

FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE COMINTERN

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"The victory of the revolution never comes of itself. It has to be prepared and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare and win it." (Stalin—Report at 17th Congress of C.P.S.U.)

I. BASIC ACHIEVEMENT OF THE C. I.

THE Communist International was founded in the period of the first round of revolutions and wars, at the very height of the civil war in Soviet Russia, at the time of the German and Austrian revolutions and of the big revolutionary struggles in other capitalist countries and colonies.

The Communist International was formed on the ruins of the bankrupt Second International. The Communist Parties in several countries were only beginning to take shape (C.P.G., Spartak, C.P. Austria, etc.). The Left radical Parties—the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and the Bulgarian Tesniaki entered the Comintern in a body and participated in its foundation. Under the pressure of the working masses and of their own members, the Social-Democratic Parties in some countries (France, Czechoslovakia, Germany, the Independent Workers' Party) joined the Third International by decision of the majority of their congresses, and in others negotiated with the Communist International on the question of joining it, with the aim of preventing the revolutionary elements leaving them for the Communist Parties which were being formed.

During the period of the relative stabilization of capitalism, Communist Parties were formed and took firm root in the majority of the countries of the world (in sixty-five countries), and on the whole have mastered the program, the tactical and organizational principles of Bolshevism.

At the time when the partial stabilization of capitalism has broken down and come to an end and when finally the world is closely approaching to a new cycle of revolutions and wars, the Communist International unites Communist Parties which in the capitalist countries are becoming mass parties with accumulated revolutionary experience, and which, in the conditions of sharpening contradictions, are beginning to carry on the policy of class against class.

In the fifteen years of its existence, the Comintern, which was founded at the initiative of the C.P.S.U. under the leadership of Lenin and which has worked for the last ten years under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, is able to show a series of achievements:

1. For the first time in the history of the working

class movement, a united centralized world Party has been formed with a single leadership, Marxist-Leninist program and tactics and organization, based on national sections which accept the principles and tactical directives of the Comintern not only in words, but which, in almost all the countries of the world, try to carry them out in practice in accordance with the concrete conditions of the given country.

2. The sections of the C.I. at the present time are united and more firmly welded together than ever before. By carrying on a struggle on two fronts, against "left" phrases and right opportunism, they have brought about the liquidation of factions and groupings and have learned to crush, expose and remove anti-Party elements from their ranks at the very first signs of their appearance. A characteristic example of this can be found in what has recently happened in the Czechoslovakian Party. A member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, named Gutman, was removed from the post of editor of the Party's central newspaper, the *Rude Pravo*, for the opportunist line carried on in the paper on the most important questions. In struggling against this decision of the C.C., Gutman attempted to build up a faction, and sent out a platform memorandum to the Party organizations and Communist fractions, containing Trotskyist slanders against the C.P. of Czechoslovakia and the Comintern. This memorandum of Gutman was discussed in the Party organizations, which unanimously rejected it, and Gutman himself who imagined himself to be a leader, was immediately thrown out of the ranks of the Party, not a single member of the Party following the renegade.

3. Despite the fierce struggle which the bourgeoisie, the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade union bureaucrats are carrying on against the Communists (forty sections of the C.I. are illegal, eight are semi-legal and only sixteen are more or less legal, not counting the C.P.S.U., and part of the C.P., China in the Soviet districts of China), the influence of the Sections of the Communist International over the workers is growing in all countries. Ever wider strata of the revolutionary workers are becoming convinced that only the Communist Party defends the day-to-day interests of the toilers, and that only the Communist Party is capable of leading the proletariat into the struggle for the solution of its historical tasks, namely the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the winning of socialism.

4. There is complete clarity in the sections of the C.I. on the question of imperialist war, and unani-

mity exists on the basic and most important points, *i.e.*, the realization that it is imperative to direct the struggle first and foremost against their own imperialism. But it was the question of imperialist war which caused the disintegration of the Second International in 1914, and which is bringing about its collapse now, because the Social-Democratic Parties are already openly beginning to take up their positions in accordance with the interests of their own imperialists. In those countries which are already carrying on war (Japan, China, Bolivia, Paraguay, Colombia, Peru), the Communist Parties have taken up a correct Leninist position on the question of the struggle against imperialist war, and the strongest of these, namely the Chinese and Japanese Parties, are actively and selflessly carrying out this correct policy.

