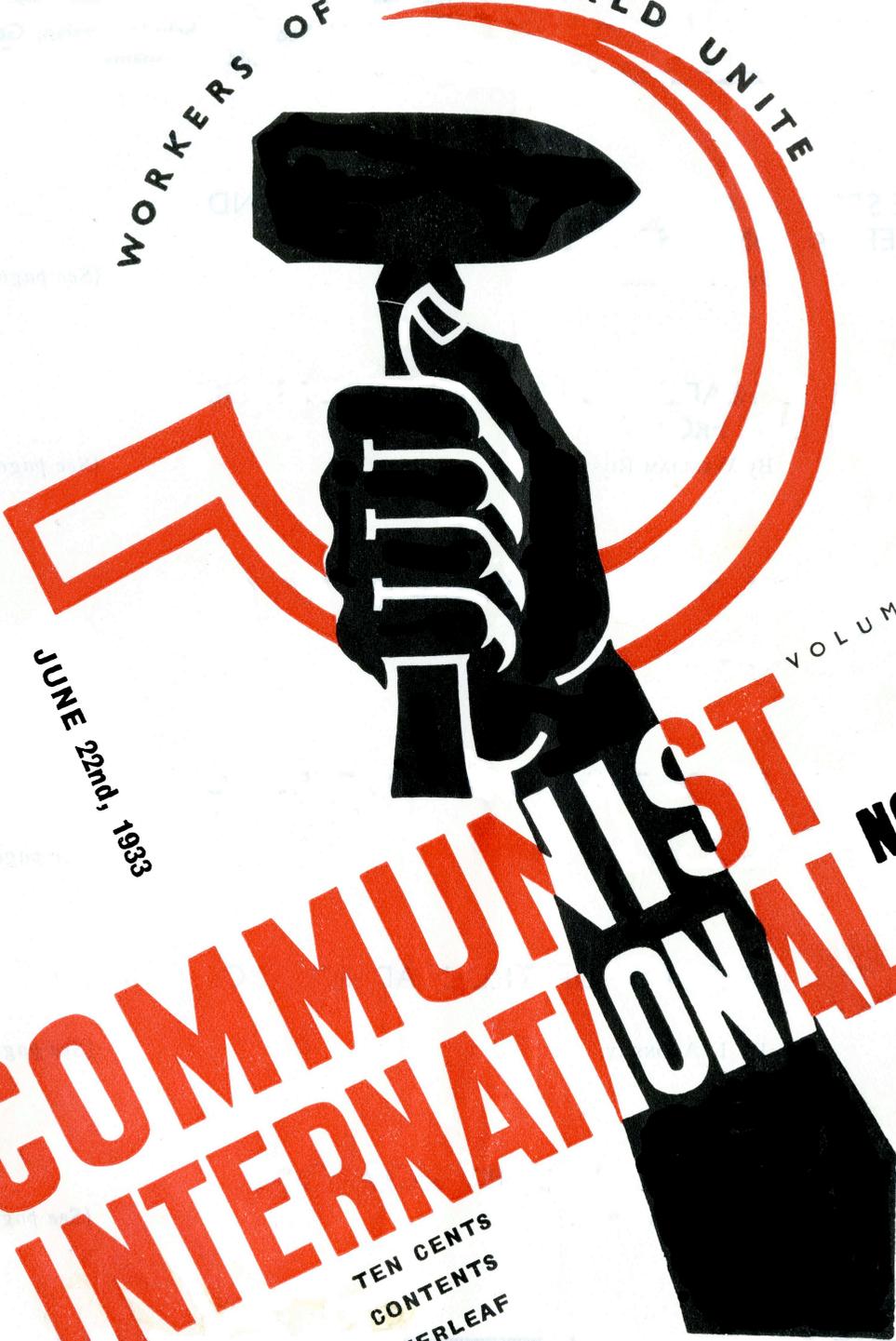


WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE



JUNE 22nd, 1933

VOLUME X

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL No 12

TEN CENTS
CONTENTS
OVERLEAF



Com. Sergei Ivanovich Gussev
1874—1933

CONTENTS

Number 12

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

1. TO THE MEMORY OF COMRADE GUSSEV

(See page 404)

2. THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN GERMANY

By F. HECKERT

(See page 406)

3. HAWAII, THE STRATEGIC KNOT OF THE PACIFIC

By SEN KATAYAMA

(See page 417)

4. THE SECOND COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

By BELA KUN

(See page 425)

5. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF GERMAN FASCISM AND WAR PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE U.S.S.R.

By N. RUDOLPH

(See page 434)

TO THE MEMORY OF COMRADE GUSSEV

THE Communist International has suffered the loss of Comrade Sergei Ivanovitch Gussev. Death has torn from our ranks an old Bolshevik, a faithful warrior of the Leninist Guard, a fighter for the October Revolution, a fighter for the world proletarian revolution.

