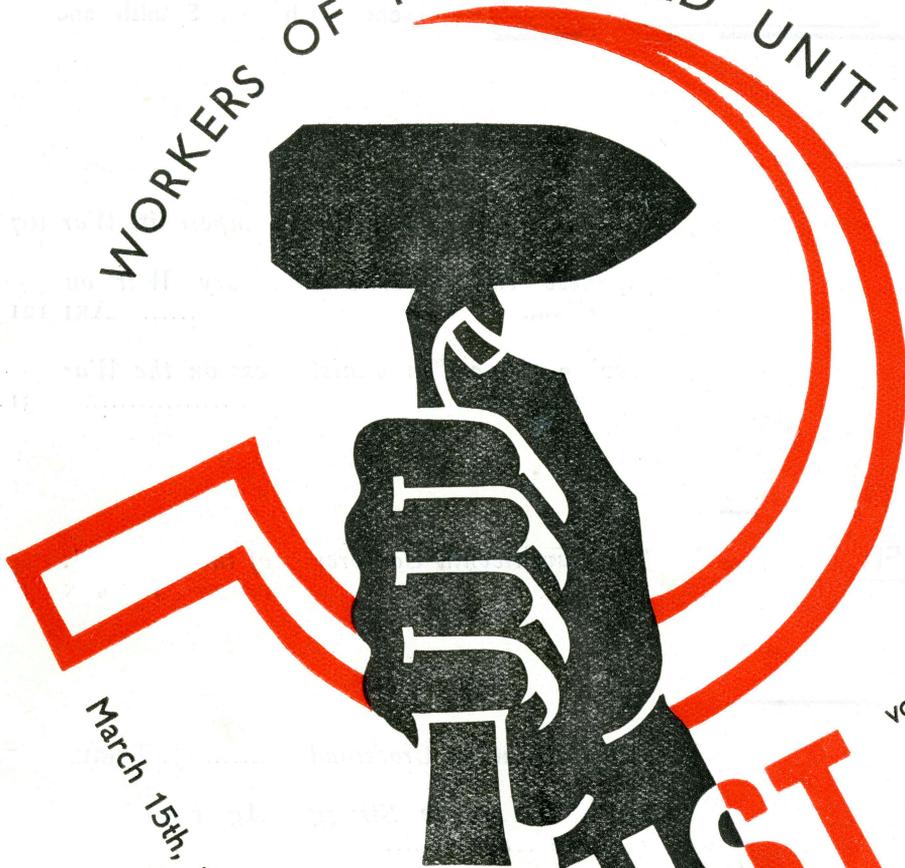


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PEACE IS SLIPPING INTO A WORLD IMPERIALIST WAR

Imperialist war is here! In *Manchuria* new movements of troops take place every day. The occupied country is being taken in possession by the Japanese military authorities. It is being fortified. *It is being prepared in a military way as a basis for a further campaign.* In *Shanghai*, the Japanese have suffered a rebuff; the national revolutionary resistance of the Chinese people has shown the Japanese "who hoped for a quick and easy victory," that the times are passed when the Chinese people could be outraged by every imperialist robber without resistance. The Japanese imperialist robbers utilised this rebuff for the *drawing in of new military forces*, which will suffice to extend the war into *inner China*, for commencing operations against the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army, compact troops from the Asiatic Continent to be held ready against the Soviet Union.

In *England* the National Government of the ex-Labour leader, MacDonal, has established a *War Council within the Cabinet*. Those who have still some doubt as to the significance of this step should read Churchill's Memoirs of the Great War, where, in black and white it is said that the War Council is nothing else than a *committee for ensuring the unified leadership of war*. In *France* the Tardieu Cabinet has already been established. This new Cabinet has already introduced an innovation into the structure of the Government; *the three war portfolios—National Defence, Navy and Air* have been concentrated in one Ministry, just as the chief of the Supreme War Council of the French Army, *General Weygand*, proposed. In *Poland*, the transport personnel on the railways is being changed in order that reliable people trained in military affairs can be introduced in their place. The railway shops are being transformed into mobile workshops, large sections of them mounted on railway trucks. In *Roumania*, the new technical military corps which already exists and which is under French command is being legislatively sanctioned. France pays Roumania's debts to the Skoda works in order to make possible new orders for military equipment. *In all the European ports*, arms and munitions are being loaded. The merchant fleets of the small countries—*Norway, Holland, Greece and Germany* also, are being chartered by the big powers. In the war industry, an upward curve has commenced, even now in the midst of the deepest world economic crisis. The shares of the war industrial firms rise every day. The insurance rates of merchant ships which make their trips to the Pacific Ocean

have been increased by 2,000 per cent. The reformist sailors' union has advanced the "partial demand"; — The shipping companies must increase their insurance to the same degree as was the case during the war.

More and more instances could be given which show that the imperialist war *is ever more prepared for*, is daily developing and growing into military intervention against the Soviet Union, into world war.

The predictions which have been often made in the decisions of the Communist International, and in the declarations of the Communist Parties—the *question of a new division of the world* is directly raised. The question of *the fight of two systems* has entered a new historical phase. This is absolutely incontestable.

There are three factors which impede the further development of the war which has already commenced, into a military intervention against the Soviet Union, into a world war: the revolutionary activity of the world proletariat, the resistance of the Chinese people against the robber war which has already commenced and the development of the *contradictions which exist between the leading imperialist powers*. *The most important of all these factors is the revolutionary activity of the world proletariat.*

Action, action against the war: This is the demand of the hour. Every vacillation in the estimation of the international situation, every under-estimation of the significance of the war which has already commenced must lead to vacillation in action.

Let us consider, if only briefly, the world situation, which has for its background not only the deepest and most widespread world economic crisis, but also the imperialist war which has already commenced in the Far East, the advance of the Japanese troops in the immediate vicinity of the frontiers of the Soviet Union and the Disarmament Conference. The *immediate aim* of this conference,—alongside the camouflage of war preparations—is *the re-grouping of the imperialist powers* (by the slurring over of the contradictions which exist between them), in the interest of the transformation of the war which has already begun into an intervention against the Soviet Union, into a world war.

The connections, the circumstances which were established in the period of the stabilisation of capitalism were, for the most part, already liquidated previously. Now, however, they are finding their end at a most rapid tempo in order that

the whole world can be given over to the war situation.

The question "In what does the stabilisation of capitalism express itself concretely?" was answered by comrade Stalin in his speech in May, 1925.

The *first* fact of world political significance in which the stabilisation of capitalism after the last immediate reverberation of the world war (establishment of peace and the defeat of the revolutionary proletariat in Germany) expressed itself, was "that America, England and France succeeded provisionally in agreeing as to the methods and the degree of the plundering of Germany. In other words, they were successful in establishing agreement which is described as the imposition of the Dawes Plan on Germany" (Stalin). *This agreement to-day has been shattered to its depths by the world crisis.* (The paying capacity of Germany, the raising of the question of inter-allied war debts, the postponement of the Lausanne Conference, crisis of the whole Versailles system, the ripening of the prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis in Germany and in the chief vassal State of France—in Poland).

The *second* world political fact was "that English, American and Japanese Imperialism succeeded in reaching agreement in connection with the division of the spheres of influence in China" (Stalin).

This agreement was shattered by the Chinese Revolution and by the Japanese campaign — destroyed with the help of France, the guardian of the Versailles system.

The *third* world political fact was "that the imperialist groups of the leading countries succeeded in reaching agreement as far as reciprocal non-interference in the business of plundering and oppressing their 'own' colonies" (Stalin).

This agreement has been blown sky high. (The sharpening of the Anglo-American contradictions in South America, Canada, Egypt, etc. English-Japanese competition in the British possessions, the English Empire Tariff movement, the effects of the general tariff war, the sharpening of the Franco-Italian contradictions in the Mediterranean Sea, etc).

Comrade Stalin laid down as the *fourth* world political fact which serves as the basis of stabilisation, viz., the *possibility* "that the imperialist groups of the leading countries will attempt to reach common agreement with regard to a united front against the Soviet Union" (Stalin).

Although such a united front has *not yet* been achieved the temporary simultaneous occurrence of the world economic crisis in the capitalist countries with the decisive victory of Socialism

in the Soviet Union has sharpened the fight of the *two systems* to the utmost degree.

The successful carrying through of Socialist industrialisation, the collectivisation of agriculture, the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the successful realisation of the first Five Year Plan, and the complete liquidation of unemployment, the growing independence of the Soviet Union from capitalist world economy, the drafting of the directives of the second Five Year Plan with the perspective of the decisive improvement of the standard of living of the toilers and the abolition of classes—all this in the period of the deepest world economic crisis has already decided the *peaceful competition* in the struggle between capitalism and Socialism in favour of the latter. The leading imperialist groups and likewise their chief Social Fascist supports, therefore consider the question in the following light; that the struggle between capitalism and Socialism after the failure of the anti-Soviet economic war must be carried further and decided *by means of armed struggle*. This is all the more necessary since the struggle of two systems *within* the capitalist countries and their colonies is proceeding in ever sharper forms *as a struggle for one of two ways out of the crisis; for the capitalist or Socialist way out.* The plans of capitalism which had the aim of utilising the temporary stabilisation for overcoming the post-war crisis of capitalist economy, have collapsed one after the other. The most seriously considered plan for overcoming the post war crisis of capitalism—*capitalist rationalisation*, has shown itself to be as fruitless an attempt as all the proposals of the quack doctors of Social Democracy and the Trade Union Bureaucracy about the organised character of capitalism.

Capitalist rationalisation has resulted in nothing else but the *colossal over-production, the gigantic increase in unemployment and the immeasurable increase of the absolute impoverishment of the working class, the most intense sharpening of class contradictions.* The fairy tales about organised capitalism spread by the organisations of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals cannot replace the miserable loaf of bread, the elementary needs with which crisis-racked capitalist economy can no longer supply its wage slaves. The repressive measures to transfer all the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling masses, the enormous burden of armaments which are squeezed out of the almost completely empty pockets of the workers', peasants and petit-bourgeoisie, have driven further forward the revolutionary upsurge of the broad masses of workers and peasants, the prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis in some important countries are ripen-

ing (Poland and Germany); the revolutionary crisis has embraced the most important colonial and semi-colonial countries (China and India), *the naked and brutal terror of fascism*, of Social-Fascism outweighs the demagogy of these Parties; the methods of civil war are being applied more and more in order to keep down the worker and peasant masses, *the so-called peaceful methods and means of the struggle for the capitalist or the Socialist way out of the crisis* are reaching their end in a series of capitalist countries.

* * * *

In the plans of imperialism for ensuring a capitalist way out of the crisis, *war* as the "last resource" always assumed an important place. The peak point of the warlike solution of the crisis is directed on the one hand to the division of China and on the other against the Soviet Union with the aim of overthrowing the Soviet Union by the forces of international imperialism, by the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship of Socialism. In the efforts to solve the crisis at China's expense (maintaining thereby their special interests in the question of the division of the loot) and to carry through the intervention against the Soviet Union all the imperialist governments are united in principle, in the same way as they are agreed about transferring the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working class and toiling strata and on to the weaker countries and colonial peoples. In all other essential questions of world policy there exist *sharp conflicts of interest* between the imperialist countries and their groupings. The special sharpening of these contradictions is also based on the fact that the world crisis has tremendously sharpened *the inequality of the development* in the capitalist countries and has created great changes in the *relations of forces* between the imperialist powers (the further advance of America and France as the richest gold-possessing States, the elimination of England from the most important economic and power positions, Japan's advance in the Far East through its utilisation of the crisis in the U.S.A. and in England, the forcing back of Italy in the Balkan countries, Germany's advance with the aim of utilising the imperialist contradictions for the purpose of securing a new settlement of the reparations question and the question of its eastern frontiers, etc).

In this balance-sheet of the Power groupings and relation of forces between the leading imperialist countries, *all the most important world political problems of international policy are linked together in the closest possible way*. The Reparations question, the question of the Ver-

sailles Peace system, inter-allied war debts, the question of the tariff war, of the fight for gold, the disarmament question, the fight for colonial territories, the Pacific Ocean question, the Chinese question, the German question, the question of Franco-Italian contradictions, the question of Central-European and Balkan Tariff agreements, etc., stand in the closest connection, and all are particularly woven together *with the question of the Versailles system and with the fight of two systems*. All these questions have been extraordinarily sharpened by the imperialist war in China. The questions of the new division of the world, of the fight of two worlds and the fight for a way out of the crisis, impel as a direct consequence of their inter-connections, the question of a *solution through war* with especial force.

The balance of the imperialist power groupings as a consequence of the sharpening imperialist antagonisms, expresses itself in the first place in this, that in Europe *only one stable system of war alliances exists—the French system*. This system has been extended to a world war alliance by the entry of Japan. The Franco-Japanese Alliance has, by far, not only the aim of securing a parallel attitude as far as Japan and France are concerned in the question of disarmament, not only their united stand in the question of the division of China (whereby France lays claim to the south of China which it has partly realised) *but also the strengthening of the European positions of France with the aim of strengthening the tottering Versailles Peace system*. It follows in the foremost line the aim of embracing the Soviet Union in a pincer-like attack from east and west, of supplementing the military attack on the Soviet Union from the west by the attack from the east.

The English Government is, on the one hand, carrying on negotiations with France for the establishment of a "united front" in the question of inter-allied debts against the U.S.A. On the other hand, the English conservatives are striving to renew the Anglo-Japanese Alliance by their negotiations with the Japanese Government. U.S.A. is striving to blunt the edge of these negotiations for alliance in so far as they are directed against her interests in the question of the division of China, and the Pacific Ocean question and *to turn them against the Soviet Union*.

But just this sharpness of the antagonisms drives them inevitably into war (as the Japanese campaigns in Manchuria and in Shanghai particularly have shown), drives them to this, that they are unavoidably slipping into the imperialist world war, into the armed intervention against the Soviet Union.

The sharpness of the imperialist contradictions makes the building of new power groupings difficult. These difficulties, however, constitute — as the Japanese campaigns in Manchuria and the Yangtze valley show,—*no insuperable obstacle, not only on the road of immediate war preparations, but also on the road of the world creeping into an imperialist world war, into military intervention against the Soviet Union.* These groupings, as experience shows, will be more firmly developed and extended partly on the outbreak of the war, and partly, even, during the course of the War, in the course of the carrying through of military operations.

It would, therefore, be an unpardonable error to conclude from the fact that there are as yet no firm imperialist groupings, yet no firm imperialist united front against the Soviet Union, that the danger of imperialist world war, of military intervention against the Soviet Union, is not a *most immediate* question, that the imperialist war which has already begun, in the Far East does not immediately *threaten* the proletariat, the toiling masses of *Europe and America.* The capitalist world also *crept* into the world war before the year 1914. The question of the new division of the world was already ripe when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, when the war in Tripoli began in 1911, when the first and second Balkan wars began in 1912-13. The Sarajevo murder sufficed to set the avalanche of the world war in motion

Since the October Revolution important changes have taken place which raise difficulties for the war policy of imperialism. The Soviet Union with its policy of peace, the revolutionary-proletarian and national revolutionary movements constitute an important factor by endangering the hinterland to the imperialist bourgeoisie, which increases the *risk of war* for the imperialist powers, *but in spite of this, there are no less important factors which have arisen which facilitate the organisation of the world war.* These are the unification of world imperialism in the *League of Nations* and its agency, its chief support in the preparation of war in the ranks of the working class, the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals. The League of Nations, which organises the Disarmament Conference in the midst of the Sino-Japanese War and at the time of the immediate provocation of military intervention against the Soviet Union — the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals, which carry over the swindling pacifist slogans of the imperialist League of Nations into the working masses, which lead the campaign against the Soviet Union, which advance the transport of

arms and munitions to Japan—these are factors *which facilitate the preparations of the imperialist world war, of military intervention against the Soviet Union and which cannot be over-estimated.*

A test which exemplifies that for the commencement of war, no firm agreements of the leading imperialist powers are necessary is to be seen in the Japanese campaign in Manchuria, in the Yangtze Valley and in the northern provinces of China. The especially deep crisis of Japanese imperialism, its peculiarities, particularly its distance from the great military powers, its proximity to China, etc., make clear that *just* Japanese imperialism as the *first* of the leading imperialist powers, has gone farthest in utilising all means in the struggle for a way out of the crisis. The ruthless offensive against the Japanese working class, against the peasants, the further sharpening of colonial oppression in Korea and Formosa, did not succeed in securing this way out. Therefore, the initiative for the final division of China through the medium of war, therefore, the campaign in Manchuria and the Yangtze Valley, therefore the most insolent provocation of intervention against the Chinese Revolution. Therefore, the taking over of the rôle of the Eastern advance-guard of military intervention against the Soviet Union! Moreover, Japanese imperialism has,—in alliance with France,—utilised the crisis in England and in the U.S.A. to face these imperialisms with *accomplished facts* in China. With these, it secures the support of England in the China campaign, in the division of China, in the occupation of Manchuria, in the bombardment of Shanghai. She has forced the U.S.A., by these methods of the creation of accomplished facts into the defence of its special imperialist interests with regard to the division of China, forced it into a defensive position. Everything up to now has happened as Mr. Tanaka, the leading Japanese politician, foresaw and proposed in his memorandum of 1927.* Even the military intervention in Manchuria, in the Yangtze Valley was carried through according to the Tanaka plans, not to mention the political preparation of this campaign by Japanese diplomacy. The sense of this memorandum is, by means of the meanest diplomatic swindles and press lies, not to plunge the world into an imperialist world war, into a military intervention against the Soviet Union, but to allow it to *creep* into war.

* * * *

A decisive mass mobilisation is urgently necessary. In the first place against the transport of arms and munitions which are bound for Japan

*The full Tanaka Memorandum is to be found in "Japanese Imperialism Stripped." Modern Books, id.

on all the lines of the capitalist railways and from all the ports of capitalist countries. The defence of China, the Chinese revolution, the Chinese Soviets must stand in the foremost place in the tasks of all Communist Parties. The defence of China's independence from the military division which has already begun is an integral part of the defence of the Soviet Union, the defence of the proletariat of all capitalist countries from the world war. To-day, it is not merely a question of directing the attention of the international working class to the danger of war and to carry through the equally essential exposure of the sophisms of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. All this is a *necessary and essential part* of the struggle against imperialist war, but to-day this is absolutely *insufficient*. The shaking up of the broadest masses, their organisation for *action* against the transport of munitions for Japanese imperialism, against the utilisation of the railways and particularly the harbours and merchant fleets for supplying Japanese imperialism with munitions, arms and poison gases for the purpose of murdering men, women, chil-

dren, workers, artisans, students, small business men in China, this is the *demand not of the day, but of the hour*. The Japanese militarists do not shrink from the vilest atrocities. They are reckoning on the fact that nobody will hinder them in the continuance of their acts of terror against the Chinese people. The munition factories send arms, munitions, aeroplanes to Japan. The capitalist governments send warships and troops from all the big imperialist countries. The imperialist governments are greedily watching one another so that none may go short when the booty is torn from China. None of them is doing the least thing against the extension of the Japanese campaign in China to a world war, to an intervention against the Soviet Union. On the contrary, their greatest concern is to develop this intervention against the Soviet Union at an even greater speed. *In this hour, all the Communist Parties must once again make the appeal to the workers of all countries. It depends on you, on your deeds against the war which has already begun, whether the European countries, whether the whole world is to creep into war. Act! Act! Act!*

THE 17TH CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (B) OF THE SOVIET UNION

V. KNORIN.

THE decisions of the XVII. Conference of the All-Union Communist Party (B) are of world-historical importance. They give a summary of the political and economic achievements of the U.S.S.R. in 1931. They give the directives for the formulation of the second five year plan. They are outlining new problems arising before the proletariat of the U.S.S.R.—the problem of final liquidation of capitalist elements, and of classes in general, overcoming the survivals of capitalism in economics and in the consciousness of man, and of building up a classless Socialist community within the following five year period. The proletariat of the U.S.S.R. will fight for the fulfilment of these problems under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, and supported by the international proletariat.

I.

The year 1931 was the *decisive* year of the Five Year Plan.

Having successfully fulfilled the programme of economic construction for that year, both in industry and in agricultural economy, the U.S.S.R. *accomplished the building of foundations for Socialist economics, and solved Lenin's question*

"who will be the victor?" once and for all, against capitalism and for Socialism, both in the city and in the village. The results of this year are the greatest world-historical triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the general line of the All-Union Communist Party, the triumph of the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R., the triumph of Socialism.

In the first place, this triumph was prepared by the October Revolution, which snatched the power out of the hands of the exploiting classes, and established the *dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R.* "Dictatorship of the proletariat is the weapon of proletarian revolution, its organ, its most essential stronghold, called to life, in the first place, to suppress the resistance of the overthrown exploiters, and to stabilise its achievements, and secondly to bring to an end the proletarian revolution, *to bring revolution to a complete triumph of Socialism*" (J. Stalin, "Problems of Leninism," 9th edition, page 28.) The expropriation of unproductive classes (bourgeoisie and landowners), abolition of indebtedness, concentration of revenues from industries, and foreign and home trade and the entire credit system in the hands of the state, accomplished

by the dictatorship of the proletariat in a country, possessing tremendous natural resources—were in themselves sufficient to produce such accumulations inside the country, which ensure the necessary rate of development of industry—this basis of Socialist reconstruction of the whole national economy, and the erection of the foundation for a classless Socialist community.

Secondly, this triumph was prepared by the creation of a new state apparatus in the form of the Soviet system, giving a “bond with the masses, with the majority of the people, the bond so close, so indissoluble, so easily checked and renewed, which had nothing like it in the former state apparatus” (Lenin, Volume XXI., page 258), giving “a form of organisation of a vanguard, i.e., the most conscious, most energetic, advanced part of the oppressed classes — the workers and peasants,—being thus an apparatus, by means whereof the vanguard of the oppressed classes can raise, educate, teach and lead the entire gigantic mass of these classes, hitherto standing absolutely beyond all political life, outside of history” (Lenin, volume XXI., page 258.) Only the existence of this new state apparatus in the form of Soviets, gave the opportunity to raise the entire mass of the proletariat and the poor of the village and their allies (middle peasants) to struggle against the attempts at military intervention, capitalist restoration and deploy the initiative of the masses to fight for the triumph of Socialism.

Thirdly, this triumph was prepared by the existence of a staunch, strong and experienced Bolshevik party, which absorbed the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, their absolute faithfulness to the cause of the proletariat, and by the indefatigable fight of this party for Leninism, against counter-revolutionary Trotskism and right opportunism, for Lenin’s theory, that the U.S.S.R.—the country of proletarian dictatorship—“possesses everything, that is necessary for the complete building up of Socialist society,” which (theory) gave the Soviet proletariat a clear and explicit perspective, that the U.S.S.R. may build a complete Socialist community with its own forces.

Fourthly, this triumph was prepared by the Leninist leadership of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (B), who firmly and steadily promoted the general line of the party, clearly and explicitly formulated by comrade Stalin, on the basis of Lenin’s teachings, ever since the XIVth Congress of the Party in December of 1925.

“To convert our country from an agrarian into an industrial country, capable of producing

with its own forces, all the required equipment—such is the gist, the essence of our general line. We must arrange the matters in such a manner, that all the ideas, and efforts of our business men should be directed to this particular problem, to the problem of the conversion of our country, importing equipment, into a country, manufacturing this equipment. For here is the fundamental guarantee that our country will not be turned into some kind of an appendix to capitalist countries.” (Extract from the concluding speech of comrade Stalin at the XIVth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (B).*

The industrialisation of the country, which is the foundation of the general line of the Party, gave the opportunity already at the XVth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (B) to formulate extensively the question of collectivisation, and to introduce since the XVIth Congress the deployed Socialist offensive along the entire front. At the same time the policy of industrialisation remains the pivot, the essence, the substance of the general line of the All-Union Communist Party (B).

Fifthly, this triumph was prepared by the elimination of any forced labour for capitalists, it was the transformation of labour into a matter of glory and honour for the proletariat, that helped us to achieve the development of *creative* initiative, and a mighty labour elation of the million masses of the working class, ensuring the progressive growth of the productiveness of labour. “Capitalism,”—said Lenin,—“may be finally defeated, and will be ultimately defeated, when Socialism will create a new, a much higher efficiency of labour” (XXIV, page 342).

The consciousness of tremendous opportunities now accessible for the toiling masses, who have established the dictatorship of the proletariat in their country, the clear and explicit perspective of proletarian Socialist construction, the clear and obvious general line of the party, the indefatigable fight against opportunist deviations from this line, succeeded in raising the Socialist consciousness of the proletariat, its *will* and *energy* to overcome all the difficulties, its own backwardness, illiteracy and lack of culture, and thus ensure the unprecedented tempi, and premature fulfilment of the plan problems outlined by the Bolshevik Party, and the Soviet government. The progressive growth of consciousness, will and energy of the proletarian masses for the past three and a quarter years spent in the fulfilment of the first five year plan, opening new additional resources hidden

*Report of XIV. Congress, C.P.S.U. Modern Books Ltd.

in the working class itself, in its initiative and toiling enthusiasm, repeatedly gave the opportunity to increase the original plan at the request of the masses. "Science," which predicted the dying out of the tempi in the growth of the industry, and industrial production was refuted by the proletariat. It proved that "*the industrial plan is a live and practical activity of millions of people*. The reality of our industrial plan is the millions of toilers, creating a new life. The reality of our programme is live people, it is you and I, it is our will to work, our readiness to work in a new manner, our determination to fulfill the plan" ("New conditions—new Tasks," J. Stalin.*).

The year 1931 was the *decisive* year of the five year plan, and is the year of completion of the foundation of Socialist economics, for during that year we established firmly our heavy industry and thus "*created our own basis for the completion of the reconstruction of the entire national economy, the base of Socialist big industry*" (Directives for the formulation of the second five year plan of national economy in U.S.S.R.) for now the *final* turning of the poor and middle-peasant masses of the village towards Socialism took place, "for U.S.S.R., *from the country of small and scattered land cultivation, became a country of the greatest agriculture in the world, on the basis of collectivisation, deployment of soviet farms and extensive application of machinery and engineering*" (Ibid).

These achievements, attained due to the firm and steady promotion of the policy of industrialisation, the rise of heavy industry and deployment of manufacture of means of production, create the economic independence of the U.S.S.R. from the capitalist world, and ensure the further development of the U.S.S.R., as a Socialist country. The bourgeois politicians of the Social-democrat Otto Bauer type, are still making attempts to "advise" the U.S.S.R. that the problem of both the first and the second five year plan, should be made the development of light industry, and agriculture, in order to supply raw materials for the advanced capitalist countries, and to accommodate merely the consuming requirements of the population by our industry ("Arbeiter Zeitung," February 10, 1932). At the same time, these gentlemen frankly avow that such a policy would, of course, signify a complete economic and political dependence of the U.S.S.R. upon the capitalist countries, which would make U.S.S.R. an agrarian appendix to them. It is obvious that such a policy would at the same time signify the defeat of the Soviet proletariat, liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restoration of the power of the exploiting classes in the U.S.S.R. Otto Bauer's

"advice" is the advice of a counter-revolutionary, the worst enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialist construction, intended to deceive the unconscious workers. The proletariat of the U.S.S.R., fighting for Socialism, could not take, and did not take, the way indicated by the right opportunists, it expelled abroad long ago the Russian friends of Otto Bauer and Karl Kautsky—Fedor Dan and Abramovich. The proletariat of the U.S.S.R. followed the way of consolidation of the Bolshevik Party, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the way of the creation of our own heavy industry, and the fight for the economic independence from capitalist countries.

"The salvation of Russia does not lie in the good crops of the peasants' farms alone — this alone is small—and not only in the good condition of light industry furnishing the peasants with staple commodities—this also is still small—what we require is the *heavy* industry. And to bring the heavy industry into a good condition, many years of toil are required. The heavy industry needs state subsidies. If we fail to find them, we are lost not only as a Socialist country, but even as a civilised state. Thus, we made a decisive step in this respect. We acquired the means necessary to place our heavy industry on its own legs. The sums we hitherto acquired do not exceed 20 million gold roubles, but at any rate, we have this sum on hand, and it is intended for the improvement of our heavy industry" (Lenin, Vol. XXVI.).

Even in 1922 Lenin pointed out as a great achievement, the 20 million gold roubles assigned for the improvement of our heavy industry. Fulfilling the legacy of Lenin, the U.S.S.R. increased in 1931 the capital investments in heavy industry to the enormous figure of 7 milliard roubles* (electrification included). And during this very year 3.5 milliard roubles' worth of new plants and units were introduced into industry, whereas the total amount expended for the 3¼ years of the first Five Year Plan was 6.89 milliard roubles. The output increased from 1925 to 1931 (in goods) 3 times for coal, 3.5 times for cast iron, 2.5 times for steel and 9 times for agricultural machinery, 8 times for machinery in general, 10 times for electrical engineering, the output of tractors increased from 469 to 41,280, the motor cars from 80 to 20,511 per annum, etc. But the greatest achievement of the U.S.S.R. was the creation not only of new enterprises, but even of branches of industry, entirely new to the country. For the first time the manufacture of automobiles and tractors was established, chemical machine-building, powerful turbine construction, manufacture of electric equipment and equipment for metallurgy, mining, coal, oil production and

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*Seven thousands of millions. 7,000,000,000 roubles.

manufacture of tools and instruments, production of high speed steel, etc. Taken together, all the above created a stable basis for the economic and engineering independence of U.S.S.R. from capitalist countries. All this *taken together creates a position whereby the U.S.S.R. is able to produce everything necessary for the development of its industry, and for the complete accomplishment of the reconstruction of its national economy with its own home resources, without any importations from abroad, and without any foreign technical assistance.*

These tremendous achievements in the fight for the economic independence of the U.S.S.R. are made by the Soviet proletariat, overcoming its backwardness, its technical illiteracy. The bourgeoisie staked on the following: the Bolsheviks, having constructed their plants and factories to the last word of American and European engineering technique, will not be able to run these plants, and that the absence of skilled labour and experienced engineers and technicians would invalidate them in no time. But the cadres of engineering technicians from the working class are growing from year to year, and what took years for the old intelligentsia to master, is now grasped in a month by the offspring of the working class imbued with the enthusiasm of Socialist construction. This is proven by soviet experience. Labour, become free, evokes such an enthusiasm in the masses, such a *will for knowledge, for mastering the entire industrial and engineering apparatus*, that cadres of skilled industrial workers are formed in an extremely short time, out of peasants, recently absolutely unqualified workers, for the first time in town, together with many thousands of engineers and technicians trained by Soviet technical schools from workers, thus making up highly qualified cadres, capable of occupying the commanding posts in Soviet industry by the initiators of competitions, leaders of shock brigades, practical inspirers of toiling enthusiasm, work organisers at construction jobs, etc. Every new undertaking, everywhere and always, particularly one handicapped by the absence of well trained cadres of workers, begins its activity with hitches, nor is the U.S.S.R. an exception in this respect. But after several months, the new enterprises adopt ever increasing speeds, and in a few more months, they are working to full capacity. The hitherto unskilled and inexperienced workers, technicians and engineers of U.S.S.R. are to-day raising, in many instances, the question concerning the limit of capacity fixed by the foreign specialists for the respective enterprises. The working class of the U.S.S.R., creating its own industry, is simultaneously requalifying at an enormous rate

its cadres, creating its own industrial and engineering intelligentsia, rising itself at the same time to a higher stage of culture.

