relentless struggle against the kulaks and drawing the masses of toiling peasants into the work of socialist construction.

During the past fifteen years the Communist International with increasing success overcame Trotskyist Right and "Left" opportunist deviations and mistakes on the peasant problem (indifference to the peasant question, the Trotskyist underestimation of the revolutionary possibilities in the villages, the glossing over of class differentiations in the rural districts, direct and indirect support of kulak theories and kulak slogans).

(14) The Second Congress of the Comintern became a mighty factor in the further development of Communism.

The Congress of the "Independent Social Democratic Labour Party" of Germany (held in Halle in October, 1920) and the Congress of the French Socialist Party held in Tours in December, 1920, which ended in the affiliation of the majorities of these Congresses to the Comintern, was a terrible defeat for the Second International.

In the Autumn of 1920 a broad mass movement began in Italy, which rose to a high level of revolutionary class struggle; it assumed the form of the seizure of factories by the workers and the big landed estates by the peasants, and the organisation of a Red Guard. That movement, which embraced over half a

million workers and peasants, was betrayed by the leaders of the socialist party of Italy and of the reformist trade unions.

In Italy, too, the victory of the bourgeoisie, which was made certain by the social democrats, ended not in a strengthened "democracy" but in the triumph of fascism. The absence of an independent Communist Party was one of the main causes of the defeat of the proletariat. An independent Communist Party of Italy was formed only in January, 1921, at the Leghorn Congress, after a split in the socialist party.

The March uprising of 1921 in Germany, which broke out when the capitalist offensive had already commenced, was drowned in the blood of the German proletariat by the hands of German social democracy. The Communist International, headed by Lenin, resolutely repelled the renegade Levy and his friends, who tried to slander the heroic March uprising, and at the same time they called attention to the "Left" mistakes of those Communists who, after the failure of the rebellion, tried to cover up their own errors by a peculiar "theory of the offensive." Recognising the March rebellion as a step forward, the Third Congress emphasised the task of fighting for the masses on the basis of the lessons of that rebellion.

(15) At the Third Congress (which took place on June 22-July 12, 1921), the Comintern declared that "the first period of the post-war revolutionary movement . . . is largely ended." (See stenographic Report of the Third Congress of the C.I. Theses and Resolutions, 1921, page 3.)

The commencing capitalist offensive threatened to weaken ideologically and organisationally the young and frail Communist Parties which had not yet managed to consolidate their ties with the broad masses.

"In the vast majority of countries our Parties are far from being what real Communist Parties, real vanguards of a real and the only revolutionary class should be, with all their members participating in the struggle, in the movement, in the daily life of the masses."—(Lenin, volume 26, page 493, Russian edition.)

In the new conditions, the Third Congress, warning the Communist Parties against sectarianism and, on the other hand, combating pessimist and defeatist moods, gave the World Communist movement the Bolshevist experience of organised retreat with a view to preparing for the new offensive. The most important historical significance of the main slogan of the Third Congress, the slogan "To the masses," was that this slogan was a programme of struggle of all the sections of the Comintern for an entire historical period, a programme of preparation for the second round of revolutions and wars.

The consolidation of the Soviet regime, the further capitalist offensive against the working class, the victory of fascism in Italy, such was the world situation at the time of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern (November 5 to December 5, 1922), the last Congress attended by Lenin. Under the symbol of struggle for the masses, for the majority of the working class, this Congress worked out further the tactics of the united front (which had been previously adopted in principle in the December thesis of 1921 and in the decisions of the First and Second Plenums of the E.C.C.I. in 1922). The Fourth Congress fought against the underestimation of these tactics on the part of most Communist Parties and against the Right and "Left" distortions of these tactics. Distortions sometimes expressed themselves in that the united front tactics were given an opportunist interpretation, as the task of bringing closer together and uniting the Communist Parties with the social democrats (Germany, Czechoslovakia, France), and sometimes they were distorted by "Left" sectarian elements who were incapable of getting in touch with the best sections of the social-democratic workers (Italy).

The united front tactics, the chief object of which in the opinion of the Comintern is the establishment of the unity of all workers in their struggle against capitalism, the unity of all their militant actions, are the tactics of irreconcilable struggle against the main obstacle in that struggle, viz., social democracy. In adopting these tactics, the Communists reserve to themselves the unlimited right to expose the social democrats even at the time of joint action; and they carry out these tactics primarily in the form of a united front from below.

(16) The struggles of 1923 served as a particularly valuable experience for all sections of the C.I.

The period of the occupation of the Ruhr by the French im-



perialists, which led to catastrophic development of the economic crisis in Germany, acute class struggles (powerful strikes and mass political demonstrations, especially in Upper Silesia and in the Ruhr), **disorganisation** in the government and confusion in the camp of the bourgeois parties, clearly indicated that "the question of the Communists seizing power was coming on the order of the day" (Stalin). As a result of the agreement between the Communists and "Left" social democrats, a "Workers' Government" was established in Saxony and Thuringia, not by an uprising, but by means of parliamentary combinations. A series of crude Right opportunist mistakes were committed by the Brandlerites (consisting of an **opportunist distortion of united front tactics**; a bloc with the "Left" social democrats in Saxony and Thuringia, giving the initiative to the latter and actually capitulating to them), facilitated the social-democratic policy of saving capitalism. **The treachery of the social democrats in Saxony determined the fate of the movement in favour of the bourgeoisie. The heroic uprising in Hamburg was not supported by the Brandlerites.** The underestimation of the revolutionary perspective and the capitulatory practice of the Brandlerites found expression in the theories of an **obvious Centrist character** ("establishment of a workers' government through parliament," "a bloc of all workers' parties," interpretation of the united front as tactics of "peaceful transition to the dictatorship," and as a "policy of coalition with the social democrats," Thalheimer's theory of the possibility of establishing a government of a transition type between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat).

In Bulgaria, at the time of the overthrow of the Stamboliski peasant government and Tsankov's fascist coup d'etat in 1923, a powerful wave of mass actions of the workers and peasants swept the country, which was not headed by the Bulgarian C.P. The latter failed to understand its tasks owing to the adherence to an erroneous Right opportunist "neutrality" theory. The heroic uprising of the workers and peasants in September of that year, prepared and headed by the Communists, did not affect the decisive proletarian centres and was drowned in blood.

(17) **The struggles of 1923 marked the final link in the chain of great class battles of the first period and the starting point of the second period of the general crisis of capitalism.** The struggle of the proletariat in that period was a direct struggle for power. Due to the treachery of the **Second International** and to the weakness of the Communist Parties, the struggle ended in victory for the bourgeoisie, notwithstanding the clearly expressed revolutionary situation.

"The objective conditions for a victorious revolution were at hand. What was lacking was only the subjective factor. There was no determined, conscious revolutionary workers' Party prepared for the fight. In other words, there was no genuine Communist Party." (Decision of the Fourth Congress of the C.I.)

These struggles revealed that Communism had won over only the **vanguard** of the revolutionary proletariat and that the winning of the broad masses had remained the task of future stubborn fights.

But these struggles enriched the working class with **invaluable experience** and became the starting point in the struggle of the Comintern for making all sections real Bolshevik Parties as a necessary condition for victory.

All sections of the C.I. learned the Bolshevik science of fighting and winning in **irreconcilable struggles against social-democratic survivals on the one hand and against anarcho-sindicalism on the other**, in a stubborn fight against the underestimation of the **role of the Communist Parties** as the leader of the masses (an underestimation linked up with the survivals of **Luxemburgism** and its incorrect theories on the question of "spontaneity and consciousness").

As early as 1924 Stalin wrote:—

"The process of the **final formation** of real Bolshevik Parties in the West, representing the bulwark in the impending revolution in Europe, **has begun.**—(Stalin, On the International Situation, see Bolshevik, 1924, No. 11, page 16.)

### III. Struggle for Mass Communist Parties

(18) The Fifth Congress of the C.I. (June 17 to July 2, 1924) was the **first Congress after Lenin's death.** That great loss strengthened the sense of responsibility of all the sections of the Comintern. It rallied them more closely around the C.P.S.U.

and served as an impetus towards the self-equipment of the Communist Parties with the mighty weapon of **Leninism**; it induced them to raise the **problems of Bolshevism** on a wide scale and to fight for **monolithic unity of the Party ranks.**

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern endorsed the decision of the E.C.C.I. which condemned the capitulatory tactics of the Brandlerites and the Trotskyists who supported them.

Comrade Stalin's splendid defence of the Leninist teachings against the attempt to distort it by the Trotskyists and the Right opportunists and his further development of Leninism has served all the sections of the C.I. as a powerful instrument in mastering the historical experience of the C.P.S.U.

(19) The defeat of the revolution in a number of countries of Western Europe and the agreement reached among the imperialists concerning the distribution of their military conquests and colonial plunder (the Washington Treaty of 1922, the Dawes Plan of 1924, Locarno in 1925) became a starting point in the **temporary stabilisation of capitalism.**

In every capitalist country capitalism succeeded, by lowering the standard of the working class, by capitalist rationalisation (which is carried out not only with the forces of the bourgeoisie and the whole apparatus of the bourgeoisie, but also with the forces of the international social democracy) in consolidating its position.

The imperialists, however, **did not succeed in smashing the first workers' state, the land of Soviets, and this fact became of decisive importance for the entire subsequent development of the general crisis of capitalism and the world proletarian revolution.** The bourgeoisie also failed to come to an agreement concerning a new military intervention in the U.S.S.R., and this created "a certain temporary equilibrium between two stabilisations" (Stalin).

Stabilisation of the Soviet power meant the further **rapid growth of socialism.** In the course of its development capitalist stabilisation revealed its **temporary and relative character.**

Even in the years when the class struggle was at its "quietest" the working class retaliated to the capitalist offensive by strikes against lowering the standards of living of the workers and in defence of the social gains of the early post-war period. The struggle frequently assumed a **political character.**

The class struggles in Great Britain, Austria, China, and several colonial countries were the plainest sign of and constituted a powerful factor in the shattering of capitalist stabilisation.

(20) At the time of the **general strike** (May 3-12, 1926), which affected about 5,000,000 workers, Great Britain was turned into an arena of fierce combats between labour and capital.

"The general strike has brought the British proletariat face to face with the problem of power."—(Theses of the E.C.C.I. on the lessons of the general strike in Great Britain.)

The capitulation of the general council and the leaders of the labour party to the bourgeoisie and their betrayal of the seven months' heroic miners' strike inscribed another shameful page in the history of the Second International.

The Communist Party and the Minority Movement were **not strong enough** to frustrate the treachery of the general council.

The general strike and mass demonstrations which broke out spontaneously in Vienna on July 15, 1927, ended in an **uprising.** **Although the Austrian social democrats suppressed that uprising jointly with the bourgeois troops,** its lessons were not lost on the Austrian proletariat, as was evident in the subsequent heroic armed struggle for power waged by the Austrian proletariat in February, 1934.

The **revolution in China,** and a series of revolts in the colonies, became a mighty factor in shattering the temporary stabilisation of capitalism.

The general strike in Shanghai of May 30, 1925, the heroic struggle of the Hongkong and Canton proletariat in 1925 and 1926, the northern campaign of the Canton Army and its occupation of South and Central China, down to the Yangtzi Valley (in the winter of 1926-27), were keenly watched by the whole world. The Canton uprising (December, 1927) marked the turning point from the Kuomintang to the Soviet stages. Even in the Kuomintang stage of the Chinese revolution the Communist Party of China headed the strike conflict of the workers and mass actions of the peasants of 1925-27, and fought for hegemony in the national struggle for liberation.

(21) The years of temporary stabilisation became a period of very persistent struggle on the part of the Communist International for the Bolshevisation of its sections, for establishing parties of a new type.

The main task of the Communist Parties in those years was to establish firmer contact with the masses "in order to link up the Communist Parties of the West with the trade unions." (Stalin.)

Under the new conditions the Parties had to learn to carry on painstaking day-to-day work in a revolutionary manner among the masses and especially in the trade unions, in the factories, among the unemployed, among agricultural labourers; they had to learn the art of co-ordinating the partial with the fundamental slogans of the movement. These tasks demanded that the Party ranks be cleansed of opportunists and particularly of social democratic agents and renegades who endeavoured to drag the movement back, and who had begun their retreat from Communism—to which they had come at the time of "storm and stress"—back to the fold of the Second International.