Comrade Gussev was a reserve member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and of its Presidium. He brought with him to his work in the Comintern, the richest revolutionary experience, both in the struggle of the working class in Russia and on an international scale, experience which he had accumulated in his 30 years of work in the Bolshevik Party under the direct leadership of Lenin. His revolutionary work was most closely connected with the entire history of the Leninist Party, in all its stages. In 1896 he joined the *St. Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class* at the moment when the Social-Democratic groups were passing from propaganda to the mass workers' movement. In 1902, in Rostov, he was the leader of a mass strike, and his work is an example of how a mass economic strike can be converted into a revolutionary political strike. In 1903 when the split took place at the Second Congress of the Party, he stood without hesitation on the side of Lenin. From this moment, to the end of his life, he carried on an inflexible struggle as a true Leninist against Menshevism and all forms of opportunism. In 1905, in Odessa, he gave his wide experience of revolutionary mass work for the solution of the tasks of the 1905 Revolution. After ten years of reaction, exile and emigration, Gussev was in the foremost ranks of the organisers of the October Revolution in the Petrograd revolutionary military committee, utilising his enormous experience in the organisation of the revolutionary mass movement and two revolutions, for the cause of the victory of the October Revolution. During the Civil War, he rapidly mastered the intricacies of military science and became one of the organisers of the victory of the Red Army in defending the first Fatherland of the international proletariat. The Leninist Party assigned the most responsible leading posts to its tried warrior. And always, in everything he did, Comrade Gussev carried on an irreconcilable struggle for Leninism, against Trotskyism, both on military questions, and on the questions of the general policy of the Party in connection with the introduction of N.E.P.

In 1923 Comrade Gussev was elected secretary of the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U., and continued to work directly in the

C.P.S.U. until 1925, when he came to work in the Comintern.

Such was the tremendous theoretical and practical experience in the construction of the Bolshevik Party together with Lenin and Stalin, experience of the struggle for the proletarian revolution, that Comrade Gussev brought to his work in the Comintern, so that he could share the great historic experience of Bolshevism, experience of international importance, with the young and growing sections of the Comintern in capitalist countries.

Comrade Gussev played a big rôle in the work of the Communist International. He possessed all the necessary qualities for passing on the experience of the C.P.S.U. to the sections of the Comintern. He knew the experience of work of the Party from the first circles to the leadership of a great proletarian state. He was thoroughly acquainted with the theory and practice of Leninism, as the result of his own thirty years of struggle together with the Party, together with the working class. In 1905 he took a practical part in the struggle for consistently carrying through the bourgeois democratic revolution under the hegemony of the proletariat, fighting for its further growth into a proletarian revolution. He was one of the organisers of the victory of the proletarian revolution in 1917. He knew the theory and practice of the work of a cell, the organisation of strikes, demonstrations, the armed insurrection. He knew the leadership of the Party from the cell to the centre, the struggle against every shade of opportunism, against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence on the proletariat and its Party. He was exceptionally keen in his powers of Leninist analysis of principles, and in his work, Comrade Gussev shared all this with the comrades from Communist Parties in other countries.

In carrying out the behests of Lenin, Comrade Gussev did not pass on the experience of the C.P.S.U. mechanically. He carefully studied the special features of the circumstances and the traditions of the workers' movement of the given country, the circumstances of the given class conflict, etc., so as to establish which characteristics were similar and which were peculiar, and on this basis to set out the tasks of the Party, and the Party organisation.

As a true Bolshevik, a colleague of Lenin and Stalin, Bolshevik firmness of principle stood out with particular plainness in all the work of Comrade Gussev. He was possessed of exceptional vigilance and keenness of Bolshevik analysis when examining all questions. He fought inflexibly

for the correct line, in struggle against deviations, against Menshevism, against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, against right and left opportunism. Comrade Gussev had the gift of bringing into special prominence the principles underlying a question, of giving a class analysis and carrying on the line of the revolutionary proletariat in every concrete question, disclosing and rejecting, both in theory and practice, all that had been introduced by the pressure of petty-bourgeois elements, the social-democratic agents of the bourgeoisie among the working class.

With all his close adherence to principle, Comrade Gussev was not abstract. An analysis of principles served him so that he might brilliantly single out the basic and most important link in which the political and organisational sides of the question were combined, and point out a clear political plans of practical work. It was this which produced that clearness of thought, of approaching and setting out any question, which distinguished him as a colleague of the great leaders of the international proletariat. Comrade Gussev was particularly vigilant regarding the proletarian nature of our movement and leadership. With merciless keenness he disclosed every tendency to dilute our movement with ideas and practice foreign to the proletariat, simultaneously following the unswerving aim of converting the movement into a mass movement, of winning the hegemony over the allies of the proletariat.