The growth of Socialist industry in U.S.S.R. enabled the proletariat of the Union, even two years ago, to undertake, on the basis of reconstruction of the peoples' economy, with the firm support of the village poor allied with the masses of the medium-welfare farmers, the deployed Socialist offensive against the capitalist elements *along the entire front*. On the basis of growing Socialist industry the proletariat brought the rôle of the private-capitalist elements in the industry to naught.

But the most important results of all these achievements of the U.S.S.R. is the "final uprooting of the deepest roots of capitalism in the village, predetermining a complete liquidation of capitalist elements and total abolition of classes" (Directives, etc.). The Party was always aware that Socialist construction in the village will be confronted with great difficulties, that the utmost gradualness is required here, that it is absurd to introduce social land cultivation by a decree. On the other hand, the Party always bore in mind the words of Lenin, uttered in 1920:

"While we are living in a country of small peasants, there is always a more stable basis in Russia for capitalism, than for communism. Anybody, carefully watching the life of the village, as compared with the life of the city, is well aware that we did not destroy the roots of capitalism. Did not tear out the foundation, the basis from the footing of our home enemy. Capitalism is based on small farming, and in order to uproot it, there is only one means — to create a new technical basis, a technical basis of the modern large production for the economy of the country, agriculture included (Lenin, Volume XXVI, page 46).

The Party has constantly borne in mind Lenin's words uttered in 1919:

"Could we but to-morrow give one hundred thousand first-class tractors, supply them with petrol, furnish them with operators (we all know that it is only a dream at present), the middle peasant would say 'I am for Communism' (i.e., communism). But to accomplish this, we must first of all defeat the international bourgeoisie, to force them to give us these tractors, or we must improve our productiveness to such an extent, as to be able to supply them ourselves. Only thus, will be the correct formulation of the question" (Vol. XXIV, page 170).

What did we require in order to secure the victory of Socialism in these circumstances both in the city and in the village, and to uproot the

deepest roots of capitalism? For this purpose, the proletariat, which has taken power into its hand, — must first of all guide the peasantry. "What does it mean?"—to guide the peasantry. It means, first of all, to conduct the line tending to destroy the classes, and not the small producer" (Lenin, Volume XXVI, page 399).

Secondly, it is imperative to so far improve our industry, as to be able not only to furnish the peasants with 100,000 tractors, but also to proceed with the reconstruction of the whole national economy, the agricultural economy included.

Fulfilling our general line, the line for industrialisation, guiding the poor and middle masses of peasants, the Party achieved the final turning of the peasant masses towards Socialism, and having deployed the Socialist offensive along the whole front, conducting the policy of annihilation of kulaks as a class on the basis of all-round collectivisation,—it achieved the decisive change of social-economic relations and the decisive victory of Socialism over capitalism.

Thus, the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the All-Union Communist Party (B) solved *the most important and most difficult problem of proletarian revolution*, the problem of laying the foundation for the economics of the classless Socialist society.

II.

The year 1932 is the year of *completion* of the first Five Year Plan, and the transient year to the second Five Year Plan. The plan for this year determines the tempo of growth of capital investments in industrial production, greatly exceeding the tempi of all the preceding years. The radical task to be solved by its fulfilment is the overcoming of the backwardness of ferrous metallurgy, the increased output of coal, coke and of the further increase of machine-tool building. It is imperative to *insure* already this year *the fulfilment of the programme of capital construction works by our own Soviet equipment*. It is imperative to meet *fully* with the products of Soviet machine tool building industry *the requirements of the reconstruction of agriculture and municipal economy and the development of light industry* supplying the increased requirements of the masses. The growth of independence of the U.S.S.R. from the capitalist countries, and the powerful growth of its heavy industry, existing not for the benefit of the exploiting "heads," but for the benefit of the whole people, must result in a powerful surge of prosperity of the toiling masses. The heavy industry under capitalism is a weapon for the preparation of war by means of squeezing out surplus value, and for the oppression of colonies,

in capitalist countries: the growth of heavy industries is identical with the growth of imperialism and war danger. In U.S.S.R. the growth of heavy industry is identical with the growth of Socialism, prosperity of the masses, and gives the premises for the complete reconstruction of national economy and total victory of Socialism. For the *development of Socialist industry to such a degree resulting in the annihilation of class differences is possible only by means of radical technical reconstruction of the whole national economy*.

Hence ensue the "directives,—adopted by the Conference,—for the drafting of the second Five Year Plan for the national economy of the U.S.S.R. (years 1933-37), which is the plan of construction; in the next five years, of the classless Socialist community in one-sixth of the globe." Starting from this, the basic decisive economic problem of the second Five Year Plan will be the completion of the reconstruction of the entire national economy, creation of the most up-to-date technical basis for all the branches of national economy, agriculture included. The leading rôle in this completion of technical reconstruction will fall to the lot of Soviet machine-tool construction, the main element in this technical reconstruction being the creation of a new *energy basis*, founded on extensive electrification of industry and transport and gradual inculcation of electric power into agriculture. The fulfilment of these radical problems of the second Five Year Plan will produce a powerful growth of light industry and will *supply the population with basic articles of consumption, including food-stuffs, to an extent exceeding the present supply two or three times*. The second Five Year Plan will exterminate the economic and cultural backwardness of nationalities, inherited from the Czarist capitalist and colonial regime. The second Five Year Plan will eliminate, in the main, the contradictions between the town and the village. The second Five Year Plan will transform the U.S.S.R. into the most advanced country in Europe from the technical point of view, and will give the U.S.S.R. the opportunity to catch up already in the second Five Year period with the advanced capitalist countries in a *number* of economic branches from the engineering and economic point of view. The experience of fulfilment of the first Five Year Plan proves that there are no objective obstacles hindering the realisation of this plan during the second Five Year period, that its fulfilment depends solely on the consciousness, will and energy of the working class. It is for this reason that the XVII Conference of the All-Union Communist Party (B) considers that :

"The enormous natural resources of the country, the Bolshevik tempi of construction, the growing activity of the large masses of workers and collective farmers, and the correct line of the Party insure totally a development of productive forces of Socialist economy during the second Five Year Plan, which will finally eliminate all capitalist elements in the U.S.S.R. The opinion of the Conference is that the basic political problem of the second Five Year Plan is the final elimination of capitalist elements and classes in general, and total annihilation of circumstances creating class differences and exploitation, and the overcoming of survivals of capitalism in economics and in the consciousness of men, transformation of the whole toiling population of the country into conscious, active builders of the classless Socialist community. Liquidation of parasitic class elements, general growth of national revenues, used fully for the benefit of the toilers must result in the considerably more rapid increase of prosperity of the masses of workers and peasants, combined with the decisive improvement of the whole housing and municipal problem of the U.S.S.R." (Directives, etc.).

The Social-economic regime, now established in the U.S.S.R., and which will finally and irrevocably become established by the fulfilment of these political problems of the second Five Year Plan, is a regime, whereby the "means of production are already out of private ownership by individual parties. The means of production are the property of the entire community" (Lenin), a regime, under which "the ownership of private persons extends solely to articles of individual consumption" (Marx). Reconstruction of the entire national economy, simultaneously with the reconstruction of social and economical relations in the village, first of all will lead to the liquidation of classes, and complete abolition of the circumstances creating class differences and exploitation, but *inequality still remains*, "*remains the distribution of articles of consumption in proportion to the amount of labour spent by each member of the community*." *Inequality of distribution is still very strong.* "*The narrow horizon of bourgeois law is not yet fully overcome*" (Marx).

Consequently, what we are going to create in the course of the second Five Year Plan is the stage of Socialism of which Marx said:

"We have here not a communist society, which *developed* on its own independent basis, but a society just *coming* out of the capitalist society, and which, therefore, bears in all respects—economical, moral and mental,—still the stamp of the old society, out of the womb of which it originated. Consequently each

individual producer receives back from society exactly the amount (after all deductions are made) which he gave to the community. What he gives to the society is his individual share of labour. A social working day represents a sum of individual working hours. The working time of each individual producer is the part of social working time given by this producer, it is his share in it" (Marx, Criticism of Gotha programme). According to Marx, this is the *lowest* (first) phase of Communist society.

"In the highest phase of Communist society after the disappearance of the enslavement of man caused by his subjection to the principle of division of labour; when, together with this, the opposition between brain and manual work will have disappeared; when labour will have ceased to be a mere means of supporting life and will itself have become one of the first necessities of life; when with the all-round development of the individual, the productive forces, too will have grown to maturity, and all the forces of social wealth will be pouring in an uninterrupted torrent—only then will it be possible wholly to pass beyond the narrow horizon of bourgeois laws, and only then will society be able to inscribe on its banner: 'From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs'."* (Marx, Criticism of Gotha Programme).

The second Five Year Plan will give us the opportunity to rise to the first phase of communist society, in order subsequently to rise from it to the supreme phase of communism.

The fulfilment of political problems of the second Five Year Plan provides a *complete* annihilation of *all* private ownership of means of production, *complete* liquidation of all the channels, "by means of which are originated the classes and by means of which first of all capitalists are created" (Stalin). Completion of all-round collectivisation, final liquidation of kulaks as a class means not only *complete* liquidation of capitalist elements, but also *complete remodelling of petty merchandise farming in the village*. Complete liquidation of capitalist elements is at the same time the liquidation of classes in general, for "classes," as Lenin wrote in his notes about the "Economics of the Transition Period," by Bukharin,—represent first of all "a group of persons, differing in their position in the social regime of production and differing in such a way that one group is able to acquire the labour of another group" (Lenin, Lenin's Collection, Volume XI, page 357).

Transformation of the entire toiling population

*State and Revolution," Lenin, 1919.

of the country into conscious and active builders of classless society, on this basis, implies the change of the rôle and position of the working class, which from the moment of gaining state power, ceased to be the working class in the proper sense of the word, and under liquidation of classes in general, will merge with the whole classless community. The peasants who originated from feudal society, as the opposite pole of the feudal landowners and who preserved their peculiarities—"the idiocy" of village life, due to the existence of small and very tiny farms, after a complete reconstruction of agriculture, and the establishment of classless Socialist society, overcoming the individualism of petty owners inside the collective farms, will lose their character as a separate class, merging with the classless Socialist community. But there still remain survivals of capitalism, both in economics and in the consciousness of humanity, based on the old habits. Therefore the principal thing is *the fight against the old habits—of considering the measure of labour and the means of production from the point of view of a man, who is not his own master*, plotting how to get rid of a surplus burden, how to hide an extra piece from the bourgeoisie" (Lenin). Therefore the most imperative task now is *the fight for new discipline*, for "it is imperative to defeat the enemies of the people, the rich and their spongers, then the crooks, idlers and hooligans" (Lenin), not only in politics, but also in everyday economic life, for "the rich and the crooks" are two sides of the same medal, they are the two chief kinds of parasites nursed by capitalism, they are the main enemies of Socialism and we must deal with them severely, for the least violation of the regulations and laws of Socialist society, without any mercy. Any weakness, any hesitation, every sentimentality in this respect would be the greatest crime towards Socialism" (Lenin). "The accursed rule; everyone for himself and God for us all," should be exterminated from the mind of the collective farmers and backward strata of the working class" (Lenin). This fight against the survivals of capitalism in economics and in the consciousness of man against all kinds of parasites and proprietary instincts—*is still a class struggle* which is to be guided by the dictatorship of the proletariat in the interests of the ultimate triumph of Socialism.

Liquidation of capitalist elements, the suppression of all counter-revolutionary sorties of bourgeois elements, destruction of survivals of capitalism in economics and in the consciousness of humanity, re-education of enormous human masses and simultaneously the defence of the U.S.S.R. against

the capitalist world are impossible without *the increase of the power of the proletarian state, reinforcement of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the organising and leading rôle of the Party*. The State remains until all the survivals of class society are annihilated. But from the moment power is in the hands of the proletariat this State is no more the State in the old sense of the word, but a State of a different type which dies off after having fulfilled its historical functions, which will ultimately die off after the annihilation of all class survivals in the consciousness of humanity, after liquidation of inequality and bourgeois law connected therewith. The question of the necessity of preserving the State should not be treated only from the point of view, that if the complete Socialist society is established in one country, the army will still be required for the protection of the Socialist society from the capitalist world. *The apparatus of the armed defence of Socialist society is also feasible without the existence of a state*.

"Theoretically, it is quite possible to admit such a composition of society, where there are no classes and no State, but where there is an armed people defending its classless society from outside enemies. Sociology gives plenty of examples from the history of humanity, of communities which had no classes, no State, but which defended themselves by this or that means from outside foes. The same applies to the future classless society, which, having no classes and no State, may still possess its own Socialist militia for the defence from outside foes. I think it rather improbable that we should come to such a State, but there is no doubt whatever, that the achievements of Socialist construction in our country and moreover the triumph of Socialism and annihilation of classes, — are facts of universal historical importance, which cannot but evoke a powerful upsurge of proletarians of the capitalist countries towards Socialism, which cannot but help arousing revolutionary explosions in other countries. But theoretically it is quite feasible to admit such a state of society where the existence of a Socialist militia is quite probable without the existence of classes and State" (J. Stalin "The Opposition," pages 532-533).

But if such a condition is theoretically feasible, still, the decisive problem for the *present period and for any period of the second Five Year Plan* is the reinforcement of the proletarian state, the reinforcement of the organising rôle of the Party, for the purpose of overcoming the survivals of capitalism, for the *struggle for classless Socialist society is a heavy, severe class-struggle*. It means that "in the future the aggravation of

class struggle is inevitable at separate times, and particularly in separate regions and at separate points of Socialist construction, which stresses at the same time the inevitable preservation, and in certain cases increase of bourgeois influence upon separate strata and groups of toilers, the inevitable penetration, for a long time to come, of alien class influences into the midst of the workers and even the Party. In view of the above the Party is confronted with the task of the stabilisation of the proletarian dictatorship and the further development of the fight against opportunism, and particularly against the right deviation as the main danger at this stage" (Directives, etc.). The rôle of the Party and of the Soviet State is not decreased at present, on the contrary, it is greatly increased. Their task is now to complete the construction of the edifice of Socialism, to organise new forms of labour, to train the masses for the new Socialist Society. Their problem is to organise the activity of the masses, to improve the quality of work, to stimulate efficiency of labour by means of adequate remuneration, to liquidate lack of personal responsibility, to organise the training and education of new cadres, to organise the new Socialist management of production. For "in the long run efficiency of labour is the most important, the most essential, for the victory of the new Social regime. Capitalism created efficiency of labour unheard of under serfdom. Capitalism can be finally defeated and will be finally defeated by Socialism creating a new, a considerably greater efficiency of labour" (Lenin, Volume XXIV, page 342).

Fulfilment of these gigantic tasks in the building up of classless Socialist society depends upon the Socialist consciousness, the force and energy of the working class. All the necessary conditions for the realisation of this plan are to hand. But it is only *the proletariat itself*, its will for labour, its readiness to work in a new manner, its resoluteness to fulfil this plan, only this ensures a complete fulfilment of the great problems contained therein.

The XVIIth Conference of the Party ratified the directives for the drafting of the second Five Year Plan of National Economy of the U.S.S.R. at a time when the most acute economic crisis prevails throughout the whole capitalist world, when the unprecedented growth of poverty and want, famine and unemployment are bringing the ever-growing masses of toilers to the idea that the only salvation for the toiling masses is proletarian revolution and Socialism. In these circumstances, the brilliant results of the fulfilment of the National Economic Plan of U.S.S.R. for 1931, and the commencement of drafting a programme for the second Five Year period, is

a manifold increase, in the power of the U.S.S.R., as a lever for the shattering of the imperialist system, and for the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, and the importance of U.S.S.R. as a basis and support of the world proletarian revolution.

For the first time in the history of humanity, the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R. convert Socialism from theory to reality. The U.S.S.R. is the hope, the support of the toiling masses of capitalist countries, and of the oppressed peoples of the colonies. The U.S.S.R. is the prototype of the future of all countries. This is the reason why the eyes of all the toilers in capitalist countries are directed towards Moscow, the U.S.S.R., the only country in the world where Socialism is in the course of construction. It is for this reason that the cause of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. is not a "national" but *an international cause, the cause of the world proletariat*, and this is the reason why the resolutions of the XVII Conference are of a *universal historical importance*.

"The Party proceeds from the fact that the "national" and international problems of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. are linked in one general problem of emancipation of the proletarians of all countries from capitalism, that the interests of building up of Socialism in our country are fully and wholly merged with the interests of the revolutionary movement of all countries, in one general interest of the victory of the revolution in all the countries" (J. Stalin, "On the Opposition," page 456).

Such was Stalin's formulation of the correlations of the "national" problems of the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the international problems of the world Communist Movement at the VIIth extended plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in December 1925. It was at that time also that comrade Stalin raised the question:

"What is going to happen if the progress of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. continues growing? The result will be a radical improvement of the revolutionary position of the proletariat of all countries in their fight against capitalism, will uproot the positions of international capital in its struggle against the proletariat, and will increase the chances of world communism to the highest degree" (J. Stalin, "On the Opposition," page 457, Russian Edition).

But to-day the question not merely concerns the issues of Socialist construction. The construction of the foundation for Socialist economics is accomplished. The matter is already approaching the construction of classless society.

Having this prospect in view even then, Comrade Stalin said:

"There is no doubt whatsoever, that the success of Socialist construction in our country and moreover the victory of Socialism and the annihilation of classes,—are facts of such a universal historical importance, which cannot but evoke a powerful upsurge of proletarians of capitalist countries towards Socialism, which cannot help but excite revolutionary explosions in other countries" (J. Stalin, "On the Opposition," page 553).

And now, precisely now, when the acutest economic crisis prevails throughout the entire capitalist world, when the U.S.S.R. alone is free from any crisis, now, when the contrast between the country where Socialism is in the course of construction and the countries of decaying capitalism is particularly salient,—the acceptance by the XVII Conference of the All-Union Communist Party (B) of the directives for the programme of the second Five Year Plan, which is a plan for the construction of classless society, *cannot but evoke the powerful upsurge of the proletarians of the capitalist countries towards Socialism.* The argumentation of Socialism over one-sixth of the globe is sufficiently convincing for the remaining five-sixths to disclose the Social-democratic fraud of "democracy" with Social-democratic police-presidents and burgomasters and to force the proletarian desire for Socialism to break through the regime of bloody fascist terror. *It is only necessary for this argumentation of Socialism over one-sixth of the globe to become known to all the proletarians, to the very last of all the capitalist countries, to all the poor peasants, to all the oppressed peoples of the colonies.*

They are still trying to convince the workers that revolution and Socialism are impossible in one country only, that one country cannot possibly tear itself out of the imperialist system. Trotsky vainly advocated this Social-democratic "theory" in the U.S.S.R. as a theory which was to serve as a basis for his struggle for the restoration of capitalism, in a thousand ways was this theory propagated by all kinds of Bauers. For greater persuasiveness Trotsky evolved the "theory" that the economy of the U.S.S.R. is ever becoming more and more linked with the world economy, that the U.S.S.R. will for ever remain *under the control* of the capitalist world economy. Let them try to offer these "theories" to thinking workers now when the U.S.S.R. is becoming economically independent of capitalist countries in reality. Let them try to prove that it is impossible to build up Socialism in one country, when *facts* prove the contrary. *It is*

only imperative for all workers, without exception, to know these facts. The bourgeoisie, its Bauers, Trotskys and Hilferdings don't care about the facts, it's no use trying to convince them. They frustrate strikes under the pretext that the efforts of one group of workers are not sufficient for success. For, what they need is the salvation of capitalism from both revolutions and from strikes, they want the frustration of every struggle. Their problem is the struggle against all the revolutionary actions of the workers.

They are still trying to convince the workers that Socialism may be achieved without revolutions, without struggle, that capitalist countries *will "peacefully" grow into Socialism,* that now, in the circumstances of the crisis, a "state capitalist," "state Socialist" sector is growing into the private capitalist economy. They are trying to convince the workers that systematic economy, a Five Year Plan, etc., are possible without the overthrow of exploiting classes. The problem of the Communists is to prove that the interference of the capitalist state in economic life involves the *increase of the hard labour regime for the workers, reinforcement of fascism, that there can be no question of a national economic plan, unless the exploiting classes are overthrown, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is established.* Only the liquidation of bourgeoisie and landowners, only the use of all revenue from industry, transport, trade and the banking system for the benefit of the whole people, only the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Soviet system, created in the U.S.S.R. the opportunity of an accumulation, which ensured the tempi so imperative for Socialist construction. Only the existence of proletarian dictatorship gave the chance to create planned economy.

They are trying to convince the workers that in the U.S.S.R. also, state capitalism exists and not Socialism, that Socialism is only possible on the basis of democracy. On the eve of October Lenin, in the presence of the Soviets, demanded the realisation of state capitalist measures in order to "go towards revolution and through it towards Socialism," he demanded control, observation and supervision of capitalist enterprises. Overcoming the post-war collapse, reinforcing the dictatorship of the proletariat, developing the enterprises of a consistent Socialist type, first controlling and limiting them, then gradually passing over to the overcoming of capitalist elements, the U.S.S.R. cast away the state capitalist elements, which in Soviet conditions were a step towards Socialism during the first years of Soviet power, and *entered the period of Socialism.* In the countries where imperialist forms of

capitalism do not obtain, where small merchandise and private capitalist economy prevails, the state capitalist measures, promoted by the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary-democratic government in the interests of the toiling masses, may become, with the simultaneous reinforcement of Socialist commanding heights, a step towards Socialism, representing a guarantee of the triumph of Socialism. In imperialist countries, with their highly developed system of monopolies, the triumphant proletarian revolution will break the shell of imperialism, and will immediately proceed to realise Socialism. "Democracy," existing in capitalist countries, no matter what name it bears, is always a masked form of bourgeois dictatorship, it is the democracy solely for the rich, it is their dictatorship. *Dictatorship of the proletariat*, existing in the Soviet Union, is the democracy for the poor, at present it is the democracy for 99 per cent. of the population, which is building up a classless society and having fulfilled this task, having exterminated the last survivals of capitalism in economics and in the consciousness of humanity, at the supreme stage of Communist society, will turn into a complete democracy, which will already become a habit and will therefore die off. Bauer's "advice" to the U.S.S.R. to democratise gradually is "advice" to return to the democracy of the rich, to restore the bourgeoisie and capitalism, to renounce the building up of Socialism.

They are also trying to deceive the workers with the "pathos of Socialism," for "pathos of democracy" is no longer adequate. They are trying to frighten them with the "dangers" and "difficulties" still in store for the U.S.S.R. But *the workers saw enough difficulties for themselves in capitalist slavery*, and it is difficult to scare them with difficulties connected with the building up of Socialism. The workers are for Socialism, but there is only one country in the world where they can see the true facts about "Socialism," not the "police-Socialism," but *Socialism materialised in life by a 160 million people*, this Socialism, — the pathos of whose construction awakens the powerful upsurge of the workers of capitalist countries towards Socialism.

The U.S.S.R. is building a Socialist community *not as an isolated country, but in a union, and with the assistance of the proletariat of capitalist countries*, rendering, in its turn, all possible assistance to the proletariat of capitalist countries. The might of the great October Revolu-

tion and the power of the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries lie *in the mutual support and alliance of the proletarians of all countries*. The Soviet Union did render, and continues rendering its support to the international revolutionary movement, the destruction of the Soviet Union by the capitalists would involve the heaviest defeat of the proletariat of all countries. The proletariat of the capitalist countries did support, and is supporting, the Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., and has already given the U.S.S.R. most valuable assistance. They support the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., for the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. was the first to begin the fight against the capitalists, and was the first to establish the government of the workers, and is the first to build Socialism.

Now when the U.S.S.R. begins the practical solution of the greatest problem—the building up of the classless community, when the capitalist world is struck by the acutest crisis, *the danger of military intervention against the U.S.S.R. is more imminent than ever*. The proletariat of the U.S.S.R. is conducting the policy of peace, the weapon, which it directs against the *imperialist system consists of its achievements in the matter of Socialist construction*. Imperialists of all countries want to stop these ever increasing achievements by war, in order to prevent the upsurge of proletarians of capitalist countries towards Socialism. It is for the toilers of capitalist countries to stop the hand of the organisers of war, *to protect the Soviet Union from aggression from outside, speeding up at the same time the cause of world proletarian revolution*.

The second Five Year Plan is the Five Year Plan for the construction of Socialism. Such is the decision of the Bolsheviks. "The word of a Bolshevik is a serious matter. The Bolsheviks are in the habit of fulfilling the promises they make" (J. Stalin. Questions of Leninism, page 572). The fulfilment of this decision is the international duty of the U.S.S.R., as the shock-brigade of the international proletariat. To defend this shock-brigade — to organise the toilers for a fight for Socialism throughout the world, such is the problem of the proletariat of capitalist countries.

The fulfilment of this problem—*construction of classless society over one-sixth of the globe must raise hundreds of millions of toilers for a struggle for Socialism,—it will certainly revolutionise the world, and emancipate the whole working class*.

THE RAPACIOUS WAR OF JAPANESE IMPERIALISM IN CHINA AND THE ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE OF THE JAPANESE PROLETARIAT

By AKI

I.

“ . . . In Japan and Russia the monopoly of armed force, vast territories or special facilities for plundering foreigners, China and others, partially compensate, partially replace the monopoly of the modern, newest finance capital.”

(Lenin, First Russian Edition, Vol. XIII., page 78.)

The late Prime Minister of the Japanese Government, General Tanaka, in his famous memorandum to the Emperor of Japan of July 25, 1927 (see Vol. VIII., No. 22 of the “Communist International” for 1931), wrote:

“In order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia.” (Page 735.)

“With all the resources of China at our disposal, we shall pass forward to the conquest of India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia and even Europe.” (Page 735.)

“If we look into the future of Japan we have to admit the inevitability of war with Russia on the fields of North Manchuria.” (Page 739.)

“If we wish, in future, to gain control over China, we must crush the United States, i.e., behave towards the United States as we did during the Russo-Japanese war.” (Page 735.)

Now the present Prime Minister Inukaia in his New Year greetings (1932) has not forgotten to emphasise his point with the diplomatic cynicism customary among imperialists:

“If in this case (i.e., in the case of Manchuria coming under Japanese occupation—A.) we do not solve all the questions before us, it may happen that the territory of Eastern Asia will be left to itself and a wave of unrest seize the land, so that *our nation will in the long run have to evacuate from the mainland. This on no account must be allowed to happen.*” (Italics mine . . . A.)

Japanese Imperialism in Manchuria and Inner China is now doing what General Tanaka proposed to the Emperor four years ago.

Japanese Imperialism was always renowned for its intense aggressiveness. The Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars are proof of this, not to mention the military invasion of China on the occasion of the Boxer Rising, the annexation of

Korea, her “patronage” of China during the world war, intervention in Siberia, etc., etc.

In all these cases, Japanese Imperialism mercilessly annihilated millions of toilers with the help of Japanese militarists and misguided soldiers. The Japanese Imperialists had no hesitation in using both cunning and mass murder. The ease with which they use aggressive, militarist methods of expansion, is due to several peculiarities of the country’s historical development, as well as to the peculiar facilities they have had until quite recently of mercilessly robbing China. Japan, as an imperialist Power, lacks capital, iron, oil, coal, chemicals, etc. The Japanese internal market is very small and the purchasing power of the downtrodden workers and peasants, whose standard of living has been reduced to that of the toiling masses in the colonies by the bourgeoisie and landlords, is insignificantly small. The economic crisis has increased this poverty and suffering a hundredfold, and brought about a further diminution of the internal market.

Japan’s effort to become a mighty, independent Imperialist country, and, in consequence, to make sure of a basis for raw materials and an extensive colonial market, and to consolidate this base on the Continent of Asia both strategically and in the military sense, is being met by resistance on the part of the largest imperialist plunderers (first and foremost the United States) and revolutionary action on the part of the rising revolutionary movement in China. These have been the characteristic features throughout all stages of Japanese imperialist aggression, especially recently in connection with the deepening of the crisis.

Japan is waging a rapacious war for plunder in China. It is bombarding Shanghai, Nanking, Swatow and other places. To do this it has concentrated its best naval forces in the river Yangtse. It is pursuing its extensive aim of finally annexing Manchuria and Mongolia and instituting control over inner China. Its operations in the basin of the river Yangtse are directed against the Chinese Soviets.

The desires of Japanese Imperialism are also, without doubt, directed towards Siberia, through North Mongolia and the Chinese Eastern Railway. Thus we find that in spite of the extreme intensification of the contradictions existing among the

imperialist Powers in connection with the military invasion of Central China by Japan, the menace of war against the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Soviets on the part of Japanese Imperialism is not only not removed, but increases every day. From the beginning of the occupation of China there have been many facts to prove this as, for instance: the regular reinforcement of the place d'armes for an attack upon the U.S.S.R., and systematic acts of provocation to force the U.S.S.R. into war; the refusal to accept the proposal of the U.S.S.R. to enter into a pact of non-aggression and, finally, the advance of a large army into North Manchuria along the Chinese Eastern Railway.

At the same time, recently, especially in connection with the advance of Japanese imperialism upon Central China where the interests and contradictions of the imperialist Powers—Japan, the U.S.A., England and France—are closely interwoven, there is rapidly growing up the danger of war between the imperialists for the partition of China, mainly between Japan and the United States of America. Preparations in this direction are taking place, not only along the lines of diplomatic notes and protests, but, what is more to the point, along the lines of the concentration of mighty armed forces in the direct neighbourhood of the area around which the conflict is taking place (the manœuvres of the American fleet off the Hawaiian Islands). The imminence of war among the imperialists in the Pacific Ocean is obvious.

The political system of Japan—the domination of the military-bureaucratic, police monarchy operating on the basis of a dictatorship of the bourgeois-landlord bloc—corresponds with the aggressive character of Japanese Imperialism.

The fear of a mass revolutionary movement and the need for waging war in circumstances of intensifying crisis and class war has brought about the creation of an openly aggressive Cabinet—the Cabinet of Inukaia, the direct successor of the policy of General Tanaka, which has instituted closer contact with the militarists. There is a régime of arbitrary, military and police dictatorship reigning throughout the country.

Even stronger guidance is now being given to the plan for waging this rapacious war to a finish.

II.

The economic crisis throughout the world and in Japan has played the most important part in hastening on the seizure of Manchuria by Japanese Imperialism; in other words: the intensification of antagonisms among the imperialists, increased preparations for war by the latter in face of the ever-growing apprehension concerning the in-

creasing strength of the U.S.S.R., the Chinese revolution and the sharpening of the class struggle inside Japan.

As a result of the economic crisis, the volume of industrial output has fallen by 30 to 70 per cent. in the main branches of Japanese industry; during 1931 as compared with 1930 the figures for foreign trade show a drop in exports of 22.3 per cent. and in imports of 21.5 per cent. Japan's trade with China has rapidly fallen from showing an active balance of 10,429,000 yen in June, 1931, to a passive balance of 807,000 yen in October of the same year, and it has now almost ceased altogether. In every respect the inner market has shrunk enormously. Last year there was a bad harvest: the rice harvest was 17 per cent. less than that of the previous year.