Turning its fire on the right, the Communist Party of Germany liquidated the capitulatory Brandler group. The Communist Party of Poland removed from the leadership and liquidated the Koszewa-Warsky group, which was akin to the Brandlerites, and expelled from its ranks the treacherous nationalist Wasilkov-Turjansky group. The Communist Party of France liquidated several Right-wing groups (Souvarine and others). The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia expelled from its ranks the treacherous Bubnik group and removed the conciliators from the leadership. The Communist Party of China purged itself of the Right opportunist and liquidationist Chen Du-Su faction. Bolshevisation demanded struggle also against "Left" deviators, which are the "main obstacle in the process of winning over the masses." (Sixth Plenum E.C.C.I.) The Communist Party of Italy waged a determined struggle against the anarcho-syndicalist Bordiga group. The Communist Party of Germany liquidated and later expelled from its ranks the ultra-"Left" and unprincipled Ruth Fischer-Maslov group.

All these Right and "Left" opportunists and liquidators were supported by the Trotskyists and later by the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition in the C.P.S.U., who gave ideological and organisational leadership to the general anti-Party front in the struggle against the "Dictatorship of Moscow," against the Comintern.

Trotskyism, reflecting the counter-revolutionary vacillations of the petty-bourgeoisie, actually proceeded to revise Leninism on the question of the socialist character of the October Revolution by denying Lenin's theory on the building of socialism in a single country. Under the "Left" banner of struggle against "national narrow-mindedness" and against the "Party regime," Trotskyism sought to disrupt the ranks of the C.P.S.U. and the Communist International. The Right group, headed by Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky, reflecting the resistance of the kulaks to the policy of collectivisation and the high rate of industrialisation, created a theory of the kulak growing into socialism and expounded the social democratic theory of "organised capitalism," underestimated the elements which were shattering capitalist stabilisation, underestimated the revolutionary perspective, and objectively inspired all the supporters of capitalist restoration by their ideology and fractional work.

(22) Contrary to the social democratic theories concerning the beginning of a new "democratic" era in the development of capitalism, an era of "organised capitalism," the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (July 18—September 1, 1928) on the basis of an analysis of the international situation, characterised the approaching third period as a period of the sharp intensification of all the internal and external contradictions of capitalism which "will inevitably lead, through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation to a severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism."

The whole work of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern proceeded under the symbol of preparation of the Comintern for the impending class battles. The Sixth Congress armed the Communist movement with a programme, with a document of world historical significance, the principles of which are "a law for millions of organised workers in every part of the world and of all races and nations of the earth." (From the Manifesto of the Sixth Congress.) On the basis of experience of the Chinese revolution and the events in India, the Sixth Congress developed Lenin's theses for the Second Congress on the national and colonial problems. The Con-

gress called upon the international proletariat to wage an intense struggle against imperialist wars, for the defence of the U.S.S.R.

Emphatically condemning Trotskyism and pointing out that, "On the basis of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, and owing to the direct influence of social democracy," the main deviation in the Communist Parties at the present time is to the Right of the correct political line, the Sixth Congress, directing its main blow at the Right, fought every shade of conciliation with deviations which in essence was a concealed form of opportunism, and armed the Communist Parties with the Bolshevik experience of the struggle on two fronts.

(23) The whole world development after the Sixth Congress fully confirmed the correctness of the analysis given by the Comintern of the Third Period of the general crisis of capitalism which had set in.

The economic crisis which began in the middle of 1929 in the United States became the most severe and prolonged world crisis in the history of capitalism.

This "crisis affects not only industry but also the whole of agriculture. It is raging not only in the sphere of commerce and trade, but has spread also to the sphere of credit and money circulation and is destroying all the existing credit and currency relations between the various countries." (Stalin's report to the Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.) This crisis led to a drastic lowering of the standard of living of working people, to enormous unemployment and unprecedented ruin of the peasantry.

On the one hand the completion of the Five-Year Plan of the U.S.S.R., one of the results of which was the liquidation of unemployment and a general improvement in the welfare of the masses, and on the other hand the colossal misery of the masses in the capitalist countries, extremely sharpened the class struggle within each country and hastened the growth of the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

The revolutionary fights of this period have been distinguished by their desperate and stubborn character, and frequently assumed the form of civil war and revolution, and thus hastened the end of capitalist stabilisation.

The years of 1930-33 were years of the rapid weakening of all the positions of capitalism and of the crisis of the Second International on the one hand, and of the reinforcement of the positions of socialism in the U.S.S.R., of the world revolutionary movement and of the Communist International on the other hand.

(24) The tremendous upsurge of the strike movement in Poland (the Lodz textile workers' strike, the stubborn miners' struggle in Dombrova and Cracow, which lasted for a month); the rapid growth of the strike movement in the U.S.A., which exceeded every movement of its kind in the last ten to twenty years; the strikes in India which, in the years 1928-30, held first place in the world for their immensity; the strikes in China in which over a million people took part in 1930 alone; the rising strike wave in England, France, Belgium and Czechoslovakia—refute the theories of the capitulators about the impossibility of successful economic struggles at a time of crisis. The economic struggles of the proletariat in these years are characterised, in addition to the great extent of the movements, by the variety and intensity of the forms of struggle, by their fiercer and more tenacious character, and in a number of countries have developed into mass struggles, collisions with the police and troops and even open civil war. The general political protest strike on March 16, 1932, in Poland, in which 300,000 workers participated and which was led by the Communist Party in Poland; the Belgian miners' strike in Borinage, which led to collisions with the military; the bloody collisions in Geneva in November, 1932; the strike of the Rumanian railway workers and oil workers which assumed the form of an armed battle with the police, the strikes of the French proletariat in Paris, Roubaix and Strassbourg, which were accompanied by barricade fighting; the great general strike in France in February, 1934, and finally, in Austria, the development of the general strike into the armed revolt of the proletariat in February, 1934—the experiences of these struggles clearly confirm the correctness of the line of the Comintern directed towards the further launching of daily economic and political struggles with a view to the general political strike and preparation for armed insurrection in a number of countries.

The revolution in Spain (April 14, 1931), which overthrew the fascist regime and involved millions of workers and peasants in a struggle against the power of the bourgeoisie and the landlords; the heroic struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers who broke

through the military terror in Japan; the unemployed hunger marches in **Great Britain and the United States**; the turbulent growth of the revolutionary movement of the peasants in practically all countries of the world; the demonstrations of the war veterans, the anti-war demonstrations, **mutinies in the armies and navies of the capitalist countries** assuming the form of open rebellions (the strike in the British Navy on September 14, 1931, in Invergordon; the mutiny in the Dutch Navy on one of the biggest cruisers, "De Zeven Provinciën," of February 9, 1933; the mutinies in the Australian Navy; the spontaneous uprising in the Chilean Navy in September, 1931; mutinies in the Japanese Army of Occupation), all these represent a series of links of the chain of uneven but constant **maturing of the revolutionary crisis.**

(25) **The Soviet revolution in China**, which is successfully developing, its leader, the Communist Party of China, and its offspring, the Red Army, are the battle flags of all subjected oriental nations which are rebelling against the yoke of imperialism.

At the time of the Japanese attack on China, the Communist Party of China was already a menacing force at the head of a powerful and invincible **Soviet movement** over a vast territory and the only leader in the anti-imperialist struggle of the Chinese people. On the streets of Chapei and Shanghai, on the fields of Manchuria, Jehol and Chahar, the Communists fought in the front ranks against Japanese imperialism.

From the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution emerge the **Soviets and their workers' and peasants' Red Army.** Breaking the yoke of imperialism, carrying out the agrarian revolution, consolidating the Soviet State, organising trade unions, organising groups of poor peasants, rallying the middle peasants around the Soviets and strengthening the alliance of the workers and peasants, the Chinese Soviet Republic has already repelled six counter-revolutionary campaigns of the Kuomintang and imperialist interventionists, and has become one of the greatest factors in the **world proletarian revolution.**

The successes of the Soviet revolution in China have proved by the experience of a vast semi-colonial country that

**"the Soviet Power is the State form of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, which ensures the growing over of the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution."** (Theses and decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum E.C.C.I.)

In all colonial and semi-colonial countries national reformism plays the same role of the chief impediment of revolution, as the Second International plays in the imperialist countries. The Kuomintang has paved the way for the partition of China among the imperialists. The National Congress in India, W.A.F.D. in Egypt, Kut el Vatani in Syria, the Arabian Executive Committee in Palestine, and the African National Congress, are following in the footsteps of the Kuomintang. By exposing their treachery, the Communists are undermining the influence of these organisations on the masses.

In Indo-China and in India the proletariat has already commenced a struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party for hegemony in the national liberation movement. In the Philippines, in Korea, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Algeria and in Indonesia Communist Parties have already been formed. **The colonial and semi-colonial countries are approaching the second round of revolutions and wars with growing and tempered Communist Parties.**

(26) The Third Period has brought to the fore as the main task of the Communist Parties **the acceleration of the radicalisation of the masses through partial economic and political battles preparatory to the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for a Soviet government.**

Although they lag behind the revolutionary upsurge, the Communist Parties are on the **upward grade**, having achieved the **consolidation of their ranks on the basis of the general line of the Communist International** as a result of the smashing of the Right and "Left" opportunists, the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites in all sections of the Communist International, the Right-wing Bucharin-Tomsky-Rakov group and the Right-Left Syrov bloc in the C.P.S.U., Serra in Italy, the Barbe group in France, the Li Li-hsian Leftist group, and the counter-revolutionary Lo-Chuanlung group in China, the group of Remmele-Neumann conciliators in Germany and Guttman in Czechoslovakia.

The creation of genuine Bolshevik mass parties has already been achieved in the weakest links of the imperialist chain, viz, in

**China, Germany, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Spain.** The Communist Parties in these countries have thousands and tens of thousands of members each; their influence extends over hundreds of thousands and millions of workers and peasants, they have already scored their first successes in establishing the united front. There is not a single Communist Party whose influence has not grown among the masses since the beginning of the economic crisis. The Communists are the only leaders of the masses, the motor of every revolutionary struggle, and they are the first to receive the blows of the class enemy. Most of the Communist Parties have gained the necessary prerequisites for becoming real mass fighting parties of the proletariat in the near future.

(27) **The social democratic survivals in the Communist Parties** have not yet been overcome, however. They are not yet quite able to conduct **mass work**, and especially to **consolidate organisationally** their political influence. This results in the Communist Parties **lagging behind** the extremely favourable objective situation.

Although the disintegration of social democracy is largely the result of the struggle of the Communists, the Communist Parties are not yet developing sufficiently their **offensive against international social democracy**, the unexampled treachery and collapse of which creates unusually favourable conditions for the offensive.

In the course of the last year the opportunist mistakes of the Communist Parties committed in connection with the united front tactics were expressed in the tail policy, in adaptation to the backward moods of social democratic workers (Norway, Czechoslovakia), in attempts to set up a bloc with the social democratic leaders (France).

The development of the **united front in the struggle** jointly with the social democratic workers of the reformist, Christian and mass fascist trade unions and energetic exposure of the social democratic parties by the Communists is the central task of the Communist Parties in the present circumstances. This task makes it necessary for the Communists to work in absolutely all hostile mass organisations, and especially in the reformist unions, which still embrace the decisive mass of the organised proletariat.

The Communist Party of Italy began to organise its work in the fascist organisations very belatedly. The Chinese Communist Party was similarly tardy in developing its activity in the yellow Kuomintang unions. The French and Spanish Communist Parties are still weak in the reformist unions. The Young Communist Leagues have not yet been able to carry on systematic work in the numerous bourgeois youth sport organisations and other organisations.

**The task of winning over the majority of the working class** demands the transformation of the factory committees, of the trade union oppositions, of the committees of unemployed, of the peasant committees, and especially the transformation of the **big enterprises**, into strongholds of the Communist Parties.

Abolishing their political and organisational **lagging** and their opportunist passivity, fighting against the tendency to leave things to take their own course, rejecting all theories of the automatic collapse of capitalism and fatalistic ideas of the inevitability of the triumph of fascism, the Communist Parties are **rising ever higher to the level of the great tasks which history has placed before them.**

(28) A number of historical tests have already shown that the Comintern has achieved successes in "the most difficult and most important matter" (Lenin), that of creating genuine Bolshevik Parties.

The war of 1914-18 was the test which proved that the Second International was bankrupt. In the struggle on two fronts, in the struggle against the opportunist underestimation of the imminence of war, against pacifist illusions, against mechanical theories about war as "the only road to revolution" and against the theories of vanguardism and putschism, the sections of the Comintern have mastered the **Marxian-Leninist policy in relation to war** and have accumulated rich experience in applying that policy in actual practice. The Communist Parties are conducting a **constant struggle in defence of the U.S.S.R. as the fatherland of the toilers of all countries.** The Communist Parties have many times led the broad masses into the streets against imperialist war and against the preparation of armed attack against the U.S.S.R. and in the defence of China and the colonies, and they are exposing all anti-Soviet intrigues and provocations, are fighting first and foremost the "enemy in their own countries," and are displaying examples of true proletarian internationalism.