5. As distinguished from the Social-Democratic Parties of pre-war times, the Sections of the Comintern have begun to work among the peasants not only in the colonial and semi-colonial countries (China), but also in the big capitalist countries of Europe and America. This work is as yet far from being fully developed, but the first steps in this sphere have already been taken (Bulgaria, Poland, Spain, U.S.A., France, etc.)

6. As distinguished from the Second International, Sections of the Comintern have been organized not only in capitalist countries, not only in dependent countries, but also in almost all the colonies, and, in contradistinction to the Parties of the Second International, these Sections carry on, not a bourgeois policy but the Marxist-Leninist policy on the national and colonial questions.

7. The Communist Parties carry on systematic work to popularize the victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R., though it should be said that owing to the insufficiently wide contacts of the Communists with the masses, even this work by no means reaches all those strata of the toilers who could be won over for active support of the Soviet Union. In addition, Communists do not always know how to repulse the lies and provocative activity of the social-democrats and of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, which, as is well known, represents the main source for the supply of anti-Soviet libel.

8. The Sections of the Communist International carry on mass campaigns in all the countries of the world against the preparations for imperialist war and attacks on the Soviet Union, against Japanese plunder in China and the participation of the imperialists in the attacks of the Kuomintang on Soviet China, against fascism in Germany and other countries.

9. As distinguished from the parties of the Second International, many Communist Parties carry on political and educational work in the army and navy.

10. During the period of their existence, the Sections of the Comintern have not only led and continue to lead strikes and demonstrations independently, but many of them have organized and participated in barricade fighting.

11. Finally, though not in an equal degree in all Sections, well-steeled and numerically strong cadres have been formed, which not only want to carry on Communist work but actually carry it on despite all difficulties, brutal terror, murder and torture.

II. THE SITUATION IN THE VARIOUS SECTIONS

Passing on to a review of the situation in the various sections of the Comintern, it may be stressed with regard to many of them, that: (1) they have succeeded, due to a correct Leninist policy, in securing certain successes in the recent period in leading the mass revolutionary movement, in winning away new strata of workers from the influence of social-democracy, and in organizationally consolidating their positions in the ranks of the working class. (2) But that despite these successes, the Comintern has not yet succeeded to a sufficient degree in solving the task of eliminating the organizational lagging of the Sections of the C. I. behind their growing ideological and political influence.

Take the Communist Party of Germany.

The C. P. of Germany had over 300,000 members at the time when Hitler came to power. At the present time, the Party, which has been driven deeply underground by the fascist terror, has still about 100,000 members linked up with the Party organizations. About 60,000 Party members, including many activists, are in prisons and concentration camps. About 2,000 activists have been murdered by the fascists. Many Party members, hunted down by the fascists have been compelled to leave the country. A considerable number of Party members have lost contact with the Party organizations. Despite the heavy losses and the unceasing unbridled terror, our Party organizations have been restored throughout the country. In a number of organizations, the Party leadership was smashed up by the fascists four to five times, but was restored on each occasion. From the very first moment after the fascist coup d'état took place, the cells, section committees and city committees developed enormous initiative, and published literature, proclamations, leaflets, pamphlets, and have distributed them far and wide. The Communists have also rapidly begun to restore organizational contacts with the non-Party workers. In individual factories and even in big factories and mines, the Party members have once again begun to unite the workers around themselves, and among these are to be found members of the fascist factory organizations. This unity has taken place primarily on the

basis of the struggle against wage reductions and "voluntary" payments.

To what depths of counter-revolutionary infamy must Trotsky have descended to be able to write about this heroic work of the German Communist Party in his sheet the *Verite* that "the C. C. (of the German C. P.) left the Party to its fate, without leadership, without slogans, even without any explanations."

Even the fascists have not been able to seriously accept this lie which Trotsky has tried to get into the international bourgeois press for their benefit.