As soon as the occupation began the economic crisis in Japan became still more acute. At the moment of occupation the financial system of Japan was already in the throes of crisis. The gold fund is rapidly decreasing. At the beginning of the occupation of Manchuria it was about one billion yen, and by February of the same year it had fallen to 400 million yen. The gold standard has been abolished and the yen immediately fell by 30 to 35 per cent. As a result of this the actual wages of the workers and clerks have dropped considerably. The prices of goods of primary consumption rose between November and December as follows:—Rice, 10 per cent.; cotton materials, 10 per cent.; sugar, 3 per cent. The prices of agricultural machinery and fertilisers increased to the same extent. Meanwhile, the financial magnates were able to make the following profits merely by speculating on the yen: Mitsun, not less than 50 million net income; Mitsubishi, 15 million, etc. Wages during last year alone dropped no less than by 35 per cent. There are two-and-a-half million unemployed. The indebtedness of the peasantry is rapidly growing, five million yen being the amount of the debt to the banks and credit institutions. The poor and middle peasantry are groaning under the burden of rent and taxes. In the Northern regions of Japan there is a ghastly wave of famine. The peasants are ready to sell their daughters for a mere song in these parts, sometimes for ten yen.

In spite of the terror on the part of the military and the police, and the treachery of the social-fascists, the unrest among the toiling masses, first and foremost the workers, is increasing and frequently develops into spontaneous revolts against their exploiters and the police. The number of industrial disputes has increased from 1,420 in 1929 to 2,289 in 1930 and 1,420 for the first half of 1931 alone (as against 728 for the

first half of 1930). The number of conflicts in the villages between the peasants and landlords is also growing steadily :

January-October, 1929	1,002
" " 1930	1,238
" " 1931	1,501

Disputes in industry occur mainly as a result of dismissals (25 per cent. of the total number of disputes were of this kind during the first half of 1931), in consequence of wage cuts (23 per cent.) and so on; the peasantry rise up against the landlords foreclosing on the peasants who rent from them, and clashes of this kind occur in increasing numbers each year: Between September and October, 1929, 327 out of 1,002 conflicts; in 1930, 530 out of 1,238; in 1931, 881 out of 1,501. The struggles themselves and the methods used became considerably more acute towards the end of last year. During several strikes, which were accompanied by bloody conflicts with the police, there was barricade fighting against the police detachments (Sumitomo, Husimi-Seifu and so on). There were even frequent cases of the peasantry attacking police stations.

This state of unrest has penetrated into the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns. In 1931 a wave of strikes swept through almost all the higher educational institutions of Japan. It is therefore no accident that on the eve of the occupation of Manchuria, the municipal elections were made use of by government officials and the bourgeois-landlord party, and the social-democratic press concentrated all its energy upon working up public opinion in favour of the forthcoming intervention, and at the same time for a fight against Communism. Without doubt they had hopes of the war rousing the chauvinistic spirit of the masses, and imagined that this would not only stop the revolutionary unrest, but would at the same time isolate the vanguard of the proletariat from the other sections of the toiling masses. All this served the hidden motive for hastening on this imperialist war of plunder.

From the beginning of the occupation of Manchuria, the reaction in Japan has been increasing considerably. The capitalists and landlords have conducted a frantic attack upon the standard of living of the working class and the peasantry; they have broken down the resistance of the workers and peasants by means of military and police terror.

The insolence of the hired bands of nationalists knows no limits. On their own initiative they are allowed to organise unhindered hunts for revolutionary workers and peasants. All protests against this rapacious war are met with flogging, arrests, tortures and murder of their participants.

Yet in spite of this wave of terror, the strikes continue. The masses, who at first were carried away by the chauvinistic agitation which was carried on, are now gradually awakening and beginning to raise their voices in protest against exploitation. The strike struggle has in particular become strong since November of last year. Between October 31 and November 20, according to incomplete information of the Association of Class Collaboration, the Kio-chio-kaia, about thirty-five more or less important strikes broke out. The number of disputes continues to increase. During the leatherworkers' strike a bloody conflict took place near the town of Himedzi between the strikers and the police. Five hundred of the inhabitants of the town joined in with the strikers and the strike developed into a pitched battle. In another case, during a conflict which occurred between the police and strikers (450 of them) from a chemical fertiliser works in Asaki, the families of the strikers all took part in the fighting.

On January 30 this year several dozens of workers were wounded in a struggle which took place between the woodworkers who were on strike and the police in the Vakyama Prefecture. Cases of this kind are becoming more and more frequent.

The spontaneous wave of unrest among the unemployed is also increasing. This year in particular there have been more and more fights between the unemployed and the police. The movement of the unemployed is becoming more revolutionary. Furthermore, the peasant masses have swung very considerably to the left. The bad harvest, famine, and the unbearable burden of rent and taxation, together with the present war have hit the peasant masses very considerably. The reactionary mode of dealing with the fighting masses by means of police and military methods makes the struggle all the more acute. In the Tochigi Prefecture, on September 19 last year, 500 peasants made an attack upon the police in order to set free their comrades from among the youth who had been arrested. In Niigata, on October 3, 350 peasants attacked the police station, where building operations were being carried on by the local authorities, and a real fight took place against the police. The reason for this attack was the fact that the landlords had taken away the land of a poor peasant with revolutionary leanings. In the districts where famine is rampant, the peasants are demanding complete liberation from the payment of rent, or at least that the amount of rent be lowered by 60 to 70 per cent.

On January 9, in Tochigi, a battle took place between the peasants and nationalists from the

“economic party,” who were defending the landlords in their attempt to take the land away from the peasants. As a result three nationalists were killed and ten mortally wounded.

The facts given above are only a tiny part of what is going on throughout the country. The bourgeois press remains silent on the national unrest, and this was especially so when the occupation of Manchuria began. But all these facts show that this rapacious war which is making the economic crisis more acute, and increasing the offensive of the owners and landlords against the workers and peasants, and the bloody terror of the police and militarists and the treachery of the social chauvinists—(all of which is connected with the crisis)—has not been able to stop the masses of Japan from swinging over to the left. Among the common people unrest has increased and has developed in many cases into bloody clashes and pitched battles against the apparatus of violence of the Police-Monarchic Government.

The continuation of war and our persistent struggle against it will have its effect upon the masses who have been deceived by chauvinistic agitation; it will destroy the illusions which are to be found among certain sections of the toilers that the road of imperialist war will bring any improvement in their standard of living.

The vanguard of the Japanese proletariat, in spite of the fact that it is still young and has made numerous mistakes, is leading the masses along the road of a revolutionary way out of the crisis and war. The ruling classes are increasing their repression. Arrests follow arrests. There are ever more frequent cases of large batches of strikers being arrested, and even of whole village populations. Now the troops are being brought up to take part in repressing the population. The whole revolutionary movement has been driven underground. After every demonstration and every strike against war, the prisons are filled with new tens and hundreds of revolutionary workers and peasants.

III.

During the preparatory period of occupation, when the Japanese Communist Party called upon the workers, peasants and rank and file soldiers to fight against the approaching intervention, Japanese social-fascism of all shades gave its full support to the ruling class in order to put down the revolutionary movement and to prepare for this rapacious war. Japanese social-democracy has now become an integral part of the apparatus of the police and militarist monarchy.

During this period they organised their section of the Amsterdam International (Rodo-Kurabu) under the slogans: Down with Communism;

down with the revolutionary trade union movement; down with the Comintern, the Profintern; and in favour of the International Labour Office.

A joint party of centrist and “left” social democrats, the “Rono-Taisiu-to” has been formed with “Down with the Japanese Communist Party” as its slogan.

The social-fascists are now not only smashing the workers’ strikes, but handing over militant fighters among the workers to the police (the workers from the Sumitomo works, etc.). They urged the workers, who were prepared for an active struggle, to engage in methods of passive resistance, such as refusal to take food and to sleep; (one or two were even persuaded to commit acts of “heroism,” like sitting in the factory chimneys to prevent the boiler fires from being lighted). Thus they have weakened the resistance of the workers and their determination to fight against the owners and police.

The social fascists, together with the police, organised raids upon the Communists and revolutionary workers and peasants; they handed over lists of the revolutionary workers and peasants to the police and helped to arrest them. For instance, the “left” social fascists gave away to the police all the names of the left delegates to the Congress of the Peasant Union “Dzen-ho.” In the same way last year many revolutionary delegates were betrayed at the Congress of the Tramwaymen’s Union—“Toko.” For the same purpose a spying organisation has been organised, with the following slogan: “*Dictatorship of the proletariat headed by the Emperor*”; this has been organised with the help of the police authorities and organs of the Civil Court. It calls itself the “*Workers’ Section of the Japanese Communist Party.*”—(!!)

Immediately before the occupation of Manchuria, when the municipal elections were taking place, the social-monarchists of all shades were very generous in their promises to the workers and peasants. But not a word was said, of the forthcoming occupation of Manchuria, of which they were aware long before the elections. Declaring that all the forces of the workers should be concentrated around the election campaign, they broke up all struggles of the workers and peasants. By helping to cultivate parliamentary illusions among the masses, by preventing the masses from struggling, they made it possible for the capitalists, landlords and generals to prepare for the annexation of Manchuria and Mongolia, without any interference. This rapacious war has revealed more than ever before the imperialist nature of Japanese social democracy. Japanese social democracy of all shades is the initiator and active collaborator in waging this

war. Since the war began, it has not only engaged in strike breaking activities against the workers and interfered adversely in the conflicts among the peasantry; it not only betrays the revolutionary elements among both workers and peasants to the police, but it is agitating among the masses in favour of the war, depicting it as a war on behalf of "Socialist Japan."

The General Secretary of the Social Democratic Party, Akamatsu, immediately after the occupation of Manchuria by Japanese troops, wrote:

"Intervention in Manchuria is not imperialist, because even in Socialist Japan it would be necessary to wage war for raw materials required by our industry, and these raw materials at present are in the hands of America, England and Russia."

One of the leaders of "left" social democracy—Rokotaisu-to, member of the Matsudani Parliament, who was sent by his Central Committee to "investigate" into the events in Manchuria, declared in Mukden as follows:

"The Manchurian events are not the same as the usual wars of the capitalists, but a war to solve the national problem."

It now transpires that Akamatsu is in direct touch with the militarists, and that the money required for "investigating" the Manchurian events was assigned from special funds of the special department of the General Army Headquarters by order of Matsudani.

"Japan," the well-known monarchist newspaper, writes as follows:

"The sudden turn which events have taken in Manchuria has to a considerable extent awakened national feelings, which have been dormant up to now . . . The Rono-taisiu-to party which carried on its election campaign under the slogan: 'Down with the imperialist war,' is now somewhat embarrassed and has removed its mask; and the Social-Democratic Party has once and for all gone over to the side of those who defend our rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia."

At the Congress of the left Social Democratic Party "Tono-taisiu-to," a resolution was passed against the Communist Party of Japan. But the question of the declaration of Matsudani and the miserable, demagogic resolution on the occupation were removed from the agenda by request of the police.

The slogan which brings them all together at present is that of "State Socialism" under the despotic dictatorship of the Monarch and the militarists, and "Socialist control over the rights and interests of Japan in Manchuria and Mongolia." The last slogan was passed at the January Congress of the Syakai-minsiu-to. These

social-imperialists, with their lying phrase about "Socialist control," justify the annexation of Manchuria and their own participation in the rapacious war against China and the U.S.S.R.

They are specialising more and more in acts of provocation. The same paper, "Japan," writes:

"They (i.e., the social-imperialists—A.) have begun to say in a sort of falsetto: People, are you ready to give up Manchuria to Russia?"

But they do not limit their activities to declarations now. The Rights are organising patriotic demonstrations and meetings under democratic and, at the same time, downright chauvinistic slogans. They organised demonstrations of this kind under the following slogan: "Down with speculation upon the rate of exchange; all profits from speculation to be given to the war and soldiers at the front." And the "Lefts" offer direct assistance to the rights in the form of a "united front of proletarian parties." Quite apart from the united front which exists among all social-imperialists, these Right and "Left" social-imperialists recently organised a joint parliamentary committee, which was participated in by the general secretaries and members of Parliament, for the purpose of coming to an agreement on patriotic activities and the distribution of parts. Here it was found that the usual verbosity of their Western collaborators about the republic, parliamentarism and "democracy" were too revolutionary for the Japanese social-fascists. They support the domination of the bourgeoisie and landlords and the hangman régime of the military-police monarchy.

At the January Congress, the president of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party, "Syakai-Minsiuto" — Abye — made the following declaration:

"We are faithful supporters of the monarchy."

However, over the heads of the treacherous social-chauvinist leaders, a revolutionising process of the workers and peasants still under their influence is going forward rapidly. The entire local organisation of the "Left" social-fascist party—"Rono-Tayusiu-to"—in Nagano province left this party on December 4 and joined the revolutionary movement. There is considerable unrest in the fortress of the centrists—the Dzenkoku-domei (National Federation of Labour)—among the rank and file, who are indignant at the activities of Rodo-Kurabu, affiliated to the Amsterdam International. At the end of last year during the Congress of this amalgamation a *split occurred* on the basis of differences on the question of amalgamation with the Rodo-Kurabu. The "left" reformist leaders tried

to prevent the membership from swinging to the left, but the influence of the revolutionary trade union organisation grows rapidly. The left wing in the "Dzen-ho," the Peasant Union, is also gradually squeezing out the right wing. The majority of the local organisations of this union are already under the influence of revolutionary forces.

IV.

The Japanese Communist Party foresaw the danger of this rapacious war even before the occupation of Manchuria.

On July 6 (in connection with the appointment of the most reactionary politicians to big positions: Count Uchida as President of the South Manchuria Railway, and General Ugaki as Governor-General of Korea), the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan sounded a warning in its central organ, the "Sekki" (Red Flag), in an article entitled "Fight against preparations for war by Japanese Imperialism." The article runs as follows:

"The Minseito Government has appointed a new President of the South Manchuria Railway and Governor-General of Korea . . . this will be a change in the direction of our policy in Manchuria and Mongolia . . . and the other party of the imperialist bourgeoisie "Seiyukai" has put forward just such an active policy, that of Tanaka, but with certain amendments; for it has accused Sideharu (the late Minister of Foreign Affairs) of maintaining too moderate relations with Russia and China . . . the entire bourgeois press is agitating for the restoration of the idea of the peculiar nature of Manchuria and Mongolia, as vitally necessary to our country." (!)

"At a meeting of army commanders . . . the following decision was made: That in view of the policy of the State regarding the defence of our rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia, in order to hasten on military action in case of the need for hurried operations—divisions or corresponding units to be despatched to Korea from inner Japan.

"The strategy of Japanese Imperialism, with whomsoever it is fighting, consists, in the first place, of occupying Manchuria and Mongolia. The Japanese imperialists declare this quite openly, and in actual fact are already hastening on preparations for an armed invasion of these countries.

"They are openly agitating in favour of war! Refuse to give a single sen (about a farthing) for war purposes! Not a soldier must be despatched!

"Workers and peasants! Refuse to pay

taxes, including the blood tax (conscription) for this imperialist war, for the defence of the interests of big finance capital of Mitsui, Mittsubischi, Sumitomo, etc. Refuse to act on behalf of the imperialists! Let us give all our strength to free ourselves from the capitalist yoke!"

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan in the columns of "Sekki" at the same time called upon all revolutionary workers, poor peasants, soldiers and peoples in colonial and semi-colonial countries, to begin an extensive campaign of agitation and propaganda without delay in the factories and in the villages under the slogan of "Convert the war against the U.S.S.R. and toilers of revolutionary China into a civil war against the Japanese imperialist bourgeoisie; against imperialist war, for the defeat of the Japanese imperialist government . . . for the victory of the allied army of the proletariat and poor peasantry."

The Communist Party of Japan emphasised the extreme importance of agitation and propaganda among workers in munition factories and transport, and also among soldiers, sailors and young workers and peasants.

As for the events in Van-po-syan in Manchuria, when the Japanese imperialists provoked the Chinese into mass murder of Koreans and then set the Koreans against the Chinese (all this to justify their own proposed occupation of Manchuria), the Communist Party of Japan issued its manifesto of July 16 to Japanese, Chinese and Korean workers and peasants, in which we read the following:

"In order that Manchuria and Mongolia shall become a colony, in order to prepare military intervention against the U.S.S.R., Japanese imperialism is seeking to strengthen its military and police régime in Manchuria and Korea . . ."

"Down with counter-revolutionary armed intervention of Japanese Imperialism against the U.S.S.R. and the toilers of China!"

The party's preparations for the campaign on August 1 proceeded on the same lines. Up to August 1 in several localities there had been conferences in which mass organisations had taken part. In several workshops meetings and small gatherings of the workers had been conducted. By August 1 the repression on the part of the authorities had increased; already several hundred active workers and peasants had been arrested. But on August 1 the Party managed to organise several strikes in metallurgical works, textile factories, and among the building workers), and to organise demonstrations in Tokio and Osaka, as well as in a few villages, where the

agricultural workers and poor peasants took part. The infuriated police retaliated against all these exposures and manifestoes of the Party, as well as its organised campaign, by instituting mass arrests of revolutionary workers and peasants. On August 28 over 1,000 persons were arrested in Osaka, Hiogo and Kioto, and later several hundred workers and peasants were arrested in Tokio.

But these mass arrests did not stop the fight against the war danger.

On August 29th, the anniversary of the annexation of Korea, the Japanese Communist Party appealed to the workers and peasants as follows:

"Japanese imperialism is increasing its military forces in Korea and Manchuria for the purpose of a new imperialist war.

"The Japanese proletariat must organise a determined struggle against this imperialist policy of aggression."

Despite all the arrests and other forms of repression, the Japanese Communist Party and the Young Communist League, as well as other revolutionary organisations, were able to organise Youth Day in September under the following slogans: Down with armed intervention; Down with the imperialist war; Defend the Chinese Revolution; prevent the despatch of troops to Manchuria and Korea; down with the Social-Fascists.

During the days which preceded International Youth Day, while preparations for it were being made, meetings and strikes were organised in several workshops and factories. In Tokio 13 delegate conferences of workers and unemployed (including men from seven metal works) were arranged in two districts. Demonstrations on International Youth Day took place; and as a result of this struggle the ranks of the Communist Party, and the Young Communist League of Japan have been refilled with active workers and poor peasants.

On September 19, 1931, when a ring of Japanese troops surrounded Mukden, the Japanese Communist Party issued the following manifesto:

"Comrades, workers, peasants and soldiers!

The Japanese Imperialist Army occupies Mukden. The Japanese imperialist bourgeoisie has taken the first step towards occupying Manchuria and Mongolia. This is not a case of "defending justice"; neither is it a "casual incident," as the bourgeoisie asserts. It is nothing but a well-considered reactionary piece of provocation against the toiling peoples of China and Japan, as well as against the toilers of the U.S.S.R. It is an adventurous attack of barbarian plunderers, of despicable murderers.

"Forward against Manchuria! Forward against revolutionary China! Forward against the U.S.S.R.! These are the war cries of Japanese Imperialism, the armed initiator of reaction in the Far East . . .

"Comrades, workers and peasants! The Japanese bourgeoisie, which is passing through a period of unprecedented crisis and is on the verge of bankruptcy, is seeking a way out of the crisis in this adventure in Manchuria. Capitalism can be saved only by sacrificing and ruining the broad masses of exploited toilers.

"Dear comrades, exploited toilers! The bourgeoisie and landlords have already deprived you of work and bread, of land and freedom! War on their behalf, in the interests of the bourgeoisie and landlords will be further torture to you and final ruin. Fight against the fatherland of the bourgeoisie and landlords! Offer strong resistance against all the military acts of the fatherland of parasites and murderers!

"Workers engaged in war industries and transport! Refuse to transport a single soldier, a single gun, to the front! Stop producing arms and ammunition! Workers, peasants and unemployed of all Japan! Organise strikes and mass demonstrations against the war and on behalf of your own demands!

"Soldiers at the front! Fraternise immediately with the Chinese soldiers! Boldly extend your hand to the Chinese proletarian!

"Soldiers in the barracks! Pass a decision that not one of you will go to the front, and that you are all against defending the fatherland of the bourgeoisie and landlords!

Comrades, workers, peasants and soldiers! form an alliance with the Chinese workers and peasants and rise up and fight in the name of revolutionary solidarity!

We demand the immediate evacuation of the army from Mukden and of all other occupied territory! The immediate withdrawal of the Japanese army and warships from China and Manchuria! Refuse to transport a single soldier! Resist all the military actions of Japanese imperialism and Chinese reaction! Fight against the new danger of imperialist war! Help the Red Army! Defend the U.S.S.R.! Down with imperialist Japan! Forward to Soviet Japan!"

This manifesto opened a new page in the struggle of the Japanese proletariat against the plunderous adventure of Japanese Imperialism in the face of martial law, chauvinist calumny and the foulest treachery on the part of social-fascism.

When occupation of Manchuria began, leaflets against war were distributed throughout the metal and chemical works in the suburbs of Tokio

and Yokohama; resolutions of protest were passed in some shops.

The workers who are on strike in the textile factories of Tatenshi and Yamada tried to organise a demonstration against war. In Hoyama during the short period between September 17 (beginning of intervention) and September 28, there took place six peasant conferences against war; on October 7, in connection with the anniversary of the death of the General Secretary of the Japanese Communist Party, Comrade Vatanabe, who was killed by the police butchers on Formosa Island in 1928, large demonstrations took place throughout Japan; in Tokio over 500 workers took part in the demonstrations, and over 1,000 in the meetings. At the same time there were many delegate meetings being held. All these forms of activity took place under the slogans of "Down with the rapacious war!" and "Down with Social Fascism!"

On October 16 the revolutionary wing of the trade union movement organised a strike in the aeroplane works which was contracting for the Ministry of War.

On the 14th anniversary of the October Revolution, there were mass anti-war demonstrations and meetings in Japan. In Tokio 400 railwaymen, printers and unemployed demonstrated on the Kudan street and 500 workers and revolutionary students demonstrated before the railway terminus. In dozens of workshops, factories and labour exchanges there were meetings and demonstrations. Over 1,000 revolutionary students organised demonstrations. Meetings and demonstrations took place in Osaki, Kanahova, Toyama and other parts, with the active participation of the poor peasants of the agricultural districts. All these demonstrations took place under the following slogans: "Do not allow military intervention against the U.S.S.R."; "Defend Revolutionary China"; "Convert the imperialist war into civil war"; "Down with Japanese Imperialism"; "Long live the solidarity of workers and peasants of the Pacific Coast."

The revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants against war is beginning to evoke a response from the troops. For instance, ten soldiers were arrested for revolutionary activities in a detachment of telegraphists before being despatched to Manchuria from Tokio. There were also arrests in the Himedzin division. In a division which was sent to Manchuria via Korea many soldiers were also arrested, and even two officers, and so on. In all these cases the military authorities reported these mass arrests as the result of the men in question distributing Communist Party leaflets and carrying on verbal agitation among soldiers with revolutionary inclinations.

According to information from the Japanese and Chinese press, an entire company of Japanese troops in Manchuria were shot for refusing to go into action against the Chinese. The unrest goes further, spreading among the Japanese military units in Shanghai and Manchuria. According to information to hand, on February 8, a large number of Japanese refused to fight against the Chinese troops. Over 200 Japanese soldiers were arrested and despatched back to Japan.

The Chinese and Japanese Communist Parties issued a joint manifesto, calling upon the Japanese and Chinese workers and peasants, as well as the proletariat of the whole world, to begin a joint struggle against Japanese imperialism and Kuomintang reaction, in defence of the U.S.S.R., the Chinese Soviets, in support of the Chinese Red Army and the Chinese and Japanese proletariat who are fighting against the rapacious war of Japanese imperialism.

Over two thousand Communists are languishing in Japanese prisons to-day. For over three years the case against them has been going through the preliminary stages. Until quite recently everything went on behind closed doors. But as a result of the stubborn fight of the accused, they have gained their point and the case is now going on publicly. During the trial our comrades, despite torture and threats to increase the sentence against them, are using every possible opportunity of energetically revealing the true nature of the war, and agitating in every way against it.

V.

In spite of the daring and courage shown by the Communist Party on the anti-war front, there are, nevertheless, many shortcomings and mistakes on this question in the work of the party organisations. The chief are as follows:

1. In the anti-war manifestoes of the party as also in all its agitation and propaganda, there is insufficient attention given to the main enemy in present conditions: absolutism, the bourgeois-landlord monarchy, which is the mainstay of political reaction and all the survivals of feudalism in the country.

The party in its underestimation of the agrarian question does not sufficiently bring out its agitation and propaganda against the landlords, does not understand all the importance of mobilising the peasantry, and chiefly the middle peasants, for this struggle. This is particularly so in the work among the soldiers (peasants in the main) where it is of exclusive importance in the work of fighting against the war.

The Japanese monarchy is organising this plundering imperialist war at the expense of the

many millions of the toiling masses in Japan, and in the interests of the Japanese bourgeoisie, landlords and other exploiting elements. In the interests of war the monarchy uses every kind of violence, attacks the workers and peasants who are fighting against the offensive of the capitalists and landlords, drives the soldiers and sailors into fratricidal battles at the front, increases the burden of taxation, etc. We must explain all this carefully and publicly to the toiling masses; explain it so that the masses will understand the direct connection between their ever-increasing poverty, the arbitrary actions of the police and the war, on the one hand, and the monarchy as the chief culprit in the whole affair, on the other hand. It must be explained that they can free themselves from poverty and arbitrary acts on the part of the authorities, from their present distress and from the war, only by overthrowing the monarchy and setting up a workers' and peasants' government. All the struggles of the masses, and in particular anti-war activities should be directed skilfully and class-consciously against the organs of violence of the monarchy (against the police, the imperialist army, the courts of law, etc.), and against the monarchist system in general. There is considerable disparity between the work against the war and against the monarchy in the general activities of the Japanese Communist Party. This disparity must be removed with all despatch.

2. The slogan of fraternising among the soldiers, which is correct in the case of war between imperialist armies, is incorrect when it is a plundering attack of imperialist Japan upon colonial China which is enslaved and oppressed by Japan. The Communists cannot call for fraternisation between the armies of the imperialist robber and its colonial prey; they must call upon the soldiers of the imperialist army to return from the front en masse, to refuse en bloc to fight against the Chinese.

The Japanese soldiers themselves have reached this attitude towards the war against China quite spontaneously. We have proof of this in the refusal of the soldiers to fight and their demand that they be returned to their native land.

3. In fighting to defend Soviet China, the Communist Party should put forward the slogan: "For Chinese Independence." The Communists of Japan should not forget their task of fighting against their own imperialism for the national liberation of all oppressed peoples.

4. *Insufficient connection is maintained between the anti-war struggle and the fight for partial demands of the masses.* This rapacious war is taking place side by side with a deepening of the economic crisis and an increased offensive

on the part of the exploiters against the working class and toiling masses. In time of war all forms of real mass struggle for partial demands take the shape of anti-war activities and, with skilful leadership on the part of the revolutionary organisations, they can develop into a conscious mass anti-war struggle. For it is clear that the strikes of the workers in munition factories and transport for their partial demands brings the masses up against the question of putting our slogan into action: "Not a single gun to be produced for the war"; "not a single soldier to be transported to the front."

The party should develop the struggle for partial demands, and link it up with the anti-war struggle, thus: the fight against dismissals, against wage cuts; for an immediate, all-round increase in wages, and institution of the seven-hour day; against increases in prices for goods of primary consumption; for the immediate payment of unemployment benefit to unemployed and starving peasants by cutting down the enormous State expenditure on the war, by curtailing the large subsidies which are being presented to capitalists and landlords, and cutting down expenditure on the upkeep of the Emperor's household and bureaucratic officials; for lower rents, cheaper gas and electricity and other forms of municipal charges; complete exemption of unemployed from these charges; for non-payment of land-rents; wholesale cancellation of the indebtedness of the toilers to banks, landlords and moneylenders; against the ferocious terror of the police and the army; for complete freedom of organisation, strikes and demonstrations for the toilers, etc.

We must organise strikes, protests, sabotage; the conveyers must be held up and demonstrations made in the works themselves, at the factory gates and in the streets; sabotage must be made in the form of bad work for low wages; strikes in separate workrooms, in special crafts; meetings and demonstrations of the unemployed at the labour exchanges, municipal buildings, large food shops and governmental food warehouses; immediate cultivation by the peasants of lands confiscated from the landlords' estates; group and mass organisation of non-payment or delay in paying land-rent, taxation, arrears of payment, etc.; according to the existing situation and the relation of forces, these activities to be linked up and directed in every way along the lines of a class-conscious, anti-war struggle. All true preparations for a mass political strike and demonstrations are of exclusive importance now.

It is absolutely essential that economic and anti-war work among the transport workers and munition workers should be increased considerably.

5. *Underestimation of mass forms of struggle* (sectarian work in practice).

Sectarian work in practice could be seen during the preparatory period of occupation, in the fact that the Communist Party was unable to make use of the municipal elections, as they might have been used, for the purpose of developing a wide agitation and mass struggle. The party underestimated the importance of this campaign and did not use it in the interests of extensive political agitation among the masses. The struggle was not sufficiently extensive, insufficient attention was paid to the task of creating a united front from below with the reformist and unorganised workers and peasants.

Mass forms of struggle must be developed more widely, for instance: general meetings of workers and peasants, the formation of committees of action elected by the workers themselves, delegate conferences of workers and peasants. Where these organisations already exist or are in the process of formation, they cannot be called mass organisations, since very frequently these conferences and demonstrations are attended by revolutionary elements alone. This is where we find very serious sectarian work in practice. This fear of the broad masses must be fought most determinedly.

Patient work must be done of an explanatory, mass nature, in order to fight against the chauvinistic tendencies amongst workers and toilers; we must carry on our mass international work against these bourgeois influences among the proletariat. The whole party must condemn all forms of support to imperialism in this war of plunder, which take the form, for instance, of the serious mistake made by certain units which, under the pretext of the "danger of becoming divorced from the masses," gave their support to the campaign to collect money for the "soldiers" of the army of occupation, which was organised by the authorities.

The first essential condition for a successful struggle against the war is *the launching of a mass struggle on the basis of the united front tactic from below.*

The work of unmasking Social-Fascism goes forward very slowly. Japanese Social-Fascism has unmasked itself in the present adventure of Japanese imperialism more obviously than ever before. The social-fascists are giving their entire support to this war and in its interests they break strikes, hand over the revolutionary workers and Communists to the police, etc., and so forth. But alongside of this, we have considerable unrest among the workers and peasants of the social-fascist parties. This gives us a favourable opportunity of unmasking the social-fascists on the con-

crete cases of treachery committed by them. The united front from below against the imperialists and social-imperialists should become the basis of the work of unmasking social-fascism throughout Japan.

6. *There is not sufficient work done among the soldiers and sailors, and the work itself is un-systematic.* Individual cases of the soldiers refusing to obey orders and of expressions of sympathy towards the revolutionary movement are gradually becoming more frequent and this means that a favourable situation for our work among the soldiers and sailors is rapidly approaching. The party should carry on this work systematically and not as each occasion arises. Special attention should be paid, in this anti-war agitational work, to the daily needs of the soldiers and sailors and their lack of civil rights, and also to such demands as the immediate recall of troops from China; soldiers refuse to fight; desert the front, but don't give up your arms; set up soldiers' committees; and at the same time to carry out the slogan of fraternisation. In view of the special circumstances of this war, in which it is necessary to defend the national independence of enslaved China against Japanese imperialist aggression, the slogan of fraternisation must be linked up with the other important slogan, i.e., the call to the Japanese soldiers to leave the front must be linked up with the demand for the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China. The same sort of work should be carried on by the party in the associations of the army reserves and the official youth leagues, which are the mainstays of reaction, where many workers and peasants are strongly influenced by the chauvinistic ideology of the Japanese generals and higher officers.

7. *The anti-war work among the peasantry is still very weak, and lags behind the growing revolutionary feelings of the mass of peasantry.* The peasantry are bravely fighting; they are struggling desperately for the land against the police and hired bands. We have not yet made use of the enormous revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry. The question of land-rent, of taxation, and of the land must be linked up with the question of the struggle against war.