Examples of this nature were displayed in the struggle of the **French Communist Party** against French imperialism during the war in Morocco, when, in an atmosphere poisoned with chauvinism, it organised open proletarian action against colonial plunder, for the defence of the right of Morocco and other colonies to self-determination and for the withdrawal of troops from Morocco.

An example of Bolshevik struggle against war has been provided by the **Communist Party of China**, which revealed itself as the **only Party** capable of leading the mass anti-imperialist movement, the national revolutionary war against Japanese and world imperialism, in defence of China's independence and integrity. The Communist Party of China is organising mass resistance to Japanese imperialism, and is at the same time fighting against its own bourgeoisie and landlords, represented by the Kuomintang government of national betrayal and disgrace. Enriching the world revolutionary movement with forms of struggle such as the creation of an invincible Red Army, the experience of guerilla warfare and mass demoralisation of the enemy forces and of the rear, the Communist Party of China has already become the most dangerous enemy of imperialism in the whole East.

An example of Bolshevik struggle against imperialist war is displayed by the **Communist Party of Japan**, which, in an atmosphere of poisonous Japanese chauvinism and bloody terror of the monarchist-militarist dictatorship, has been able to go **against the stream**, to hold aloft the banner of **proletarian internationalism**, to organise resistance to Japanese imperialism, and to mobilise the workers, peasants and soldiers of the Japanese army under the Bolshevik slogans of "Defeat your own government" "Transform the imperialist war into a civil war," "Withdraw the Japanese forces from China," and "Defence of the U.S.S.R."

The sections of the Communist International have already shown in the decisive countries that they represent a **serious obstacle on the road to imperialist war, that they alone will fight to the end to prevent war by means of revolution, and in the event of an outbreak of war will organise a powerful blow in the rear of the imperialist armies and hasten the transformation of war into revolution.**

(29) **Hitler's coming to power** was a test, especially for the Communist Party of Germany and also for all other sections of the Comintern. The **Communist Party of Germany**, far from being frightened by the severe test, turned it into a starting point for the further consolidation of the whole Party around the **Central Committee and the Communist International.**

Although the fascists threw Comrade Thaelmann, the Party leader, into jail, and imprisoned thousands of active Party members, drove 60,000 revolutionary workers into concentration camps and are killing Communists daily with and without trial, the Communist Party of Germany has not discontinued its struggle for a single hour. Having gone underground as a mass Party, it is organising and is at the head of the **united front** of the Communist, social-democratic and non-party workers in their struggle against fascism, is leading the workers in demonstrations in spite of the fierce terror, is leading strikes, is establishing still closer contacts with the factories, is distributing a vast amount of literature and is displaying wonders of heroism, Bolshevik perseverance and Party spirit.

In the struggle against the fascist dictatorship and bestial chauvinism and nationalism, the C.P.G. is holding aloft the standard of proletarian internationalism. The C.P.G. is the force which is leading and will bring the German proletariat to the victory of Soviet Germany.

Hitler's coming to power, which increased the activity of the fascist gangs in all other countries, far from catching the Communist Parties of these countries unawares and demoralising their ranks, has, on the contrary, consolidated them more than ever in the **struggle against fascism** as the only army which is rendering the Communist Party of Germany fraternal and active international support. The Communists were at the head of the great revolutionary actions of the workers of France against fascism in February, 1934.

(30) **The cadres of the Communist Parties display marvellous heroism and self-sacrifice.** In all countries, in the home countries as well as in the colonies, in the lands of "democracy" as well as in the lands of fascism, the Communist Parties are subjected to persecution. In some countries, such as Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, China and Japan, the Communists are subjected to mediæval torture. The German fascists

perpetrate incredible brutalities and acts of sadism, compared with which all that is known in the history of the persecution of revolutionaries pales into insignificance.

But the more brutal the class enemy is, the greater becomes the spirit of daring and heroism in the ranks of the fighters of the proletarian revolution. Only the great banner of Communism, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, only the Marxian understanding of its **great class mission**, only the firm conviction of its historical correctness and in the imminence of victory, a conviction deeply substantiated by the great successes of socialism in the U.S.S.R., creates heroes of the **Dimitrov and Luettgens** type and of thousands of unnamed heroes who fall daily in the cause of Communism in various parts of the globe.

(31) **The unshakeable unity** of the ranks of the C.P.S.U., the leading section of the Comintern, accomplished **under the leadership of Comrade Stalin**, is a decisive factor in the growth and consolidation of the forces of Communism throughout the world.

The Party of Lenin and Stalin is able, on the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Comintern, to report victories of world historical importance. The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., a Congress of the decisive victory of socialism, as admitted not only by the friends but also by the enemies of the U.S.S.R., held the attention of the whole world. Under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., the proletarian revolution has fulfilled its fundamental tasks and has achieved splendid victories over the forces and traditions of the capitalist world. The C.P.S.U. has demonstrated to the workers of all countries that it is possible to build socialism in a single country. The C.P.S.U. has shown to the revolutionary fighters of all countries the Bolshevik art of rousing millions for the struggle for socialism and of leading them over all obstacles from victory to victory. The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., having demonstrated to the world that the ranks of the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern are monolithic and solidly united around their leader, Comrade Stalin, has already become a new mighty lever in the cause of Bolshevisation of all sections of the C.I.

#### IV. On the Threshold of a Second Round of Revolutions and Wars

(32) Having intensified the struggle for foreign markets, having destroyed the last remnants of free trade, and called forth a trade and currency war, the world economic crisis strengthens nationalism in the economic policy of the bourgeoisie and places war on the order of the day as a means of bringing about a re-division of the world.

The extension of the war of Japanese imperialism against China, the extreme intensification of antagonisms in the Pacific, the preparations of Japanese and German imperialism with the support of Great Britain for a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R., the withdrawal of Germany and Japan from the League of Nations, the end of bourgeois pacifism and the fascisation of the dictatorship of finance capital, all signify the attempt of decaying capitalism to find a way out of the crisis and avert the revolutionary blow of the proletariat by demolishing the vanguard of the working class through **fascism and war.** "Fascism is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital."—(Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

**The bourgeoisie chooses the way of war.**

**The proletariat enters the road to proletarian revolution.**

The results of the First Five-Year Plan in the U.S.S.R. and the colossal successes of Soviet peace policy have demonstrated to the workers of all countries what the proletarian dictatorship can give. Hitler's Germany has shown them what awaits them if the bourgeoisie remains in power. The proletariat does not want the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie either in the form of fascism or in the form of bourgeois democracy. **Either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, that is how history poses the question.**

"The chief slogan of the Communist International is: **Soviet Power.**" (Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

(33) **The general strike in France and the armed uprising of the Austrian proletariat** (February, 1934) are another historical landmark in the struggle for the Soviet Power. The beginning of a new counter-offensive of the working class against capitalism, against fascism, for socialism, the **beginning of a wave of civil war in Europe.** The proletariat of Austria, doubly enslaved by its own and foreign capital, reduced to despair by starvation and unemploy-



ment, by the onslaught of fascism, the menace of war, and by the treacherous policy of the leaders of Austro-Marxism, courageously raised the banner of struggle for power and heroically threw the lives of their men, women and children on the scales of the proletarian revolution.

The armed revolt of the Austrian proletariat delivered a heavy blow to Austro-Marxism. Over the heads of Otto Bauer and Karl Renner, the united fighting front of all workers of Austria was realised in the civil war.

In those historical days of February, 1934, the **united front** also triumphed over the heads of the Blums and Faures in France in the form of revolutionary demonstrations attended by hundreds of thousands, and in the great **general strike** of the French proletariat, which held the attention of the world, scared the bourgeoisie to death and revealed the invincible strength of the proletariat.

The events in Austria and France, which found a revolutionary echo in Spain, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Great Britain, the United States and other countries, revealed the sharp turn of the social democratic masses to the side of the proletarian revolution. **These events will constitute a turning point in the history of the struggle of the Communist International for the united front.**

Unevenly, but surely, the revolutionary crisis is growing all over the world. The extension and consolidation of the Soviet Republic of China, the rapid growth of the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang struggle all over China, the growing "dangerous thoughts" in the rear of Japanese fascism, the incipient crisis in German fascism and the growth of a new revolutionary upsurge in Germany, the deepening of the revolution in Spain, the successes of the anti-war and anti-fascist movements in all countries, the new wave of revolutionary struggle of the unemployed in Great Britain, the revolution in Cuba and the demonstration of the moral power of Communism at the Leipzig trial, in which Dimitrov indicted German fascism, all these are links in the ever-strengthening united front of the world proletarian revolution. **"The idea of storming the citadel of capitalism is maturing in the minds of the masses"** all over the world. (Stalin.) On the threshold of the new round of revolutions and wars, the role of the Communist Party, as the organiser of revolution, is assuming decisive significance.

"The victory of the revolution never comes by itself; it has to be prepared and won. And only a strong proletarian, revolutionary party can prepare for it and win it." (Stalin. Report at Seventeenth Party Congress.)

(34) In the conditions when the last and "decisive battle" is approaching, a cleavage in the working class is the main source of its weakness; the main obstacle in the way of winning over to the side of the proletarian revolution numerous reserves. This cleavage is a result of the treachery of social democracy, a result of its policy of saving bourgeois rule from the proletarian revolution. There can be no other unity for the working class than fighting unity against the bourgeoisie, the unity in the struggle for the fulfilment of the historical mission of the working class, for the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois rule, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism. Such unity will be accomplished by the world proletariat in spite of all hindrances, in a relentless struggle, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the main social support of the latter, international democracy.

(35) The Second International is decaying. Bankrupt at the beginning of the world war in 1914, the Second International consolidated its ranks in 1924 after the proletarian revolution was defeated in Western Europe. The Second International retained its influence on the workers by relying on the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, on the temporary stabilisation of capitalism. Under the banner of democracy it defended the **bourgeois dictatorship** against the revolutionary workers with the aid of machine-guns used by Noske, Wels and Grzesinsky. It tore out of the hands of the German workers the weapon of the **mass political strike** when it became necessary for the masses to defend themselves against the fascist onslaught. It invariably sabotaged the daily struggle of the proletariat and **hundreds of times broke up the united proletarian front** which alone would have been able to deliver a decisive blow to fascism. The most despicable behaviour of German social democracy at the time of Hitler's coming to power summed up the whole period of betrayal, treachery and provocation. The road pursued by the German social democrats during the last fifteen years was a road

"from bloody suppression of the proletarian revolution in 1918,

through an uninterrupted chain of treachery and strike-breaking, through all the coalition governments, the savage police massacres of revolutionary workers, voting for Hindenburg as the 'lesser evil,' to servile endeavours to co-operate openly with the fascist gangs." (Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

The political suicide of German social democracy, the leading section of the Second International; the split of the French socialist party into three parts; the complete bankruptcy of Austro-Marxism; the withdrawal of the British Independent Labour Party from the Second International; the drop in the membership of the reformist unions; the formation in practically every social democratic party of neo-fascist on the one hand and "Left" groups on the other; the unprecedented ideological confusion in the leadership and the surging mass movement of the social democratic workers in favour of a united front with the Communists; all this clearly speaks of the **disintegration of the Second International. The new crisis of social democracy, which is part of the crisis of bourgeois rule, is the result of the successful struggle of the Communist Parties to win over the majority of the working class, and is the forerunner of the new round of proletarian revolutions.**

(36) Establishing a united front against the entire system of wage slavery and colonial oppression, the international proletariat is equipped with a faultless compass, which shows the way to power and emancipation on the threshold of the great impending battles. That compass is Leninism, "Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution." (Stalin.)

In 1914, in face of an incomparably stronger and more powerful capitalism, the International proletariat, betrayed by the leaders of the Second International, had only **one Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin.** In 1934, the toilers and the oppressed of the world have their socialist fatherland, a living and invincible stronghold of their struggle, and the **Communist International which unites in its ranks the Communist Parties of 65 countries.**

In 1914, a handful of brave fighters, headed by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin, raised the proletarian banner in Germany against mighty imperialism and exposed themselves to the treacherous blows of the traitors of August 4. To-day the Communist Party of Germany, an army of 100,000 devoted fighters, is getting ready in the firing line, to storm the fascist dictatorship and to fight for the victory of **Soviet Germany.**

In 1914 there were no Soviets in China. To-day their victories have a terrific effect on the whole structure of world imperialism and are bringing nearer the hour of its doom.