During the last few months, a series of big strikes have taken place in big factories, as a result of which the workers have secured the withdrawal of the new wage cut, the stoppage of the additional deductions and "voluntary" payments made to the fascists. In 280 forced labor camps there have been strikes.

The course of events has shown that the Communists were right when they said that Hitler would not be able to strangle the revolutionary upsurge in Germany. Our Party is illegally publishing not only the central organ *Rote Fahne* but also a series of district papers. It issues pamphlets on a large scale. The fascist police have repeatedly stated that no small amount of this literature is printed in Germany. The German worker cannot help seeing that there is only one party carrying on a struggle against the fascists, and that is the Communist Party. This is why the Communist Party, despite all the horrors of the terror, is ever more powerfully attracting the revolutionary elements of the social democratic party and the ex-members of the reformist trade unions. Cells and local organizations now exist composed in the main of ex-members of the Social Democratic Party. The influx of ex-social democratic workers into the Communist Party is so strong that some of the leading district comrades began to get scared at it and to introduce a series of measures restricting the acceptance of these workers into the Party. This sectarian position was condemned by the Central Committee of the Party and corrected in time.

It is particularly important for the Communist Party of Germany at the present time to penetrate into all the mass organizations of the enemy. It is well-known that even before the coming of Hitler to power the number of workers organizationally covered by the Communist Party was far from corresponding to its political influence.

In November 1932, the Communist Party had about 330,000 members, while the T. U. opposition and the red trade unions had roughly the same number (312,000). The circulation of the Party and trade union press also reached approximately 300,000. The influence of the Party was a big one, 6 million votes being cast for the Party at the elections, but the Party

was not able to consolidate this influence, for even the broadest organizations under the influence of the Party, the Red Aid, W.I.R., Red Sport Organizations, and "Freethinkers", did not unite the millions who voted for the Communist Party either. There were various kinds of different organizations, but all of them were composed of approximately the same people, *i. e.*, of workers close to the Communist Party who were members of all these organizations at one and the same time. The weak way in which the Party's sympathizers were organized made itself felt particularly when the Communist Party, at decisive moments, called for mass actions, for strikes. These appeals of the Communist Party did not meet with the response among the broad masses of the workers corresponding to its political influence.

This organizational weakness is to be explained by the fact that the Communist Party of Germany did not pay sufficient attention to work in the reformist and catholic workers' organizations, though many members of these organizations voted for the Communist Party at the parliamentary elections.

At the present time, when fascism is exerting every effort to isolate the Communist Party from the masses, the Communists must persist in penetrating all the organizations where the fascists have dragged the workers and peasants. The Communists must organize Communist fractions in these organizations and carry on Communist anti-fascist work there. Insufficient attention has been paid to this work up to the present.

In addition to work in the fascist mass workers' organizations, the Communist Party of Germany should have organized independent class trade unions in all industries. Above all the members of the social democratic party and the former reformist trade unions should have been drawn into these independent unions. The Communist Party of Germany has so far done very little in this sphere. With capable and energetic work, it will not be difficult to draw whole branches of the former reformist trade unions into the independent unions.

The Communist Party of Poland is linked up with the working class. At the time of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. it had about 18,000 members (not counting the Y.C.L.). In the revolutionary trade unions, which have a certain influence, there are several tens of thousands of members. The Polish comrades stand in the front ranks of all the revolutionary struggles of the working class and lead a considerable number of strikes. The year 1934 opens up a period of new big political actions of the Polish proletariat. These are strikes against the new laws introduced by the government, intended to worsen social legislation, against laws on compulsory fascist arbitration, on what amounts to the liquidation of the eight-hour day and social insurance, etc. About

200,000 workers have taken part in these strikes which have been of a political character.

The national revolutionary struggle is developing in Western White Russia and Western Ukraine. Peasant unrest is also extending to Poland proper. The Communist Party is developing its work among the peasants. There are frequent street demonstrations in which workers, unemployed and even peasants take part.