The party must carry on special work in those districts where army units are being despatched to China, and also in the famine areas.

8. *Methods of agitation and propaganda used are still very abstract.* The anti-war leaflets and literature published by the party and other mass organisations are still very abstract and unreal. Literature must be issued, in which the nature of this war of plunder will be given in a live and popular way to those workers and peasants who

are still not class-conscious. All mass newspapers, periodicals, leaflets, etc., should be made as understandable as possible, should be written in a simple language, which is understood by the masses, should bear the stamp of concrete facts. It is absolutely essential that literature should be produced which will explain and convince the workers and peasants, on the basis of facts, of the necessity of defending the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese revolution.

9. *There must be a relentless struggle against right and "left" opportunism in anti-war work.* All vacillations inside the party in decisive moments like the present cause considerable harm to the revolutionary movement. A fight must be waged against the slightest manifestations of opportunism.

The party must on no account allow itself to lose the opportunity of leading the mass struggle

of the workers and peasants and of carrying on determined work in the army and the fleet. The party will be able to develop the peasant mass anti-war campaign only by means of self-sacrificing, determined, patient work.

10. Organisational work in the factories and the army barracks must be developed considerably, and close connections made with the revolutionary movement of China, Korea and Formosa.

The sooner the party is able to live down all the weaknesses and shortcomings mentioned herein, the sooner will it be successful in the anti-war struggle of the workers and peasants of Japan, headed by the Japanese Communist Party, to convert the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of the power of the landlords and bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of the military, police monarchy, for the setting up of a workers' and peasants' government.

THE COMMUNIST PRESS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR

A Few Lessons from the First Days of the Japanese Campaign in Yang-tse-Tal.

IT is beyond doubt that the campaign of Japanese imperialism in Yang-tse-Tal constitutes the commencement of the Imperialist War and the introduction to the military intervention against the Soviet Union. The Japanese war operations which have already quite obviously and undeniably assumed the character of an open war, have placed all Communist Parties under a severe test. A revolutionary attitude to the Imperialist War, from its very first moment, is the acid test for the Communist Parties, for each single Communist. In this question passivity, insufficient vigilance, or frivolousness must not be allowed for one minute without sharp criticism.

"One cannot, in any similar case," writes Lenin, "remain silent. A frivolous attitude in this question is an evil exceeding all others, which does not allow of any mildness in respect thereto, which is absolutely impermissible."

The attitude of the Communist Parties in regard to the Japanese-China expedition must naturally reflect itself in the Communist press, the most important agitational means of the Parties. The self-control or supervision of the anti-war activity of the Parties must, first of all, take place in their press, to discover the errors and defects rapidly and clearly, and eradicate them, to be able to strengthen the fighting capacity of

the Parties against the war and to strengthen the anti-war campaign at present in progress.

WHAT WERE THE FIRST TASKS?

The campaign of Japanese Imperialism in Yang-tse-Tal should not have caught any Communist Party organ unawares. The indications of the beginning of this expedition were long apparent. It was clear from the beginning that the tasks, with which the Communist press in Europe and America were confronted, were the following:—

1. A correct estimation of the world political significance of the Japanese campaign against China in Yang-tse-Tal, against Shanghai, Nanking, etc., especially in connection with the preparation of military intervention against the Soviet Union and the imperialist world war.

2. The widest possible dissemination of correct, concrete, struggle-demands for the proletariat of the capitalist countries, to encourage revolutionary action against the imperialist war, corresponding to the peculiarities of the relationships of each separate "own" country to the Japanese expedition, in preparation for military intervention against the Soviet Union, in preparation for the world war.

3. To fight against the pacifist sophistries with which the bourgeoisie, and especially the Social Democratic press, weakens the vigilance of the

toiling masses in regard to the world war, and seeks to attract the masses to the side of the imperialist war.

The press activity of the Communist Parties against the Japanese campaign in the Yang-tse-Tal (January 25th-February 3rd, 4th) must be subjected to an examination from this standpoint.

THE ESTIMATION OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHINESE EXPEDITION.

The Communist press reacted quickly, taken on the whole, to the Japanese expedition in Yang-tse-Tal and in general correctly recognised its world political significance.

Without vacillations, it at once declared that in Yang-tse-Tal we have not a mere "military expedition," but a real imperialist war, that now, after the Manchurian campaign of Japanese imperialism, a great change has taken place in events; attempts to come to agreements for the partition of China amongst the imperialist powers, attempts at such a partition. It was also generally correctly recognised that the Japanese campaign in Manchuria, just as in Yang-tse-Tal, signifies the preparation of military intervention against the Soviet Union and for an imperialist war.*

In "L'Humanité" one could read on February 3rd:—

"That is the capitalist offensive against the Chinese people, against the Soviets in China, that is the beginning of the attack against the Soviet Union, that is finally the possibility of a fearful conflict between the rival capitalist powers for the cutting up of China."

The *Rote Fahne* of February 3rd, 1932, wrote:

"The war opened by Japan gave all other capitalist powers interested in the Far Eastern market the signal for a general change of policy, in the direction of an armed partition of Chinese territory. The occupation of Manchuria was the first act of the great war drama which has now opened in the East. The bombardment of Shanghai, the march of Japanese troops into Swatow and Canton, the battle inside the Chinese settlement between Japanese and American troops—these events of the last few days tangle the conflicts in the imperialist camp to a point, which finally will only be cut through with difficulty. The war started by Japan is the spring-board for the intervention war against the Soviet Union."

What is missing, however, in the entire Communist press is the recognition of the immediate and concrete significance of the Japanese campaign in Yang-tse-Tal, as the realisation of the

partition of China, in the sense of a complete colonisation and the significance of the resistance of the Chinese people to the Japanese attack. The Communist press did not recognise the significance of the anti-imperialist people's war to defend the independence of China and the significance of this people's war for the further extension of the Chinese revolution. It was further not recognised that *at the moment the immediate* issue was not the attack on Soviet China but an imperialist attack on the *unity of China in general*, the partition of the whole of China among the imperialist powers, wherein Japan plays the rôle of the advanced troop, in order to prevent, in this way, the further development of the workers' and peasants' revolution through the external forces of the international bourgeoisie. Only in this way can we explain the fact that in the entire Communist press the chief slogan re the Japanese attack was not the slogan for the defence of the Chinese people from the imperialists, not the slogan, "Hands Off China!" but almost exclusively, "Defend Soviet China!"

The Chinese workers' and peasants' revolution is, without doubt, one of the most important grounds why the imperialist powers accelerate the partition of China with feverish haste. Despite this, one cannot lose sight of the fact that the issue is *not merely* the defence of Soviet China, but the defence of the *whole of China, the protection of the national independence, and the strengthening of the resistance of the entire Chinese people against Japanese and international imperialism*. This is all the more the task of the entire international proletariat, as *upon the resistance of the Chinese people, and the active support of this resistance by the international proletariat, depends to a great extent whether the imperialist robber powers will be able to realise their plans of military intervention against the Soviet Union in rapid time, or whether they will be compelled to further temporarily postpone the beginning of the military intervention*. A crass example of the incorrect estimation of the connections between the resistance of the Chinese people, and the defence of the Soviet Union in connection with the military intervention against the Soviet Union, is supplied by our American Party press, where—according to a telegraphic report—through a contrast of the defence of the Soviet Union from military intervention, and the resistance of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism, the masses are warned, "not to allow themselves to be detracted from the chief danger of war against the Soviet Union and Chinese Revolution." From this incorrect contrast, it is clear that the Communist press has not seen that the defence of the national and territorial unity of China is an

*Note: All quotations re-translated from the German.

integral part of the defence of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Soviets, the defence of the entire world proletariat from the imperialist war.

This is the only way to explain the fact that the Communist press did not realise, that in the case of the war in the Yang-tse-Tai, the issue was not one of two equally placed belligerent national bourgeoisies, but on the one side, an imperialist state desirous of realising its imperialist objectives through war, and on the other side, a semi-colony which is to be suppressed and parcelled out among the leading imperialist powers on the initiative of Japan. The resistance of the Chinese people—despite the sabotage of the Chinese bourgeoisie, represents a national war of liberation, the complete support of which is the duty of the entire world proletariat.

The Norwegian press demands, for this reason an especially sharp criticism of its attitude, which consisted in publishing, without comment, a report from Tokio in the Party paper "Finmark Trentis," in which it said "Japan found herself compelled to order reinforcements because of the Chinese *offensive*."

In the entire Communist press during the first days of the Japanese attack, there was not a clear realisation of the danger which threatened the European and American proletariat as a result of this campaign. The readers of the Communist press in Europe and America did not receive, as a result of the publicist activity and the reports of the Communist organs, a clear picture on the fact that the issue was not merely one of a war in the Far East, but that the European and American working class is immediately threatened through this war. This was especially the case, during the first few days, in the Party press of Czecho-Slovakia. This defect is to be explained as a result of an unsatisfactory estimation of the imperialist contradictions and their results.

It was not clearly worked out that in the present world situation all-important problems of American and European politics, the Reparations question, the question of the inter-allied war debts, the tariff war, the struggle for gold, the question of the Franco-Italian antagonisms, etc., stand in the closest contact with the problem of the Pacific and that the war in China raises all these questions much more sharply. As a result of this it follows that the question of the partition of China necessarily raises the question of the re-division of the world, that all the fluctuating problems of world imperialism demand a new military solution, that the war in China will not remain limited to Asia, and also not only to the Pacific Ocean, but that it must develop into a real imperialist world war and directly affect also the proletariat of Europe and America in its results.

A few Communist newspapers devoted hardly

any attention to the inner imperialist antagonisms (Czecho-Slovakia). Some have placed the main emphasis in the agitation on these contradictions (a few articles in "L'Humanité"), further there were a few which—as in America—did not correctly appreciate the actual International entwining (the American Communist press writes, for example, that complete agreement exists between U.S.A. and Japan, but as against that, the contradictions between England and Japan are becoming sharper. The contrary is the case!).

Side by side with the correct estimation of the sharpening of the inner imperialist contradictions, there are a few cases, nevertheless, where it is clearly elaborated that the sharpening of these contradictions strengthens the efforts of world imperialism to solve all controversial questions at the expense of the Soviet Union, to smash the stronghold of the international proletariat, to break the fighting power of the working class in a world war.

As a result of the defects in the estimation of the international situation, and the absence of a concrete examination of the relationships between the imperialist powers, we had on the one hand, a weakening of the power-of-conviction of the Communist agitation, and on the other hand, errors of principle in the form of the under-estimation of one's "own" imperialism, the part played by one's "own" bourgeoisie in the organisation and support of the imperialist war.

In the first days, for example, a decisive fighting attitude in regard to Czechish imperialism, as one of the chief suppliers of Japan, was missing in the Czechish Party press. Similarly in the Norwegian press, there was no exposure of the rôle of the powerful Norwegian Mercantile Marine as means of transport for the imperialist world war; provisionally for Japan. The Swedish Party press spoke in general about the necessity of fighting the increasing war preparations of Swedish imperialism, but said nothing about the fact, that the supply of arms and munitions for Japan, is undertaken by Swedish firms with the endorsement of the Swedish Government.

SLOGANS AND METHODS OF THE AGITATION IN THE PRESS.

The agitation in the Communist press was too abstract during the first days of the Yangtse campaign of Japanese imperialism. Here one must state that the information in a few of the bourgeois papers on the military operations of the Japanese and the atrocities in Chapei, was much more detailed than that in our press. There is, in the entire Communist press, a certain lack of proportion between analytical articles, and the agitational material consisting of facts as evi-

dence. Even the bourgeois sources of information were not sufficiently utilised. In several cases the news-reports of bourgeois information services were very uncritically reproduced. The most crass example of how a bourgeois information service report can be uncritically reproduced, is the following telegram from the Communist daily for North-West Bohemia, *The International*, of 4th February, 1932:—

“In Harbin, reigns complete confusion for several weeks as here, Chinese of various party tendencies, Japanese, and Red and White Russians confront each other. Numerous plunderings have resulted, and attacks on the Japanese civilian population.”

This telegram is dated from Mukden, apparently in order to justify the occupation of Harbin by the Japanese troops. This heedlessness in the question of the attitude regarding the war is so obvious that it needs no further characterisation from us. How one should not act in regard to the war, is shown by an example supplied by a part of the Belgian press. Belgium itself is an important munition supplier to Japanese imperialism. From the Belgian harbours large quantities of war material are transported to other countries. As against this we can extract from a report the fact that from 1st December, 1931, to 31st January, 1932, nothing was said about the imperialist war, or about the war in China in seven newspapers and manifestoes of the revolutionary trade union opposition. In three numbers of the newspaper of the unemployed in the seaport town of Antwerp practically nothing is said on these questions. Similarly in 13 factory papers issued by the Communist cells. This is to be explained in the first place by the fact that the central organ of the Communist Party, is not a leading organ in the struggle against the war, and does not play the part of the organiser of the other Party organs. Most of the press organs of the Communist Parties have not sufficiently recognised what is to be done at the present moment to combat the Japanese attack on China, and which concrete measures are to be undertaken against Japanese imperialism in their own particular sphere. On 31st January and 1st and 2nd February, the organising struggle-slogans were missing. In only a few cases was attention concentrated on the transport of arms and munitions. Concrete slogans such as “Prevent the transport of arms and munitions” were only rarely issued. In this connection the *Hamburger Völkzeitung* has reacted the best to the Japanese attack and conducts a splendid campaign under the following slogans:

“Stop all transport! Refuse to load munitions and explosives!”

“No ship with war materials for the imperialist war should be allowed out of Hamburg Docks!”

“Discuss this question in all staff meetings, organise the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war-makers, sharpen the struggle against the enemy in your own country, against the profit-hyenas of the new people’s murder!”

“That is the best form of the proletarian class solidarity with Chinese and Japanese proletarians!”

“That is at the same time the best form of support for the Chinese Soviets and the Soviet Union!”

In contrast to the above the Austrian *Rote Fahne*, for example, does not write a word, in the first days, on the fact that arms and munition transports are running to Jugo-Slavian harbours through Austria, and that the task of the Austrian railwaymen must consist in preventing these transports. The *Hamburger Völkzeitung* gives an excellent example of the part and importance of the worker correspondents from the factories, in connection with the transport of weapons and munitions. The *Hamburger Völkzeitung* was the first newspaper to utilise the worker correspondents for the exposure of the war transports, and on the basis of these experiences the *Rote Fahne* (Berlin) published an article on the organisation of the worker correspondents for the struggle against the war. This example must be a directive for all press organs of the Communist International whereby it must be emphasised with the utmost sharpness, that on no account can we disregard the fact that largely as a result of the weakness of the Communist press so far not one single transport to Japan has been held back.

In the entire Communist press the shortcoming is further apparent, that the situation in the factories, the activity of the working class in connection with the Japanese attack, with the danger of the world war, is hardly, if at all, reflected. According to a report before us, only one report has appeared in the German Party press up till 3rd February, of a factory meeting on this. The resolutions from the factories are not reproduced in the Communist Party press, which naturally weakens the part of the press as organiser of the factory work against the war. An equally important defect is the absence of special agitation material for the unemployed, who play an especially important rôle in the plan of the imperialists. In Poland the discontented workers in the railway shops and on the lines are being replaced by unemployed. In Czechoslovakia the workers of the Skoda works and the Brünnner armament works are being dismissed in masses and replaced by unemployed. *Rude Pravo* and the *Reichenberger Vorwärts* have

reported these measures without calling attention to the fact that this manoeuvre of the capitalists, on the one hand, aims at the reduction of wages, on the other hand, at the replacement of dissatisfied workers, through such unemployed who have lost all powers of resistance, as a result of lengthy unemployment; and which finally shall present the appearance that production is being reduced at the Skoda and in the Brünnner arms factory. This three-fold capitalist manoeuvre, the operation of which can have a powerful mobilising effect, remains completely unanswered in the Communist press. No slogans have been issued which would aim at the prevention of the reduction of wages, which would call the unemployed to solidarity with the employed workers.

A further shortcoming is the fact that the daily agitation of the press for the current actions of the Communist Parties (unity conferences, congresses, unemployed demonstrations) is not, or is quite insufficiently, connected with the anti-war action.

Despite the fact that in France, especially in Paris and in the North, relatively well attended meetings against the war took place in the first days, the meetings which had been called previously, as a result of the various daily actions, were very poorly utilised for the agitation against the war. The same thing can be said about Czecho-Slovakia, with the exception of the German Bohemian portion where, according to reports of the *Reichenberger Vorwärts*, a series of united front demonstrations were very well used for the dissemination of our anti-war slogans. From the press it cannot be seen that all the daily actions of the Party in Germany are being utilised for the anti-war action of the Communist Party of Germany, especially the Presidential Election Campaign. This is shown especially by the reports of the Presidential Election campaign. The chief error and defect of the anti-war campaign is that it *does not base itself on the factories*. We have already remarked above that the worker correspondents are not organised, that resolutions from the factories are not published. Attention is not called to the fact in the agitation that the war not merely represents an attempt to find a capitalist way out of the crisis, but also the attempt to increase the riches of the capitalists—at the cost of the working class—and that the war will still further depress the hunger-standard of the working class. In this connection the rich experiences of the war and the post-war period, the period of speculation, war profiteers, must be agitationaly utilised.

In connection with this, it must be stated that very little appears in the Communist press for the demands and struggle of the unemployed, despite the fact that the bourgeois press openly

writes that the war represents an attempt to solve the unemployment question through the enrolment of the unemployed in the war army.

Finally, the connection of the anti-war campaign with the poverty of the peasants, the toilers in the village, is missing in the Communist press of all countries.

All these shortcomings and mistakes in the press activity have been partially corrected in the later numbers of the Communist press, still not to the extent that is necessary to give our agitation the "punch" required.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST PACIFISM, AGAINST THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

The weakest point in the press activity of the Communist Parties was, in the first days of the Japanese onslaught, the combatting of pacifism, the chief bearer of which is the Second International, which conceals its activity for the preparation of the imperialist war behind pacifism. This error is all the more serious because the beginning of the attack, the bombardment of Shanghai, and the first report of the fearful atrocities of the Japanese Army, coincided punctually with the opening of the Disarmament Conference. Even a few Communist papers have been guilty of pacifist errors in connection with the Japanese attack. It cannot be termed anything else but a pacifist error when the appeal of the C.G.T.U. calls upon the working class to "proclaim its will, to fight for peace!" and is reprinted in the Communist press without any commentary or correction. In the Communist press we do not find, in addition to the Leninist principle-controversy with pacifism, a contrast of the facts on the war operations of Japanese imperialism in China, with the report and the false pathos of the press of the Second International under the slogan, "No more war!" The cynical confession of the Japanese social democracy for the Japanese robber war in China, as it is stated in the thesis for the forthcoming Party Congress, was only recorded by the Communist press, instead of an energetic campaign of exposure on the pacifist chatter of the Second International, of which the Social Democratic Party of Japan is a member. One gets the impression from the Communist press that it merely serves the purpose of the dissemination of the internal Party directives, and not that of the exposure of the sophistries of the social democracy to the widest masses, and explaining the pacifist swindle to them to arouse them against the war and social fascism.

There is to-day no greater danger than to proceed from the mistaken assumption that the widest masses already know that the League of

Nations consists of outspoken representatives of the imperialist warmongers, that the League of Nations is an imperialist swindle, that pacifism is a deception, that the II. International is an organ of the bourgeoisie for the preparation of war. These truths must first be proven before the masses on the grounds of the facts and the contrast between words and deeds. There is not, in the Communist press, a reckoning with the Social Democratic press on the question of the League of Nations, the organiser of the war, which the Social Democratic press glorifies as a bulwark against war. Our press has also not reckoned up with the statements of the Social-Democratic press that the Disarmament Conference constitutes a great pacifist deed. Even the circumstance that Social Democracy undertook a large-scale distribution of parts in the pacifist swindle of the working class during the Japanese expedition was not sufficiently utilised. *Paul Boncour*, the chairman of the League of Nations, in which the support of the Japanese attack was decided, *Henderson* who, as chairman of the Disarmament Conference, said not one word about the so-called Disarmament Programme of the II. International in his speech, *Lansbury*, who spoke in the English House of Commons as the critic of Japanese imperialism, while at the same time supporting English imperialism, the method of presentation in the *Vorwärts*, where the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact is utilised to "prove" that from now on, the Soviet Union is no longer threatened by imperialism, the article in the *Populaire*, where the danger of intervention against the Soviet Union by Japanese Imperialism is discussed without mentioning one line on the part played by France as the chief organiser of military intervention against the Soviet Union.

The Communist press has written practically nothing on the fact that the Social Democratic Parties, while they also criticise the imperialism of the other bourgeoisies, nevertheless *actively support already now their own imperialist government in the preparation for war*. They present the war in China as an event having nothing to do with Europe or the European proletariat. Practically the entire Social Democratic press emphasises that this war is only possible in China, that the war can only be carried on by Japanese Imperialism as in Japan there is no really democratic government. The sophistry of the Social Democracy concerning the Japanese attack culminates in the conclusion that the Soviet Union is not threatened by any war, if it does not begin the war itself. They consciously ignore the fact that Japanese Imperialism in Manchuria is supported by the great imperialist powers precisely because it creates a Place d'armes in Manchuria,

a spring-board for the anti-Soviet war, and endeavours to increase the provocation against the Soviet Union to the utmost. Finally, it must be declared that the Communist Press has practically entirely failed to utilise the attitude of Japanese Social-Democracy to the war, the shame of which exceeds all expectations.

All these defects and errors, shown in the struggle against the Social-Democracy, are to be explained by the fact that the Communist press has not sufficiently orientated itself on the feeling of the broadest masses and for the conviction of the Social Democratic worker, that they do not confront themselves with the objective of a really mass effect.

These are the most important lessons of the first days approximately until the 3rd-4th February in regard to the attitude of the Communist press to the fight against the war.

THE CHIEF TASKS OF THE PRESS IN THE PRESENT MOMENT IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR.

The mistakes and failings in the leadership of the campaign against war, which we have enumerated, have been partially rectified in the last few weeks. Nevertheless, cases of lack of political clarity still show themselves daily, which hinder and prevent the mobilisation of the widest strata of the toiling masses.

The following main points must have first consideration by the entire press of the Communist Party, the press of the mass organisations and especially the thousands of factory papers, to mobilise and make the masses more active against the imperialist war and the danger of intervention, (apart from the general tasks such as propaganda of the Leninist teachings on war, propaganda of the achievements of the Socialist construction in the Soviet Union).

1. Clear elaboration of the fact that the defence of China and the support of the resistance of the Chinese people to Japanese imperialism and its allies, is an integral part of our struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviet Power against the interventionists' robber plans of world imperialism. The campaign against Japanese imperialism, against the atrocities of the Japanese military forces, and against the League of Nations, as the support of the Japanese robber expedition, must be passionately intensified, on the grounds of the facts.

It must be clearly explained that the war in the Far East is the immediate danger for the European and American proletariat. The central point of the press work must be the demand for the recall of the imperialist troops from China, boycott of Japanese transports, prevention of the supply of arms and munitions to Japan, manifold support of the Chinese people's war.

2. The revolutionary slogans against the war must be directed no less in each country, against the war preparation activity of its own bourgeoisie. The daily struggle of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary mass organisations must be saturated with the anti-war campaign. Every revolutionary worker must find the instructions in the press which he needs, for his field of work, at his post in the class struggle, for the daily agitation and organisation work.

The transformation of the slogans into *actual deeds* in the question of the prevention of the transport of munitions and arms to Japan, is a *question of honour for the international working class*. This must be the main tone of all Communist press activity.

3. The struggle against the criminal policy of Social-Democracy in all its various shades, must be conducted with the greatest sharpness of principle. It cannot limit itself to a pure polemic, but must destroy the deceptive argument and chatter about the struggle for peace, by means of facts. The rôle of the international Social-Democracy as the pace-maker of the robber policy of the world imperialists as warmongers and as one of the chief organisers of the war of intervention against the Soviet Union, must be unmasked in the most ruthless and convincing fashion. Not one single slander of Social-Democracy against the Soviet Union should be allowed to remain

unanswered, but be answered, by the aid of the facts.

4. The press must devote the greatest attention to the factories, especially the munitions factories, the decisions of factory staffs against the war must be given the greatest attention in the press and their mobilising effect must be supported to the utmost.

5. This also applies to the work among the million masses of the unemployed to whom an important part falls in the struggle against the war. The mobilisation of the toiling peasant masses is no less important, as also the petit-bourgeois elements and the intellectuals for the struggle against the war through the press.

These are only the most important chief tasks of the moment!

The Communist Press must find the language which will arouse the widest masses to *action* against the imperialist war, find the proofs which will really destroy the Social Democratic sophistries which serve as the support of the imperialist war, and the methods, by means of which the mass work of the Communist Parties will find the road to the revolutionary way out of the crisis through Leninist struggle against the mass people's murder which has already begun. Once again the issue is an affair of honour of the international working class.

THE IDEOLOGICAL MISTAKES AND SHORTCOMINGS IN THE FULFILMENT OF THE DECISIONS OF THE ELEVENTH PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

THE XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. furnished the principal basis for our guidance on a number of most important, vital questions of the struggle of the two systems, the immediate danger of intervention against the U.S.S.R., the economic crisis, the revolutionary crisis, the capitalist and revolutionary ways out of the crisis, fascism, Social-fascism, the partial demands, the united front tactics. But the chief importance of the XIth Plenum lay in the fact that it showed the dialectical Leninist, rather than the mechanical, approach to the solution of these questions.

By the manner in which the decisions of the XIth Plenum have been fulfilled one is able to judge the degree to which our Parties, the Party organisations, the organs of the Party press have assimilated Leninism and learned to use the Marxian-Leninist dialectical method.

A partial check-up on the fulfilment of the decisions of the XIth Plenum carried out by the E.C.C.I. has shown that in this respect our Parties, even the best of them, still have many defects.

Despite the fact that all of our Parties adopted the decisions of the XIth Plenum for information and guidance, practically all the Parties, the different Party organisations, the different press organs and the individual comrades committed opportunist mistakes in the fulfilment of these decisions. In the large majority of cases these were mistakes of a right-opportunist character though there have been also some "left" mistakes which, to be sure, always played into the hands of right-opportunism.

The objective cause of these mistakes lay in the pressure of the class enemy and primarily of the Social-democracy upon the weak links of our Parties, in the pressure which is now being strengthened particularly in connection with the tremendous sharpening of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism. The subjective cause lies in the fact that our Party cadres, despite the long process of bolshevisation, still suffer, some in a greater, others in a less degree, from an insufficient understanding of Leninism, still preserve in their ranks a good many relics of Luxemburgism and even of Social-democratic centrism in some countries, and of anarcho-syndicalism, Guesdism and even Jaurésism in others. This is reflected particularly in the fact that our Parties, some to a larger, others to a lesser degree, have not yet succeeded in suffi-

ciently connecting themselves up with the broadest proletarian masses, as the bolsheviks succeeded in doing, and therefore do not sufficiently feel the pulse of the life of these masses which are becoming speedily radicalised under the influence of the grave economic crisis in the capitalist countries and of the stormy growth of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. This existence of "left-radical" or centrist or anarcho-syndicalist relics, which crop up again and again despite the bolshevisation of our Parties, emphasise the tremendous importance to the entire Comintern of Comrade Stalin's letter where he comes out with all determination against the rotten liberalism displayed in connection with the question of the Leninist historical roots of the Comintern.

In this article we shall not deal with the achievements of our Parties since the XIth Plenum, which are unquestionably very considerable as regards some of the Parties. Nor will we deal with the practical backwardness of our Parties which unfortunately has not yet been liquidated. The special aim of this article is to point out the mistakes, primarily the ideological mistakes, committed in the fulfilment of the decisions of the XIth Plenum which revealed the insufficient assimilation of Leninism, of the Leninist dialectical approach to political problems.

Our article is based mainly upon the Party press and not upon a systematic study of the entire press but upon a more or less random selection of materials, particularly from the Central European Party press, and we wish to state that if we deal less with the mistakes committed in some Parties and more with those committed in other Parties, this should not at all lead to the conclusion that in the former less mistakes have been made. It only means that their literary production is less extensive and has not been checked up so carefully.

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The question of the two systems and specially of the U.S.S.R. We cannot reprove our Parties for not giving sufficient attention to the popularisation of the achievements in the U.S.S.R., but the very method of this popularisation reveals an insufficiently dialectical approach which considerably weakens the effect of all the writings about the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Usually a wealth of figures is given concerning the economic growth of the U.S.S.R. which is contrasted with the decline of the capitalist countries.

But the important thing to us is to explain to the proletariat that in the U.S.S.R. there is taking place not only a very rapid growth of industry and agriculture but, and this is of special importance, that there are enormous achievements in the growth of Socialism. In this respect our Party press in the capitalist countries is giving its readers very little. Therefore, the workers of the capitalist countries very frequently fail to understand how far and how deep is the contrast between the two systems, they particularly fail to understand that one and the same economic category, for instance piece work, has one meaning in the capitalist countries and a very opposite meaning in the U.S.S.R. Our French Party press for instance, gave no explanation of the importance of Comrade Stalin's "Six Conditions," while the Social-fascists raised a tremendous howl about this being a "return to capitalism." As a result, at one Party Congress in Paris the majority of the comrades voted against Comrade Stalin's "Six Conditions," having no idea of the tremendous enthusiasm which these "Six Conditions" aroused among the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., having no idea that piece-work which under conditions of capitalism leads to an increase of the exploitation of the workers, leads on the contrary in the U.S.S.R., to an increase of Socialist accumulation, to the development of the productive forces under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and consequently to a direct improvement of the living standards of the workers.