There is not a country in the world in which the advanced workers are not waging a revolutionary struggle for a Soviet government. Even the weakest Communist Party strikes terror into the hearts of the exploiters. **The world proletariat has its World Communist Party, hardened, united and trained in the course of fifteen years of struggles in the cause of the working class. The great strength of the Communist International and of its sections in face of war and fascism, lies in the iron unity they have won.**

During the fifteen years of its existence the Communist International has welded the struggle of the international proletariat with the cause of **October, with the victorious construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R.,** and the protection of the latter; and it has united the struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialism with the struggle of the proletariat for the world socialist revolution into one indivisible whole.

(37) Ten years ago the Communist International declared over the fresh grave of Lenin: "Lenin is our immortal leader." The prophets of the Second International at that time declared that the death of Lenin and the coming of MacDonald to power were signs of the end of Bolshevism and the beginning of a new epoch of "peaceful socialism." **The ten years which have passed under Comrade Stalin's leadership since Lenin's death are a period of world historical victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and of the growth of the influence of the Communist Parties in all countries. During these ten years the struggle between the two systems rose to a new and higher level and confronted victorious and growing socialism with declining and decaying capitalism.**

Comrade Stalin mapped out the path of the world proletarian revolution and the fundamentals of Bolshevik strategy and tactics in the new conditions of world development. Comrade Stalin not only defended and splendidly developed Lenin's teachings of the **possibility of building socialism in a single country,** he has headed the struggle of tens of millions for the realisation of this theory and



has transformed the U.S.S.R. into the greatest lever of history, that is hastening the downfall of capitalism.

Stalin's fight against Trotskyism and against the Right liquidators on the questions of the Chinese revolution placed the Communist Party of China on the right track and secured the conditions necessary for its transition to the Soviet phase of development. The struggle against all anti-Leninist deviations conducted in the C.P.S.U. and in the Comintern under Comrade Stalin's leadership revealed to all Communist Parties the profound fundamental and practical revolutionary significance of the fight for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teachings, the struggle on two fronts, for the leading and organising role of the Party, for winning the majority of the working class, for winning its allies, for correct, concrete and operative leadership in the class battles of all detachments of toilers. Comrade Stalin took a leading part in working out the programme of the C.I. There is not a single important decision of the C.I., not a single forecast that is not permeated with Stalin's far-sightedness, his ability to map out the line of attack and strike a crushing blow at the enemy.

Lenin led the proletariat to the victory of October on one-sixth of the globe, formed the Communist International and headed its struggle in the period of the first round of wars and revolutions. In the period of the second round of revolutions and wars the Leninist Communist International, under the leadership of Stalin, will lead the proletariat of all countries to the victory of the World October.

The revolutionary workers have not in vain passed through the fifteen years of school of the Communist International. Under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, they will carry on to the end the building of classless society in the U.S.S.R., will convert the imperialist and counter-revolutionary offensive of the bourgeoisie into civil war against capitalism, into a victorious proletarian revolution, into the triumph of Soviet China, into the victory of the Soviet revolution in Europe, into the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat all over the world.

"Let the bourgeoisie rage, let it murder additional thousands of workers; victory is on our side. The victory of the World Communist Revolution is assured." (Lenin.)

Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## Struggle Against Unemployment

### National Unemployment Convention in the U.S.A.

By I. Amter (New York)

The National Convention against Unemployment which was held in Washington on February 3-5, was a splendid, militant, enthusiastic convention. It represented a cross-section of the fighting American working class, unemployed and employed, members of unions of the A.F. of L., independent and T.U.U.L. unions, Negro and white, native and foreign-born. The 900 delegates from 35 States had undergone many hardships to get to the convention. One delegation—from California—did not reach the convention, having been arrested on the way by the police.

The speeches at the convention showed the leadership that is developing among the unemployed. Particularly the Negro workers, men and women, excelled. These workers are no longer leaders of the Negro people alone, but are the recognised leaders against unemployment in their localities. Reports of white workers from the south—from the lynch-ridden States of Alabama and Georgia—showed how the white workers are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Negro workers for Negro rights. The discussion on the Negro question was an outstanding point of the whole convention and all the sub-conferences.

The convention showed a growing appreciation on the part of the unions of the importance of unemployed work. The sub-conference of 300 trade unionists was the best conference and adopted a resolution which, if put into effect, will put the unions of the T.U.U.L. and the opposition groups in the A.F. of L. on the road to doing effective unemployed work, which up to the present has been sadly lacking.

The report of the National Committee made by I. Amter, National Secretary, reviewed the situation in the country, the

"new deal," its effects on the unemployed and the workers in the shops, the loss of income, cutting of relief, the discrimination against Negroes and foreign born; the denial of relief to young workers, the plight of the children, etc; the rising fascism and the preparations for war. It dealt with the organisational aspects of the work, the struggle for the Workers' Social Insurance Bill, which has been introduced in the U.S. Congress by the reformist politician, Lundeen, of the farmer labour party of Minnesota. It dealt with the question of the united front and of unity of all unemployed organisations into one fighting body.

Comrade *Herbert Benjamin*, National Organiser, analysed in detail the Workers' Bill and ripped to pieces the bogus bills that are being presented to the U.S. Congress and the various State legislatures. *Phil Frankfeld*, Secretary of the Pittsburgh Unemployment Council, showed how the Pittsburgh organisation has been built up, the achievements of the struggles conducted there and the building of the united front with the Musteite controlled organisations.

The discussion, which was most lively, showed the battles that have been conducted, which are only a forerunner of what is coming. Roosevelt is ending the civil works projects. Hours have been reduced and wages accordingly. By May 1, some 4,000,000 C.W.A. workers will be added to the 16,000,000 unemployed.

Workers took the floor and told how the Communist Party is leading the fight. "Only two weeks ago I joined the Communist Party," said a militant Negro woman comrade of Pittsburgh. "I am a young Communist. As long as the Communist Party and Unemployment Council exist, you will find me on the fighting line." Although there were workers of all political opinions and organisational affiliations present, this speech brought forth a storm of applause.

When Comrade *Robert Minor* rose to greet the convention in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, he was greeted with an ovation. Every unemployed worker knows the leading role of the Communists in the struggle of the unemployed.

The weaknesses of the convention were: insufficient discussion of methods of struggle, the united front. There was a totally inadequate number of young workers present. This is a most dangerous feature, in view of the extensive government efforts to enrol the young workers and the putting of 300,000 into the military forced labour camps (C.C.C. camps). The reports emphasised this danger, which it is expected the local councils will immediately rectify.

The centre of the discussion was the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill and how to force the government to enact it. It is now possible to enter every working-class organisation to secure endorsement. But this is not sufficient: The N.U.C. will organise demonstrations, marches, stoppages and strikes, and will make May Day a day of demonstration and struggle for the Workers' Bill.

The convention divided up into delegations to see government institutions on the problems of the various groups of the unemployed. A delegation went to see the president, but as usual he refused to see a workers' delegation. In closing, the convention elected a broad *National Executive Board* of 54 members representative of all sections of the country and of the affiliated groups.

The fight for the Workers' Bill, for the united front and for unifying the unemployed organisations now takes on a sharp form. Increasing unemployment—500,000 workers were fired in January; cutting down of relief; the threat to put 1,000,000 boys into the military camps; the proposal to create "economic storm troops" to quell "internal disturbances"; the appropriation of funds for war purposes, while the unemployed hunger—all demand action.

On February 19 the socialist and Lovestoneite leaders of the New York reformist unemployed organisation split the united front, which had held a successful demonstration on February 15 composed of nine organisations. This is part of their campaign to divide the working class at a time when unity is the crying demand. In Pittsburgh, the Musteite leaders of the Unemployed Leagues who were expelled by the socialists for united front action, did not unite with our Unemployed Councils, but attempted to build a third organisation. These splitting activities are being repeated in all parts of the country.

The convention furnishes the basis for a growing unification of the unemployed movement, which is fundamental for forcing the government to adopt the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, the unifying demand of the whole working class.

# India

## The Karnik-Roy-Shetty Group

By V.

In one of the recent documents of the Roy group many objections to the attacks of the Communists were raised. In the present conditions of the labour movement in India, particularly in Bombay, an answer to those complaints of the Roy followers may serve some useful purpose and *help* to fight reformism in all its shades. Let us quote the main points of their complaint:—

"We are not told how the Roy group deserves that title . . . anti-proletarian, anti-revolutionary . . . C.I. line is wrong and had resulted in the ruin and disruption of the Indian working-class movement . . . the next charge is that the Roy group was against the formation of the C.P. Nothing can be further away from the truth. . . . It is a malicious libel to say that the Roy group advocates the formation of a left party under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. . . . You have charged the Roy group with spreading distrust amongst the workers . . . it is a lie . . . the split took place not on difference in principle or policy, etc."

In short, the Roy group claims that they are the Communists, true and good and that it is the Communist International which is carrying on an anti-Communist line in India.

The Roy-Karnik-Kandalkar group fights the Communist movement (or as they say, bogus Communist movement) under the colours of "Communism." It represents the most harmful group of reformists. All the workers will easily see that it is the line of the Roy-Karnik group which is treacherous and harmful for the working-class movement. The facts will justify it.

The Indian Communists claimed and justly claimed that the basic question of the revolutionary proletarian movement is to define clearly its attitude towards the bourgeoisie and its political organisations. The Communists declare that in India there are *three camps*, *first*—the imperialist camp composed of the imperialists, princes, landlords, money-lenders and compradors; *secondly*—national-reformist camp composed of the bourgeoisie, liberal landlords and upper strata of the petty-bourgeoisie connected with the Indian upper classes; and *thirdly*—the revolutionary camp composed of the working class, peasantry and town poor.

The process of differentiation is still going on and the biggest task of the Communists is to help the toiling masses to understand that the national-reformist camp which, although it has its differences with the imperialist camp, comes closer and closer to the imperialists to fight jointly the growing workers' and peasants' revolution. The tasks of the Communists are to enlighten the toiling masses, explain and prove in practice that independence can be achieved only through a revolution carried out by the third camp led by the working class under the direction of the Communist Party. The task of the Communists is to expose the true role of the reformist camp and isolate the reformists from the masses, destroy the influence of the reformists and *this is the main condition* to be established, so that the toiling masses should be able to march forward towards the revolution.

Now the Communists justly claim that the Roy-Karnik-V. N. Joshi group helps the reformist camp and as a matter of fact plays the role of the most harmful agents of the reformist camp in the labour movement. And it can be supported by many facts. One of the most important questions of the revolutionary movement is correctly to explain the class nature of Gandhism and of the Indian National Congress. If Gandhism represents the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie, then the workers must at the present time continuously fight and expose it without making any alliance with it, because the Indian bourgeoisie has proved that it is opposed to a revolutionary struggle for independence. If Gandhism represents the interests and aspirations of the petty-bourgeoisie, then, even while exposing, the workers can make agreements, etc., i.e., take a friendly attitude, trying to get it to our side in the fight against imperialism, because the majority of the petty-bourgeoisie is ready at the present time to fight the imperialists.

Now the platform of action of the Communist Party of India openly stated that Gandhism, from beginning till the end, repre-

sented the interests of the bourgeoisie and liberal landlords and is nothing else but a liberal servant of British imperialism.

The Roy-Karnik group is of an opposite opinion. It claims that Gandhism represents the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie and that the National Congress thus was led by the petty-bourgeoisie. Therefore this group agitated for an all united national front (see the slogan during Bombay "Labour Week" of 1930—workers and peasants are arm and leg of the Congress) with the bourgeoisie and proposed to put pressure on the Congress leadership through its left wing (Nehru, Bose, etc.) in order to improve its policy. They recommended to win the Congress from within and at the same time to abstain from criticism of the Congress leadership. In short, they proposed to the working class not to attempt to come forward as an independent class force but remain as an obedient servant of the Indian bourgeoisie. Even at the present time (in 1933) when the Roy-Karnik-Kandalkar group is compelled to admit that the National Congress is run and led by the bourgeoisie ("Mahratta," October 15, 1933, page 5) it continues to state (see an article by Karnik) that

"Gandhi represents nothing but petty-bourgeois humanitarianism hopelessly bewildered in the meshes of the staggering forces of human progress."