In his every-day work Comrade Gussev gave special prominence to the question of forming a basis for the Party in the factories, of forming a mass Bolshevik press, proletarian Party cadres, the development of inner-Party democracy and self-criticism. The comrades from the Communist Parties of other countries know how much he brought into the matter of improving the work and construction of the sections of the Communist International.

As one of the leaders of the Communist International, Comrade Gussev was possessed of that modesty, and absence of any striving towards outward effect, which distinguishes the best representatives of the old Leninist Guard. He was a good comrade, with exceptional simplicity of manner. He had a quality, which few possess, of listening patiently and attentively to the speeches and polemics of the other comrades. But later he astonished his opponents by his deeply thought-out reply, which was always true to Bolshevik principles. It was for this reason that the comrades liked so much to work with him, listening to him and taking note of his well-thought-out, fully matured and theoretically and practically well-founded remarks and speeches. For those who knew and worked with him, his death is a

bitter personal loss, the loss of a beloved and experienced comrade who had the deepest personal respect of all.

The death of Comrade Gussev is a great loss for the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern, for the international proletariat as a whole. In spite of his sickness, Comrade Gussev was at his revolutionary post until the very last days. Communists and the revolutionary workers can learn a great deal from Comrade Gussev. First of all, they should learn from Comrade Gussev his exceptional loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution, his courage and firmness in defence of the interests of the proletariat, his ability to form a big mass movement from small circles, his irreconcilability in defence of the Leninist principles of the proletarian Party, his Bolshevik modesty, simplicity and efficiency.

Comrade Gussev was the author of a number of literary works, both on internal and international questions. The most prominent of them are: "The United Economic Plan, the United Apparatus," published in 1920; "The Lessons of the Civil War," two editions, 1921; "Our Differences in Military Matters," published in 1925; "On the Threshold of New Fights," published in 1929; and quite recently he wrote a book, "The Second Party Congress." Besides books and pamphlets, Comrade Gussev also wrote many articles* on urgent questions of the international revolutionary movement.

Comrade Gussev devoted his life to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The banner under which he fought is now borne by millions who are struggling against starvation, fascism, social treachery, against war and the menace of intervention, for the victory of the world proletarian revolution. The banner of Leninism is carried on one-sixth of the globe by millions of workers and collective farmers, who are constructing the new socialist society. We will rally our ranks closer under this banner, gather around it new millions of proletarian fighters against capitalism, war and fascism.

The cause for which Comrade Gussev fought will be carried to the end, to the victory of world Communism.

KATAYAMA, KOLAROV, ZETKIN, STASSOVA, HECKERT, GOPNER, MARTY, CHEMODANOV, GALLO, GROSSMAN, WAN-MIN, GREGOR, OKANO, ANGARETIS, RUST, ANTIKAINEN, WEINSTONE, KRUMIN, MANULSKY, POSTMA, KELLER, TSKHAKAYA, PIATNITSKY, ISKROV, BELEVSKY, MITSKEVICH-KAPSUKAS, KNORIN, DENGEL, KUUSINEN, MEHRING, LOSOVSKY, MINGULIN, BELA-KUN, I. MINKOV, KASTANIAK.

* See previous issues of "Communist International."

THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN GERMANY

By F. HECKERT

THE Presidium of the Communist International, in its resolution of April 1st, approved the line and tactics of the German Communist Party before and after the Hitler coup, approved the tactics of the Party, which took up the struggle against Fascism and which, owing to the betrayal of social-democracy, was forced to retreat in order to regroup its ranks and to resume the offensive.

During the two months which have elapsed since this resolution, the German C.P. has succeeded in proving by deeds that the confidence reposed in it by the Comintern Presidium was fully justified. Forced to retreat, by the extremely unfavourable relation of forces, the German C.P. has been able to adapt itself to illegal work and to again develop great revolutionary activity, in spite of the unabated fascist terror.

Social-democracy, too, has fully confirmed, by its attitude during the last two months, that the Comintern and the C.C. of the German C.P. estimate it correctly, and have done so in the past. In its last resolution on the situation and the next tasks the C.C. of the German C.P. writes :

“The complete elimination of the social-fascists from the State apparatus, the brutal suppression even of social-democratic organisation and press organs, alters nothing of the fact that, at present, as in the past, it constitutes the main social support of the dictatorship of capital.”

It played and still plays this “honorable rôle” at present by capitulating to fascism, in lending itself to denying the “slanders” spread abroad against the “innocent” fascist barbarians ; in declaring itself in full solidarity with the imperialist expansionist foreign policy of the fascists—by its vote at the Reichstag session of May 17th—without the slightest reservation whatsoever as regards the fascists’ domestic policy ; in inviting the workers—through its exponents, the trade union bureaucrats—to participate in the “National Celebrations of German Labour” on May 1st ; in permitting, through these same exponents, the crushing of the trade unions, and the establishment of superintendence by fascist commissioners over the trade unions ; and, finally, in its functionaries taking over the job of spying on the Communists and denouncing them to their hangmen.