The second defect of our press on this question consists in that while referring to the achievements in the U.S.S.R. it very frequently makes no mention of the struggle which the proletariat, the Soviet Power and the C.P.S.U. are forced to wage in order to secure these achievements. The workers of the capitalist countries must realise that the building of Socialism is most closely connected with the class struggle, which is modified during the first period of Socialism, but does not disappear and will not disappear for quite a while, that the building of Socialism is accompanied by a struggle of the Party against right and "left" opportunism in its ranks. Only if the achievements of the C.P.S.U. are elucidated in this light will the workers of the capitalist countries be able to draw a lesson from them for their own struggle; only on this basis will they obtain a true idea of the great, heroic work which the C.P.S.U., with Comrade Stalin at its head, is successfully carrying out, and gain a weapon for the struggle against the slander of the Social-fascists who are constantly shouting about our difficulties, "failures" and "hitches," but who keep discreetly silent about how and by what

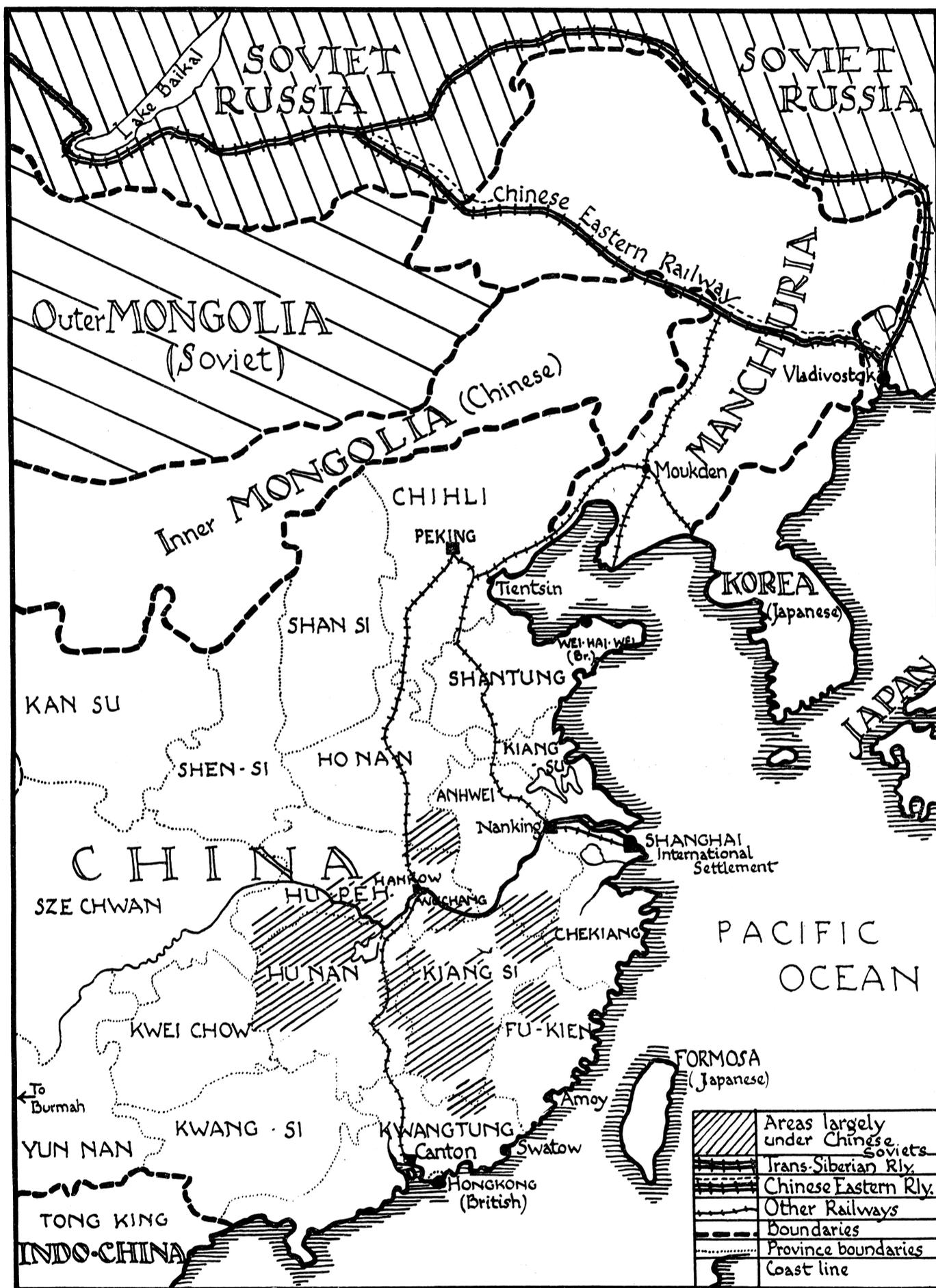
means the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Power successfully eliminate these "hitches," successfully overcome these difficulties.

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Our Parties are obliged to give not only a correct elucidation of the Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., but also to give a correct elucidation of the road to October travelled by Bolshevism. For this is the road which the workers of the capitalist countries will have to tread to-morrow. And here we meet in some cases with a complete distortion of the history of the revolution of 1905, of the February Revolution and of the October Revolution. In this respect, in the distortion of Leninism, the laurels have been won by a couple of comrades who wrote for the German "Propagandist" but have since — quite justly—been removed by the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany from their posts of Assistant Chief and Chief of the Propaganda Department (Comrades Emmel and Kraus). In their writings the policy of the bolsheviks in the bourgeois revolution of 1905 and in the bourgeois revolution of February, 1917, was frequently given a menshevist or Brandlerist interpretation.

A.E., writing in the first issue of the "Propagandist" and attempting to give a would-be Leninist description of 1905, said: "The bourgeoisie, inasmuch as it still acts as a revolutionary force against feudalism and Tsarism, must be supported by the proletariat." Where and when did Lenin say that the bourgeoisie acted in the least as a revolutionary force in 1905? This was maintained only by the mensheviks. In the same sense he distorted the Leninist estimation of the bourgeois February revolution. Lenin wrote that "the February Revolution won so quickly (in eight days) because extremely diverse, and opposite interests and forces came out against Tsarism." The mensheviks distorted these words, which spoke of the relative ease with which the victory was gained in consequence of the coincidence at a certain moment, of the pressure against Tsarism from opposite directions, in the sense that the bourgeoisie, according to Lenin, was necessary, that co-operation (?) with the bourgeoisie, according to Lenin, was necessary, for the victory of the revolution in general.

The same menshevist interpretation of Lenin's words is given by A.E.: "This co-operation (Zusammengehen) (where did Lenin say that the bourgeoisie in 1917 co-operated with the revolutionary proletariat?—Ed.) of totally different class interests had to lead to the February Revolution of 1917 being a 'peaceful' revolution" (where did Lenin say such nonsense that the February Revolution which was made by an armed uprising was "peaceful"?—Ed.). From



this distortion of Lenin A.E. draws the following conclusion: "The result of such co-operation can be only a coalition government." After this conclusion he makes the purely Brandlerist generalisation: "In order that the bourgeois revolution should grow into a proletarian revolution, a duality of power during the first period is inevitable!" A duality of power was indeed "inevitable" in Russia inasmuch as owing to the insufficient class consciousness of the workers the collaborationists at first succeeded in gaining control of the Soviets, but the development of the bourgeois revolution into a proletarian revolution took place in Russia *not, thanks* to the duality of power, but thanks to the successful struggle of the bolsheviks against this duality of power under the slogan: "All power to the Soviets," on the basis of the speedy growth of the spontaneous revolutionary upsurge. A.E. takes a Brandlerist rather than a Leninist view of the conditions of the unfolding of the revolution. He therefore failed to notice the main point, he failed to notice that this process of the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a proletarian revolution, on the eve of October, was concentrated in the Soviets which, according to Lenin, were a form of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, and he decided that the organ of the transformation was the notorious "contact commission" of the Petrograd Soviet which was founded in its time for the purpose of maintaining relations with the Provisional Government, and which Lenin regarded as an instrument for humbugging the masses and for petty bourgeois conciliation.

After such a caricature description of the rôle of the Bolshevik Party during the epoch of the 1905 revolution and during the period of the February Revolution, given by A.E., it is not surprising that in the estimation of the forces of the revolution in general, he distorts the rôle of the Party in it, and draws the conclusion that the present Spanish revolution in which our Party is making only the first steps towards Leninism is riper than was the revolution of 1905 in Russia: "After the fighting experience already gained by the Spanish proletariat, we in Spain are at a higher level of revolutionary development than we were in October-December, 1905." This again shows of what tremendous importance to the whole of the Comintern is the letter of Comrade Stalin in which he flays the distortion of the rôle of the bolsheviks in the first Russian revolution.

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The struggle against the preparation for an armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. and against the war in China which constitutes an

immediate step in the intervention. Already the XIth Plenum spoke of the immediate danger of intervention against the U.S.S.R. Nevertheless, many of our Parties, even after Japan had already invaded Manchuria, still fully failed to realise that the danger of intervention against the U.S.S.R. has become imminent. This absolutely intolerable delay on such a burning question demonstrated that they have not sufficiently understood Lenin's words written in his "Notes on the Question of the Tasks of our Delegation to the Hague," that "it is necessary to explain to the people the real situation and how deep is the secret in which war is hatched."

Later, though with some delay, our Parties considerably strengthened their vigilance towards the events in the Far East, especially after the publication on February 7th of the manifesto on this question by the central committees of six Communist Parties—of Germany, France, England, America, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. We can only greet the initiative displayed by our Hamburg organisation which organised a protest demonstration against the war demanding that steps should be taken to interfere with the shipment of ammunition to Japan, followed by a series of other demonstrations and by an influx of workers' correspondence about ships taking on cargoes of war materials. We can only greet the fact that our Czecho-Slovakian Party on February 10, Unemployment Day, organised a series of revolutionary protest demonstrations against the war in China. We must also greet the fact that the Leuna Werke workers in Germany passed a resolution opposing the shipment of war materials and that an anti-war demonstration was held in the principal armament factory of the Skoda Co. But all this is entirely insufficient, all this only represents a beginning. The fact is that the factories have not yet been mobilised by our Parties and that we have not yet succeeded anywhere in actually preventing the shipment of war materials. A necessary prerequisite to this is a quantitative and qualitative improvement of our ideological agitation campaign against the war.

Lenin in the "Notes" quoted above wrote: "The theoretical recognition of the fact that war is criminal, that war is impermissible for Socialists, etc., proves to be an empty word because there is no concreteness in such a treatment of the question." In order to mobilize the working masses against war it is necessary concretely to explain to them that the defence of China's independence affects them directly, that this war in the Far East leads to a world war in which will be involved the workers of Europe and the workers of the United States also. It is necessary to explain to them what tremendous sacrifices

will be demanded of them when this war develops into a world war, what chains this war will forge for them when it involves the U.S.S.R. or even the Chinese Soviet regions.

It is necessary further to explain to the masses that the most effective struggle against this war is the vigorous revolutionary struggle against their own bourgeoisie. But it is necessary, first of all, to explain to the masses how the preparation of this world war and of the counter-revolutionary intervention against the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Soviets is hidden from them by the smoke-screen of pacifism. In this respect very little has yet been done in the mass agitation of our parties. Special weakness in this field is displayed by the French and American Communist Parties which are confronted with a particularly responsible task at present.

Precisely in imperialist France which represents the main instigator of intervention against the U.S.S.R. and of the crushing of China in Europe, the anti-militarist work of our Party,— of which it had a right to be proud in the past,— has been considerably weakened lately, clearly in connection with the recent domination of “groupings” within the Party. But groupings are not the sole cause for the fact that the struggle of the French Communist Party against the intervention and against imperialist wars is frequently conducted incorrectly from an ideological point of view. Imperialist France is the chief militarist country in Europe and plays a more active rôle in the preparation of intervention against the U.S.S.R. than any other European country. At the same time the bourgeois and Social-fascist pacifism does not flourish so gorgeously in any country as in France. One does not contradict the other; on the contrary, the two are most closely interconnected; pacifism represents in reality the best “moral” preparation for war. It would seem that our French Communist Party, in fighting against the interventionist aspirations of the French bourgeoisie and of its Social-fascist agency, ought to have attacked pacifism above all, yet our French Communist press not only said nothing against the resolution of the Second International but has itself swallowed the bait of pacifism. The theoretical organ of the French Communist Party “Cahiers du Bolchévisme,” not only did not fight against pacifism, not only did not propagate the Leninist defeatist slogans, the Leninist slogan of the conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war, but itself replaced the slogan of a “fight against war” by a pacifist slogan. Its bare slogan: “We are fighting for bread and peace,” without being supplemented by the slogans “Fight against imperialist war,”

“Defend the U.S.S.R.,” “Defend the Independence of China,” “Defend the Chinese revolution,” is a pacifist slogan. No wonder that Comrade Clement in his book “Jaurès, the Reformist,” managed in criticising Jaurès to forget the main point, — Jaurès’ pacifism, — though it is well known that Jaurès’ book “L’Armée Nouvelle” was based upon the principle of the defence of the French bourgeois fatherland regardless of the consistent imperialist policy of this fatherland.

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We shall now pass from the questions directly connected with the U.S.S.R. to those of the other system, the capitalist system.

The world economic crisis. Much is written about it but what is written in our Party press frequently suffers from a lack of a dialectical approach.

“Die Internationale” wrote: “The universal crisis of capitalism constitutes an historical phase in the accumulation of capital.” As phases in the process of accumulation of capital may be regarded the industrial cycles which include crises, but by no means the universal crisis of capitalism which broke out as a result of structural changes in the economics of capitalism (monopolistic capitalism), of the imperialist war and of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and which expresses itself in the fact that side by side with the capitalist system there has originated the Socialist system of the U.S.S.R. which is hostile to it in principle, that a revolutionary movement has developed in the colonies which is shaking the foundations of imperialism, that “the war left to the majority of the capitalist countries a heavy heritage in the form of chronic decrease in output in the factories and the existence of an army of millions of unemployed” (Stalin), etc. The author of the above quotation from “Die Internationale,” by comparing the universal crisis of capitalism with the cyclical crisis, thereby denies the existence of the universal crisis of capitalism, just as Rosa Luxemburg in her theory of the accumulation of capital ignored the existence of the imperialist phase of capitalism.

A similar confusion of conceptions, a similar mistake, not of a Luxemburgian but of a Trotskyist nature, is found even in the Russian Party literature, in the work of the former Trotskyist, Comrade Preobrajensky, entitled “The Twilight of Capitalism.” Preobrajensky writes: “Capitalism has lost the mechanism for finding a way out of the crisis.” Which crisis? From the universal crisis of the capitalist system, capitalism could indeed find a way out only if it succeeded in crushing the tremendous obstacles, in wiping out the U.S.S.R., the revolutionary movement in the

colonies and the growing revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. But Preobrajensky, in the above quotation, does not at all refer to the universal crisis of capitalism, for he denies this universal crisis of capitalism, as does the author of the above quotation from "Die Internationale," like Mr. Trotsky who maintains that the Soviet economy represents an organised part of the world capitalist economy, finally like the Social-fascists, who also maintain that there is no difference of principle between the Soviet and the capitalist systems, for what we see in the U.S.S.R. is not Socialism but State capitalism.

In his book Preobrajensky writes quite unambiguously: "The universal economic crisis . . . threatens to develop into a crisis of the entire capitalist system." Threatens to develop, that means that it has not yet developed, that is, according to Preobrajensky there is still no universal crisis of capitalism.

Thus, the above quotation from Preobrajensky must be interpreted to mean that capitalism has lost the "mechanism of finding a way out" of the present economic (cyclical) crisis. How does Preobrajensky arrive at this conclusion? By "correcting" Marx and supplanting Leninism by Trotskism. The point of departure of Preobrajensky's discourse is as follows: "The unevenness in the restoration and, particularly, in the increase of the fixed capital in bourgeois society constitutes the main, direct and immediate cause of the general economic crisis." The "correction" of Marx contained in this quotation consists in that, according to Preobrajensky the *main* cause of the cyclical crisis is the unevenness of the restoration of the fixed capital. According to Marx this is only one of the factors determining cycles, particularly the duration of the interval between the cycles. According to Marx "the ultimate cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and limited consumption of the masses, which counteracts the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces in such a way as if the limit to their development is only the absolute consumptive capacity of society." ("Capital," Volume III, Part II, page 395.). This contradiction in turn follows out of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, that between the social character of production and the private, capitalist mode of appropriation. Upon thus mutilating Marx's doctrine of crises Preobrajensky proceeds, in contradiction with Lenin and in full agreement with Trotsky, to maintain that the unevenness of the economic development under imperialism does not grow but weakens. At the same time, again contrary to Lenin and in harmony with the Social-fascists, he maintains that

under imperialism competition does not exist side by side with monopoly but is completely replaced by the latter. As a result of all of these anti-Marxian, anti-Leninist statements he logically arrives at the conclusion that in the modern epoch the cyclical crises will gradually weaken and disappear and that together with them will disappear also capitalist accumulation: "The capitalist system will tend more and more towards the conditions of simple reproduction." This conclusion fully coincides with the conclusion drawn by Trotsky in his book "Europe and America": "Since the imperialist war no development of the productive forces in Europe is possible." Trotsky who thus even before Preobrajensky proved the absolute impossibility of finding a way out of the crisis, in another work entitled "Five Years of the Comintern," maintained that the United States will have to "fall back for a considerable period . . .," for 20-25 years, after which "a new epoch of capitalist prosperity may ensue." Thus, does Trotsky's theory of the "lack of a way out" harmonise with the Kondratiev theory of greater cycles.

These false, un-Marxian theories of a "lack of a way out" of Trotsky and Preobrajensky are identical with the false, un-Marxian theory of the collapse of capitalism of Rosa Luxembourg in that all of these theories follow out of the mechanistic view of the automatic collapse of capitalism. These theories do not correspond to the real situation. True, the present economic crisis, inasmuch as it has become interwoven with the agrarian crisis, inasmuch as it affects the entire capitalist world, inasmuch as it broke out during the epoch of imperialism and on the background of the general crisis of capitalism, has no precedent in history for its duration and the hardships which it involves, and there appears to be no way out at present or in the immediate future. Nevertheless, this cannot serve as a basis for any statements about the absolute hopelessness of the present economic (cyclical) crisis; already the sharper forms of the crisis revealed in the autumn of 1931—the credit crisis, the collapse of the gold standard in a number of countries and the partial inflations, have created, in some countries, for some time, some as yet entirely insufficient elements for weakening the crisis, inasmuch as by depreciating the labour power and reducing the cost of the amortisation of the fixed capital they stimulated the investment of capital to a certain degree, though the same factors, by further impoverishing the masses and undermining their purchasing capacity, deepened the crisis from another end.

The modern economic crisis is of very long duration and there still appears to be no way out

of it. Precisely because of this the bourgeoisie, seeking a way out of the crisis, has staked its last hope upon war which, apart from its ultimate plundering aims, has already caused a certain revival in the war industries. But no matter how difficult the capitalist way out of the crisis may be to the bourgeoisie and no matter how few the chances of finding such a way out, Marx was still right in maintaining that there are no permanent crises, Lenin was right in maintaining that there can be no absolutely hopeless situation for the bourgeoisie, and the Vth Congress of the Comintern was right in stating in its theses that "automatically, without a stubborn, determined and self-sacrificing offensive struggle on the part of the revolutionary proletariat, the class rule of the bourgeoisie will never collapse."

The theory of the absolute hopelessness of the crisis is doubly harmful; first, the bourgeoisie itself explains its robbery of the working class by the hopelessness of the situation, the Social-fascists explain by it the necessity for the proletariat of the capitalist countries of making "various sacrifices." Secondly, the theory of the automatic collapse of capitalism causes the proletariat to be passive, weakens its revolutionary struggle: why fight capitalism when it is dying as it is? This is precisely why the theory of "hopelessness" has been given very wide currency among the "left" Social-fascists. But unfortunately this same theory has found very wide currency also in the ranks of the Communist Party and in our Party press. Assertions regarding the hopelessness of the crisis could be found in the British "Daily Worker," in "Humanité" and in the German "Propagandist."

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The revolutionary crisis and the revolutionary way out of the crisis. From the fatalist theory of the automatic collapse of capitalism in consequence of the present economic crisis there arises in places a "left" overestimation of the growth of the revolutionary crisis which is not in harmony with the development of the activity of the Party for the approach of this revolutionary crisis and which partly weakens this activity. An example of such a "left" over-estimation may be found in the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia of November 1, 1931, addressed to all the Party organisations. This letter says: "On the arena of the class struggle the policy of 'self-help' leads in all the capitalist countries to tremendous social conflicts and speeds up the creation of the conditions for a revolutionary crisis, as is demonstrated by the development of the class struggle primarily in Poland, Germany and Spain. Within the coming few months the question will indeed arise

of who will beat whom." (Our italics.) In the words italicised by us attention should be given first to the entirely incorrect identification of the situation in Poland with that in Germany on the one hand, and in Spain, where a revolution is actually taking place, on the other, and secondly, to the fact that the time dividing us from the direct struggle for power in all of these countries is figured in months despite the fact that in not one of these countries has our Party yet captured the majority of the working class. The following sentence from the letter is in full accord with this "left" over-estimation: "Note, comrades, that it is to us 'Communists' that the *entire* (italics ours) working people are looking to-day, that they expect us to take up their leadership to direct their struggle for a way out of the capitalist hell." No doubt the workers in Czecho-Slovakia are becoming rapidly revolutionised, and an ever-growing number of workers is anxious to take up the battle and seeking our leadership. But if it were true that the "entire working people" are actually waiting for us to take up the leadership, why did they not at least vote for us in their tremendous majority?

Instead of painting such entirely untrue pictures it would undoubtedly be more useful for our Parties to develop tremendous energy at the present towards the utilisation of the situation which is really extremely favourable for us and to actually bring the revolutionary crisis as near as possible. But this demands that we mobilise the working masses for the struggle and explain to them in the process of the struggle what are the conditions for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, and this is not being done in a sufficient measure.

Some comrades in the different parties believe it possible to correct the very term of "a revolutionary" way out of the crisis and replace it, some by the term "proletarian," others by the term "Socialist." Thus, an article contributed by I.L. to the "Propagandist" is entitled: "The Bankruptcy of German Capitalism and the Socialist Way Out." Here it is not only a case of a poor expression. The substitution of the words "proletarian" or "Socialist" for the word "revolutionary" undoubtedly constitutes a political mistake for the Social-democrats as well, guided by various demagogic considerations, talk at present of a "proletarian" or "Socialist" way out of the crisis while all of them carefully avoid to mention the "revolutionary" way out of the crisis. But even more important than this clarity of terminology is the concreteness of the explanation to the proletarian masses of each country of how a revolutionary way out of the crisis is possible in their country.

At the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. this concrete approach to the revolutionary way out of the crisis, depending upon the conditions in the country, was already discussed. However, our Parties reveal here as well an insufficient ability to approach the question dialectically, while our enemies, the Social-fascists, invent everywhere a thousand reasons to prove that precisely in the given country, as distinct from all the other countries, a revolutionary way out is quite impossible. The Austrian social-fascists, with Otto Bauer at their head, claim that the revolution is impossible in such small countries as Austria because it would be at once suppressed. The German "left" Social-fascists in turn try to create the impression that a revolution in Germany is impossible because Germany is a defeated country, while the British Social-fascists maintain that the revolution is impossible precisely in England for, although England is a victorious country, yet should the revolution break out in it, she would be at once cut off from her dominions and colonies and left without raw materials and food. All these arguments certainly produce a depressive effect upon the working masses, paralysing their determination to take up the revolutionary struggle. All of these arguments must be smashed step by step in the same way as the C.P.S.U. has smashed the theory of the impossibility of building Socialism in one country.

It is necessary to explain to the workers that little Austria does not live in a vacuum, that under the conditions of the crisis of capitalism the revolutionary movement in it must immediately affect the adjacent countries, that such a precedent has already occurred when Soviet Hungary existed next to Austria, and that this did not prevent the Otto Bauers' even then from betraying Soviet Hungary as well as the Austrian revolution. It is necessary to explain to the British workers that should the revolutionary struggle be victorious in England, this would cause tremendous upheavals and a fundamental change in the relationship of the class forces throughout the world, that this would secure the utmost support for revolutionary England on the part of the international proletariat as well as of the countries which have already overthrown the yoke of capitalism. It is necessary to explain to the British workers that no revolution can be victorious without sacrifices, but that inasmuch as the revolutionary struggle in England will develop under the slogan of the liberation of the colonies, and of a revolutionary union between the workers, soldiers and sailors, England, in case of the victory of the revolution, would not be isolated and would be capable of withstanding any blockade. All this must be

explained persistently and concretely. But our Party press usually limits itself to abstract talk about the necessity of a revolutionary way out of the crisis. And here is revealed the basic trouble, the insufficient ability to think concretely, dialectically, if we are to limit ourselves to the logical roots of this mistake.

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In order to explain to the masses the necessity and possibility of a revolutionary way out of the crisis it is necessary clearly to realise and determine what is the character of the revolution to which the proletariat is urged, what will be the relationship of the class forces in this revolution, what rôle will be played in it by the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, who will be the allies upon whom the proletariat can and must rely.

On these fundamental questions as well, things are not always satisfactory in our press. Comrades Emmel and Kraus, whom we have already quoted, gave an opportunist reply to all of these questions in the pages of the "Propagandist" abusing the perfectly correct slogan of a "peoples' revolution" which has been put forward by the Central Committee of the German Communist Party.

Lenin clearly explained how a Marxist may and may not use the slogan of a "peoples' revolution" or a "national revolution."

"The conception of a 'national revolution' must point to the Marxist the necessity for a precise analysis of those different interests and different classes which agree upon certain definite, limited general tasks. In no case can this conception serve to blur, to overshadow the study of the class struggle in the course of this or that revolution. Such a use of the conception of 'national revolution' constitutes a complete rejection of Marxism and a return to the vulgar phrase of the petty bourgeois democrats or petty bourgeois Socialists" (Lenin, volume XI, page 204).

The authors quoted by us do exactly what Lenin warned us against.

Ignoring Lenin's clear instructions they converted the absolutely correct slogan of the German Communist Party into a "vulgar phrase of the petty bourgeois democrats or petty bourgeois Socialists."

Following their "own" road (independent of Lenin) the said comrades achieved this, that they drowned the proletarian character of the impending revolution in Germany in the slogan of the "national revolution," humbled the rôle of the proletariat and of its vanguard, the Communist Party, in this revolution, relegated the central task of the Party to the background, that

of the capture of the majority of the working class in the struggle against the Social-democracy and counted as allies of the proletariat, under the conditions of *the proletarian revolution*, those who could act as its allies only under the conditions of a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Comrade Thaelmann subjected these opportunist mistakes to a comprehensive and scathing criticism in his article "About Some Mistakes in Our Theoretical and Practical Work and the Way to Overcome Them."* Comrade Thaelmann's article brought ideological clarity into these questions and opened a new stage in the uncompromising struggle for the purity of the Leninist principles in theory and in practice in the German Communist Party. In connection with these questions the Berlin district organisation, at a meeting on February 9th attended by representatives of fifty big Berlin factories, passed a resolution on "the theoretical and practical tasks of the party organisations." When it was revealed that the said comrades, despite the exposure of their opportunist mistakes, attempted to obscure them and smuggle them further into the press, the Party took organisational measures against them. The first step in this direction was made by the Berlin-Brandenburg organisation, following which the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany issued a reprimand to Emmel (A.E.) and removed him from the office of Assistant Chief of the Propaganda Department, as well as Comrade Kraus from the post of Chief of the Propaganda Department, while Comrade Strauer was given a warning for utilising Comrade Emmel as reporter on the questions raised by Comrade Thaelmann.

The initiative of the German Communist Party in fighting for Leninism deserves the fullest approval. But this example should be followed by the other Parties as well, some of whose members are making opportunist mistakes quite similar to those committed by Comrades Emmel and Kraus.

Emmel and Kraus minimised the rôle of the working class and of its Communist Party, wiped out the line dividing them from the adjacent classes and parties. And here is what Comrade Kopetsky of Czecho-Slovakia writes about our Party in the "Communist Review," No. 11, 1931 :

"The attitude towards these workers should not be understood in a partisan spirit that they are Social-democrats and national-Socialists, and that we stand side by side with them and against them as partisans of communism. A revolutionary worker must not regard the existing Social-fascist Parties

as something unalterable; a revolutionary worker must not think that alongside the Communist Party must exist the Social-democratic and national-Socialist Parties; on the contrary, he must bear in mind the necessity for the Social-fascist Parties ceasing to exist, for their being destroyed and liquidated and for the reformist workers rallying under the banner of the revolutionary struggle."

Comrade Kopetsky proceeds from the false premise that the Social-fascist Parties do not have any distinct social basis of their own (the labour aristocracy). He therefore believes that all the Social-fascist workers can become Communists. From this he draws the profoundly opportunist conclusion that we must beforehand erase the Party distinction between Communist and Social-democratic workers.

This opportunist view of the Party is closely connected with the opportunist view with regard to the possible allies of the proletariat.

The authors from the "Propagandist," quoted above wrote :

"The strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution demand the capture or at least the neutralisation of the petty bourgeois sections in the proletarian revolution."

This is not exact, and in this general form is untrue. We cannot make it our task to capture the entire petty bourgeoisie in the proletarian revolution. We can make it our task to capture for the proletarian revolution only a certain section of the petty bourgeoisie, the city and the village poor, and neutralise the other, the "middle" section, while with the third section, with the petty bourgeoisie living by the exploitation of other people's labour, we will inevitably have to conduct a bitter struggle. Further, they wrote :

"The fluctuating or counter-revolutionary conduct of the petty bourgeoisie and of the peasantry is based not upon the nature of these masses. It is rather a result of a corresponding, unclear position of weakness, lack of organisation and hesitation, but primarily of the unclear conduct of the proletariat itself."

This is entirely untrue. This is an anti-materialist, idealist, anti-Leninist proposition. Of course, according to Lenin the influence upon the toiling masses of the petty bourgeoisie of the consistent revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against the yoke of capitalism is tremendous. But according to Lenin the fluctuations of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie generally and necessarily arise out of their dual Social-economic nature. Therefore the bolsheviks in the proletarian revolution made it their task to neutralise the middle peasantry, and only after the capture of power by the proletariat, when the latter had already

*Printed in No. 21 of the *Communist International*.

captured the economic key positions which serve as a powerful weapon for influencing the peasantry, did the bolsheviks advance the task of establishing a firm alliance between the proletariat and the middle peasantry. Comrade Dorf, writing in the same "Propagandist," even went so far as to speak of the possibility of neutralising the kulaks (*Grossbauern*) in the proletarian revolution, and the editors of the magazine, after he had corrected his mistake, displayed rotten liberalism towards him by failing to explain in the columns of the magazine how he had corrected it and why they considered the "misunderstanding" closed.

We find similar opportunist mistakes on the question of the allies in the article of the Czechoslovakian, Comrade Kopetsky, quoted above. Justly arguing against the "old Social-democratic ideology" which "regarded the small producers, the peasants, as a single reactionary petty bourgeois class," our author goes to the other extreme and, throwing all the sections of the petty bourgeoisie into one heap, says: "Leninism shattered all of these views and showed that the working class can and must capture these toiling classes as allies in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. . . . Our task consists also in neutralising some sections of the petty bourgeoisie whom it is difficult to capture, for instance the big peasantry, the better off business people (*besser situierte Geschaeftsleute*), and the well-paid intelligentsia, and seeing to it that, if they do not follow us, they should not at least follow the bourgeoisie against us." To Comrade Kopetsky the history of the counter-revolutionary actions and conspiracies of the "big peasantry" and "well-paid intelligentsia" in the U.S.S.R. appears to be completely unknown! In his desire to embrace the unembraceable he goes to the point of completely distorting our fundamental slogan, that of the capture of the majority of the working class, erasing every distinction between the working class and the other toiling classes: "The task of the capture of the majority of the working class must be understood by us in the entire breadth of the process, bringing into motion all the toiling classes."

In conclusion we must say that the task of winning allies among the petty bourgeois masses of the town and village is one of the most important tasks advanced by Leninism in the struggle against the Second International. But precisely in order that the proletariat should be able to realise this task it is necessary, to use Lenin's phrase, to make a "precise analysis of the different interests, different classes, which agree upon certain, definite, limited general tasks." Otherwise we will dissolve the proletariat in the petty

bourgeois "middle" mass, disarm it in the struggle against the kulaks and fail to attract on its side its truly natural allies, the city and village poor.