Gandhism is petty-bourgeois humanitarianism obsessed with wrong economic ideals—that is how the national reformists try to fool the masses and conceal the fact that Gandhism represents the interests of the bourgeoisie. The purpose of such an agitation is clear. The Roy-Karnik group hopes to succeed in fooling the masses, but it will be sadly disappointed. The working class will understand that all actions of Gandhism and I.N.C., including their participation in the Round Table Conference, collection of taxes from the peasants in U.P. and so on and so forth, can and should be explained only by the fact that *Gandhism represents the interests of the bourgeoisie and liberal landlords*. That is why Gandhism, after fourteen years of manoeuvres, proved now its bankruptcy. Because the reformist camp is not able to carry a fight for independence, it is not able to defend the interests of the workers and peasants, it is only able to make compromises with imperialism, it does its best to disorganise the Indian revolution.

When the bankruptcy of bourgeois Gandhism became now so clear, the Roy-Karnik-Shetty group is trying to save the situation by inviting *Nehru* to get rid of Gandhi and assume complete leadership of the I.N.C. and save the country (see the same article of Karnik). The National reformists invite the workers to give support to Nehru, who in his numerous articles and statements zealously uses pseudo-Marxism to spread the following basic Gandhite idea:—

"Personally I have accepted the non-violent method, because not only did it appeal to me in theory, but it seemed to be peculiarly suited to present conditions in India.

. . . . I believe that for a long time to come our most effective methods must be non-violent." ("Bombay Chronicle," 21-11-33.)

And so, it is clear that the Karnik group, while shouting at the top of their voices that they are against capitalism and imperialism, are doing their best to defend Gandhism and I.N.C., describing it as petty-bourgeois and Nehru as revolutionary-Marxist and in this way save the leadership and positions of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois National Congress and bring confusion in the minds of the workers. Because, after all, how can the workers fight imperialism and drive away its liberal servants, the bourgeoisie, if to them the capitalists appear without political organisation, if Gandhism and his lieutenants are simply bewildered petty-bourgeois humanitarians. And after that the Roy group has the audacity to complain of and slander the Communists, because they, the Communists, accuse them of being the servants of the reformist bourgeoisie who help, in this way, the imperialists to keep the country in subjugation.

The Karnik group recently began to claim very loudly that it believes in the hegemony of the working class. Well, let us see what are the facts. Mr. Karnik ("Mahratta," October 15, 1933) described the political development of the working class in the following way:—

"But the backward masses of the Indian people (i.e., workers and peasants.—Ed.) are not yet politically conscious. . . . They are not able to grasp big political issues. National independence must be made intelligible to them."

These national reformists (Karnik, Shetty, etc.) are willing to

accept the political development of the workers and recommend their participation in the political struggle when the workers submit to the leadership of the bourgeoisie and support the reformist National Congress. But when the workers begin to fight reformism and are opposing the Congress, the workers at once become in their eyes politically backward.

That is why in the eyes of the national reformists the workers are not politically conscious and cannot grasp big political issues, such as national independence. But that is a glaring lie. Even Bose, Gandhi, etc., were compelled to admit that the workers and toiling masses in general not only readily came forward to support the independence movement (1929-32), but that it was precisely the pressure of the toiling masses that compelled the Congress leadership to start unwillingly the mass movement, but to start in such a way as to finish it as quickly as possible. And then, maybe the Roy-Karnik, etc., group heard about the boycott of the Simon and Whitley commissions movement or saw workers' demonstrations in the cities of India and heard the slogans put forward by the workers. And now our poor, innocent babies complain when the Communists declare that the Roy group is "spreading mistrust among the workers . . . is an anti-proletarian group," which fights against the hegemony of the working class and the formation of the C.P.

Or maybe the Karnik-Lalji-Pendse, etc., group will say that they are for the leadership of the working class because it is politically unconscious and cannot understand the need to fight for independence. This statement of Karnik explains their appraisal of the role of the working class. In the same article it is further said:—

"They must be given a programme of action. They must be led in the struggle for partial demands and then out of that struggle mass organisations will grow. . . . Thus mobilised in the struggle with this programme of action, the masses will learn by experience that even their minimum demands cannot be satisfied under imperialism and then their economic struggle should be linked up with the major political issue of national independence."

This is a programme of national reformists, and it is clear why. According to the Karnik-Kandalkar group, the working class and the toiling masses in general are not able to understand the need to fight against imperialism, that there is no use to raise before them "big political issues" and therefore it is necessary to limit their struggle to economic, trade unionist activity and put forward only partial demands. In future, promises Mr. Karnik, we will link up the economic struggle with the political one, but now, not at all. Well, innocent babies of the Karnik group, where is the difference between you and the liberals and all those who recommend the toiling masses to limit themselves to legitimate struggle for economic demands and not bother with the struggle for independence, with an organisation of a mass campaign against the constitution, etc.? Is it not a programme of a national reformist, of an agent of the bourgeoisie, whose chief task is at the present time to stop and disorganise the mass movement? A task which now is being carried out by the liberals, Congress, Gandhi, Bose, Nehru and others.

The Karnik group tries to describe their reformist policy as a Bolshevik one and accuse the Communists of ultra-radicalism. But it is clear to everybody that this policy of the Karnik group has nothing to do with Bolshevism. The Bolsheviks always stressed the need to carry on the struggle for the partial demands and the need to carry the tactic of united front from below, both in the period of reaction, or rising revolutionary mass movement.

"The economic, trade union struggle is one of the permanent expressions of the proletarian movement, which under capitalism is always necessary and at all times obligatory" (Lenin), and this the Communists will always remember and carry out. And it is stated in the platform of action of the Communist Party of India. But this Bolshevik definition of the policy of struggle for partial demands has nothing in common with the policy of the Roy group, which under the pretext of partial demands does its best to limit the working class to trade unionism only, does its best to convert the working class into an appendage of the reformist bourgeoisie, an appendage which would voluntarily clear up the political field free for the bourgeois congress, so that it should be able together with Nehru, etc., to maintain the leading positions and control the mass movement. This policy of the Karnik-Shetty

group is the policy of the agents of the bourgeoisie and must be combated in the sharpest way, because the leadership of the working class and the formation of the Communist Party can be achieved only when the Communists will learn to combine the struggle for partial demands with the struggle for independence and other basic tasks of the coming Indian revolution.

But Karnik-Kandalkar, who invite the workers to wait with the struggle against imperialism under the false pretext that the workers are politically not conscious, those people should not complain when they are accused of being agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, because they are. Therefore, the clamour of the Roy group about alleged sectarianism of the Communist International is raised by them in order to cover up their reformist position, their fight against the independent role of the working class, against the hegemony of the working class in the mass movement, against the interests of the workers and peasants.

Therefore it is clear why the Karnik-Roy-Shetty group is against the actual formation of the Communist Party and proposes to create a left wing bourgeois party. As a matter of fact the creation of a left nationalist party represents the central idea of this group, which they try to realise all the time, although each time under a different name.

The same Mr. Karnik in his article "Retrospect of last three years and the need of the present hour" ("Maharatta," October 1, 1933), after criticising (!) the National Congress, declared:—

"A party of the revolutionary radicals voicing the demands of the inarticulate masses must come forth. That is the need of the hour. The task before this party is to champion the interests of the masses by voicing their demands and starting country-wide organisation for enlisting definite support for them and fighting for their realisation on every possible front and every opportunity."

A party of radicals as the leader of the masses, to substitute or to be more correct to assist the National Congress, that is the old idea of the Roy group, that is clear enough. Where does the leadership of the working class come in? And after that the innocent babies are complaining. They claim that they never had the intention to subordinate the working class to the bourgeoisie. Who will believe them? One of the leaders of the "Bombay Provincial Working-Class Party," Shetty, wrote an article in "Maharatta," November 19, 1933, where he explained in a more detailed way their idea of the role of the working class.

"While admitting the necessity of the organisation of the party of the proletariat to lead the struggle, the immediate question of organising the anti-imperialist forces which is presented by the present situation has to be faced. . . . This situation has to be tackled with political realism. . . . The left wing radicals should make a determined effort to forge themselves into a party with a scientific programme of national-democratic revolution . . . the formation of the Congress left wing into a well-disciplined and functioning party is the correct approach to the Congress rank and file by the cadre of convinced Marxists."

Yes, the "Marxists" (!) say, we admit the need of building a party of the proletariat (and "Bombay Provincial Working-Class Party" was created to which we shall refer later), but the immediate task is to form a left wing Congress Party with us "convinced Marxists" at the head of it. What for? In order to lead the national-democratic revolution. Well, there is consistency in the theories of the Roy group and this consistency is the constant fight against the hegemony of the working class, against the formation of the C.P. The Roy group stands by its old idea to form a left wing (!) bourgeois party to lead the masses which they sometimes try to describe as a petty-bourgeois party that includes workers, peasants, artisans, etc., sometimes as a workers' and peasants' party, sometimes as workers' party, etc. At the head of this party they visualise besides themselves Nehru, Bose, Ruikar, etc. And so, to lead the masses, the left national reformists propose to create a left nationalist party which is nothing else but a bourgeois party with a more radical programme, but to throw dust in the eyes of the workers, to satisfy their desire to form an independent proletarian organisation, to fool the workers and chain them to the bourgeois chariot, the "convinced Marxists" have formed a *Bombay Provincial Party* (see "Maharatta," November 19, 1933). The programme of this party has a number of demands, which are distinguished by their vagueness. However, it contains two clear points which constitute

the very essence of it. First point: a promise to "fight all disruptive elements" (according to their explanation—the Communists) and second point—to contest elections.

This party is a necessary supplement to the party of radicals and is put forward to keep the masses under the leadership of the congress bourgeoisie and bring a split into the working-class movement. Still, it is more typical for "convinced Marxists" that instead of placing the main stress on developing at the present time mass resistance to the constitution, instead of developing the non-payment of rent, taxes and debt campaign, instead of organising strikes to resist the offensive of the employers, i.e., instead of putting forward a programme of action, they orientate the masses to the task of "contesting elections." That is exactly the task which the reformists are putting through at the present time. That is why Mr. Karnik expressed their willingness to co-operate with the democratic swarajist party. *The policy of class collaboration and splits of the working-class ranks, that is the main task of this party.* Therefore one need not be surprised that one of the close followers of this party, Mr. B. R. Shinde, proposed (see "Maharatta," October 1, 1933) to create industrial courts to settle the strikes. Can anybody be surprised after all that was said that "the convinced Marxists" have split the G.K.U., G.I.P., A.I.T.U.C., etc., and refused the offer of unity in the G.I.P. railwaymen's union? At the meeting of the Railway Federation in Delhi (November, 1933) it was declared by the Secretary that it was on the instructions of Joshi, Mehta and other traitors of the labour movement that Kulkarni and other class-conscious workers were expelled from the G.I.P. Railway Union, because they fought for the interests of the workers and condemned the treachery of reformists who betrayed the G.I.P. strike and the M. and S.M. Railway strike. Mr. Ruikar declared, answering the charge of Mehta, that he did not fight sufficiently strongly against the revolutionary wing of the trade union movement: "Have I not repudiated the action of Mr. Kulkarni, when I stated that he (and many workers.—Ed.) has been expelled for his disruptive tactic?" Mr. Ruikar says, the difficulty is not with me, but to repeal formally the resolution "it means that an extraordinary general meeting has to be called for. Further, who knows whether the workers will agree to dance to the tune of Jamnadas Mehta?" (The Indian Labour Journal, December 3, 1933.) The splitting policy of Ruikar, Karnik, Khedigaz, etc., is expressed very clearly. They expelled Kulkarni and many others because the reformist Mehta demanded it, because they want to crush the struggle of the workers, they want to keep the workers as voiceless slaves of the mill owners, railway bosses, etc. That's why they split the trade unions. They (Ruikar, Karnik, etc.) would have gone even farther and would have repealed the Jhansi resolution, but are afraid of the workers. The working class will see through their game and understand that *Ruikar, Karnik, Kandalkar are the real splitters of the workers' ranks and serve the interests of the bourgeoisie.* "The convinced Marxists" explained the Nagpur split of the T.U.C., engineered by the reformists, as ultra-radicalism. Lately they were compelled to admit that the split took place over the vital issue whether the trade unions should fight or support imperialism.