It plays this rôle of main social support of the bourgeoisie also through the manœuvres, with the help of which it endeavours to conceal this capitulation from the workers (hypocritical “attacks” on the trade unions, etc., by Wels).

The whole tail-end of social-fascism, the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, Brandlerites and other renegades, as well as the tiny handful of “radical” members of the German C.P. now insinuate that, in fact, the German C.P. is no better than the decayed German Social-Democratic Party. The wise “world-revolutionary” of the Dog’s Island of Prinkipo has known for years that things would turn out in this way because of the “erroneous policy of the Communist International.” Therefore he recommended the working class, by way of remedy, the united front with the leaders of the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International. And because we rejected such a united front, with the capitulators and party errand boys of the fascists, this “revolutionary” cursed us as “class traitors” and “Thermidorians.” The Brandler clique behaved in a precisely similar way. The chief of this miniculous group of know-alls declared after the elections of March 5th and 12th last, that the German C.P. had been beaten to an even greater extent than the German Social-Democratic Party, and that both these parties virtually no longer existed.

According to Brandler, the German C.P. has suffered a defeat, due to the erroneous trade union policy of the Party. Collaboration with Leipart and Grassmann, instead of the revolutionary trade union opposition policy, would have saved the German working class from the “defeat.” In a letter, addressed to the C.C. of the German C.P., Brandler politely recommends himself as the “saviour” who will re-establish the class front of the proletariat, and rebuild the Communist movement in Germany. There is an old German proverb : “Scoundrels are not modest !” This may be seen not only in the large size Trotsky, but also in the miniature edition—Brandler.

The strength of the German C.P. was expressed in the fact that, at the critical moment, the Party proved to be homogeneous. In the critical weeks, there was no “discussion” in the German C.P. Only a few “unfortunates” in the Party, who had already lost their nerve before the events of the last few months, moaned—usually in secret, but sometimes also in the circle of a few fellow-sufferers in the following strain : The Party has supported fascism. Fascism has defeated the working class, not for some months, but for many years to come. All is lost. If the Party had organised a few local armed revolts on January 31st, the defeat would have come just the same, but then, at least, honour would have been

saved, and an example set to the coming generation how revolutionaries must fight.

Lenin has said :

"It is impossible to win with the vanguard alone. To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive fight while the whole of the class, the broad masses, have not occupied the position either of direct support of the vanguard or, at least, of friendly neutrality towards it . . . would not only be foolish, but a crime."

But these "radicals" wanted to be "more radical" than Lenin. They demand local revolts, which, in their own opinion, were doomed to failure. But, to-day, the value of their "radicalism" can already be seen. Formerly, they could not shout loud enough : "Beat the fascists, wherever you meet them !"—at present they have lost every revolutionary perspective, and believe that fascism has beaten the working class so completely, that the proletariat will be powerless for years to come.

Let these mock heroes hang their harps on the willow trees of Babylon and shed bitter tears. The C.C. of the German C.P. writes quite appositely in its resolution : "The crushing of the revolutionary vanguard of the German C.P., this decisive task which fascism had set itself, has *absolutely failed*, notwithstanding the application of the most boundless terror, wildest provocations, extensive graft and demagogy without restraint. . . . The resistance against terror and measures of oppression, and also the resistance in the economic sphere, after the first weeks of unavoidable confusions and depression, is again on the increase in sections of the working class."

Let us examine more closely the situation of January 31st and how it developed after the Reichstag fire. The warnings of the German C.P. to the working class, regarding the approaching fascist dictatorship of Hitler were not understood to their full significance. On the contrary, the German Social-Democratic Party with its slogans : "Hindenburg will not allow Hitler," "we will call to the battle at the right moment," "Hitler will cause his own downfall within a few weeks," succeeded in establishing great passivity among the masses of social-democratic workers and the membership of the reformist trade unions. The German C.P., however, which after July 30th steered steadily towards the organisation of economic and political mass strikes and the penetration into the big enterprises, had not yet succeeded in developing mass work amongst its sympathisers sufficiently to prevent the sabotaging of the mass rising by the social-democrats and the trade union leaders.

The social-democratic propaganda, recommending to await the development of events, exerted a certain pressure and evoked waverings in the weakest links of the German C.P. In any case, we have not succeeded in drawing broad social-democratic masses

into a common strike against the Hitler coup. The barrier, built by the big guns of the Social-Democratic Party against united front action, hampered the participation of social-democratic workers in joint action with their C.P. class comrades. This was also the rock on which the realisation of the correct general strike slogan of the Party and trade union opposition foundered on January 31st.