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The incorrect estimation of fascism is closely connected in some cases with this lack of clarity on the question of our attitude towards the petty bourgeoisie. It has already been pointed out at the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. that the assertion to the effect that fascism represents the "opposite side" of the revolutionary process, that only revolutionisation drives the petty bourgeoisie into the embraces of fascism, inasmuch as the latter comes out with an anti-capitalist demagogy, that to the petty bourgeoisie fascism is only a little step in the transition towards communism, is entirely incorrect. And Comrade Thaelmann in his article pointed out that the German Communist Party, prior to and during the XIth Plenum, committed a theoretical blunder on this question by giving the fascist movement a narrow, mechanistic appraisal. We shall note here only the connection between this mistaken and inadequate class analysis of the different sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

The processes developing among the petty bourgeoisie at present are far more complex than appears to the comrades who regard the fascist movement as an "antithesis of the revolutionary upsurge." Firstly, a section of the petty bourgeoisie accept the fascist demagogy only partly because the fascists promise to save them from ruin; they follow the fascists partly because they fear the prospect of the proletarian revolution, so that among this section of the petty bourgeoisie the elements of revolutionary sentiments interweave with elements of counter-revolutionary sentiments. In this is expressed their petty-bourgeois social nature. But if this section of the petty bourgeoisie can and must be neutralised by us to some extent, and to some extent won over, especially when they become convinced of our power, when we capture the decisive forces of the proletariat from the Social-democracy, another section of the petty bourgeoisie will remain fascist to the end. This section of the petty bourgeoisie which follows the fascists is thoroughly counter-revolutionary owing to its social position and a bitter struggle must be waged against it.

Owing to the lack of clarity on this question our German comrades during the XIth Plenum prematurely decided that they have already succeeded in arresting the advance of fascism. But even after the Hamburg elections which revealed that these expectations were not justified, our German Party press still displayed confusion in

the estimation of fascism. Fascism was sometimes interpreted too broadly. It was sometimes given the meaning of the modern dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in general. But more important than these mistakes were those arising out of the theories, overthrown by the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., that fascism is the "opposite side" of the revolutionary process, which were reiterated in the "Propagandist" after the XIth Plenum as well, and were finally discarded only after Comrade Thaelmann's article and the action taken by the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany in regard to the "Propagandist." Although these mistakes have already been liquidated it is worth while mentioning one particularly striking mistake in order to show how timely Comrade Thaelmann's article was. The renowned Comrade A.E. wrote in the "Propagandist," No. 4, 1931, in the article entitled "Scheringer," as follows: "Scheringer's explanation in its most important part says that national-Socialism and its leaders have rejected Socialism and sanctified private property . . . that thanks to it and the betrayal of the cause of the people by the national-Socialists their reactionary character came out into the open. This is merely stating the historical truth (!)" Thus, Comrade A.E.'s "historical truth" states that there had been a time when the fascists were Socialists and friends of the people.

Summing up the question of fascism we must say that the struggle against fascism is more difficult than appeared to some comrades because fascism has a fairly solid social base (the well-to-do sections of the petty bourgeoisie of the town and the village). The conclusion to be drawn from it is that the struggle against fascism must be strengthened by all means. But from the difficulty of the struggle against fascism it does not follow that the establishment of a full and open fascist dictatorship prior to the victory of the proletarian revolution is something fatal, inevitable, since the proletariat is able to resist the fascists, to wrest from them considerable sections of the petty bourgeoisie, greatly to weaken fascism even before the victory of the proletarian revolution. Nor does it follow that we must direct the main fire not against the Social-democracy but against the fascists: precisely with the capture of the majority of the working class from the Social-democracy will our prestige in the eyes of the masses of the petty bourgeoisie grow to such a point that we will succeed in breaking them away from fascism.

We shall now pass over to the twin-brother of fascism, *Social-fascism*.

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The XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. clearly stated that the Social-democracy represents the main

social bulwark of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and our principal enemy within the ranks of the working class, and that we must accordingly direct our main fire against it in order to capture the majority of the working class. Some parties, as for instance, our German and Austrian Parties, took this decision of the XIth Plenum seriously and started an energetic and successful struggle against the Social-democracy. However, some of our other Parties and also some comrades in the German Party are conducting this struggle, especially in the ideological field, with insufficient energy and consistency.

The Social-democracy now resorts to "left" manoeuvres. We refer to the demagogic slogans of "State capitalism," of the "Control over the banks," "Nationalisation," "Monopoly of Foreign Trade," etc., these left manoeuvres of the Labour Party, the British Independent Labour Party, the German "left" Social-fascists, the Austrian Social-fascists, etc., are exposed and criticised by our Parties all too insufficiently. We have already indicated this in the pages of our magazine and shall still have to revert to it. Therefore, we shall not deal at length here with the question of "State capitalism." We shall only note the flagrantly opportunist mistake in our Czecho-Slovakian press in connection with this question. The Social-democratic talk of "State capitalism" contains double deceit. Firstly, the lie that the bourgeoisie and its Social-democratic agency are really anxious to introduce State capitalism as a way out of the crisis, secondly, the lie that State capitalism without a revolution can be a step towards Socialism. Now then, our Party's central organ in Czecho-Slovakia "Rudé Pravo," instead of exposing this double deceit, accepts the first assertion of the Social-fascists at its face value, taking their bait. "Rudé Pravo" wrote: "Owing to the intensified capitalist contradictions, owing to the possibility of the outbreak of an imperialist war, the bourgeoisie, faced with the 'necessity' of effecting a most drastic reduction in wages and reducing the masses to misery, are in need of consolidating their economy in the hands of the State apparatus . . . That is why they now proclaim the idea of State capitalism." In connection with the Social-democratic bill providing for control over the cartels, "Rudé Pravo" wrote: "This law lays the further foundation for the development of State capitalism." In reference to the new year statement of the Foreign Minister Benes, "Rudé Pravo" wrote: "Doctor Benes is outspoken this time . . . At the beginning of his speech he admits at least that State capitalism is and remains capitalism and is not Socialism as the Social-democrats would have the workers believe."

Finally, in still another article "Rudé Pravo" wrote: "Development thus undoubtedly follows the line of the growth of State capitalism. State capitalism is already in existence though not all the capitalist enterprises are controlled by it." All of these statements show that "Rudé Pravo" partially capitulated on this question of State capitalism before the Social-fascist demagoguery.

Another favourite manoeuvre of the Socialist democracy consists in that in each country they attempt to divert the attention of the proletariat from the internal enemy, from its own bourgeoisie, against the foreign enemy, the bourgeoisie of the other countries, so as to paralyse the will-power of the proletariat and its readiness to conduct a revolutionary struggle against its own bourgeoisie. This manoeuvre which was made the basis of the Social-democratic treacherous policy of "Burgfrieden" (civil peace) in the name of the "defence of the fatherland," against a foreign attack during the imperialist war is still ardently employed by the Social-democracy. The German Social-democracy for instance, proves to the German proletariat that it must agree to the wage cuts and the other sacrifices since the German capitalist economy has been oppressed by reparation payments and is incapable of competing with its rivals. The British Labour Party maintains that the British bankers wanted to take a series of measures to prevent the credit crisis, but the evil French and American bankers prevented this by making the reduction of its social insurance and wage cuts a condition of financial support of England. Thus the Labour Party seeks to make the workers believe that the responsibility for England's foreign situation rests not upon the British bourgeoisie, and that MacDonald's crime consisted precisely in that he capitulated to the "heartless" foreign capitalists.

Our Parties do not conduct a sufficiently consistent and energetic struggle against this manoeuvre of the Social-fascists.

The struggle is conducted very poorly particularly against the "left" Social-fascists. Both at the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and at the preceding plenums and congresses of the Comintern it was repeatedly emphasised that the "left" Social-fascists represent a particularly dangerous variety of Social-fascism, that they pursue the very same counter-revolutionary objects as the right Social-fascists but in addition fulfil the special social order of the bourgeoisie and of Social-fascism, that of keeping the revolutionising workers from leaving the camp of the Social-democracy and joining the camp of Communism, by the use of "left" demagogic phrases. Despite this perfectly clear and well-known policy of the Comintern, many comrades in our different

Parties weaken the blow against the "left" Social-fascists, describing them as some sort of a buffer dividing the Social-democracy from Communism and fluctuating between these two poles. This marks a virtual capitulation before the "left" Social-fascist phrases.

Our Swiss comrades allowed the "left" group of Social-fascists headed by Nicholas, in the French part of Switzerland, to take up the initiative of a specious "defence" of the U.S.S.R. when joining the Swiss Friends of the Soviet Union."

Our British comrades during the election campaign did not conduct a struggle against the "left" Independents and did not expose the true meaning of the demagogic "left" manoeuvres of the Labourites and Independents. Our British comrades agreed to MacDonald's demand that Comrade Hannington should not participate in the unemployed delegation which went to Parliament, and agreed with the "left" Labourites that Maxton should go. Our comrades held joint meetings with Maxton's "left" Social-fascist group. In London, Brown, the Labour M.P., during the first election period defended our election platform at a meeting for demagogic considerations. Strachey contested the elections as an independent candidate of the Labour Party as well as a Communist candidate. Maxton, the leader of the "left" Independents, did not criticise our programme and even supported it in Glasgow. And in all of these cases our comrades did not attempt to expose these demagogues who changed their colours for the moment in order to deceive and catch the votes of the radicalised workers. Our comrades did not even attempt to expose them by the demand that they should publicly condemn all the crimes committed against the working class by the Labour Party.

But it is even more surprising that even the best of our Western press sometimes gave entirely confusing and incorrect characterisations of the "left" Social-fascists which were subsequently however criticised by the respective Party bodies. On October 16th the *Rote Fahne* said about the "left" Social-fascists that it is our object to "expose the entire lack of principle and all these fluctuations of the centrist leaders between the class enemies." *Der Kämpfer* of October 6th, 1931, wrote in the same sense that the formation of the Party of Rosenfeldt and Seidewitz represented an attempt to unite the different fragments of the Social-democracy around an "unprincipled platform" and thus "create a centrist bog between the C.P. and S.P.D." We meet with a similarly incorrect estimation of the "left" Social-fascists in the columns of "Die Internationale" which wrote in

No. 5: "Their theory differs therefore from the official theory of reformism only by its still greater inconsistency, by an even sharper contradiction between theory and practice." Finally, in No. 9 of "Die Internationale" in an article dealing with the British Independent Labour Party and the Polish Bund we read: "It must be said that in the speeches and resolutions of these "lefts" there is something true, there is something which appears useful for the exposure of the diplomacy and of the deceit of the overwhelming majority of the Vienna Congress." The impression was created that the "left" Social-fascists speak and write in order to expose the diplomacy of the Social-democracy and not in order to cover it up further by their "left" phrases.

We have already stated that the C.P. of Germany started a struggle against this opportunist estimation of the "left" Social-fascism. At the beginning of January *Rote Fahne* published an article entitled "Comrade Stalin's Letter and the C.P. of Germany" in the name of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, which, in connection with the criticism of the relics of Luxemburgism subjected to sharp criticism the view that the "left" Social-democrats fluctuate between Social-fascism and Marxism-Leninism, which showed that this is the "left wing of the bourgeoisie," that this "left" variety of Social-fascism as a consistent development of centrism represents the most dangerous enemy of the working class." (It would have been better to put it more fully: "The further development of centrism towards the counter-revolution" which removes centrism as such, for at present when the front has been sharply defined, there is no more room for centrism.)

In its issue of January 10th the *Rote Fahne* published a resolution of the Berlin District Party Committee "on the theoretical and practical tasks of the Party organisations," giving a detailed and correct characterisation of the "left" agency of the S.P.D. of Germany," against which "must be directed the main fire of our Party" because these "left" agents of the bourgeoisie are "the most dangerous representatives of the Social-fascist policy."

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One of the main defects of our Parties, revealing with special force the insufficient assimilation of the Leninist, bolshevist tactics and strikingly manifesting the relics of the Social-democracy (and in some cases, of anarcho-syndicalism) consists of an inability to get in touch with the broadest masses.

The main cause of the isolation of our Parties from the great masses lies in the display of entirely inadequate steadfastness in the consolida-

tion of the positions in the factories, in the neglect of the organisation and activation of the industrial cells, and in the failure to organise and lead the movement for the partial demands of the workers. In connection with this question as well it would be highly useful for our Parties to study the experience and the history of the Bolshevik Party. From this history they would learn that from the very first moment of the rise of the great spontaneous strike movement in Tsarist Russia, Lenin in the latter half of the 90's and at the beginning of the twentieth century, while waging a merciless struggle against "economism," "trade unionism," and "worship of spontaneity," at the same time persistently urged upon the revolutionary Social-democrats the need for most carefully watching even the least manifestation of discontent in the factories and making use of every concrete opportunity for raising and formulating partial demands, together with the workers, and in their name, and in this way, developing a mass movement. It is not an accident that one of Lenin's first pamphlets was devoted to the apparently small question of "fines" for it was precisely these fines which frequently caused unrest and strikes in the Russian factories during the 90's.

The Social-democracy is at present everywhere opposing the struggle of the proletariat for partial demands, and where it fails to interfere with the struggle it usually takes up the leadership in order to betray it, precisely in order to divert the proletariat from the struggle for partial demands which under the conditions of the crisis of capitalism, and of the unprecedentedly great economic crisis, easily develops into a revolutionary struggle, Social-democracy engages the attention of the workers by talk of "peaceful evolution into Socialism," "State capitalism growing over into Socialism," etc. Precisely in order to divert the attention of the workers from the struggle for partial demands, the Social-democracy and the German reformist trade unions have lately advanced the demagogic slogan of the "general strike," maintaining that under the conditions of the crisis partial strikes cannot do any good to the workers, that under the conditions of the crisis the only means of struggle can be the general strike but that "it is—alas—impossible owing to the split in the Labour Movement."

It is perfectly clear and obvious that the Communist Party must oppose its revolutionary tactics to these rotten and slimy manoeuvres of the Social-democracy, leading the workers' struggle for partial demands, and co-ordinating this struggle with our political demands and with the ultimate goal, the overthrow of the entire capitalist system, and raising this struggle to the

higher degree of a mass political strike. This was discussed both at the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and at the previous plenums. Nevertheless, we still sometimes meet with such facts as our Party organisations and individual Party members assuming a negative "left" attitude towards the struggle for partial demands, an attitude covering up passivity and opportunism in practice.

In Australia one of our comrades in an article dealing with the decision of the Australian Government to annul its debts, declared that the question of the annulment of debts (a partial demand) does not interest us, that this is the business of the bourgeoisie. In Germany too, the redoubtable Comrade A.E. whom we have already repeatedly quoted, advanced in the "Propagandist" No. 5 such a "left" opportunist thesis as: "The proletariat fights and will fight not for the preservation of the existing wage level but against the capitalist system as such." This contrasting of the struggle for partial demands with the struggle for the ultimate aim is anti-Leninist, opportunist, and plays into the hands of the Social-fascists and of their master, the bourgeoisie. The same "left" opportunist mistake was committed by Comrade R.G. who wrote in the "Propagandist" No. 11, and against the resolution of the Politbureau of the German Communist Party, after its adoption: "To send the workers to a purely 'economic' struggle is to disarm them beforehand against a superior enemy; victory in a strike will now be possible only when the preparation for the strike and its leadership become the cause of the entire toiling people, that is, become a political cause."

A similar "left" opportunist position was adopted on this question by Comrade David who in one of his articles advanced the entirely incorrect thesis that before the war every economic strike had a defensive character, that on the contrary, under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism every economic strike is an offensive strike, and is in itself directed against the capitalist system as a whole. Here Comrade David quite obviously confused two different things; the character of the different strikes and other actions prior to and after the imperialist war, with the character of the entire task of the epoch during these two periods. But we meet right opportunist mistakes even more frequently than "left" mistakes in our red trade union movement. This applies also to the red trade union movement of Germany.

The indignation caused by Brüning's December emergency decree aroused in Germany in January, 1931, a spontaneous movement against wage reductions. In many factories one day

protest strikes took place. The movement affected new sections of railway workers, reformist workers, women. However, in the biggest factories no strikes occurred. Already at the beginning of this movement one of the prominent leaders of the German red trade union movement, Comrade Dalem, in an article published in the *Rote Fahne* on January 10th, correctly explained what hampers the development of the movement. In spite of the unquestionable objective difficulties, he said, the workers are convinced that without a struggle they will not be able to protect their existence, and the discussion showed that the workers in the factories are prepared to fight if they are supported by the other factories. Nevertheless, they very frequently hesitate and upon adopting a decision to strike they do not go on strike.

What is the cause of these hesitations?

"On the one hand," says Comrade Dalem, "the demagogy of the Social-fascists and of the trade union reformists which confuses the workers, and which does not meet with a sufficient exposure on our part, and on the other hand the inability displayed by our red trade union opposition to lead the movement and inspire the masses with confidence in their leadership"; "Our opposition work among the masses organised in reformist trade unions is still insufficient," we "still fail to conduct concrete work in the factories with a view to the special conditions prevailing in each particular factory," "in a number of cases it has been revealed that our functionaries and factory committees opportunistically evaded the struggle (*zurückweichen*) during decisive situations or took the bait of the above-mentioned reformist manoeuvres (the 'general strike slogan)."

As a result of this weakness of our trade union work the strike movement did not assume extensive proportions and when this was revealed, opportunist theories began to be advanced by our trade unionists in explanation of this failure. In a number of resolutions adopted on this question (for instance in the resolution of the red union of metal workers), in Comrade Schubert's article in *Hamburger Volkszeitung* and in Comrade Zefko's article in the *Ruhr Echo*, these failures were explained by the fact that we had "overdone the politics" (in reality just the opposite was true.—Ed.). These resolutions and articles maintained that it was wrong to connect up the economic demands with political slogans, that this closed the access to the movement for the Communists, that the political demands should be advanced after the strike for partial demands is successfully carried out.

All this is the purest kind of "economism." All this resembles the "theory of stages" of the

Russian "economists," like two peas, against which the Bolsheviks during the "Iskra" period had so furiously struggled. All this fails to and cannot reflect the sentiments of the great masses in Germany at the present time. This is shown, by the way, by some resolutions adopted in our lower Party cells which point out that the failure of the movement was due not to the sentiment of the masses but to our poor leadership. A correct estimation of this retarded movement was given also by Comrade Dalem on January 19th in his report at the conference of officials of the red trade union opposition and of the red trade unions in Berlin.

Now the Party must speak its mind and we do not doubt that this will be done with a sufficient impressiveness!

* * * *

The united front tactic and its co-ordination with the "class against class" slogan. In the correct application of the united front policy some of our Parties, particularly the German Communist Party, have made considerable progress. We might point out for instance the correct application of the united front policy in Oddalen, where for a few days, we led the reformist workers and kept in contact with the great masses, or in Braunschweig where we succeeded in carrying the Social-democratic workers in a strike led by us.

But just because the workers now display a strong interest in the united front, some organisations of our Parties, and in some places the Parties themselves fail to adhere to the attitude of the united front from below, of the united front based upon the platform of the class struggle, but slide down to the opportunist position of the united front with the Social-democracy. In Wurtemberg for instance, the Social-democratic and the Communist organisations signed a "Burgfrieden" (civil peace) in a certain little town in preparation for the communal elections and kept it up for six weeks. Similarly in Stuttgart a "Burgfrieden" was also signed before the municipal elections. Comrade Thaelmann has already cited similar examples in his article and subjected them to sharp criticism, and our Party leadership in Stuttgart had to systematically interfere in order to correct these opportunist mistakes.

While in Germany such opportunist mistakes in the application of the united front policy were committed only in individual local organisations (Wurtemberg, Stuttgart, Ruhr) and were quickly corrected by the Party, in France such an opportunist mistake was made by our theoretical organ *Cahiers du Bolchévisme*, which published an article drawing a distinction between good Socialist locals in which there is an opposition to

the leaders, and bad Socialist locals in which no such opposition exists. With regard to the first, "good" Socialist locals, the article suggested the following election tactics: Our Communist organisations should withdraw their candidates even before the first ballot in favour of the most acceptable candidate of the "good" Socialist local.

The broad opportunist interpretation of the united front policy was expressed also in the fact that an editorial article in *Cahiers du Bolchévisme*, No. 9, substituted the slogan of the struggle against the Social-fascist leaders for the slogan of the struggle against Social-fascism as the main social bulwark of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The author of this article cannot understand that if the main social bulwark of the bourgeoisie were only the "leaders" of the Social-democracy it would be very easy to deal with the Social-democracy. Yet it is known that precisely in France the influence of the Socialists during the last two or three years, has not been weakened but strengthened at the expense of the influence of our Party.

The slogan of "class against class" was not in the least responsible for this temporary weakening of our French Communist Party and strengthening of the Social-fascists at its expense. On the contrary, at first when our French Communist Party first began to apply the "class against class" slogan it succeeded in striking a number of very painful blows at the French Social-fascists. But when the group spirit was still strong in the leadership of our Party, when the party leadership (Barbé, Celor, Lozeray) became infected with sectarian aloofness from the masses, when, in consequence, it committed a series of most flagrant "left" and right opportunist mistakes, when, sabotaging the line of the Comintern it refused to pursue the united front policy (for instance on the question of social insurance), when during this leadership and after its removal certain Party organisations began to apply this policy in the opportunist manner, ignoring the slogan of "class against class," when they substituted the united front from below by agreements with the "good" Social-fascists, then our French Communist Party weakened its influence over the masses. The liquidation of the cliques, or at least of the principal centre for the spread of the clique spirit, was the first step in the rehabilitation of our French Communist Party.

Our task now consists of pushing this process of rehabilitation further so as to become closely connected with the masses on the one hand, and on the other, start a merciless struggle against the Social-fascists and particularly the "left"

Social-fascists whose representative in the present French conditions is Trotskism, this "advanced detachment of the bourgeois counter-revolution." Trotskism, taking advantage of the specific difficulties of the French Communist Party and of its mistakes, began to creep into its ranks, playing the rôle of *agents provocateurs* in it, seeking to disarm it, to demoralise also the C.G.T.U., propagating the liquidation of the "class against class" slogan, advocating amalgamation with the reformist organisations, striving to paralyse the struggle of the Party for the defence of the U.S.S.R., etc. The appearance in *Cahiers du Bolchévisme* of Comrade Ferrat's article entitled "Let us Eradicate Trotskism" is therefore only to be welcomed. But this is only a good beginning. It must be systematically continued.

* * * *

We have enumerated a series of mistakes, primarily of an ideological character, revealed in connection with the supervision of the fulfilment of the decisions of the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. We repeat what we already stated at the beginning of our article. We are speaking only of mistakes; in this article we did not touch upon the successes of our Parties and their ideological growth, while such successes, such growth can be noted in all of our Parties for the period which has elapsed since the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The ideological mistakes enumerated by us, do not and cannot by any means, serve as a characterisation of our Parties as a whole. But the fact that in our Parties, which in general are healthy, growing and developing, such crude ideological mistakes are possible as are being committed by our writers especially in the Party press, is sufficiently important to sound the alarm and the need for raising the watchfulness of our Party leadership on the ideological front to a higher degree.

To what do the mistakes enumerated above testify? They testify to the fact that our Parties are still insufficiently armed with Leninism, have not yet sufficiently assimilated the rich revolutionary experience of the Russian Bolshevik Party, have not yet sufficiently assimilated the policy and strategy of Lenin, have not assimilated the Leninist dialectical approach to political problems in order to solve the tremendous and difficult tasks which now confront our Parties in the capitalist countries which are in addition subjected at present to strong pressure from our class enemies, especially from the Social-fascists of all shades

and hues. In the C.P.S.U. the basic cadres of Party workers, particularly the Party writers, in solving this or that political question, check up first of all whether anything has been said by Lenin and Stalin, on this question, and if so, just what, and in which connection? In the C.P.S.U. the Party cadres in the process of their work study Marx, Lenin, Stalin, study the fundamentals of Marxism, which have been further developed and splendidly applied by Lenin in accord with the entire epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, study the fundamentals of Leninism which have been masterfully expanded and splendidly applied under the modern conditions of the world revolutionary movement by Comrade Stalin. In our other Parties this necessary and obligatory method of political education and political work is being applied all too insufficiently, too weakly. It is not by accident that the two German comrades whom we quoted so extensively in this article and who have been quite justly removed from responsible work for their numerous opportunist errors in their profuse writings, did not consider it necessary in treating this or that topic to carefully study Lenin and Stalin in this connection. They formally referred to Lenin, but in reality they interpreted his views very often in the spirit of the mistaken views of Rosa Luxemburg, and, what is much worse, even in the spirit of Brandler, sometimes sliding down to centrism or the present "left" Social-democracy. What is hidden behind this fact? *An open or covert desire to evade the Leninist solution of the question, an open or covert desire to follow an independent road which is nothing but the road of capitulation before the Social-democracy.*

This opportunist method must be completely repudiated.

The ideology of the Comintern is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and none other. Leninism is the only Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution; no other Marxism except Leninism exists or can exist in the present epoch, and since Lenin's death the best interpreter of Lenin and the best successor of his work, who best applies his principles in the modern conditions is Comrade Stalin. He who does not carefully study everything said and written by Comrade Stalin, everything said and written by Comrade Lenin, cannot but deviate from the correct Marxian road, cannot but deviate from the general line of the Comintern.

THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

AT a special session of the Central Committee of the British Communist Party the whole work of the Party was subjected to a serious and searching examination in the spirit of vigorous self-criticism. This self-criticism was necessary because the tremendous tasks which face the British Communists cannot be fulfilled, unless the Party makes a really decisive turn to mass-work and develops such methods in its activities that will bridge the gulf of isolation dividing it from the broad masses of the British workers.

The British capitalists are attacking along the whole front. The wage-cutting offensive is aimed at the workers in all branches of industry. The dockers and seamen, the textile and transport workers are already under fire; while wage-cutting measures are being prepared against the miners and metal workers and those employed in other branches of industry. The number of unemployed has increased by nearly 200,000 during the last month; the bosses are continually striking off fresh hundreds of thousands from the list of those entitled to benefit by the operation of the Means Test. The fall of the pound has brought about a rise in prices, and at the same time the British imperialists have extended the general attack on the working class standard of living by the introduction of tariffs, which must result in a tremendous increase in the food prices. Hundreds of revolutionary workers are being thrown into prison by the five thousand pounds a year British judges; Communists are being condemned to years of penal servitude for their solidarity with the Invergordon sailors' strike. What these sentences mean, can be seen by the desperate revolt which the Dartmoor prisoners have made against a barbarian penal system.

Hand-in-hand with the offensive against the British workers, the British imperialists are sharpening their imperialist policy. With the aid of tariffs they are attacking their imperialist rivals. With their army and navy they are atrociously and brutally repressing the Indian workers and peasants. Under cover of empty "protests" (?) they are backing up the Japanese imperialists in their war against the Chinese people, and working with feverish energy to transform this war into a war against the Soviet Union.

The English social-fascists of all shades are supporting the policy of their bourgeoisie. The trade union bureaucrats openly try to thwart the workers in their every struggle; witness Bevin and the dockers, or the textile workers in Burnley.

Where they cannot stop them from fighting, they place themselves, at their head, in the struggle, with a view to betraying it. The leaders of the Labour Party are trying to shatter the broad unemployment movement, under the leadership of revolutionary unemployed organisations, by forming a rival organisation to fight them. In the question of tariffs, the suppression of the Indian people, and the support given by the British Government to Japanese imperialism, the English social-fascists employ cheap deprecatory phrases to conceal the general offensive of the British bourgeoisie and do their best to hinder the advance of the powerful class-front of the British working class.

The radicalisation of the broad masses of English workers grows and develops apace. This fact is shown by the great wave of strikes which took place during last year also continuing in the past few months. It is further shown by the mighty demonstrations, the severe clashes between demonstrating workers and police, and further by the strike of the sailors of the Atlantic Fleet. Among broad sections of the English working class the confidence once placed in the English social-fascists has been deeply shaken. But despite the most favourable circumstances for revolutionary work the British Communist Party has not yet understood how to transform the workers' loss of confidence in the social-fascists, into a confidence in the correctness of the Communist policy, and of the guidance of the Communist Party in the struggle of the workers. This fact is shown not only by the parliamentary elections where, despite the fact that for two whole years the Labour Party's policy had been openly hostile to the workers, the English social-fascists succeeded by the aid of "left-wing" manoeuvres, in winning over decisive masses of the English workers to support their candidates; but first and foremost by the fact that most of the strikes have occurred without preparation, participation or guidance by the Communists, that the Communists have up till now, achieved no serious work in the factories and that the British Communists have not as yet learned how to build up a really broad revolutionary trade union opposition.

The resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of England correctly characterised the position of the English Communist Party, in declaring that the British Communists have not yet learned how to pursue a policy which will systematically develop the

awakening class-consciousness of broad masses of the English workers, organise and direct broad sections of the workers for the fight against the capitalist offensive, and inseparably link the Communist vanguard with ever-growing masses of the British workers.

The Communist Party of Great Britain has not yet understood how to develop such methods of work as will enable it to really take root in the enterprises, and among the broad masses within the reformist trade unions, and systematically unmask and thwart, in all its work, the policy of the English social-fascists in general and of the Independent Labour Party in particular. Only by means of day-to-day work in the enterprises, and trade unions, will the Communists be enabled to win real confidence among the workers, as leaders of the working class, and to undermine the influence of the reformists. Only when the Communists undertake this everyday work in the enterprises and trade unions; when they get to know the conditions of life and struggle under which the workers live; when they understand how to give correct guidance in every question, great or small which concerns the workers; only then, and not till then, will the Communists be able to organise the workers' mighty struggle of resistance against the capitalists to an ever-increasing extent, and extirpate the reformist influence from the working class camp.

The decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of England rightly emphasised the need for a complete change in the policy of the Minority Movement. The Minority Movement is a small, self-absorbed organisation of leaders who have nothing to do with the real struggle of the workers, and who, instead of going to the workers, working among them and fighting against the reformist leaders in the trade unions, simply approach the workers with the invitation to take part in a highly "elaborate" organisational structure. At the session of the English Central Committee all tendencies towards liquidating the Minority Movement were rightly rejected. It is not a question of liquidating the Minority Movement, but of ruthlessly sweeping away all sectarian methods which prevent this Minority Movement from developing a really broad trade union opposition in the reformist trade unions and in the factories. The decisions of the Central Committee are absolutely correct in declaring that, without a concentration of the work in the trade unions, the Communist Party of England cannot wage a successful struggle against the influence of the reformists, that without such work it is impossible to sys-

tematically undermine the influence of the reformists and that without such serious work it is impossible for the Communist Party to develop into a genuine revolutionary mass-party.

Correct mass-work is impossible if the Party does not understand how to make good what is wrong in its press, in its day-to-day propaganda and agitation, and in its entire activities by actual exposure of the policy of the English social-fascists, above all of that especially dangerous enemy, the Independent Labour Party. The lessons of the past month, show that the Party has not only absolutely failed to sufficiently show up before the workers the various manoeuvres and proposals which the reformists have made, but also that within the Party there were often numerous vacillations, dangerous deviations and mistakes in the struggle against the I.L.P. Without mass-work there can be no successful struggle against the policy of social-fascism, but without a struggle against social-fascism, especially against the dangerous "left" manoeuvring of the I.L.P., there can be no revolutionary mass-work.

In this situation, when the attack of the English imperialists on the British proletariat is being extended, when the Indian people are being mercilessly oppressed, when Japan's campaign against the Chinese people is being cynically supported and an intervention against the Soviet Union is being deliberately prepared, the English Communists bear a tremendous responsibility as revolutionaries. In such a situation it is less than ever a question of mobilising hundreds and thousands. It is a question of mobilising hundreds of thousands, of millions of English workers against the policy of English imperialism. Less than ever can it suffice now to assume the title of the vanguard of the proletariat. It is necessary to act as such, and to stir the broad masses into movement. It is necessary for the British Communists to show up the whole policy of the British imperialists and their social-fascist agents. It is necessary to awaken the slumbering hatred of the proletarian masses and to mobilise it against the instigators of imperialist war. It is necessary to make it plain to the masses that those who are cutting their wages, leaving them to starve without relief, and plunging the country deeper and deeper into crisis and into misery, are the same people who are turning the guns upon Indian workers and peasants and who stand behind the Japanese militarists, who are massacring thousands of workers, women and children in Shanghai and Manchuria. Almost every day the British imperialists are sending arms, munitions and ships to China. The English general Fleming said, "Shoot them down," if the Chinese soldiers did not let themselves be cut to pieces, without

resistance, by the Japanese, who are using the International Settlement as the base for their attacks.