Despite the fact that our Party has been able to carry on big strikes, it has not been able to consolidate organizationally the results of the struggle against the P.P.S. and other parties, for the Communist Party carries on very little work among the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party), Catholic, nationalist and fascist trade unions and other mass organizations, and even this is done badly. When the P.P.S. calls for political strikes, which represent a maneuver on its part, the Communist Party and the trade unions which follow it naturally support this call, trying to really carry the strikes into practice. There have been cases when the Communist Party has independently called for general political strikes, apart from the P.P.S., and the broad masses have not responded to its call. This shows that the P.P.S. trade unions still have considerable influence not only on their own members but also on the unorganized workers. Such a situation makes it obligatory on the Communist Party to begin to work energetically inside the P.P.S. workers' organizations as well, and by carrying on Bolshevik organizational work and an ideological struggle inside these organizations, to liberate the working masses from the influence of the treacherous leaders of the P.P.S.

The Communist Party of Spain had 120 members at the time of the overthrow of the monarchy in 1931, but it now has about 30,000 members.

It is well known that in the workers' movement in Spain, anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist tendencies chiefly prevailed. The late leaders of the Communist Party were infected with syndicalism. At the height of the revolutionary struggles, the young Communist Party was faced with the necessity of cleansing its ranks, removing a number of leaders (Buejos, Adame, Triala, Bega) and putting in their place new leaders who had come forward in the struggle. Basing itself on the open letter of the E.C.C.I., the Party was able to carry on such broad activity for the exposure of the old leaders that the latter did not carry a single member of the Party with them and proved to be compromised in the eyes of the non-Party workers.

The Red Trade Unions which are entirely under the influence of the Communist Party, have 73,000 members. During strikes, they act on the basis of the united front along with other T. U. organizations embracing not less than 150,000 members. The Com-

munist Party of Spain takes an active part in all strikes, demonstrations, and frequently organizes and leads them. The Communists organize peasant committees which seize the estates of the landlords and in some districts keep their hold on them (chiefly in Estramadura and Andalusia), in spite of the punitive expeditions sent there from the center.

Despite all the election intrigue and violence of the bourgeois parties, the Communist Party received over 400,000 votes at the last parliamentary elections and secured the election of its candidates. The legal central organ of the Communist Party, *Mundo Obrero* (Workers' World), which had a wide circulation, was suppressed by the government immediately after the last parliamentary elections. The Party has begun to publish an illegal newspaper.

The revolution in Spain which has lasted for three years, has not given anything either to the workers or the peasants. The Agrarian reform promised by the bourgeois leaders has not been carried out, and therefore the peasants set fire to the manor houses of the landlords, to monastery and church property, and seized the harvest, implements and land. The Spanish proletariat is becoming the leading force in the Spanish revolution. It is carrying the peasants with it, and will continue to do so. The strength of our Party is growing. It is struggling to liberate the workers and peasants from under the influence of the reformists, anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists. Only the Communist Party will be able to lead the proletariat and the peasants in their struggle for the Soviet republic.

The C. P. of Spain, however, pays insufficient attention to work in the mass workers' and peasants' organizations which follow the reformists and anarcho-syndicalists. Over 100,000 workers participated in the general strike, which the Communist Party, the Y.C.L. and the Red Trade Unions fixed for February 19th directed against reaction in Spain and as a mark of solidarity with the Austrian and French workers. But bearing in mind the revolutionary circumstances of Spain, many more could have participated. The explanation is that the reformist and anarcho-syndicalist trade unions refused to support this strike, not responding to the protests from their own members and local organizations. This shows that the reformists and anarcho-syndicalists have to be exposed inside their organizations.

The Communist Party of Italy. After the advent of the fascists to power, our Party unlike the German Communist Party was insufficiently prepared to maintain contacts with the masses under the blows of the terror. The Party was smashed up. By the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Party, whose membership had fallen sharply after a series of smashing blows, had again begun to increase its membership from among new revolutionary elements.