The Communists rejected a theory that the trade union movement should be neutral in the independence movement and Nehru, Bose, etc., were compelled to support the revolutionary wing of the trade union movement on this question, although they demanded that the workers should submit to the leadership of the bourgeois National Congress. But the "convinced Marxists" sided with the agents of British imperialism. Later on the Roy group took the initiative and split the Calcutta T.U. Congress over the question of what should be the attitude towards the National Congress and its participation in the Round Table Conference. The Karnik-Roy-Kandalkar group accused the revolutionary trade union movement of ultra-sectarianism because it disapproved of the policy of the I.N.C. and condemned its participation in the Round Table Conference. The Roy-Kandalkar group demanded from the revolutionary workers to support the National Congress policy and under the pretext of sectarianism split the T.U. Congress, thus trying to crush the revolutionary labour movement. It is enough to read the articles and statements published by Bose at that time to see that *this was the issue.* And "convinced Marxists" are trying now innocently to assert that they have split the T.U.C. in Calcutta just over the mandates of G.K.U., and on no questions of policy and principles. Who will believe them? Nobody. Their sister

workers' party in Nagpur, with Mr. Ruikar at the head, proposed to convince the Indian National Congress and the democratic swaraj party of its (workers' party) goal and programme of action. ("Maharatta," November 26, 1933.) The role of the workers' parties that were formed by "convinced Marxists" of Karnik, Shetty, Ruikar, Lalji Pendse type is to help the national bourgeoisie to preserve its positions and destroy and isolate the Communists, to split the working class *and subordinate it through a party of radicals* (and its weapon—reformist workers' parties) *to the leadership of bourgeois National Congress.* This is the role of the Karnik group and their practice is the best proof of that. The innocent babies—"convinced Marxists" have no right to be offended by the attack of the Communists, because they are not misrepresented. Their line is anti-revolutionary, anti-proletarian. The harm done by Roy's policy still has its effect in the working-class movement. It is true that this harm is aggravated by a number of serious mistakes committed by the Indian Communists. But these mistakes of the Communists that were pointed out and explained in the open letter of the Chinese, British and German Communist Parties (in 1932) and in the open letter of the Chinese Communist Party (1933) will be rectified by the Indian Communists and the movement will grow, but the fight against the ideology and practice of the Karnik-Shetty-Kandalkar, etc., group will not stop, because the influence of the agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement must be destroyed so that the proletariat should be able to march forward to the victory of the peoples' revolution.

Now it is worth while to explain what are the reasons of this new left manoeuvre of the Karnik-Miss Kara, etc., group. Our memory is not short and we can remind "the convinced Marxists" that just a year ago they preached a unity with the Joshi-Shiva Rao group, claiming that the latter have accepted the platform of class struggle. This alliance the Karnik-Kandalkar-V. N. Joshi, etc., group broke off, because of the dissatisfaction of the rank and file workers. And this Mr. Karnik admitted in one of his articles in the "People" (Lahore).

The present "left" turn of this group finds its explanation in *the general collapse of the illusions of the united national front* which swept over considerable masses of the people in 1930. The present bankruptcy of Gandhism and the policy of I.N.C. brought a strong disillusionment among the workers, considerable masses of the peasantry and revolutionary sections of the petty-bourgeoisie. The working class has seen once more Gandhism in practice. The class-consciousness of the proletariat grew very strong and the desire to have an independent working-class party assumed tremendous strength. A number of workers' parties have been formed. It is hard and practically impossible at the present time to fool the advanced workers under the colour of the National Congress, they will simply refuse to follow. That is why the "left" national reformists are changing their "garb," but leaving intact their political programme, its substance. They are trying to get control over the disillusioned toilers and get a mass basis for their group. Many Congressites claim now their loyalty to Marxism, Communism. The rank and file is sincere. Many of the rank and file followers of the Karnik-Shetty-Kandalkar group are sincerely turning to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. They need help. It is to be explained to them that their sincere desire to follow revolutionary Marxism is being exploited by the "left" national reformists who are trying under pseudo-Communist phrases to put through bourgeois, reformist ideas.

The present policy of the Roy group is a logical continuation of its previous programme and must be sharply combated and exposed.

This fight is being carried out by the Communists. However, one point must be stressed here once more. The present offensive of the capitalists and the growth of the labour movement brought with it a growth not only of the Communist influence and organisations but of "left" reformists as well. The task of educating and enlightening those workers who follow the reformists and national reformists has to be solved. *The problem of unity of the workers' ranks and resistance to the employers' offensive assumed a great importance.* The national reformists are doing their best to split the trade unions and use it as an excuse not to fight the imperialists and capitalists. It is clear, therefore, that it is in the interests of the revolutionary movement not to give a chance to the reformists to fool the workers; it is in the interests of the revolutionary workers to show clearly who is splitting the



labour movement; it is in the interests of the revolutionary movement to close the ranks of the workers and develop the economic and political struggle of the proletariat.

Therefore, while carrying out sharp struggles against the Karnik-Shetty group and their ideas, it is necessary at the same time, as some leaders of the revolutionary labour movement declared, to propose to all those trade unions who follow the reformist and national-reformist leadership (only those trade unions who have masses), a *united front* to combat the capitalist offensive. Such an offer, not of simple negotiations between the leaders, but which would include the calling of a conference of workers' delegates elected at the mills, of conferences which should elect strike committees and prepare and organise resistance of the textile workers, resistance carried out to the point of a general strike, such a united front offer is necessary to carry out. And the same applies to the railways. This would help to show the workers who stands for the working-class interests. It would eliminate many obstacles that give extra difficulties for the revolutionary Marxists to spread their ideas among the proletariat. And it is not a cunning scheme, it is in the interests of the workers, and all those who sincerely stand by the working class will welcome such a step on the part of the revolutionary trade unions. We repeat at the same time, it does not mean that the fight against national reformism has to be stopped; on the contrary, it has to be increased.

The strength of the "left" national-reformist group (Karnik, etc.) is conditioned by the general support given to it by the "left" Congressites, by the bourgeoisie as a whole. The present weakness of the Communist movement indirectly helps the Karnik-Lalji-Pendse-Miss Kara group to keep their hold. But they will not find a strong social base among the working class. It depends entirely upon the Communists to destroy among the workers the influence of this group in a short time. And it must be done.

Roy played a treacherous role in the Chinese Communist movement. He played a harmful role in the Indian labour movement; the results of his policy are known; there is no Communist Party in India yet. Now the C.P. is being formed. And it will be formed in the struggle against imperialism and *all agents* of British imperialism and the Indian bourgeoisie in the labour movement. It will be formed in persistent everyday struggle, in the mills, in the trade unions, in the villages, etc. And it must be done. In spite of the difficulties, it is the only way.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

### Nadieshda Konstantinovna Krupskaya

Karl Radek

The sixty-fifth birthday of Comrade Krupskaya is a day of celebration for the working class of the Soviet Union, a day of celebration for the millions of collective farmers, a day of celebration for our young people, and a day of celebration for all those who have the cause of the international emancipation of the toilers at heart. We are delighted that Comrade Krupskaya lives and works amongst us, that she remains amongst us in these years of the completion of great tasks, in these years in which our dreams are becoming realities.

The Soviet Union, our Party and the international proletariat honours Nadieshda Konstantinovna Krupskaya on her birthday as one of the most prominent and tireless fighters for the cause of the working class. We honour in her at the same time the woman who was the most devoted comrade and friend of our unforgettable leader and teacher.

Just as the life of Lenin cannot be considered apart from the history of our Party, so it is impossible to speak of the life of Comrade Krupskaya without at the same time touching on the great events in the history of our Party. The protest against the yoke of Czarism, the protest against the oppressive national policy of Czarism, the results of which Comrade Krupskaya observed with the eyes of an intelligent child in Warsaw, the influence of the deep and humane ideas for which her father lived, all these influences urged the young girl to seek for ways and means to free the country, to seek for aims for which it was worth while to devote her life.

It was not at all accidental that Comrade Krupskaya became a teacher. The enlightenment of the masses of the people was a

question which always deeply occupied her. It was also not at all accidental that Comrade Krupskaya recognised one of the truths of the revolution very quickly, namely that it was impossible to light the flame of knowledge amongst the masses of the people, suffering under Czarist oppression, without at the same time imbuing the masses with the idea of a struggle for political freedom, without at the same time mobilising them for the struggle for socialism. Comrade Krupskaya began work for the organisation of the working class. She became a Marxist and started along the difficult and wearisome path which led to victory over Czarism, to victory over the bourgeoisie and which placed her in the centre point of the work of enlightenment carried on by the first government of the emancipated proletariat.

Comrade Krupskaya devoted herself to the questions of mass enlightenment, to its theory and to its organisation, for decades whilst at the same time she conducted her illegal Party work as a political fighter and as a loyal collaborator of Lenin in which capacity she worked tirelessly without rest and without relief. The articles written by Comrade Krupskaya and published in numerous illegal newspapers and other publications clearly show that she never ceased to think about the work for the enlightenment of the masses of the people. Her book upon the enlightenment of the masses of the people in which she describes the basic ideas of pedagogy, appeared shortly before the October Revolution, when history cleared the way for great creative work for her.

The writings of Comrade Krupskaya on the question of polytechnical education and the workers' schools represented not only the restoration of the basic lessons of the great founders of scientific socialism, but at the same time they were an attempt to develop these lessons still further on the basis of the manifold and rich experience in an epoch of complete capitalist contradictions, in an epoch of utter capitalist decline, and in an epoch of the building up of socialism.

Nadieshda Konstantinovna Krupskaya was a member of the Party all her adult life and always worked hand in hand with our great teacher. She was his closest intimate in the great workshop of his mental labours. She shared his cares and his joys. She was his loyal and devoted assistant. The illegal correspondence between the foreign central committee and the workers of Russia was chiefly in the zealous hands of Nadieshda Konstantinovna. It is clear that living constantly in the shadow of a giant like Lenin even a great personality would have difficulty in maintaining its individuality. However, Nadieshda Konstantinovna always succeeded in this. It was not for nothing that Lenin shared all his thoughts with her. It was not for nothing that he regarded her as his most devoted adviser and one who not only distinguished herself by an unusual knowledge and understanding of the Marxist theory and by an unusual revolutionary instinct, but also by a deep wisdom which enabled her to grasp many ideas even in their potentiality.

During the period of the world war, when the weapons of the international proletariat were being forged in the Leninist workshop for use in the coming struggles for freedom, I had the good fortune to become closely acquainted with Nadieshda Konstantinovna. At that time we were just learning the ideas of Bolshevism from Lenin. We were arrogant and did not consider ourselves as his pupils and very often we disputed this or that thesis put forward by him. And then it was Nadieshda Konstantinovna who answered us in her quiet voice with intense clarity, simplicity and firmness. The real significance of her answers I grasped only after I had become a Bolshevik myself.

Nadieshda Konstantinovna immediately grasped the tremendous significance of the breach with the Mensheviks. She had thoroughly learned the significance of the revolution of 1905, the first great offensive of the masses of the people against Czarism, and of the bloody years of reaction which followed it. During the years of the world war she realised, after the collapse of the Second International, after the radical tendencies in it had proved unable to become the centre of the organisation of a new international, the responsibility for the fate of the international proletariat would rest upon the Bolsheviks.

In the great years of the October Revolution, in the great years of the civil war she was always with our great teacher and she was one of his sources of information concerning what was going on in the masses of the people, amongst the newly-rising toilers, amongst the women and amongst the youth, where many elements of developing socialism were mixed up with many elements of the old



world. Whenever I spoke with Comrade Krupskaya at times of great historical decisions, and whenever it was difficult to come to a decision in the new situation, I always found her clear in her judgments. She referred to practical happenings, to things which she had seen with her own eyes and taken in her own hands, and which she considered to be symptomatic for the course of historical development.

On her sixty-fifth birthday the eyes of Comrade Krupskaya see everything, her brain grasps and understands the great happenings which are taking place in our country, and her heart bounds with joy at all the tremendous things which the working class is creating under the leadership of our Party and its head, Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Nadieshda Konstantinovna suffered a heavy blow when Lenin left us for ever. She remained in our ranks, but not only with the thoughts of the past. She remained an enthusiastic participator in our continued struggle, for as a comrade of Lenin she was an active fighter in our cause and she remained that even after his death. When Comrade Krupskaya appears on the platform at our meetings and at the congresses of our Party she is surrounded by a great wave of devotion because of that which she was for Lenin and because of that which she has succeeded in remaining for us.

Comrade Krupskaya was never prominent in literary circles, but when she took a pen in her hand she was addressing the millions of toilers and as a fighter who thinks with the millions and feels with those who are gradually fighting their way through to a world of culture, she always finds the simplest form of expressing her ideas. She is at once simple, understanding, passionate and tender.

The whole of our Party, the millions of toilers wish on the sixty-fifth birthday of Nadieshda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, the companion and comrade of Lenin, that she may live to experience the time when our country will have achieved the material and mental surplus necessary for socialism, the time in which the international fraternity of emancipated labour will have been won.