The *Manchester Guardian* itself was compelled to expose the true policy of the British Government:

"It must be admitted that the League of Nations is doing everything in its power to help the Japanese to break treaties—that *the British Government is doing all in its power to help Japan to violate the Nine-Power Pact in a respectable way.*"

What is the attitude of the English social-fascists towards the policy of the British Government? Lansbury declared in the House of Commons:

"Is there no means by which the League of Nations or the signatories to the Nine-Power Pact can convince the Japanese *that they should employ another part of China in order to attack the Chinese?*"

The British Government is actively supporting the massacres perpetrated by the Japanese imperialists on the masses of the Chinese people. The English social fascists, however, simply declare: We don't object, but the Japanese must take care that no harm comes to the property of English capitalists in China. They must slaughter the Chinese workers, women and children so neatly with their bombs, their artillery and their machine-guns that, e.g., the Shanghai-Hong-Kong Bank on the Bund in Shanghai shall sustain no damage.

The British imperialists and their social-fascist agents, under the mask of empty protest, are actively supporting the war which the Japanese imperialists are waging against the Chinese people. This fact must be made plain to every worker. The British imperialists are feeling their way; they want to see how they can go on promoting the development of this war which is to lead to an intervention against the Soviet Union. With the aid of the English social-fascists

they are trying to get the English workers accustomed to the thunder of the guns in the "far distance."

Must not every Communist now understand that danger is facing the working class of the entire world, that the guns, the aeroplanes, the bands of Russian White Guardists and the imperialist armies may advance to-morrow against the Soviet Union? Must not every British Communist understand that, if we have ever taken the watchword of defending the Chinese people and the Soviet Union seriously, the time has come now to mobilise the workers, factory by factory, pit by pit, and house by house, against the imperialist war? Must not every Communist understand that the time has come to mobilise the railwaymen, the dockers and the seamen against the sending of troops and munitions? Must not the broad masses of the workers be put on their guard against the secret transport of munitions? Must not Communists evoke an even mightier wave of protest, of demonstrations, of preparedness on the part of the masses to fight the imperialist war, the war against the Chinese people, the menace of war against the Soviet Union, with every means in their power? Must not millions of leaflets be distributed among the proletarian masses, exposing the horrors of imperialist war and thoroughly showing up the plots of the imperialists and their social-fascist agents? Must not the Communist press now become the organiser of the struggle against the danger of war, which wakens, directs and guides the fighting spirit in hundreds of thousands of workers?

These are great and difficult tasks! The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain has subjected its work to a correct self-criticism. Mobilisation against the imperialist war—that is now the chief task with which the Communist Party of Great Britain is faced, that is the task for revolutionaries at a time when the guns have begun to thunder, and the aeroplanes destroy whole cities.

GERHARD.

British readers write for

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL FASCISM

By M.M.

THE "Class against Class" policy which has been the main line of the British Communist Party since 1928 has been accepted and confirmed by the party in several documents, articles and resolutions. On the whole there is no open objection in the ranks of the party to this line.

It cannot be denied that the leadership of the British Communist Party elected at the Leeds Party Conference in 1929 has tried its utmost to put this line into practice. Nevertheless, it must be recognised that in the party's activity among the masses, especially of late, there have been several cases of direct distortion of the "Class against Class" policy. The party leadership itself has made several serious mistakes in contradiction and violation of this line, and of the Bolshevik struggles against all varieties and tendencies of, British social-fascism. Certain of these mistakes are so serious that in order to assure that the line of the Party and the Comintern will be carried out in practice, and in order to educate the party on the basis of an analysis of its mistakes, we must investigate and explain in detail the most important mistakes of this kind made by the *British Party*.

Is the Labour Party a barrier between reaction and revolution? Or is it a composite part of the Reactionary Front?

One would imagine that after so much discussion and explanation in the ranks of the Communist International on the question of social fascism, the chief social support of the bourgeoisie, this question should be clear to every Communist.

In England the reformist assertions that the Labour Party is a barrier between reaction (die-hard Conservatives) and revolution (the Communist Party) are still widely diffused among the working masses. The reformist leaders miss no opportunity of strengthening this illusion in the minds of the broad masses. During the election campaign all this deceit about the buffer rôle of the Labour Party was the main political content of the most important speeches of the present leader of the Labour Party, Henderson. When Snowden during the elections accused the Labour Party of going over to Bolshevism, when it went into opposition, the main form of defence assumed by the "Daily Herald" was to emphasise the rôle of the Labour Party as the barrier between reaction and revolution.

The party, instead of doing its utmost in every possible way to expose the falsity of this argu-

ment, allowed expressions which actually supported the deceit of the "Daily Herald." For instance, we find the following in the open letter of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Great Britain to all members and supporters of the Labour Party (see the "Daily Worker" of November 12th, 1931):

"The National Government has an overwhelming majority; the Labour Party as the Parliamentary 'opposition' *standing between the workers and their masters the capitalists* (our italics—M.M.) is practically destroyed. In other words, the crisis of capitalism has considerable weakened the *buffer between the working class and the capitalists.*"

Opportunist formulations of this kind have been repeated in several other articles in the "Daily Worker." For example, in the "Daily Worker" of October 30th, 1931, we find the declaration of Henderson to the effect that the "Labour Party is the only barrier between reaction and revolution," accompanied by the following conclusion of the writer of the article: "Henderson is right."

We have proof that these mistakes are no accident, and that they are the result of lack of understanding of the rôle of social-fascism, in the fact that one could frequently hear declarations among Party members, especially after the elections, which actually placed the Labour Party in opposition to the united front of the capitalists. Members of the Communist Party frequently talked about three fronts during the elections: the Communist Party, the Conservatives, and the Labour Party members. There were no serious attempts made to explain to the masses all the essence of the deceit of the Labour Party, which took up the position of His Majesty's Opposition only in order to hold back the increasing militancy of the masses and keep them under its influence, at the same time itself remaining a *composite part* of the front of reaction.

It is clear that the bourgeoisie is vitally interested in the English workers continuing to look upon the Labour Party as their own party, which is alleged to fight against the capitalist parties: the Conservatives and Liberals. Their efforts in this direction are one of the reasons for all the noise, made by the entire bourgeois press after the elections, about the parliamentary defeat of the Labour Party. "The Conservatives have beaten the Labour Party," "the Conservatives have actually killed the Labour Party," and so on,

these declarations resounded throughout England. Certain of the Communists, not being clear on the question as to whether the Labour Party is a barrier between reaction and revolution or not, believed all this deceit, and hot on the heels of the bourgeois press, repeated the story of the destruction of the Labourites by the Conservatives.

Elections, in general, are an excellent manoeuvre on the part of the British bourgeoisie to deceive the workers. The Labour Party, thanks to the policy of the Labour Government, has rapidly begun to lose influence among the masses. The bourgeoisie wanted first of all to deceive the masses by an election campaign into believing that its programme of a capitalist way out of the crisis corresponds with the interests of the masses; secondly, to make sure that the tariff policy and other measures for further robbing the toiling masses would be re-examined, which in the existing circumstances would be more conveniently put through by forming a stable conservative majority in Parliament; and thirdly to make use of a split in the Labour Party, and the distribution of parts between MacDonald and Henderson, to thus ensure the further utilisation of the Labour Party in governmental administration; and at the same time give the Labour Party, which had gone into "opposition," the possibility of strengthening its unstable position among the masses.

There can be no suggestion that the British bourgeoisie and one of its parties, the Conservative Party, is interested in destroying the chief social manstay of the bourgeoisie in England. Nothing of the kind.

Not to understand this means not to understand the Bolshevik estimation of the rôle of social-fascism; it amounts to falling into the social fascist position and defending the lying deceit which is being spread about the "barrier-rôle" of the Labour Party.

As a result of the fact that this problem has not been understood among the rank and file of the British Communist Party, there have arisen confused and dangerous formulations about the elections "breaking down the theoretical bases of Labourism." And this in spite of the fact that the theoretical bases of all kinds of social-fascism were long ago "broken down" by the theory of Marxism and Leninism. But does this mean that the influence of Labourism has been undermined among the masses? What have the British elections to do with this?

2.—THE THEORY OF THE LESSER EVIL.

We find, in close connection with several mistakes on the question of the Labour Party as a composite part of the reactionary front, and its

rôle in the work of building up a Fascist State, the fact that the party made no attempt to fight against the theory of the "lesser evil" in connection with concrete circumstances in England. The struggle against the theory of the lesser evil cannot be reduced to a repetition of quotations from decisions of the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the need for revealing this main argument of the reformists, by means of which they try to justify all their treachery. And yet in actual fact the party (including the leadership) in its fight against the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party and in unmasking the reformist theories of the "lesser evil" actually went no further than a general repetition of quotations from the decisions of the Eleventh E.C.C.I. Plenum.

Immediately after the Eleventh Plenum the party should have made a study of the specific "English" arguments on the reformist theory of the "lesser evil" and explained them to the masses. The actual experience of two "Labour" Governments, of the activities of the leaders of the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party and the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, give the party several examples, facts and arguments with which to reveal the deception of the reformists before the masses with success. The party has not unmasked the English form of the "theory of the lesser evil" either systematically or on a broad scale. For instance: the leading motive of all the agitation of the Labour Party is that a government of the Labour Party plus the Liberals is better than a government of Conservatives (this before the formation of the "National Government"); that a Cabinet of Conservatives plus Liberals plus MacDonald is "better" than a government formed entirely of Conservatives (this after the formation of the "National Government"). Again it is sufficient to indicate that the party did not link up the general slogan of the reformists, "Equality of Sacrifice" (used by Henderson and other reformist leaders to explain to the masses the need for cutting down the unemployment dole and the wages of the soldiers, sailors and government employees), with the theory of the "lesser evil"; neither did it unmask this slogan sufficiently in general. The theory of the "lesser evil" is the main argument of the whole policy and practice of the trade union leaders when they make wide use of the method of arbitration and secret negotiations, and persuade the workers, often successfully, not to strike because they have won certain insignificant reductions in the original demands of the owners. This is also the "lesser evil"! In his speech at the Bristol Trade Union Congress,

Henderson in the name of the theory of the "lesser evil" tried to prove to the workers the need for introducing tariffs all round when he said: "I prefer the introduction of all-round tariffs to a cut in the unemployment relief."

Many hundreds of thousands of workers voted at the last elections for the Labour Party, led, for the most part, by the question as to who was the "worst evil." Since the Communist Party put up candidates in only 25 constituencies out of 612, and the masses of workers, in spite of the increased attitude of sympathy towards the Communist Party, did not believe that the Communist Party candidates would be elected, in the majority of cases, they chose between the "two evils": between the Labour Party and the Conservatives, and in the majority of cases they voted for the "lesser evil."

All these specifically English varieties of the theory of the "lesser evil" were not seriously studied by the party or explained to the masses.

Moreover the party made several mistakes in its work, which not only made the fight against these theories more difficult, but actually brought grist to the mill of the reformists.

In their speeches against the Labourites and the Independent Labour Party leaders, the English Communists sometimes used formulations and arguments which directly supported the deceit of the social-fascists based on the aforementioned arguments of the lesser evil. For example, the Communists often declared: The Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party are parties of reform, and the Communist Party is the party of revolution. Thus, for example, immediately after the elections the "Daily Worker" in its issue of November 12th, 1931, characterised the policy of the Labour Party as follows: "continual reforms, continual improvement in the position of the working class, leading up to the peaceful transition to Socialism." It is quite clear that gross opportunist mistakes like this gave the reformists another opportunity of justifying their policy and practice of pacifying the workers, with promises of new reforms.

In this connection it should be mentioned that there is an enormous amount of confusion in the heads of many Communists on the question of the relationship which exists between reforms and revolution; on the question of reforms as a by-product of the revolutionary movement; of the Communist tactic of putting forward partial demands for the purpose of defending the daily demands of the workers and in order to further revolutionise the proletariat; of the social function of reformism in particular.

We find very widespread in the party the party the eclectic opinion that reformism is the

inevitable satellite of "progressive" capitalism, of the first period of capitalist development. The opinion is widespread that capitalism could make concessions, could agree to give reforms, etc., in those days. One of the editors of the organ of the Minority Movement, the "Worker," Comrade Berridge, writes, for instance: "Is the reformist policy, which is the official policy of the trade union and Labour Party leaders, and which was born in the period of capitalist prosperity, still a weapon in the hands of the workers now, in the period of the downfall of capitalism? This is the main question" ("The Worker," January 16th, 1932). According to Comrade Berridge it appears that reformism was a weapon in the hands of the workers in the period of capitalist prosperity and was not always—as the Bolsheviks consider—the influence of the bourgeoisie upon the working class, was not always the policy of the whole *bourgeois strata* inside the ranks of the proletariat—of the aristocracy of labour, bought over by the British bourgeoisie by means of imperialist super-profits, gained as a result of Britain's prolonged position of monopoly on the world market.

It is obvious that it is impossible to launch a determined, acute struggle, to overcome the influence of reformism among the working masses with views of this kind on the question of reformism. For if reformism was the policy of the workers during the period of capitalist prosperity, and if now the "theoretical bases of Labourism are destroyed," then everything will go along all right, and the masses will themselves come to the camp of Communism.

Conclusions of this kind were actually arrived at in the party during the last elections. Among the rank and file of the party membership there existed the opinion that the main characteristic feature of the last elections is the exit of two million electors from the camp of the Labour leaders. In the discussions on this question the most important thing—the 6½ million votes cast for the Labour Party—was hidden behind the other two million. *Yet the revolution in England is impossible without the destruction of the still existing mass influence of Labourism.*

On the question of unmasking the rôle of the Labour Party in the formation of the National Government, both in the "Daily Worker" and in other forms of activity of the party, many cases can be given where the party strengthened the illusions of the workers on the question of the "lesser evil." For instance, on the eve of the elections the "Daily Worker" wrote that the Labour Party, while still in the Government, itself prepared and began to put through nine-tenths of the cuts in the unemployment relief and wages.

Hence the mistaken formula was born, that the "Labour Party is nine-tenths opposition."

Thus we once more helped to spread illusions about the lesser evil. Thus the workers could, and without a doubt did, imagine the position as follows: in the main there are two forces—the Labourites and Conservatives. The Communists cannot be taken into account because they have no representation in parliament, and on the whole are still very weak. Both parties are for cuts in wages and unemployment relief. But the Labour Party people are not so hard on the workers as the Conservatives; they are for cuts (the theory of equality for sacrifice from all sections of the population), but, nevertheless, for smaller cuts. They are therefore the lesser evil..

When after the downfall of the second Labour Government the leadership of the Labour Party split, the "Daily Worker" again unmasked the Labour Party (which had gone into opposition) from the wrong point of view. Our paper again saw only one side of the affair when MacDonald was excluded from the Labour Party and Thomas relieved of his duties as Secretary of the Railwaymen's Union: increased radicalisation, increased indignation on the part of Labour Party supporters at the open betrayal of their leaders. The "Daily Worker" of September 2nd, 1931, wrote as follows: "The removal of Thomas from his position as political secretary of the Railwaymen's Union is an extremely important event in the history of the Labour movement." The other side of this tactic of the reformists: the distribution of parts between MacDonald and Henderson was not consistently revealed by the "Daily Worker."

After the parliamentary victory of the Conservatives, the party took the correct line of showing up the National Government as the Government of Hunger and War and a determined offensive against the working class along the whole front. But even here, in spite of the fact that it correctly emphasised the fact that the Labour Party prepared for the advent to power of the "nationalists," incorrect formulations were made which actually placed the National Government on one side and the Labour Party leaders on the opposite side. For example, one day after the election the "Daily Worker" said that the National Government was "ten times worse than the Labour Government." Our incorrect statements again led the workers to the position of the theory of the "lesser evil."

3.—THE UNITED FRONT TACTIC.

In spite of the numerous decisions of International Congresses and Conferences on the need for adopting the united front tactic *only* from

below, there have been cases in England of attempts to apply this tactic towards the Independent Labour Party at the top, with its leaders. Among attempts of this kind we must include the joint meeting of representatives of the Communist Party, the Independent Labour Party and the revolutionary organisation of the unemployed, which took place on September 23rd, 1931, and which was attended by Comrades Rust, Hannington, Arnot and others, as well as leaders of the Independent Labour Party like Maxton, Fenner Brockway and Kirkwood. In the pamphlet which gives the report of this meeting, "The Workers' United Front and the I.L.P.," the aim of the meeting is formulated thus: "Discussion on the question of how to create a united front of the working class." Of course, the leading comrades of the Communist Party of Great Britain did not aim at creating a united front between Maxton and the Communist Party, but the very fact of the meeting being called, the fact that a discussion took place at the meeting about the formation of a united front with the I.L.P., is the decisive factor in giving an estimate of the meeting itself. For, in the eyes of the masses, this meeting was looked upon as an attempt to "come to an agreement," an attempt to form a united front among the leaders. And this is the main thing in forming an estimate of each tactical step, each manoeuvre taken by the party. True, the representatives of the Communist Party spoke against the I.L.P. leaders at the meeting, they made declarations to the effect that an unbridgeable gulf lies between the I.L.P. and the Communist Party, etc., but all this in no way alters the fact that the masses saw, and still see, in meetings of this kind, an attempt to "come to an agreement" between the two organisations. Thus we have helped to strengthen the illusion that the Independent Labour Party is also a workers' party, which fights against the offensive of the owners.

Even before this meeting there were private meetings between certain Communists in leading positions in the revolutionary organisations of the unemployed and representatives of the I.L.P. Meetings of this kind should be considered a serious political mistake. The party leadership did not evince the essential Bolshevik irreconcilability which it should have done towards the activities of individual party members; and at best it should be blamed for intolerable tardiness as regards correcting these mistakes.

Other mistakes, like that of permitting "left" I.L.P. Members of Parliament like Brown and Strachey to speak side by side with our speakers at Communist meetings, should also be brought

under the same heading of confusion concerning the united front tactic from below and above.

In several locals, conferences on the basis of the united front from below were held, in which representatives of the rank and file organisations of the I.L.P. also took an active part. The latter agreed with all our proposals, slogans, methods of struggle; took part in our demonstrations, meetings, and the struggle against the police. There is no doubt that in the majority of cases these rank and file members of the I.L.P. represent radicalised sections of the workers. But very often our comrades brought about a united front from below in connection with certain concrete slogans of action and let it rest there; quite forgetting that this is not enough. It is most important to get a united front from below, but the task of Communists is to continue, even in cases like this, to unmask the I.L.P., the Labour Party and the General Council, and even to unmask them more determinedly than before. This has not always been done. There have even been cases when our comrades quite consciously decided not to go beyond the limit of the programme of action accepted by the Independent Labour Party members. This is, without doubt, an opportunist mistake which approximates to the viewpoint of the I.L.P. leaders of the need for a "truce" during joint action.

In cases like this the masses are again prevented from seeing the deep difference in principle between the Communist Party and the I.L.P. The workers in the given locality, when no permanent unmasking of the I.L.P. and its leaders takes place, see only the operation of a united front from below; they see that the Communist Party and the I.L.P. are fighting together for the immediate demands of the masses. Thus, by using the united front tactic from below in this way, we get just the opposite results to those which we are seeking to obtain: and we seek to obtain the operation of the united front among the masses in their struggles side by side with the unmasking of the I.L.P. The first must on no account be separated from the second.

4.—IS IT RIGHT TO CONSIDER THE ACTIONS OF THE REFORMIST LEADERS AS "MISTAKES"?

On this question as well, there is some confusion in the ranks of our brother party in Great Britain. Frequently our comrades in trying to reveal the true nature of the leaders of the Labour Party and the I.L.P. refer to this or that statement or action on their part as a mistake. By doing this we objectively strengthen the existing illusions among the masses, that it is not a case of treachery on the part of the leaders, not a case of their putting through their own policy in which

a whole section of the working class, bought over by the bourgeoisie (the aristocracy of labour) are vitally interested. Not that they cannot or will not put through any other policy, but it is simply that they are everlastingly "making mistakes."

For instance, during the election campaign, especially after the resignation of the second "Labour" Government, our party criticised the Labour Party for not fighting, for not calling the masses to action on the streets, in the workshops, etc. In the first leading article of the "Daily Worker" after the elections we find: "Instead of one class replying to the attacks of the other class, the Labour Party leaders have done all they can to prevent the workers from understanding their class tasks and understanding the need for struggling against capitalism" ("Daily Worker," October 29th, 1931).

On the basis of this sort of "unmasking" of Labourism, the workers, especially the supporters of the Labour Party, can and no doubt do get the impression that this is not a question of some sort of line, of systematically defending the capitalist system, and imperialism, as the reformists do who represent the interests of the aristocracy of labour; they get the impression that this is not a question of inevitable treachery on the part of the reformists, but simply a question of their mistakes: "instead of one thing," instead of one tactic, the leaders used some other tactic. When the worst comes to the worst they have simply made a mistake. This is the effect of our mistakes in the work of struggling against the Labour Party among the masses.

We must begin to learn from Lenin how to make each of our speeches and articles thoroughly true both theoretically and in principle. The importance of mistakes of this kind must not be belittled by statements to the effect that they are merely the result of unfortunate wording. It is not merely a question of the "effect." For estimates of this kind concerning the behaviour of the Communist Party does not correspond with our idea of the social basis of the Labour Party (the aristocracy of labour, bought over by imperialist super-profits and certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie in the towns, etc.), or of the organic connection between these sections and the imperialist bourgeoisie and their policy.

For this reason the wording in Comrade Maurice Ferguson's article, for instance (see the "Daily Worker" of November 3rd, 1931), to the effect that the "I.L.P. in Birmingham is a loose political organisation" is quite incorrect. It cannot be said that the I.L.P. is something confused, indefinite, heterogeneous. Nothing of the kind. It is just this apparent, outward, "confusion" and "shapelessness" of the I.L.P. which makes

up the sort of party best suited to safeguard the functions of the I.L.P. in its work of subjecting the proletariat to the influence of the bourgeoisie, and of deceiving the masses by the use of revolutionary phrases, and by its liberal attitude to the "almost Communist" activities inside the I.L.P. itself; it is just this that makes the I.L.P. attractive to the masses who have swung to the left, and keeps the latter from passing forward to the camp of Communism.

The actions of the I.L.P. and the Labour Party must not be called "stupid." This is absolutely incorrect and politically harmful, for declarations of this kind are able to strengthen the illusion which exists among Labour Party supporters that it is enough to correct the "mistakes" of the leaders, to make them "wise," and everything will be all right.

In view of this, the estimate given by Comrade Rust, concerning the article of Brailsford, a "left" leader of the I.L.P., during the course of the meeting mentioned above between representatives of the Communist Party and the I.L.P., is quite wrong. Comrade Rust said: "It is the most stupid, the most misleading article for the working class." The second part of the statement is correct, but the first part is mistaken. Nothing is said or written by the leaders of the I.L.P. out of "stupidity." They do everything in the interests of deceiving the masses. The task of the Communists is not to show up the apparent "stupidities" of the I.L.P. leaders, but to show up their betrayal of the workers, their efforts to prevent the workers from going over to the side of the Communist Party; to prove to the masses that behind every "mistake" or apparent piece of "stupidity" the reformist leaders hide up their general *line* of treachery.

HOW TO UNMASK THE I.L.P. LEADERS.

We frequently find in the documents and articles of the Communist Party of Great Britain quite correct statements to the effect that the I.L.P. is the biggest, most dangerous enemy of the proletariat in the ranks of the Labour movement.

With this Leninist conception as the starting point, the party tries to show up the actions and the real essence of the I.L.P. leaders.

But in the work of unmasking the I.L.P. leaders most serious mistakes have been made by individual comrades and organisations.

Here are a few examples.

In Glasgow, where the indignation of the masses already expresses itself in demonstrations 100,000 strong, which take place under the leadership of the Communist Party, the District Party Committee issued leaflets which were intended to "show up" the "left" I.L.P. leaders, all of whom had met in Glasgow for the purpose

of gaining control of the growing mass movement. The leaflet contains the Communist platform of action ("not a penny off wages, support to the unemployed," etc.) and then a statement to the effect that if the declarations of the "left" I.L.P. leaders in Parliament are not a pre-election manoeuvre, and if they really agree with these demands of the masses, then they can prove this to be the case by taking part in the present struggle and demonstrations.

First of all, there was no need to issue leaflets addressed to the leaders of the I.L.P. Secondly, the leaflets are written in a style which leads one to imagine that the I.L.P. *as well* is a workers' party fighting for the workers' interests, and that it is all just a question of participation in demonstrations on the basis of a few slogans. Thirdly, it is a serious mistake to invite these I.L.P. leaders to take part in the present struggle and so give them a platform from which they can give their message to the masses.

From the viewpoint of how the masses would understand this leaflet, this sort of "unmasking" of the I.L.P. leaders is wrong, since it does not unmask them but puts them on an equal footing with the Communist Party, and prevents the workers from understanding the deep difference of principle between the I.L.P. and the Communist Party.

When militant demonstrations of the unemployed took place in London, the demonstrators, led by our comrades, after a fight with the police in Parliament Square, elected a deputation to Parliament. This deputation was received by the "left" I.L.P. leaders. The bourgeois press wrote that the demonstrators elected a delegation for the purpose of negotiating with "its Members."

Again we find the impression left in the minds of the masses that the I.L.P. is *also* their working-class party. True it is not so revolutionary as the Communist Party, but it is a working-class party, since even the Communists, after several hours' fighting against the police, sent their delegation to the Parliamentary members of that party.

The source of these mistakes lies in a lack of understanding of the rôle of the I.L.P. despite the verbal repetition of phrases about the I.L.P. being the most dangerous enemy. For instance, in Glasgow there are comrades who objected to putting up a party candidate in the constituency of the well-known "left" I.L.P.er, John McGovern, for the simple reason that he, after all, is a "left," he "takes part in our demonstrations," he "fights against the police," and, after all, the "masses would not understand." This is in actual fact opportunist distortion of the "class against class" policy.

The I.L.P. must not be looked upon as a potential ally of the Communist Party; it is just this that the "left" leaders of the I.L.P. would like. Why, Maxton said quite frankly at the above-mentioned joint meeting with representatives of the Communist Party: "If we could cross out our differences of opinion and leave aside the theoretical division—this would be the first big step towards correct behaviour in present conditions . . . We should, if only for one month, show the workers that we are not a mass of collaborating sectarians." Fenner Brockway, another I.L.P. leader, gave the game away when he said: "A big mass movement makes collaboration possible. The old spirit of antagonism must disappear."

Yes, a big mass movement developing along the road to Communism is the thing which has made the I.L.P. suddenly talk about a united front with the Communist Party, about the need for a "truce," about the need for "postponing" discussion on "theoretical" differences of opinion.

And instead of driving these people out from the mass movement once and for all because they are the most dangerous inner enemies of the working class, we find our comrades making mistakes which actually lead the masses to believe that the Communist Party invites the I.L.P. leaders to take part in this movement. Because of our mistakes the I.L.P. is represented to the masses as a possible, a potential, ally of communism; as a force which differs from the Communist Party only in the degree to which it is revolutionary ("not so revolutionary"!).

In Islington, London, the I.L.P. parliamentary candidate agreed to our slogans of action in written form; agreed to take part in our demonstrations; and it ended with our comrades actually giving this candidate a tribune from which she could hold forth among the unemployed masses.

Similar mistakes were made in Wigan and Rochdale (Lancashire), where the Communist Party in order to organise a mass movement of the unemployed against the Means Test proposed to the local organisations of the I.L.P. to take part in the organisation of a movement of this kind. Of course, the I.L.P. readily agreed. In one of these two towns a joint committee was formed, and in the other three representatives of the I.L.P. and only one Communist spoke from the same platform at a large mass meeting. In both these cases the mistakes become particularly important and obvious in view of the fact that the Communist Party could have organised this mass movement without the I.L.P., to whom, as it was, we gave the chance of getting to the masses.

In Dumbarton in Scotland at very large demonstrations of the unemployed, the local I.L.P.

leaders also spoke. In the course of their speeches they asked their supporters not to heckle the Communist orators. The latter, in turn, continued this liberal game of politics and also called upon the masses not to heckle the I.L.P. speakers. In the given case our comrades not only make a serious mistake, but by their very behaviour proved that they have not by any means freed themselves from bourgeois influences which express themselves in Parliamentary liberal toleration towards their antagonists.

In explaining the rôle of the Labour Party and I.L.P. leaders, our comrades frequently forget to explain to party supporters that we consider reformism our chief enemy not abstractly, but concretely in the struggle against the chief enemy of the working class: against the capitalists. Consequently we find that the struggle of the Communists against the Labour Party and the I.L.P. is often quite divorced from the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

* * *

We might mention several other mistakes no less important than those already cited, but space does not permit us to do so.

The mistakes made by the party in connection with the fight against social democracy show that there is not yet sufficient clarity in the ranks of the party on all those questions which are contained in the problem of the Party and Social Democracy.

The rôle of the Labour Party as the chief social support of the British bourgeoisie, the form in which the Labour Party is becoming fascist, the various forms in which the reformists have adapted the theory of the lesser evil, the rôle of the I.L.P. as the most dangerous enemy of the revolution inside the working-class movement, and several other radical questions of tactics and struggle,—all these questions must be carefully and profoundly studied by the English party. As the starting point to a study of these questions the party should use the international decisions which embody the Leninist theory of social-fascism and, in particular, centrism (for instance, questions raised by Comrade Stalin in his article*); they should make use of all the mistakes that have been made in order that *all party members* should thoroughly understand the party line.

The party should evince true Bolshevik intolerance to mistakes of this kind. A determined fight should be put up against all those who persist in mistakes of this sort.

As to the question of the source of these mistakes and the reasons underlying them (especially left reformist and legalist tendencies), a special article will have to be devoted to this.

* See No. 20 Communist International, "Questions regarding the History of Bolshevism," by Stalin.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN AT THE CROSSROADS.

(Organisational Tasks of the Party.)

THE recent parliamentary elections in England have once more proved two things sufficiently clearly. They showed, on the one hand, that the process of radicalisation among the working masses of England, which was outwardly expressed in the big wave of strikes which swept throughout the main industrial centres of England, in mass demonstrations of protest against the lowered standard of living of the masses, in agitation among the sailors in the fleet, and so on, is increasing rapidly in connection with the further deepening of the world economic crisis and the offensive of the capitalists upon the standard of living of the working masses; it showed also that the Social Fascist leaders are becoming less and less able to stop the growth of this move to the left of the proletarian masses. On the other hand, the results of the elections quite clearly showed one of the main weaknesses of our party — the fact that it is divorced from the working masses; that it is not sufficiently skilful in winning over to its side those workers who have moved to the left, who, influenced by the object lessons of history, are beginning to leave the Labour Party leaders, to emerge from the influence of the trade union bureaucrats and reformist social-lackeys of the bourgeoisie; that the Party is unprepared in general and often unable to fight against the chief enemy of the revolutionary labour movement inside the movement itself—Social-Fascism. The English Party has of late done considerable work and has several achievements to its credit during the last few months; but it still remains extremely weak in the organisational respect and, moreover, has made several big political mistakes, which have prevented it from strengthening its influence among the masses, in spite of the presence of favourable objective circumstances. For example, instead of making a determined break with the so-called "Independent Labour Party," which plays the rôle of the worst deceiver of the working class, instead of relentlessly unmasking Maxton, Lansbury and other leaders of this Party, our Party on several occasions did not show sufficiently clearly the difference between the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party, which resulted in misleading the working masses and objectively assisting to maintain the mass influence of Social-Fascism. It was also a mistake on the part of the Scottish Party organisation to enter into negotiations with the local authorities in Glasgow concerning

permission to hold workers' demonstrations, since negotiations of this kind only supported existing illusions about the democratic, steadfast, nature of bourgeois local authorities. Lastly, it must be pointed out that our Party was not able to present our programme for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, which is clear and comprehensible to the masses, in opposition to the programme for a capitalist way out of the crisis, put forward by the Conservatives and the Labour leaders.