In the month of February, the old parliamentary tradition of the German working class hindered the Party in placing correctly the issue of the political struggle for power, namely, on the basis of the extra-parliamentary mass struggle. The broad masses of workers accustomed to election struggles, were diverted from the real class struggle by social-democracy. March 5th will be the day of settlement, the social-democrats shouted, the new Reichstag will bring Hitler to the ground. Party committees drew the attention of the organisations to the fact that, compelled by its difficult position, the bourgeoisie would proceed against the German C.P. and its mass organisations by outlawing the Party, by destroying the mass organisations and expelling the C.P. members from Parliament. The Party had pointed out the method of the adversaries, aimed at driving the Party into illegality by ever-increasing provocations. Nevertheless, the legalist tradition of the German working class, and even of some Communists induced the following attitude in the masses : Their bark is worse than their bite. Besides, there was the experience of the illegal period of 1923-1924, which had left many in the conviction that the picture is not as black as it is painted.

The boundless terror for which the provocative Reichstag fire was the signal, took the majority of the German working class, and even certain members of the German C.P. completely by surprise, unexpectedly, in spite of all the warnings of the Party.

That the success of Hitler did not remain a temporary success of a few days only—this national-socialism owes first and foremost to the treacherous policy of the social-democratic and reformist trade union leaders, which for years have drummed into the workers that they could "grow into" socialism without struggle or sacrifices. Exploitation, the spirit of despair among the unemployed, who had nothing but their miserable dole, the fear of dismissal on the part of the millions of employed workers, educated in social-democratic traditions—this was what stood in the way of resistance to the fascist attack, of the resistance proclaimed by the German Communist Party. If the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions had not educated their followers to absolute incapability of resisting the class enemy, the terror in factory and labour exchange would certainly have met with much greater mass resistance.

During March the fascists succeeded, by devious surprise and terroristic methods, in confining about

11,000 Communists in prisons and concentration camps. Apart from the many workers who were murdered and the 10,000 tortured, who were thus incapacitated, either fully or for a considerable time, from taking part in the struggle—the Party was bereaved of important sections of its body of middle functionaries, owing to the mass arrests in the first weeks of terror. It took three to four weeks to succeed in re-establishing the connection between the functionaries and the C.C. In spite of these difficulties the Party did not remain inactive. Often the cells of the Party, which had remained intact, developed great initiative; the same applies to many local organisations and to very many individual Party members. *It may be said that, after the third week in March the Party leadership, despite continuous arrests, had succeeded in re-establishing the connection with the rank and file organisations.* The re-establishment of the Party cadres was effected by remodelling the Party on the basis of groups of five and ten members, so as to be better adapted to the conditions of work under illegality.

Before publication of the first issue of its organ by the Central Committee of the Party, in which an analysis of the situation, and results of the Reichstag elections were given, a number of local bodies, also cells, had already taken their stand on these events, on their own initiative. A leading functionary of a sub-district relates: "We had no connection with the higher bodies of the Party. Every day the members got more fidgety. Something must be done, they said, otherwise the Hitler gangs will think we are dead. So we tackled independently the printing and publishing of the 'Rote Fahne.' The greatest difficulty was the editorial, which, after all, had to give a correct survey of the situation, a perspective, indicating the tasks before us. But, the comrades said, it is better to correct a possible mistake later on, than to be silent a few more days. Thus our analytical editorial came about. We had, however, not yet the courage to print it, preferring first to discuss the situation in a larger circle. We arranged a meeting, eighteen of us, in the forest and went through the manuscript; then a vote was taken. All agreed. Thereupon we started printing and distributing the paper. Everybody was glad of our work. Comrades came from another sub-district and asked for our help to bring out a similar paper. In their sub-district all leading functionaries had been arrested. Then, finally, the central organ of the Party appeared. We flung ourselves upon the editorial to see what was the line of the Party. How great was our joy when we saw that it was completely in accord with ours. This certainty of being in agreement with the Central Committee, notwithstanding three weeks of separation, during all these events, inspired us with new courage. A woman comrade went with our home-made 'Rote Fahne' to

the police station, and pinned it to the reception desk. When afterwards this comrade was reprimanded for her audacity, she said: "My heart almost broke when those scoundrels said that our Party was dead. I had to prove to them that we live and that the fascists cannot drive us into mouse-holes."