The Party has recovered from the first blows, and has begun to put its work in proper order, and despite systematic provocation and repeated arrests, has not ceased its work among the proletariat and the peasants for a number of years. The year 1933 marked a growth of the workers' and peasants' movement. There have been actions by the workers in 56 towns, such as demonstrations of employed and unemployed, strikes and protest meetings, mass participation in the funeral of Communists, etc. In the province of Ferrara, the manors of the landowners were set on fire. In March 1933, in the province of Bologna a demonstration of conscripts took place, and in Garcia a demonstration of certain infantry units took place, where they demanded an improvement of their food. There have been cases when members of the mass fascist organizations (in the vicinity of Milan, an industrial district) refused to participate in the demonstration arranged for the anniversary of the fascist march on Rome (October 29th). It is noteworthy that as soon as the workers' and peasants' movement began to show signs of life in Italy, the maximalists and social democrats, who had lived abroad for ten years, made their appearance in Italy with a view of tacking themselves on to the revolutionary movement and bringing it under their influence. The social democrats are even trying to publish legal newspapers.

In addition to the fascist trade unions which all workers are forced to join, (because it is impossible to get work without a membership card), there are a number of other mass workers' organizations in Italy formed by the fascists. The biggest of these organizations is the *Dopo Lavoro* (a musical-cultural-sports organization) with two million members. Although the latter was formed by the fascists, it is a voluntary organization. Neither the Communist Party nor the illegal Red Trade Unions have so far managed to carry on *extensive* work either in the fascist trade unions or in the other mass workers' organizations, including the *Dopo Lavoro*.

The *Communist Party of Japan* is numerically not very large. In 1932 it had about 3,000 members (during the last few years about 15,000 Communists, sympathizers and members of other revolutionary organizations have been arrested), but it has very great influence on the workers, peasants and even on the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

I will only give a few of the facts from the reports of the representatives of the C. P. of Japan in the Comintern.

The Party carries on a wide campaign against war, against wage-cuts and the worsening of the conditions of labor, especially in the war enterprises, against depriving the peasants of their homes and land for failure to pay taxes, and struggles for the

liberation of political prisoners. These campaigns receive a great response from the workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie.

During 1933 about 50 new factories were built in Japan, in which tanks, airplanes, automobiles and other weapons are manufactured. The working day in the war factories usually lasts from 14-16 hours. Wages are systematically being reduced. This causes conflicts in the big war factories. Strikes of metal workers took place at Osano, as well as strikes at the airplane factories in Nagoio. The Party is carrying on a successful campaign in the military factories against collections for military purposes. There have been cases when the workers refused to pay anything for the air fleet, and sent the money to Shanghai for the anti-war committee. At some of the war factories which receive orders for the navy, factory committees have been elected. The factory committees began a struggle for increased wages and for improved conditions of labor. When their demands were refused the workers went on strike and the employers were forced to recognize the factory committees and increase wages. A campaign is being carried on by the illegal trade unions at the war factories in Tokio and Nagoio for the election of factory delegates and the calling of town conferences of these delegates. Due to the driving of the peasants from the land, the number of conflicts between the peasants and landlords is continually increasing. Frequent political demonstrations take place in the country under the leadership of the Communist Party (in connection with the trial and murder of Communist leaders, May First, August First, etc.).

In Japan there are legal workers' and peasants' organizations which have several hundred thousand members, headed by the arrant agents of the bourgeoisie, the social democrats and reformist trade union leaders. The work of our Party in these organizations is weak. It is an urgent task of the Communist Party not only to begin to work in these organizations, but to carry on a furious campaign there against the treacherous leaders of these organizations.

During the period under review the greatest successes of all sections of the C. I. have been achieved by the *Communist Party of China*.

In Kuomintang China, the Communist Party and the illegal Red Trade Unions which are underground organized a broad struggle against the Japanese imperialists and against the Kuomintang government. The Communist Party of China with the participation of the Anti-Imperialist League prepared the anti-war, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist congress. The campaign for the congress was carried on at the factories. Over 70 delegates from China and a

delegation which had come from Europe were present at the illegal anti-war congress, which was closely but unsuccessfully watched over by the international and Chinese police.

The strike struggle is carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Red Trade Unions. Recently there have been strikes of sailors, railwaymen, textile workers and workers of other industries in Shanghai, Kwangtung and a number of other towns. In the four months of 1933 (May to August) 300,000 workers came out on strike. The Party is also working among the soldiers and peasants. In eight months in 1933 there were 32 peasant revolts and a series of soldiers mutinies.