The main weakness of our party, until quite recently, consisted in its exceptional organisational weakness; it consisted in its being divorced from the masses, in insufficient work on the part of the Party in the factories, in trade unions, in the unemployed movement, its inability to organise the manifestations of the workers, to lead the struggle of the working masses against the offensive of capital, to link up separate fights of the workers with the general mobilisation of the masses for the main fight against the capitalist system, and bourgeois State power, for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, for the proletarian revolution.

The Central Committee, at its last Plenum, carefully noted *all* the Party's mistakes, correctly formulated the tasks before it, and planned concrete ways and means of fulfilling these tasks.

In this connection we shall deal with certain shortcomings in the organisational structure and work of the party, which are an obstacle to its coming closer to the working masses, and shall lay down the most important organisational tasks of the Party which result from our observations.

* * * *

What are the organisational shortcomings which hindered the Party from coming closer to the broad masses of workers?

The entirely unsatisfactory organisational basis of the Party is the main organisational defect of the Party, which more than anything contributes to the fact that it is divorced from the masses. During the last few years we have the following trend of development in connection with the number of factory nuclei:

November 1930 39 cells (including 218
Party members)

June 1931 24 „

November 1931 48 „

The remaining Party members were organised in so-called "concentration groups," part of the work of which is to serve the factories politically

(in theory, for this is not so in actual fact) and to organise factory groups inside them. There were between 300 and 400 concentration groups of this kind in November, 1931. There are none of the street groups, mentioned in the decisions of the Comintern, in our Party.

Outwardly it seems a pretty enough organisational scheme—the whole Party built upon the workshop organisations. There is no situation, like this, so far, in any other section of the Comintern, except the C.P.S.U., since even Germany has not reached this state of affairs. But actually we have just the opposite in our Party; a building without any foundation, a Party without basic Party organisations, without lower units. There are only a few dozen workshop nuclei, and the concentration groups do not really work in the factories, or on a local basis. Less than 7 per cent. of the party membership are in workshop nuclei, the remaining 93 per cent. do no Party work.

This state of affairs with the cells is, on the one hand, due to the lack of understanding concerning Bolshevik organisational principles of Party organisation; on the other hand it is the result of the completely unsatisfactory state of affairs in the district and local Party committees, which carry on no sort of systematic, daily work to strengthen the influence of the Party in the factories, and do not help the factory nuclei in their work.

The Central Committee of the Party has recognised that this state of affairs is abnormal. It has made a decision to liquidate concentration groups and to change the organisational structure of the lower Party organisations, to correspond with the instructions of the Comintern, and build them on the basis of factory groups; also to see that members of the Party who, because of their social position cannot be organised in factory groups (housewives, teachers and so on), should be united in street groups according to their place of residence.

This decision is absolutely correct and apposite. What is the chief weakness of the work of the concentration groups? The weakness is that they are composed of Party members who have no connection whatsoever with the factory they are supposed to serve, and that the group works not inside the factory, but near it, outside. There were cases where there were members of the Party in factories, who had no connection at all with the concentration group which was supposed to be serving the factory, but worked in another concentration group, which served a totally different factory. There were certain "organisers" who defended this state of affairs even, stating that by working in this way the

members were in a less dangerous position from the point of view of intimidation on the part of the owners. There were other cases where there were several members of the Party in a factory, who were attached to the locals where they lived, and each of whom had no knowledge of the presence in the Party of the others, and none of whom carried on any work in their own factory.

The concentration groups were thought of as temporary organisations whose work was to create workshop nuclei in definite factories, after which work had been completed, the concentration group should dissolve. In actual practice not one concentration group has ever been heard of, including those which have been in existence for several years, in connection with the creation of a new factory group.

By liquidating the concentration groups and reorganising the network of lower Party organisations one of the most serious obstacles, which prevent the Party organising work in the factories, will be removed. But in order to do this, it is essential that all this reorganisational work should not be carried out formally, mechanically, but on the basis of the Party's work in connection with drawing workers into the struggle, from big factories, in those most important districts where serious conflicts are developing between workers and owners. On the other hand, the work must be carried out to the maximum extent in a planned, consistent manner. Before beginning the work of reorganisation, the District Committees should draw up a plan of reorganisation, should strengthen those local committees in the district which is to be reorganised, by sending responsible workers to the spot, who should be made members of the new local Party committees by co-option or by a decision of specially convened Party conferences. The Party committees strengthened in this way should go through the lists of Party members in the local organisations, should establish in which factories they are working, where the Party has connections, through individual members of the Party, or non-Party sympathisers with revolutionary tendencies, in which trade unions and other mass organisations there can be found members of our Party and, on the basis of this information, should draw up a plan for reorganising a network of nuclei in the district.

At present many Party members, especially new ones, belong to Party organisations in the locals where they live, and not where they work. In connection with the reorganisation of the network of lower Party nuclei, it is essential to make an examination of the composition of the Party organisations, and to transfer workers who are members of the Party to their workshop group

in the factories where they work. This also must not be done mechanically; the whole point is not just to cross off members from concentration or street groups and attach them to factory groups. The main thing is to coach the Party member on what he has to do in the workshop and to guarantee daily assistance to the factory group in its work; moreover, it would be useful to arrange for special evening courses, or conferences, for the active members of the factory groups, lower units of the trade union organisations, the unemployed organisations and the Party committee itself, at which the instructions of the organisational department of the Comintern, on work in the factories should be worked out, and applied in concrete form, suitable to the given factories.

The reorganisation of nuclei in the district should conclude with the convening of a district Party conference of representatives of all groups to sum up the results of the reorganisational work, to draw up a plan of work for the future, for the elections of district committees, whose duties will henceforth be to lead the work of the groups. This reorganisation will not give the desired results if strong local Party committees are not formed, which will include the best workers of the most important factory groups, with a strong bureau working on collective lines. At the same time the most serious attention must be given to creating firm guidance in the factory groups, in the form of an organising secretary and a bureau; to this end, the best active workshop Party members must be developed for this work, and they must be enabled to raise their theoretical, practical and political knowledge to the utmost by means of organising Party schools, evening courses, conferences, ensuring them all the essential literature, and drawing them into the work of the various departments of the Party committees, and into commissions formed by the Party committees for working out special tasks.

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By building up a network of lower Party units, the Party will find itself in a position to widen its possibilities in the sphere of mass work. But mere organisational reconstruction is not sufficient. This is just the outer cover of the work. It is much more important to change the whole nature and methods of work carried on by the Party among the masses.

The Party must change the general abstract agitation, which has in the main been carried on by the higher Party organisations, and begin to carry on painstaking, daily work among the masses in all Party organisations, utilising all Party members, to organise the struggle of the workers against the offensive of capital in the

factories and the trade unions, and at the Labour Exchanges. The Party must show in deed, not word, that it wants, and is capable, of organising the workers for the struggle against the offensive of capital, against wage-cuts, against steadily worsening conditions of labour.

On this question also the Plenum of the Central Committee correctly raised the question before all Party organisations of transferring the centre of gravity of work into the factories. Work in the factories must become the central task of all Party organisations. Every Party factory group, every Party member, must win the confidence of the masses and gain authority in the eyes of the masses. For this purpose they must primarily work among the works immediately around them, which means, first and foremost, in their workshop, in their department, on their shift. They must know how to use every manifestation of dissatisfaction on the part of the workers, to organise resistance to the efforts of the owners to transfer the weight of the economic crisis upon the shoulders of the workers. If Communists are able to win respect and confidence among the workers, they will not find it difficult to stand at the head of the movement of the masses, when it takes the more acute form of strikes, demonstrations of protest, etc.

In order to lead the nuclei in a concrete form, each local committee must be aware of the daily life and working conditions of the factories in its locality. Thus it must be connected with all the most important factories in the locality through the factory groups, through individual Party members, through the leading members of the committee paying visits to the works or to individual workers from the works. The local committee, together with the workshop groups and fractions from the corresponding unions, should carefully follow all changes in the state of affairs in each factory and change the slogans and methods of daily work, in connection with winning over the masses, to suit the changes in the factory. The nucleus must popularise the demands of the workers through the factory newspaper, at meetings, by means of leaflets, etc., and on this basis mobilise the masses around these demands. Only in this way will our party be able to reorganise on Bolshevik lines, not on paper, but in actual practice, and will be able to link up with the masses, will find it possible to re-arrange its forces rapidly, every time it becomes necessary to lead the movement of the masses.

Lenin wrote the following on the significance of factory work in his "letter to a comrade on our organisational tasks":

"Now as regards workshop circles. They are especially important for us; for the entire

main force of the movement lies in the organisational preparedness of the workers in the large factories, since the large factories (and workshops) contain not only that section of the working class which predominates numerically, but which predominates even more in influence, development, and fighting capacity. Every factory must be our fortress."

The work of the factory group will not be successful to the required extent if it is not linked up with the work of the fractions of those trade unions in which the workers of the factory are organised, with the work of individual Communists in these unions. It must be said in general that in a country like England, with its traditional trade union movement, there can be no question of winning the majority of the working class without winning the workers organised in the Trade Unions.

Do the Party organisations and individual Party members understand the importance of work in the trade unions? We have to declare that they do not. This is proved by the figures concerning the percentage of Party members organised in trade unions. The number of trade union members to the total mass of Party members is as follows:

November 1930 ...	53 per cent.
June 1931 ...	37 per cent.

The number of Party members belonging to the Minority Movement were as follows:

November 1930 ...	21 per cent.
June 1931 ...	15 per cent.

We see that the percentage of Party members belonging to trade unions and the minority movement is not only low, but has a tendency to drop. Moreover the chief trouble is not even to be found in the figures themselves, but in the fact that among Party members, including even the leading comrades, the viewpoint is still current that there is nothing to be learned in the trade unions and in the minority movement, that it is enough to work in the Party organisations. No less harmful are the extremely widespread opinions to the effect that all elected functionaries in the lower units of the reformist trade unions are essentially Social Fascists, "little MacDonalds" and Thomases, and this despite the fact that many cases are known of one or two members of the Party being successful in putting Communist resolutions through at well-attended conferences of the smaller functionaries of reformist trade unions.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.G.B. has faced the Party organisations with several concrete tasks moreover in the sphere of work on the part of Communists in the trade unions, in the minority movement, in unemployed organisations.

The work in the factories on no account must be separated from work among the unemployed. The unemployed, dismissed from factories, must not be allowed to break off their connection with the factories. This in particular applies to Party members. The unemployed of the given district, of the given branch of industry, must be brought into the mass activities of the factory. This is especially important during strikes, mass demonstrations, etc., and this task lies on the shoulders of Party fractions in unemployed organisations. The unemployed organisations of the N.U.W.M., which are under our influence, should not hold themselves aloof, but should link up with unemployed councils and work in the Labour Exchanges and so on.

In order to link up the work in the factories, in the trade unions, in the unemployed workers' organisations, the Party committees should call regular meetings of party members and sympathisers working in these three organisations to carefully discuss concrete questions of joint struggle. Only if our party organisations are really able to link up the work of these three organisations into a united whole, to place its forces correctly, and guarantee correct leadership, shall we be in a position to expect real results from the Party's work among the masses.

In making mass work the central task of the Party organisations, the Party will find itself up against inevitable resistance in its own ranks, which must be overcome at any price. In this connection a determined struggle will have to be waged, both against Right opportunist elements who hide their passivity behind complaints about the objective difficulties in their work, and against the sectarian aloofness of individual comrades, who are afraid of new faces, afraid of their inexperience, afraid of their lack of training.

* * * *

The launching of mass work by the Party is very closely connected with the question of the Party's growth, of recruiting new members; for the Party's growth is not only the result of well arranged mass work, but also one of the necessary factors for launching out with more work among the masses. The party during the last six months has achieved considerable success in this respect. But these successes are not sufficient to convert the Party into a real mass Party. The following figures give an idea of the growth of the Party during the last few years:

December 1929 ...	3,200 members
November 1930 ...	2,555 "
June 1931 ...	2,756 "
September 1931 ...	3,927 "
November 1931 ...	6,263 "

According to the plan for recruiting new mem-

bers in January, 1932, the Party should have about 10,000 members. Although the corresponding information is not yet to hand, there is no real foundation for doubting that these figures can actually be reached. We find that after a long period of stagnation, the Party since the summer of 1931 has entered the period of comparatively rapid growth. Individual Party organisations during the period from June to November increased their Party membership from three to five times. For instance, the number of Party members in the Scottish district increased from 423 to 1,396; the number in Birmingham from 101 to 500. Thus, numerically, the signs of the Party's growth are very favourable, although the Party numerically still continues to remain extremely weak. The qualitative signs of growth cannot be considered satisfactory to the same extent.

In its plans for recruiting new members, the Party quite correctly indicated which sections of the working class should be responsible for the growth of the Party; the new members should come from workers engaged in mining, metal trades, railwaymen, textile industries, dockers, etc. The methods of work were also correctly indicated; day-to-day, individual work of each Party member, etc. But because of the lack of understanding in the Party as to the importance of these directions, and insufficient control on the part of the Central Committee, and first and foremost because of the fact that the lower Party organisations are divorced from the working masses, the Party's growth did not take place on the lines indicated in the recruiting plans—the Party's growth was automatic, on the line of least resistance, and new members were mostly from among the unemployed.

As a result we found the following state of affairs. If in June, 1931, there were about 50 per cent. of the Party members in work, one-third of whom were engaged outside factories, as a result of the increase we have 75-80 per cent. of the Party membership unemployed. There is a very insignificant increase in the number of Party members in factories, and a very small number of new factory groups as a result of the Party's growth.

Another important shortcoming in the recruiting work of the Party is the inability to link up this work with the struggle of the workers, with the political campaigns which are on foot, with the daily mass work of the Party. In the summer and autumn there were several strikes in England, large and stormy demonstrations, an election campaign; yet the Party grew to a very inconsiderable extent during these months. The Party organisations were not at the time carrying

on their recruiting work. The Party began to grow rapidly during a comparatively peaceful period, especially after the elections. And, moreover, recruiting work did not go on in the course of the daily work inside the factories, but at special recruiting meetings.

Apart from the fact that by using such methods of work in connection with recruiting, the Party does not grow mainly at the expense of factory workers, to swell the ranks of the Party by means of special recruiting meetings makes it difficult to cope with those who enter the Party, as a result of which a considerable exodus of new members is inevitable, which is one of the more negative sides of methods of recruiting of this kind.

The Party must in future remove all these defects and obtain a further increase in the Party membership from among the main forces of the working class by systematic organic work in the factories, trade unions, unemployed workers' organisations and other mass organisations. The Party must in particular draw the attention of all organisations, all nuclei, to the need for bringing into the Party authoritative, active workers from the factories, who have influence among the masses; workers from the main departments of the factories; in particular does this refer to leaders of strikes, demonstrations and other mass revolutionary activities of the workers. By bringing these workers into the Party's orbit, and later into the ranks of the Party, the Party will obtain the key to the masses. In drawing up its plan for recruiting new members, the Party should make its starting point not only the desired growth, but should take into consideration the real possibilities of growth in separate districts, definite factories, and so on, judging from the connections of individual Party members, and from the number of persons sympathising with the Party line as shown by the number of "Daily Worker" readers, the number of contributors to factory newspapers, signatures to the "Charter," votes cast for the Communists, etc., etc.

During the last few months of 1931 the number of regular readers of the "Daily Worker" rose to 18,000, and with the readers of the Saturday numbers—over 40,000. The number of readers of factory papers is 40-50 thousand. The number of votes cast for the Communists during the last parliamentary elections was about 75,000. These are the figures which should be made the starting point in the future in connection with our orientation as regards Party sympathisers. This does not mean that as a result of good work these figures will not increase, but these are the preliminary signs of the Party's future growth.

The rapid growth of the Party raises a question of first-class importance before the membership;

not only to introduce the new recruits to the Party, but to arrange for educational work among them, to bring them into active Party work, including the leading organs of the Party, to organise courses, lectures, talks with them on the tasks of the Party, its organisational structure, methods of work, etc. Work among the new members of the Party must be one of the most important obligations of every old member. The whole of the Party membership should be drawn into this work.

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The launching of mass work, and the rapid growth of the Party, raise the necessity and create the necessary conditions for the solution to the second most important task, without deciding which the Party will not be able to move forward rapidly; that is to say, the task of training new cadres, connected with the broad masses of workers, and experienced in mass work. The Plenum of the Central Committee faced the Party with the task of training 150-200 new active Party members, in the lower units during the coming months, from among workers in factories who are experienced in mass work, who are connected with the workers; and these cadres were to be trained not only for local work, but for strengthening the local and district Party organs. We can only welcome this decision.

The successful development of work among the masses in future is largely dependent upon training cadres of rank and file active Party members, freed from opportunist unbelief in the forces of the working class and their militant capacity on the one hand, and from sectarian aloofness and lack of contact with the masses of workers on the other. The Party must more boldly bring in comrades from the factories — including those who have newly entered the Party and have shown themselves to be good organisers of the masses during strikes and demonstrations—to work on leading Party work, without fearing their inexperience during the first days of their work. At the same time it is essential that short-term schools and study circles, evening courses, conferences, etc., should be organised primarily for this group of comrades; and that Bolshevik education in general should be organised. For this purpose it is possible and necessary that Party members with sufficient Party experience should be used. It is also essential that the rank and file active members should be regularly instructed; that meetings of group secretaries be held as a regular thing, and permanent cadres of instructors be formed from among comrades who know the Party work and have had experience of mass work in the factories.

In order to advance the work in all these directions, the entire forces of the Party will have to be most strenuously exerted, and its attention concentrated on the most important sections of work. The decision of the Central Committee Plenum, in connection with concentrating the attention and forces of the Party in the ensuing period on a limited number of objectives—on a few important districts, locals, factories, trade unions, main branches of industry—is quite correct.

Which districts in England are the most important from the point of view of the development of class struggles of the proletariat? Scotland and South Wales mining districts, Lancashire (Manchester) and the textile industry, London with its masses of transport and other workers. Which branches of industry in England are at present the most important from the point of view of developing class struggles of the proletariat? The mining, textile, railway, shipbuilding, metal industry and docks. The Party, therefore, quite correctly decided to concentrate its attention in particular on these districts, on these branches of industry.

What will the Party's concentrating its attention upon these sections of industry amount to? It will mean that the Party will send its best forces to these districts. There will be a few of the most important locals in each district; in these locals there will be important factories, a few branches of trade unions connected with these factories, upon which the Party will concentrate all its attention in the period to come. In these special locals the Party's best agitators will be concentrated. In the chosen factories we must organise first and foremost factory groups, and where this is not possible, we must attach an experienced Party member as Party organiser, who will supervise the factory papers and the drawing up of a programme of political and economic demands of the workers. The Party Press will give its main attention to depicting the life and work in these localities. The distribution of the press will also be organised primarily in these localities. All the mass organisations, which follow our Party lead, will also concentrate their attention upon these chosen localities and factories. First and foremost the Party fractions in the mass organisations under Party influence must be strengthened in these localities. The Party's recruiting work, training and development of our new cadres for new work, also must take place among the workers from these leading factories, leading branches of national economy. The Party must win some commanding key positions, must create some real, militant lower units of the Party in order to press forward

successfully, in order to lead the coming economic struggles.

To ensure that the decisions of the Plenum will not remain on paper, but will actually bring about a turning point in the work of the whole Party, bring it nearer to the masses, the whole system of Party leadership and the work of the Party organs must also be changed. The XI. E.C.C.I. Plenum recognised that one of the ways in which the Party lags behind the revolutionary upsurge of the masses is by keeping the organisational work of the Party separate from its political agitation, and by being unable to strengthen the results of political campaigns in organisational form. This estimate is correct as regards the Communist Party of Great Britain, in the same way as with regard to the other sections of the Comintern.

In order not to fall into the mistake of merely making declarations about the necessity of the reconstruction of Party work, but to make the change in actual practice, the leading organs of the Party, beginning with the Central Committee and district committees should substitute its general guidance for leadership of an operative, concrete kind, based on the concrete tasks of preparing for, and developing the mass revolutionary activities of the working class. Instructions must not be of a general character, but to a definite organisation on definite questions; this especially calls for the need to concentrate attention on the most important sections, to lead organisations in specially chosen locals and factories. To ensure concrete, operative leadership of this kind, several things are required; knowledge of the conditions of work of the given branch organisation, regular contact both direct

and in writing with them, visits by leading workers from the centre to study the position, and give instruction to the workers on the spot, visits to the centre by local workers. Concrete leadership demands constant control to ensure that Party decisions are operated in actual practice. The present method of carrying on the recruiting campaign of the Party by the local organisations is a sufficiently clear indication of lack of control concerning the operating of the corresponding Party decision. In spite of the fact that the Party grew along lines other than those proposed in the recruiting plan, nobody has bothered to correct the mistake or to watch how the work was being carried on. This sort of thing is abnormal and must be changed.

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These, in brief, are the present organisational tasks of the Party organisations, laid down on the basis of the decisions of the last Plenum of the Central Committee. One of the most decisive moments has arrived in the life of the Communist Party of Great Britain; the Party is faced with the prospect of rapid growth and its conversion into a mass Party, which will successfully lead the coming class struggles of the English proletariat. The decisions made at the Plenum show that the Party has correctly revealed its mistakes, and planned its tasks and ways of struggling for the masses. It will depend upon its perseverance and consistency, upon its Bolshevik tenacity in carrying out these decisions in practice, whether the Party will be able indeed to bring about a change in the work of all Party organisations and become the leader of the working masses in England for their struggle for emancipation.

J. TSIRUL.

THE CANADIAN "PARTY ORGANISER"

IN the October number of the official organ of the Organisational Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, the "Party Organiser," we find a very serious underestimation of the position in which our Canadian Party finds itself. During September and October the Government feverishly made preparations in the direction of declaring the Communist Party an "illegal organisation." Nine leaders of the Party were arrested. A police raid was made on the Party headquarters; the police broke up meetings and demonstrations organised by the Party. Police terror, deportations and imprisonment of hundreds of workers went on throughout the country. The capitalist Press

launched a vast campaign against our Party, thus preparing "public opinion" for the declaration to come of the Party's illegality.

Comrade Sam Carr, in a leading article entitled "As the Months Go By," wrote:

"The Canadian bourgeoisie has selected nine leading Party comrades to make a test case. *There is no doubt that the Bennett Government has already decided that the Party is to be driven underground.*"

As this article shows, the Central Committee clearly understood the events. But from the material published in the "Party Organiser" we cannot say that the Party waged a systematic campaign to explain the situation that had arisen to

the rank and file of the Party membership and to prepare them for the act which the Government was about to commit.

A comrade who made a tour of the Western districts (he signs himself T.I.) wrote as follows in the "Worker":

"Another feature is evident in many cities in view of the attack of the Federal Government against the Communist Party. There is lack of firm and well-disciplined leadership and organisation, and *the result is sometimes panic and in a number of cases a desire to drive underground and indiscriminately destroy members' cards and Party materials.* Campaigns are postponed or ditched altogether in certain localities on a plea of wait and see what happens!" These few lines are sufficiently alarming.

What should be the task of all the Party organs and, first and foremost, the Party organisers?

They should occupy themselves with preparing the minds of the membership for the coming event.

(1) They should explain the need for mobilising the masses for a stubborn fight against the Government offensive, and on behalf of the right of the Party to be a legal organisation, as well as all other class organisations of the proletariat (the I.L.D., Red Unions, etc.).

(2) They should explain how to begin to build up and reinforce an illegal apparatus, combining illegal methods with legal and semi-legal, and giving instructions as to how the masses can bring pressure to bear upon the authorities in order to break through the framework of police prohibitions.

The leading article mentioned above, "As the Months Go By," draws the following conclusions:

"The Party organisation must be consolidated; we must penetrate into the shops which are to become our fortresses; all desertions from Party work must be exposed and combatted now sharper than ever before.

"The Party must give all its forces in aiding the development of the defence campaign and the building of a mass Canadian Labour Defence. The Party will continue to work and lead the masses of exploited, no matter under what conditions the ruling class will place us. *We must mobilise the workers and poor farmers of Canada to defeat the attempts of the bourgeoisie to drive underground the only Party of the Canadian workers.*"

This is all! It is true that many important problems are mentioned, but they are only mentioned, and not given the attention they deserve in the existing situation.

The Party should have fixed its attention on the following problems:

1. *Mass Campaign for the Defence of the Party.*

(i) General mobilisation of the Party membership.

(a) Despatch of representatives from the Central Committee to the districts.

(b) Meetings should have been arranged of Party functionaries in the districts and sections.

(c) Membership meetings should have been arranged in the units with representatives from the Central Committee.

Questions which should have been discussed at meetings:

A. The question of the attack upon the Party should be linked up with the question of the advance of the bourgeoisie upon the workers and farmers; and how to mobilise the industrial workers against the capitalist offensive.

B. How to mobilise the members of mass organisations (revolutionary trade unions, the unions affiliated to the A.F. of L., the farmers' unions, the I.L.D., the W.I.R., the language organisations, etc.) for the struggle to defend the Party, combining this fight with the struggle for the immediate demands of the working class against the offensive of the bourgeoisie.

The following measures, for example, should have been recommended as a step towards organising the Party underground:

(1) Formation of an illegal apparatus in the centre and locals (rooms for holding meetings, illegal printing shop, addresses for correspondence, transfer of certain functionaries underground, introduction of a system of pseudonyms for all Party members, etc.).

(2) Party meetings to be held in secret as a general rule (they should be both small, and short).

(3) The place of meeting should be changed frequently, and meetings arranged so that the police cannot know of them beforehand.

(4) No Party documents must be brought to Party meetings. They should be kept in a safe place. Documents no longer required must be destroyed.

(5) The list of Party members with pseudonyms should be kept in a safe place together with cyphered addresses.

(6) Methods should be worked out for illegal connections between the organisations (sections, districts, Central Committee), special attention being paid to connections with workshop units, and the connection between members of the Party inside the works; in this connection in particular the instructions of the Communist International on work in the factories should be used.

(7) Methods of mass work which should be adopted where police terror is customary.

2. *As regards the Press, the following should have been emphasised:*

- (1) The formation of a distributing apparatus.
- (2) Ways of recruiting new readers.
- (3) Distribution of papers at factory gates.
- (4) The need for obtaining sufficient duplicating machines for publishing illegal literature.

In this connection special attention must be given to rapidly reconstructing the party on the principle of workshop units.

OUR FORTRESS.

The article mentioned above emphasises the vast importance of getting into the factories, "which should become our fortresses," and this is perfectly correct. But instead of reprinting an article on the subject of "How the Bureau of the District Committee should work" from the "Party Organiser" of the American Party, it would have been much better to have produced articles on the reconstruction of our Party on the basis of workshop units, and how this should be done in circumstances of police repression.

MASS ORGANISATIONS.

The "Party Organiser" published several articles on mass organisations (the Canadian I.L.D., the W.I.R., the Emigrants' Defence Councils, the Ex-Servicemen's League); but the rôle of these organisations during the period of the bourgeois offensive is not explained. The only article on this subject is that of Comrade Smith about the I.L.D. In this article there is an underestimation of the situation. An article of this kind could have been written a year ago.

An article about the work of the illegal Communist fractions inside the openly existing mass organisations, and on the formation of various new legal and semi-legal mass organisations which already exist and which are formally unconnected, but actually linked up from inside through the Communist fractions, might have been published with profit. In this connection we might mention benefit funds, sports' circles, cultural and educational leagues, clubs, etc.

POLICE ESPIONAGE.

On the basis of the experiences already undergone by the Party, the Party Press should have raised the question of police spies and agents provocateurs and suggested how to fight against them.* This is now a most important question for the Party. The fact that Esselwein (Leopold) was able to remain so long, and do so much harm to the Party without being suspected, is proof of the fact that there is a very strong underestimation of this question of fighting against espionage and provocation in the ranks of our Party. We must organise widespread, careful *exposure* of police agents and their methods of work, and thus mobi-

lise the Party members and the workers in industry and in the mass organisations for a systematic fight to defend their movement and their organisations, and show them how by class-conscious, vigilant work it is possible to expose the form of activity carried on by provocateurs and spies.

A redeeming feature was the publication in the "Party Organiser" of excerpts from Sorin's book on "Lenin's Teachings About the Party," and especially that section which deals with the flexibility of organisations, which is fully suitable in the circumstances. But it would have been still better to have added a short introduction and drawn the attention of the Party membership to the important meaning of this article, linking up at the same time with the *concrete situation* which was developing in Canada at the time.

We shall not here dwell on another most important problem, the question of mobilising the workers and poor farmers for a fight against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to drive the Communist Party of Canada underground. The Party approached this question quite correctly and was able to mobilise tens of thousands of workers. This fight must be carried on on a still broader scale even after the Party is officially declared "illegal."

There is one more remark of a general character. The main task of the "Party Organiser" is to serve as a means of exchanging experiences between the Party organisations. The magazine should give examples of how we are progressing in the work of organising workshop units, how we are mobilising the unemployed for successful demonstrations, how we are building up unemployed workers' councils, how we are organising strikes and leading them. The magazine must also mention our shortcomings and explain how it was we were not able to achieve satisfactory results. The "Party Organiser" for September-October contains only one article of this kind: "The Experiences of the Y.C.L. Shop Work in District 3." This is what we want!

The task of the Party is to maintain, to extend and consolidate connections with the masses; and this will be possible if the Party organisation is flexible, if it possesses "an ability to adapt itself immediately to the most diverse and rapidly changing conditions of struggle, an ability to renounce an open fight against overwhelming and concentrated forces, and yet capable of taking advantage of the awkwardness and immobility of the enemy and attack at a time and place where he least expects attack" (Lenin: "The Iskra Period," Book II., page 244. International Publishers, New York).

*See No. 2, C.I.

WAR IS CREEPING ON!

CHINA. *By H. Rathbone.* 1d.

Gives the facts about the Chinese workers' and peasants' position. Shows how they are exploited by the imperialists, whose interests it exposes. Gives a fighting lead.

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The whole of the long Tanaka Memorandum—the *secret document* in which the Premier of Japan outlined the imperialist policy of aggression against China, Russia and the world. With an introduction.

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Full details about the terrible exploitation of Chinese women and a description of how they are freed in the Chinese Soviet areas and how they fight for the workers' armies and the Chinese Soviets.

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What the full significance of the outbreak of war in China is. A deep warning full of facts.

JAPAN IN MANCHURIA. 3d.

An examination of the imperialist aims and methods of Japan in the area torn from China and bordering on U.S.S.R.

THE CHINESE SOVIETS. 6d.

The Soviet Union is not the only place

where Soviets exist. This gives us details about the Chinese Soviets, whose

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