Many such courageous, but not always very wise acts were performed during the month of March. Often they facilitated the arrest of many good comrades by our adversaries. Soon, however, Party members became more careful, they prepared their work better, and, by the end of March and the beginning of April, the fascists were forced to admit that they had not succeeded in destroying the C.P. as they boasted at the beginning of their campaign of terror. But they persisted in writing in the "Angriff" and the "Voelkischer Beobachter" that the illegal leaflets and newspapers were to be ascribed to the activity of the remnants of the German C.P. This Communist propaganda would not last for long. The decrees establishing severe punishment for the subversive work of the Communists, and against the manufacture, publication and distribution of Communist leaflets, however, were in blatant contradiction to the pretence that Communist propaganda and agitation were petering out. That these threats did not help was obvious from the fact that mass raids were carried out in whole city districts and villages—in which thousands of policemen, storm troops and Steel Helmets, and even the Reichswehr, participated. During these searches all typewriters, duplicators, etc., found in the houses were confiscated, irrespective of to whom they belonged, and their proprietors beaten up, tortured and arrested *en masse*. Again the great booty of printing apparatus confiscated during the searches was boasted triumphantly. These mass raids, it is true, were far from facilitating the work of Party and trade union opposition, since many comrades living illegally were found during these searches, and, in particular, many people sheltering them were scared. Illegal work, and the life of the majority of illegal comrades were thus made incomparably more difficult.

Nevertheless, illegal work developed rapidly. The Wuerttemberg Police President uttered a cry of despair on April 10th regarding the mass distribution of Communist literature, although he had already imprisoned half the Party membership. In Breslau, almost the entire city was searched in order to round up the hiding places of Communist agitation. The success seems to have been insignificant, for how could it otherwise be explained that all large bourgeois newspapers started to moan about the underground work of the German C.P.? The "Bergwerkszeitung" writes about the development of the inciting activity of the German C.P., and warns against the belief that this Party has been conquered. The "Rheinisch-Westphalische Zeitung" displays

similar distress. It complains that the Party has succeeded in re-establishing the transmission of orders to the Party members, from the higher bodies to the rank and file. It complains about the increase in illegal activity on the part of the C.P. The German Social-Democratic Party is dead, its leaders have allowed this once powerful party to capitulate without any attempt at resistance, but the most dangerous enemy of national Germany, the C.P., continues to live. Good old auntie Voss *—that frightened lady from which German professors and "liberal-minded" school headmasters used to draw their political wisdom, and who adapted herself to fascism with ape-like speed—is outraged at the continuation of Communist activity. "The German C.P. lurks for the weak moments which will come for the Hitler movement in the next few weeks, in order to attack the weak links in the national front. The hardest trials are still before us." And in the "Ring," the organ of the Gentlemen's Club an article appeared on April 7th, apparently inspired by the Government, where it is literally said that: "Through the utilisation of the fascist repressive apparatus the Communist Party has been so weakened *at first* that it was incapable of large actions. . . . Now, however, the C.P. is already at work again in order to create new conditions for agitation and actions. . . . In fact, the C.P. is already busy on carrying out the directives of the Comintern." The "Ring" complains, furthermore, that the C.P. has begun to work successfully amongst social-democratic workers in disagreement with the policy of their leaders. And the most interesting part of these reports in the leading organs of the German bourgeoisie is that at the same time they place on record, partly with regret, that in the S.D.P., and amongst the leaders of the trade unions, not even a shadow of opposition is noticeable. The dead body of the German Social-Democratic Party therefore gets many kicks, because, as a result of its miserable attitude, it is driving the social-democratic workers directly into the camp of the German C.P.

From the beginning of April the illegal work of the C.P. has considerably intensified. A number of demonstrations are held, albeit still small in size. But through these demonstrations, and its more frequently issued newspapers, factory newspapers, leaflets and stickers, the Party shows its face to the masses. On the streets and on the walls of houses, painted slogans appear again, not here and there, but already in a planned way. Leaflets are distributed again in the houses. New methods are applied for this purpose, to prevent the betrayal and arrest of the distributors. In the courtyards choruses make their appearance, calling out the slogans for the Party and winding up by singing the "International." On various occasions speakers, both men and women,

have come forward and made short addresses. In the market-places agitation is developed among the housewives, coming there to purchase and among the small traders and peasants. Illegal Party material is not only distributed, but already sold. This is done primarily in the factories. The main manifestations are, however, the first strikes against wage-cuts, breaking of wage agreements, victimisation and occupations of factories by Nazis. Between March 25th and April 10th one hundred of such strikes could be registered, most of them being successful. Naturally, most of these strikes are small in extent and short in duration, but they cause uneasiness to the fascists, because they occur in almost all parts of the country. In most cases these strikes are led by united front committees, elected by the workers at the factory. Some strikes last several days and are larger in extent: Sugar Refineries, Hamburg, 1,500 workers, against menacing with revolver by the Nazi factory councillors; Toerl Oil Factory in Harburg, 600 workers, against arrest of Red factory council—successful. In the State Railway Repair Works, Pankow, 1,300 workers chase a Nazi troop. On the Germania Wharf in Kiel, the workers strike against the arrest of their Red factory council and enforce its release. In the Paper Mill Feldmuehle, the "Rote Volkswacht," a Communist organ, is printed as a factory paper and sold for 10 pfennigs. The first issue was sold in 300 copies, the second 500, and the third in 1,000. The Y.C.L. has organised strikes and mutinies in several "labour service camps." It would be beyond our scope to enumerate all the militant actions in the two weeks between March 25th and April 10th. Let it suffice to mention that apart from the central organ, the "Rote Fahne," the "Hamburger Volkszeitung" is published in Hamburg, the "Ruhr Echo" in the industrial centre, the Baden "Rote Fahne" in Baden, and the Palatinate, the "Sueddeutsche Arbeitzeitung" in Wuerttemberg, and other district organs appear in the other districts, partly printed, partly duplicated.