As for Soviet China, it now occupies one-sixth of the territory of China. The regular units of the Red Army number 250,000 at the present time, while the irregulars number over 600,000. There are about 200,000 members in the Red Trade Unions in the central Soviet district of Kiangsi alone. In eight counties of the Central Soviet district there are about 150,000 poor peasants organized in the poor peasants' groups. The Anti-Imperialist League in the same district has 500,000 members, while the Red Aid and the Friends of the Soviet Union each have 600,000 members.

The Communist Party of China sends workers and farm laborers into the Red Army to form a strong proletarian backbone there. It forms shock divisions and corps composed of Communists, Young Communists, workers and farm laborers, improves and extends the work of the various military schools and carries on the accelerated training of irregular military units. A great deal has been written on the brilliant victories of the Red Army and the vast amount of arms captured by it in battle during the five campaigns of Chiang-Kai-shek against the Soviet regions.

Chiang-Kai-shek's sixth campaign against the Soviet districts differed from the previous ones in the fact that it had the active support of all the big imperialist powers. The Red Army has also successfully repulsed the attack in this most difficult campaign. At the end of last year this campaign was interrupted by the struggle between the Nankingites and the Nineteenth Army in Fukien. The Nanking troops succeeded in breaking through the territory of the central Soviet district which borders on Fukien in order to begin military operations against the Nineteenth Army. After the defeat of the Nineteenth Army in Fukien, the liberated forces of the Nanking troops began a stubborn struggle against the Red Army of the Central Soviet district, which in practice is already the seventh campaign. In this campaign the Red Army has also secured a number

of big successes in recent battles. But decisive battles are still continuing.

The Chinese Red Army has obtained enormous successes in Szechwan. A great part of this extensive territory has already been converted into a Soviet district.

Within a few years the Chinese Soviets have greatly strengthened their influence not only in the Soviet districts themselves, but in the neighboring districts.

This is how the *China Times* of December 28th, 1933, describes the situation in the Soviet districts according to an investigation conducted by the Shanghai Sun-Yat-Sen Institute:

"In the districts occupied by the Reds all the land is cultivated. The method of distributing the land in the Red districts is as follows: the best land is given to former farm laborers and poor peasants, while the rich peasants receive the worst and hitherto uncultivated land. Great attention is paid to artificial irrigation. The investigators state: 'We are delighted with the work of the Reds in the sphere of education. In actual fact schools have been opened in all the villages. Ten-year-old children questioned by us proved to have a good knowledge of general and political subjects. The liquidation of illiteracy is being carried out among the adult population.'"

Both the revolutionary workers' movement in Kuomintang China and the entire policy in the Soviet districts are led by the Communist Party, at the head of which stands the Central Committee which is a united monolithic leading organ.

However, despite the big successes of the Communist Party, it must be stated that its work in the Kuomintang mass organizations, and especially in the trade unions is still weak. We should also note the absolutely insufficient popularization by the Communist Party in Kuomintang China of the successes of the Soviet districts.

The Communist Party of France. The Communist Party, the Y.C.L. and the revolutionary trade unions of France were until recently, losing their members and the readers of their newspapers, while the socialists and reformists were increasing the membership of their organizations and the number of readers of their newspapers. This can be explained by the fact that the Communist Party, the Y.C.L. and Red Trade Unions did not pay the necessary attention to mass work, did not fight sufficiently against the Socialist Party and the reformist trade unions. The Socialist Party of France is a specialist in the art of tricking the masses and of clever maneuvering. Fearing the loss of their influence over the masses, they have never openly entered the bourgeois government since the war, though they have supported this government in parliament all the time. They have even

gone so far as to split with the "right" socialists who demanded participation in the bourgeois government (the neo-socialist Marquet is participating in the Doumergue government now, the government of "National Unity"). However, the Communist Party has not exposed and is not exposing these maneuvers of the socialists sufficiently.

During the last seven or eight years the Communist Party has carried through a series of big and successful campaigns (against the war in Morocco, the Gorgulov campaign, against the preparations for imperialist war and against fascism), but it has not been able to consolidate sufficiently the influence which it obtained as the result of these campaigns. While these campaigns were actually taking place, the circulation of *l'Humanite* would increase by many tens of thousands, but when the campaigns were over the circulation fell again.