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### The Spring Sowings Have Begun

During the last two days of February and in the first few days of March work has begun in the southern districts of the Soviet Union for the early spring sowings, in accordance with the new methods of sowing while the fields are still a muddy waste after the thaw. The Soviet and Party organisations have issued noteworthy instructions in connection with the important spring work on the land.

The instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the Soviet government draw the attention of all Party and Soviet organisations to the circumstance that there have been many complaints about the quality of the seed used. Naturally the later harvest itself depends to a great extent upon the quality of the seed used and as a result also the income of the collective farms and their members. The quality of the seed used must therefore receive the closest attention. This question is placed in the centre of the preparations for the spring sowings.

It is not yet too late to make a thorough control of the seed to be used for the spring sowings. The Party and the government further recommend that mutual support be organised amongst the collective farms on the basis of voluntary co-operation. Mutual assistance might take the form of an exchange of grain. Collective farms with rich soil might give some of their grain stored for the purposes of consumption to less fortunate collective farms for the purpose of the spring sowings, and in exchange they could receive the lower quality seed grain of the less fortunate collective farms for the purposes of consumption. Grain of an inferior quality for sowing purposes will be quite good enough for consumption, and the collective farms which have supplies of good quality grain at their disposal can exercise a favourable influence on the future harvests of the less fortunately situated collective farms in this way.

The instructions stress strongly the fact that such exchanges may be organised only on the basis of voluntary consent, and that if the question is properly put to the collective farmers in ques-

tion they will realise the advantages of the exchange and agree to it willingly.

Only really high quality seed may be sown. The instructions of the Party and the government also stress another important point, namely, the necessity of making an early beginning with the spring sowings. The spring sowings must be carried out according to the last word in modern agronomical technique, and not a single day must be lost in the work for the spring sowings.

In the districts threatened by drought it is of particular importance that an early beginning should be made. The experience of recent years has shown that an early beginning of the spring sowings greatly facilitates the campaign against the destructive effects of the drought winds. This year no less than four million hectares of land are to be sown early in accordance with the instructions of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture.

### The Competition Between Baku and the Don Basin

A socialist competition has been organised between the two great giants of Soviet fuel production, the Baku and the Don Basin industrial districts. The first control of the results of this socialist competition have shown extremely favourable figures. The oil workers of Baku have concluded the first year of the second Five-Year Plan with brilliant productive results, whilst the miners of the Don Basin have reorganised their working methods on the basis of the decisions of the Communist Party and the Soviet government on the coal-mining industry, and as a result they have also good figures of production to show.

In the first two months of the current year, however, the oil workers in Baku have slowed down their tempo somewhat, so that the plan figures were not reached. The miners of Gorlovka have therefore addressed an open letter to the oil workers of Baku which has been published in the Baku newspaper, "Vyschka." In this letter the miners propose that they should give the oil workers the chance of making use of the experience of the miners in the reorganisation of their methods of work in order thereby to obtain better results.

This proposal has been accepted with enthusiasm by the oil workers of Baku. The most important oil districts have already begun the work of reorganisation in accordance with the suggestions of the miners of the Don Basin.

In the Shachty district (Donetz Basin) the engineer, Nepomnyashchyi, has introduced a new combination of working methods. The result is that production is now three times what it was with the old methods of working. In the Bucharin pit the first sorting and crushing machine has been set up.

### Socialist Competition Amongst Foreign-born Workers

At the end of February the socialist competition plan between the foreign-born workers of Stankozavod and the ball-bearing race works, "Kaganovitch," was renewed. However, the new scheme is not merely a repetition of the old one. It represents an agreement on a higher stage because many points which have arisen as the result of the experience won in carrying out the old plan have now been incorporated in the new one. One of the important points of the new socialist competition plan is the struggle against bureaucracy and for the abolition of unnecessary intermediate bodies. The parties to the socialist competition agreement also undertake to inform public opinion currently on the results of their competition.

Another important clause in the agreement is that the foreign-born workers undertake not only to impart their technical knowledge and skill to the Russian workers, but that they undertake to improve and develop their own knowledge and skill by further and systematic study.

The new agreement also contains important points concerning the necessity of political training. The foreign-born workers of Stankozavod have undertaken to increase their participation in the political study circles by 50 per cent. by the 1st May. In the ball-bearing race works, "Kaganovitch," the foreign-born workers have all undertaken to participate in the political study circles. Co-operation in the production of the factory newspapers and of the wall-newspapers is also to be improved.

All in all, this new agreement shows the strong influence of the Seventeenth Party Congress on the foreign-born workers in the factories and other undertakings of the Soviet Union.

## In the International

### Letter of L. Sosnovski to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

For a number of years I belonged to the group known by the name of Trotskyists. Soon after the discussion on the trade unions, in which I actively participated on the side of Trotsky, a few weeks after the Tenth Party Congress, I realised that I had defended a wrong position and that Lenin was doubtlessly right and we were wrong. However, the lesson of the trade union discussion did not have a great effect on me. At that time I had not thoroughly thought over it as I ought to have done. I remember a short conversation with Comrade Stalin in the heat of discussion. I asked Comrade Stalin: "How is it that so much passion and bitterness is brought into this discussion?" I cannot remember the exact words of Comrade Stalin's reply to my question, but I know they were to the effect: "It can no longer be tolerated that Lenin has not a firm assured majority in the C.C. for carrying out of his line, which is the only correct line. The Central Committee is vacillating, and Trotsky is gathering people around himself in order to ensure the carrying out of his line in the C.C. This is how the matter stands. This state of affairs must come to an end. Lenin's leadership must be firmly rooted. The whole fight turns on this, and hence also the great passion."

At that time I underestimated the open and comradesly reply given by Comrade Stalin, and still believed that the discussion had arisen out of the differences of opinion exclusively on the trade union question. The experience of more than ten years, however, has shown me that Comrade Stalin's warning was perfectly correct, that it proved with what far-sightedness he conceived the situation. The Party and the working class have long become convinced of this. I am compelled, however, to recognise the only correct and indisputable truth after thoroughly unjustifiable delay and after many years of grave mistakes.

In the inner-party struggle of the year 1923, and in all the following years, I supported Trotsky's fight against the Party and its C.C., sometimes actively and sometimes passively.

I cannot maintain that I was always and on all questions in agreement with Trotsky and Kamenev-Zinoviev (at a time when they formed the common opposition bloc).

Thus, for instance, I never approved of the Trotsky-Parvus theory of the "permanent revolution." But apart from private conversations with comrades, I never mentioned this difference of opinion. So strong already at that time was the fraction discipline, which was never decreed, but nonetheless tacitly upheld.

Further, I was not in agreement with Preobrazhensky's theory on the squeezing of means out of the peasantry and his "law of original socialist accumulation." But I did not mention this difference of opinion either, except in private talk with Preobrazhensky's most intimate friends. This was the logic and the "discipline" of the fraction system.

Still less could I approve of the silly, ignorant slogan that Zinoviev issued at that time: "Give a horse to everybody who has not got one." But I did not come forward openly against this demagogic nonsense, which must appear as such to every trained Party member.

Of course, I do not maintain that I have no responsibility for all these theories. I mention all this not in order to justify myself, but in order better to characterise my role and my attitude.

On the fundamental questions of the fraction struggle I adhered up till recently, with more or less obstinacy, to the conceptions of Trotskyism.

In the year 1932 I was forced to realise that, in spite of my rigid fractional attitude, one "breach" after the other made its appearance in my formerly very "uniform" ideology.

I had to admit to myself that the Party, headed by Comrade Stalin, had not only achieved convincing successes on two historic fundamental questions, on the question of the industrialisation and on the peasant question (successes which are recognised by even the bourgeoisie), but that these successes were achieved precisely by means of the Leninist policy. Thus, by recognising the policy of the C.C. as the real Leninist policy, I had to admit that if the C.C., headed by Comrade Stalin, is pursuing the Leninist line, then we who advocated an opposite standpoint were obviously pursuing the anti-Leninist line. And as the Leninist and the revolutionary policy are one and the same, then it followed

that the anti-Leninist policy must be the counter-revolutionary policy.

This was the inexorable and unavoidable conclusion, which could not be kept silent, but fairly to face, accept and recognise which I lacked the courage. It is not easy to declare that after more than two decades of Bolshevik work, I was practically in the ranks of those who conduct counter-revolutionary work against Lenin's Party, against the Leninist C.C. That I was actuated in this by the most honest motives—who will be interested in this? The fact is that if by some whim of history, the triumph not of the Leninist but of our Trotskyist line had been possible, then the achievements of Leninism in our country which for me also are an overpowering fact, would have been out of the question. I ought to have stated this already at that time in the year 1932.

Apart from the above-mentioned difficulties of a psychological nature and a certain inertia of the fraction regime that still exists, there still remained one question: the question of the possibility of the realisation of socialism in one country. I considered it inadmissible and illogical to inform the Party that I recognised my mistakes and at the same time to keep silent regarding the fact that on this essential question I clung to my previous view. Even if I had considered it permissible, experience has shown that such double-tonguedness, which is rightly despised, would be exposed and properly dealt with by the Party.

With no small efforts (for the past was still weighing heavily on my consciousness) I endeavoured again and again, honestly and thoroughly, to overhaul my whole "arsenal" of arguments against Lenin's and Stalin's assertions as to the possibility of building socialism in one country.

As a result, I realised that the correctness of Lenin's teaching, which was developed with particular clearness by Stalin, has been confirmed not only theoretically but even more convincingly by the actual facts. I must admit that at present I cannot even imagine what constituted our "arsenal" of arguments which permitted us for such a long time to write about "national narrow-mindedness" (of course in a slanderous manner), and as a result of which we indulged in dirty petty-bourgeois jokes about "Socialism in a circle or in a back alley." It is really bitter to think over all this now and to recognise it.

But the question is quite clear if one does not approach it blinded by fraction discipline, if one does not adhere to the standpoint of the hostile classes, which do not want socialism to be built up in our country.

In what, briefly stated, does the construction of socialism consist?

(1) It consists in the destruction of the classes, in the supersession of class society by the system of the classless society of socialist workers.

(2) In creating a high level of development of the productive forces of society, far surpassing the capitalist level and rendering it possible for all members of socialist society completely to satisfy all their continually growing physical and cultural requirements.

Has the task of destroying classes been solved? Who can prove that this cannot be realised in our country until such time as the workers of the capitalist countries have achieved victory? Even when Lenin was alive the two main classes of exploiters, the landowners and the capitalists, were abolished. There remained only one exploiting class: the kulaks. Why should not this class be abolished in our country before the proletarian revolution has triumphed in the bourgeois countries? Where are the proofs?

The most important fact, however, is that the kulak class, this last exploiting parasitic class, has already been shattered, thanks to the really Leninist policy of the Party and its C.C. under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.

It is true, Trotsky is not satisfied with the liquidation of the kulaks and demands the "abolition" of this slogan, which obviously means the restoration of the shattered kulak class. Apart from the counter-revolutionary character of this demand of Trotsky (one can even say the Thermidorist character), it is simply inconceivable, downright stupid. It suffices to put forward such a demand in any factory, in any detachment of the Red Army, in any collective farm brigade in order to receive the clear answer: this must be a joke: restoration of the kulak class!

We experience a burning feeling of shame that we (I refer here to some old Bolsheviks of the time of illegality, who later became Trotskyists) could be so blind as to oppose such a pseudo-leader to Comrade Stalin. It is not easy to get rid of this bitter and burning feeling.

Leaders can best be recognised in historical moments in which they have to think out and carry through a serious and drastic turn of policy. To decide not too early but also not too late for the turn, to determine the intensity and the rapidity of the turn, to keep the helm of the State firmly in hand, thereby basing oneself on the unshakeable confidence of the masses, on the discipline of the organisation, to begin the turn after well-considered preparation and to carry it out with the least losses—are not these the characteristic features of a leader who really deserves this rare and high historic designation?

When one studies the turns which the Party carried out under Lenin's leadership, all these features of the leader are displayed with overpowering force. After some time we shall look back on the turn the Party carried out under the leadership of Comrade Stalin for the immediate establishment of socialism, and then we shall still more clearly perceive the historical figure of the leader of our epoch, of Comrade Stalin, who has already now found recognition throughout the whole world.

Trotsky too has left a "historic" monument. It was he who shouted: Stop the wheel of history, cease the liquidation of the kulak!