* * *

The fascists perceived the danger which this increased activity of the Communist Party and the Red trade union opposition was bound to involve for them. In particular, they feared considerable struggles of the working class on May 1st. Therefore the greatest national-socialist demagogue, the propaganda minister of the Reich, conceives the idea of stealing the First of May from the working class, and changing it into a national holiday of class collaboration. In developing this idea of the new national holiday in a conference of national-socialist leaders, he said: "We have only one alternative: either the workers celebrate May 1st with us, or they celebrate it under the slogans of the German C.P. Whatever happens, the workers will celebrate this

* Jocular name for "Vossische Zeitung."—Ed.

day. It is better that they do so with us." This argumentation was understood by the big leaders of the National-Socialist Party. By utilising every demagogical means of propaganda, and simultaneous utilisation of the most brutal terror, the workers were to be compelled to participate in this would-be May Day celebration. The workers were compelled to present themselves at the factory on May 1st. There they received a card with their name on it, on which a stamp was placed to certify that they had taken part in the celebrations. Up to five stamps were placed on this card during the day. Whoever did not participate, did not get paid for the day, whoever shirked also lost his pay. Those who did not participate were threatened with dismissal. The Nazis, however, were unsuccessful, although the depraved leaders of the trade unions appealed to the workers to participate 100 per cent. According to the reports of the rotten and "fascised" German Press, everything was marvellous. The workers had turned up and were happy that at last, freed from revolutionary terror, they could celebrate May 1st shoulder to shoulder with their employers. In reality, however, the workers did not turn up. Therefore Hitler had to make an example. Because Leipart and Grassmann with their All-German Trade Union Federation (A.D.G.B.) did not succeed in bringing the trade unions and the workers into the fascist camp, they were, on May 2nd, thrown into jail, with many of their fellow-traitors, and the trade unions were "co-ordinated" ("Gleichschaltung") under fascist commissioners, as the forcing of the trade unions into their movement is euphemistically called by the Nazis. Naturally, without systematic work by the Party and trade union opposition, the mass resistance of the workers on May 1st to the fascist machinations would have been impossible. According to authentic reports of the big enterprises in Berlin, a maximum of 25 per cent. of the workers participated in the celebrations there. At the A.E.G. starting point (Gartenplatz) only a few isolated workers appeared; at the Osram D factory 900 from 2,000, the majority of them women, at the Siemens Planier Plants, 242 from 1,000. The Party, however, did not confine itself to the organisation of passive resistance, but days before the First of May, demonstrations and mass choruses were organised before factories and labour exchanges. In Berlin, five Party demonstrations of considerable size took place on May 1st, three of them from the starting points, fixed by the fascists. When the fascist columns left, the Communists too moved off, with unfurled banners, slogans and singing the "International." In those demonstrations 2,000, 3,000 and 8,000 workers participated respectively. Serious clashes occurred. In Spandau, too, a large-size demonstration was held. In Hamburg demonstrations were formed at several points of the city. In

the Eimsbuettel district 1,000 marched with two banners, eight slogans and twelve posters. The same could be witnessed in the Halle-Merseburg district, in Saxony, in Thuringia, in Wuerttemberg, in the Lower Rhine and the Ruhr districts and in a great number of small and large localities. Many enterprises, under the influence of the Communists, decided in large and small factory meetings, not to participate in the fascist May celebrations.

In the week prior to the First of May, but particularly after the failure of the fascist May celebrations, the resistance of the workers grew. Illegal newspapers appear in larger quantities, their publication becomes more regular, their sale is better organised, so that the number of comrades arrested in connection with their printing and sale decreases considerably as compared with the beginning of the illegal distribution of literature. The police reports daily mention hundreds of localities where illegal literature, newspapers, leaflets, handbills, and pamphlets are distributed by the Communists. The newspapers become more uniform in content, the main political events being treated in the same manner. This shows that the Party leadership has the ideological and political guidance of the whole Party again firmly in its hands. On May 9th the Telegraphen-Union circulates the following significant report: "Since recently the Communists in all parts of Germany are again actively developing illegal propaganda by distributing leaflets. Everywhere literature of anti-fascist contents is brought into the houses. The heavily overburdened police apparatus has no possibility of dealing with this matter at once. It is therefore extremely desirable that the population collaborate in uncovering the centres of such Communist propaganda and handing over the guilty to the police."