During the world economic crisis the standard of living of the broad masses of workers has fallen in France as well. Unemployment figures in France are also very high. This has increased the discontent of the masses with the policy of the socialists and the reformist trade unions, who have not only failed to carry on a real struggle against the worsening of the conditions of the workers, but have even helped towards this worsening.

To prevent the masses going over to the Communists, the socialists shout about the united front, but in reality they disrupt every joint struggle of the Communist and socialist workers.

In spite of the fact that such cases of speculation as the Stavisky case have been frequently disclosed in France, the latter which is one of the usual cases of money speculation has on this occasion called forth a powerful ferment among the petty-bourgeoisie and partly among the workers. Numerous representatives of leading sections of the French bourgeoisie, and to an equal degree the fascist bosses, are involved in this affair. The latter, however, took advantage of the excitement of the petty-bourgeoisie to overthrow the government of the "left bloc" which had dared to dismiss the chief of the Paris police, Chiappe, a supporter of the fascists, and patron of all the grafters and thieves who rob the broad masses of depositors and creditors.

On February 6th the fascists organized a demonstration and marched to parliament in order to overthrow the government of the "left bloc". They put forward a slogan which was popular among the petty-bourgeoisie—"Down with the thieves involved in the Stavisky affair who are being hidden by the government of the 'left bloc'." The fascist demonstration roused the proletariat of Paris who had drawn their own revolutionary conclusions from Hitler's fascist dictatorship in Germany. In reply to this demonstration, the workers spontaneously came out

onto the streets. One part of the workers openly demonstrated against the fascists, while another part of the workers also marched to parliament with their own demands without, however, separating their demonstration sufficiently clearly from the fascist demonstration. Leadership by the Communist Party over the workers' demonstrations which spontaneously took place was not in evidence that day. The socialists began a campaign against the Communist Party, accusing the Communists of demonstrating together with the fascists. However, on February 7th the Communist Party not only advanced correct slogans but also developed an energetic campaign against the fascists. The Communist Party fixed demonstrations for February 9th which were attended by the majority of the French proletariat in all the industrial centers of the country. All the attempts of the socialists and T. U. bureaucrats to disrupt these demonstrations were unsuccessful. Even the maneuver which they tried of fixing the general strike for February 12th, and they did this with a view of keeping the workers from participating in the demonstration of February 9th—was unsuccessful. The Communist Party acted quite correctly in not restricting itself to calling for the demonstrations on February 9th, but called on the proletariat to participate in the strike of February 12th, called by the socialists. The Communist Party, however, went further, and on February 12th led the striking workers into the streets and organized tremendous demonstrations, despite the fact that the leaders of the reformist trade unions had promised the president of the republic that the strike would be a peaceful one without street demonstrations.

As a result of these events broad masses of workers left the reformists and followed our Party. The funeral of the victims of the police, which was organized by the Communist Party, turned into a tremendous demonstration. Only a few thousand people walked in the separate Socialist column, while 200,000 marched under the banners of the Communist Party.

The circulation of *l'Humanite* at this time increased to 600,000 and the demand for *l'Humanite* in the provinces could not for technical reasons be fully satisfied.

The Communist Party is faced with the important and urgent tasks of organizationally consolidating the tremendous influence which it has obtained, of exposing all the maneuvers of the socialists who have tried to show that they "fought" during these days. What is particularly important is that the Party must in every possible way strengthen the united front of struggle which has already been formed, and create united front committees in the factories which will continue to carry on the struggle *in all forms*. This will be really carrying through the tactics of the united front from below.

The Red Trade Unions, the Y.C.L., the sports and

other revolutionary workers' organizations must begin a wide recruiting campaign. The Communist Party must open the door for the best revolutionary workers. In order to carry on a more successful struggle against the reformists, the Communist Party and the Y.C.L. must begin energetic work in the reformist trade unions and the other mass organizations which follow the socialists. Up to the present this work has been utterly neglected. The Red Trade Unions, on their part, must by their improved work help to expose the reformists inside the reformist workers' organizations.