The question of the liquidation of the last exploiting class, the kulak class, need not be discussed any more. It has been decided. There remains only the peasantry, which is also a class but not an exploiting class. It is therefore not subjected to annihilation, but to transformation, i.e., the conversion of the small commodity producers and farmers into workers in socialist society.

I now ask myself: how can one prove that this transformation of the village is impossible without the previous victory of the proletariat in several other countries?

This was the weakest and most rotten point of Trotskyism. The experience of the first Five-Year Plan and the successful progress of the second Five-Year Plan have brilliantly demonstrated that the transformation is possible, that it has been secured, that it is proceeding and will continue with increasing rapidity. This process of transformation already possesses its material basis (industrialisation), its peculiar forms of organisation (artels, machine and tractor stations, political departments), and finally it is safeguarded by the general guiding line of the Party. That is how the matter stands with regard to the transformation of the last class. I consider it necessary to emphasise that in particular the events in the autumn of 1932 in some regions of North Caucasus, the Ukraine and the Volga Republic made a great impression upon me. After some vacillations (which had seized also other members of our group, such as Zinoviev and Kamenev) I understood and realised very clearly that without the liquidation of the kulaks, collectivisation would have been doomed to serious defeats, zig-zag courses and vacillations. At that time I appreciated still more the discernment of Comrade Stalin, who had put forward this slogan in combination with the slogan of complete collectivisation.

The liquidation of class society is being rapidly completed. Classless society is the most important *decisive* characteristic of socialism. Lenin expressed this in other words when he said that, if we adopt a correct attitude towards the peasantry for ten to twenty years our victory is assured, even if the world revolution should be delayed. Under the conditions of the present Bolshevik leadership of the collective farms, collectivisation is, in fact, as Comrade Stalin declared at the January Plenum—the guarantee of a correct attitude for ten to twenty years (probably such a long period is no longer necessary now) until the victory of the world revolution.

There remains only the second part of the task: the raising of labour productivity to a higher level, the production of an abundance of everything necessary to satisfy the increasing material and cultural requirements of the toilers.

If in Germany to-day a government headed by Comrade Thaelman were at the helm of the State and not the bloody hangmen of the working class, if in England our Communist brother Party were in power, then the Soviet Union would of course have got rid of many obstacles lying in its path. That is clear. For the time being, however, the capitalists, who prefer to destroy the material wealth and do not hasten to extend the credits granted to the Soviet Union, are in power in these States.

In spite of all this, that which has been achieved, is being achieved and will be achieved in the future in the sphere of creating an abundance of material and cultural goods, is almost overpowering. It has been irrefutably proved by the experience

of the first and the course of the realisation of the second Five-Year Plan that even if the world revolution be delayed, an inconceivably rapid and unprecedented increase in the well-being of the people and of the productive forces has been assured in our country. This rapid raising of the standard of living of the people will greatly accelerate the maturing of the revolution in the other countries.

The victory of the proletariat in other countries will, of course, create still better preconditions for bringing socialist abundance in our country and, on the other hand, will enable us to render brotherly assistance to the new Soviet Republics. We call to mind that even in the hunger-year 1918, at the time of the November revolution in Germany, the government of the R.S.F.S.R. proposed to the then "revolutionary" government of Germany to render brotherly aid and to send some trainloads of grain to Germany. The social-democratic government refused to accept this brotherly help for the hungry Berlin workers. To-day the Soviet Union can, of course, render much more substantial aid to the proletariat in the other countries, should circumstances demand. And as time passes the more substantial will this help be. The material basis of international socialism is growing not from day to day but from hour to hour. It is obviously a slander to speak of the "national narrowmindedness" of the C.P.S.U.

If, however, the material basis of socialism is being realised in our country at a tremendous pace, that means that Lenin was right, Stalin was right, the Party was right in making this assertion and realising it in practice, that the construction of socialism in our country is not only theoretically possible but is being realised before our very eyes. Those who continue to maintain the contrary, simply do not want socialism but something else and are going over into the camp of the enemies of socialism.

I admit that it is no great honour to arrive at the recognition of such simple truths after such delay, truths which long ago have been assimilated by the Party and the millions of workers supporting it. It is, of course, painful to admit this. But I am unable to delete from history the long years of mistakes.

I consider it my duty to mention another important question. Lenin once said that everybody comes to the Party (or Communism) in his own manner. This remark could also be formulated in a different way by saying that everybody deserts the Party in his own manner. Of decisive importance for me personally in forming "oppositional ideas" was the question of the inner organisational life of the Party. I considered it necessary to fight against the regime which (as it appeared to me at that time) must become dangerous in the Party for the realisation of Leninism in practice. The whole of the phenomena of the inner-Party life, which seemed to me to be abnormal, harmful, and dangerous, was characterised by our oppositional group as the "Stalin regime." Our bitter struggle (including mine also) was directed against "Stalin's regime," for I reacted more passionately than the others to this question. We have not attempted to conceal in our struggle that for us, all evil seemed to be concentrated in Stalin's personality.

When, however, recent events compelled me to recognise the necessity of revising my whole ideological "baggage," I was bound to give a reply also to this question. If the Party has accomplished such tremendously difficult tasks as the industrialisation and collectivisation of the country, could this have been achieved by means of a wrong inner-Party policy, under an unhealthy, harmful, dangerous inner-Party regime?

Common sense replies that such contradictions do not exist in political life. Had the inner-Party policy been wrong then the Party would have been unable successfully to carry out a sharp historical turn in such a short time. This means that what we "reproachfully" called the "Stalin regime" was, in reality, a normal, healthy regime, perfectly in harmony with the tasks of the great period. The only unhealthy and abnormal thing—as it logically follows from the above-mentioned facts—was precisely our struggle within the Party and against its regime. Hence also the measures which the Party adopted against us after numerous fruitless warnings were both practically and politically, as well as morally perfectly justified.

Whilst I endeavoured to settle this question, which was the most difficult one for me, I commenced to investigate its details: wherein consists the "regime" of the Party, and what in particular has aroused our discontent? Before all I had to examine the question of the selection of the collaborators in the Party ap-

paratus and their eligibility and nomination, i.e., at bottom the right of the C.C. to select its collaborators and have disposal over them.

In our opinion, it seemed that the C.C. (and also the subordinate links of the apparatus, the provincial and district committees) should not interfere in the formation of the leadership from below. They could elect whom they like, it sufficed that they elect their leaders according to the statutes. No matter whether the elected leaders be good or bad, it suffices that they were elected according to the statutes.

However, experience has shown that even in spite of the firmness of the present Party leadership, weak spots are to be found in the provinces and that opportunists of all kinds are coming forward in some localities. What would have happened if the Party had yielded to our demand for pseudo-democracy and had permitted the election of the political leaders without the firm controlling hand of the C.C. from above? I realised that in this way the danger could arise that in the provinces evil-smelling creatures could have come to the helm, that for instance in the Ukraine, Petljura people and in Central Asia Pan-Islamites would have come forward. Behind all these sign-boards there is always the same class content: the kulak, the class enemy, counter-revolution.

I repeat that even if under the present firm leadership of the C.C. such shady types manage to creep into the leadership here and there the general fate of construction is of course not determined by such people. They are only able to produce temporary difficulties until they are exposed and exterminated. But what would have been the result if, instead of "Stalin's regime," our policy of non-resistance had triumphed: elect whom you like, we are democrats. It must be called to mind that Trotsky strengthened the anti-Bolshevist character of our organised attacks upon the C.C. by putting forward the obviously poisonous slogan (one could even say wrecking slogan): "secret ballot at elections not only in the Party but also in the trade unions." It is now clear what was thereby aimed at.

As I perused Lenin's works I encountered in his concluding speech at the Eleventh Party Congress the categorical declaration:

"If the C.C. is deprived of the right to dispose of its people, then it will be unable to conduct its policy."

This is not the only directive of Lenin on this question.

Hence it is clear that the organisational policy of the C.C. which we attacked was the direct continuation of Lenin's regime. But our group shouted against Stalin's regime. One section did this consciously, the other section unconsciously, masking their revolt against Leninism in the organisational policy. It is obvious that the term "Stalin's regime" meant in fact the same as the term "Lenin's regime." There could not be any other regime in Lenin's Party. And our attacks on Comrade Stalin bore a malicious, anti-Leninist character.

The setting up of political departments at the Machine and Tractor Stations, on the Soviet estates and in transport is a noteworthy organisational solution of the actual tasks of leadership, a really Bolshevik, Leninist solution, which safeguards the necessary transformation of the work.

The further revision of my former conceptions on organisational questions has yielded similar results, particularly when viewed in the light of the accumulated rich experience of the last few years.

Thus it turned out that "Stalin's regime" has completely stood the test, for it was the direct continuation of Lenin's organisational policy. Our "revolt" against Stalin's regime was the unconscious reflection of the discontent of those class elements which felt themselves threatened by this regime. This is the bitter truth at which I finally arrived with so much pain and after so much delay.

I have to add another thing. Some of my former fraction comrades who had broken with Trotskyism earlier than I did (I mean only some of them) returned to the Party with the perfectly incorrect opinion that the policy of the Party had approached to that of the Trotskyists and that it was now time to return to the Party. As far as I succeeded in becoming acquainted with their arguments, they appeared to me quite incorrect. I did not at that time believe that the policy of the C.C. was coming closer to that of

Trotskyism. For this reason I kept to my old position. For those people it was a manoeuvre in order to conceal the kulak policy. With such views a part of my former fraction comrades returned to the Party. Experience has, however, shown that they fell back into Trotskyism, were again thrown out of the Party, had again to atone for their mistakes and naturally increased the distrust of the Party towards all former oppositional people. At bottom, their attitude meant incomplete disarmament, i.e., deception of the Party. I considered it impossible to follow their path. Some of them have perhaps really disarmed, but afterwards found themselves unable to re-equip themselves in order to be active fighters and not unarmed people in the Party. The fate of these "unarmed" people is known.

If my opposition to the Party has lasted somewhat longer, this is partly explained by my sincere desire not to knock at the door of the Party before I could honestly and decisively say to myself and also to the Party that I had not only completely disarmed, but that I am also armed in order to devote my forces and abilities to active work in the Party, to win its confidence by self-sacrificing work and thereby prove that I wish to be and am able to be an active participant in the struggle and for the building up of socialism.

For this reason I have decided to ask the C.C. to give me the possibility of returning to the flag of Lenin.

February, 1934.

L. Sosnovsky.

## Book Review

### Three Pamphlets on the Farmers of the U.S.A.

At the Conference of the C.P.U.S.A. held last July, a resolution was adopted analysing the conditions and struggles of the American farmers and clearly stating the position of the C.P.U.S.A. on the farmers' movement. This resolution, with two speeches delivered at the Conference by Comrade Puro and Comrade M., both active in organising the farmers, has been issued in pamphlet form by the Workers' Library Publishers, New York City, titled "*The Communist Position on the Farmers' Movement.*"

The resolution discusses the status of both the farmers and the agricultural workers. Figures are cited showing the inroad of the crisis among the farm population of 32,000,000. Between 1919 and 1932 the income of the American farmers dropped from 15½ milliard dollars to five milliard. From 1925 to 1930, 34 per cent. of the farms were sold by auction. In addition, farmers have been leaving the land, joining the ranks of the unemployed proletariat, because it is impossible to work their farms any longer. Tenantry, on the increase, is spreading to the most advanced central farming states. In 1925, 38 per cent. of the farms were on rented land; in 1932, the figure rose to 42 per cent. The wages of the farming proletariat have been slashed to the bone. As in the city, unemployment on the farms is rampant.

While it is admittedly "more difficult for the Communist Party to get possession of the mass farmers' movement and to put it on to conscious revolutionary lines than it is to turn the movement of the farm workers to the revolutionary path," the resolution sharply warns against any tendencies within the Party to neglect the farmers' movement.

"*Farm Dollar Blight*," by John Barnett, and "*The Government Takes a Hand in the Cotton-Patch*," by George Anstrom, present to the farmers in popular terms the effect of Roosevelt's "New Deal" on their lives. While "Farm Dollar Blight" deals with conditions of the general farmer, contrasting conditions on the farm in the U.S.A. with those in the Soviet Union, the latter pamphlet, though not so comprehensive in its treatment, is especially directed to the sharecroppers, cotton tenant farmers, largely Negro, of the South, and is written in a more popular manner.

The three pamphlets are indispensable handbooks for the exploited farmers and Party members. To those outside of the U.S.A. these pamphlets afford a condensed but rounded picture of the conditions and problems confronting the American farmers, and the task the Communist Party, U.S.A., has undertaken to organise them.

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