The Communist Party of Austria. In little Austria, the Social-Democratic Party had 648,000 members even in 1932, and the trade unions under the influence of social-democracy had 520,000 members in the same year. The social-democrats had a tremendous majority in all workers' "commissions" and in the municipalities of all the industrial towns of the country. They represented the working class in parliament.

In spite of the fact that the Communist Party had representatives even at the First Congress of the Comintern, it is not as yet a mass Party. Until the recent events it had about 5,000 members.

Its struggle against social-democracy was hindered not only by the fact that the social-democrats had possession of the entire mass workers' movement, but also by the fact that Austrian social-democracy was the most "left" party of the Second International cunningly utilizing the tactics of the "lesser evil". It took no small time for the C.C. of the Communist Party to convince its members of the necessity of adopting the tactics of class against class, of the necessity of developing the struggle against social-democracy as well.

Despite all these difficulties, the Communist Party democracy, the latter succeeded nevertheless in keeping the workers under its influence owing to the sops which it gave them in the shape of relief, communal construction, etc. The social-democrats had a majority in the municipalities of the industrial towns, and so were able to carry on this policy.

Despite all these difficulties, the Communist Party succeeded in strengthening itself among the unemployed, in penetrating some big factories, in organizing demonstrations, in conducting strikes here and there, but it did not play a big role in the working class movement of Austria. And this was the case despite the fact that in its press and at meetings, the Communist Party capably exposed the treacherous role of social-democracy, giving quite good explanations to the masses of the slogans which it put forward.

In the recent events the Communist Party played quite an important role. It called for a general strike even before the beginning of the events in Linz. It has now been definitely established that when the social-democratic workers heard of the events in Linz

and partially responded to the call of the Communist Party, they began the strike without waiting for the question to be decided by the Social-Democratic Party. It has now been definitely established that the social-democrats and the reformist trade unions urged the workers to return to work. It was only after the workers refused to listen to these persuasive arguments, that the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party (by a majority of one vote), sanctioned the strike. The trade unions not only did not call for a strike but prevented its spreading.

The Communist Party took a most active part in the armed struggle of the workers against the fascists. In the 7th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 16th, 17th, 19th and 21st districts of Vienna, the Communists fought alongside of the Schutzbund. In Schlingerhof and Floridsdorf, Communists and members of the Schutzbund were in the committee of struggle leading the struggle of the workers. At the Anker bread bakery and the Leopoldau gas works, the workers came out on strike and carried on an armed struggle under Communist leadership. In Linz, Sceuer, Wolfsegger, and Brucke am Mur, the Communists fought side by side with the members of the Schutzbund. The Communist fought courageously.

While the armed revolt was on, the Communist Party published leaflets calling on the workers to form Soviets and a red guard, and called on them to put an end to defense and to go over to the offensive. All the attempts, however, of the C.C. of the Communist Party to set up a central leadership of the uprising met with no success. The Communist Party was not in a position to bring about the arming of the proletariat against the wishes of the S.D. leaders. It was not in a position to bring out a real general strike, to stop railway traffic, and to stop the supply of water and light.

The small Austrian Communist Party is faced with tremendous tasks. It must help the workers to liberate themselves from the influence of the social-democrats, it must prevent the government destroying all the workers' organizations. To carry out these tasks, the Communists must join the reformist trade unions which though formally dissolved can and must continue to exist illegally, and must organize their work there in such a way as to direct these trade unions along the revolutionary path. Hitherto, the Communist Party has paid little attention to work in the reformist trade unions. The Communist Party now possesses all the pre-requisites for building up a mass Party from among the social-democratic workers. According to the latest information, members of the social-democratic Schutzbund who fought side by side with the Communists are coming over to the Communist Party in a number of towns.

It is only now, when the working class members of the Social-Democratic Party and the reformist trade unions have by their own experience seen to what

their leaders have brought the working class, how they have surrendered one position after another to the fascists, how they did not permit the workers to begin the struggle against the enemy at the proper time, how even when the struggle had commenced they

prevented the workers from passing over from defense to attack that they are leaving the reformists in masses and coming under the banner of the Communist Party.

(Continued in Next Issue.)

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