This active Communist propaganda, which the police is no longer capable of fighting, is no longer propaganda of an abstract nature, it has already assumed a concrete character. In the enterprises its deals with wage manœuvres, with the defence of wage agreements, with chasing fascist stool-pigeons and factory officials, with safeguarding the trade unions against fascist attacks, opposing the fascist commissioners in the trade unions and inviting the workers to strike. On the markets pamphlets make their appearance, exposing the policy of increasing food prices and showing the small traders, that owing to the policy of great landowners and financiers they become innocent sacrifices to the starving masses. In the houses, the tenants are shown where the policy of the fascist landlords leads to and in national-socialist meetings, particularly in the factories, rather pertinent questions are being asked, why and how that which the Nazis promised the workers is not being carried out. These things are not agreeable for the fascists, and the worst of it is that they are well

aware that the C.P. is the originator and bearer of this propaganda, but it is difficult to catch the illegal Party.

More even than by the growing propaganda of the C.P., the Nazis are disturbed by the growing will to strike on the part of the workers. They are already dreading that a strike wave will arise against their policy, as in the months of September, October and November, 1932, against the policy of Von Papen. In the early part of May, Hitler travels to Kiel to remove the blot of the 1918 sailors' revolt by his presence. The Messiah of the Third Empire failed, however, to impress the workers. The dockers considered their strike more important. The accumulator works in Hagen, Westphalia, on May 5th, struck against intended wage-cuts. The members of the Nazi factory organisation were dragged into the strike, and the leadership had a great deal of trouble to get them back into the ranks. In Zeitz, Hamborn, and some Berlin factories, amongst them factories employing many women, in Saxony, Thuringia, the Lower Rhine, metal workers, textile workers and building workers entered the defensive struggle. These strikes assume a more aggressive character than in April. They are more numerous, too, and break up the Nazi front.

Youth, too, is playing an increasingly important part in these strike actions. Under the leadership of the Y.C.L., especially actions in the labour service camps, are carried out, apart from many smaller "lightning" demonstrations. This is of great importance, particularly because the fascists had succeeded in creating great illusions among the unemployed youth. These youngsters, whose life hitherto had passed without any hope of work, and often without proper quarters and food, tied so to speak, their hopes to the labour service camps as the only way out of their hopelessness. This must not be lost from view, in judging the value of the actions of the youth against fascism.

In the last few weeks the anti-fascist youth has precipitated the dissolution of three labour service camps in Thuringia, and prevented the creation of three further camps. Thus in Weida, one hundred young workers were grouped by the labour exchange in a so-called "emergency work course," in Erfurt such a course was broken up, on which occasion fourteen young workers were arrested for Communist activities. In the Schmalkalden labour service camp, where ninety young workers are employed, regular anti-fascist propaganda was carried on, and then a meeting was held in which more than two-thirds of the workers participated. The meeting resulted in sixty refusing to continue working at the camp and leaving. In the labour service camp of Jena, the young anti-fascists organised the struggle of the 120 young workers at the camp for a rise in wages and succeeded in obtaining that the weekly wage was

raised from 1.50 to RM 3. Thereupon the authorities dissolved the camp, distributing the members over several other camps.

Under the fire of the Hitler terror, *new anti-fascist young workers' cells were created in nine Thuringia factories*. At eight meetings of youth trade union sections, sharp resolutions against the fascist dictatorship and its accomplices of the Leipart variety were brought forward, and at four passed unanimously.

Particularly active is the youth in *Hamburg*, where at present 10,000 printed leaflets are being distributed by them, and they are sticking eighty home-made posters besides painting on walls and fences throughout the city anti-fascist slogans. "Lightning" demonstrations are carried out, in which Red banners and slogans are carried, an average of 300 young workers participating in each demonstration.

These are but a few examples of the action of young workers against the fascist dictatorship. It must be taken into account that young workers are given heavy punishments for distributing leaflets. Shorthand-typist Jurr, a girl, received eighteen months on May 18th in the Special Court of Berlin for having distributed three leaflets.

The biggest strike, which caused most alarm to the fascist rulers, was the strike of the Berlin newspaper shops on May 12th. At Ullstein, Mosse and Scherl and several other print shops the workers struck against victimisations, worsening of working conditions, supervision by fascist commissioners, and for the reinstatement of those dismissed. Even the "Angriff" could not appear. This strike drove the fascist leadership completely frantic. As it was impossible to publish the reason for the papers' non-appearance, the strike had to be proclaimed a national act. The fascist leadership therefore declared that the strike was directed against the Jewish employees of the enterprises, whose dismissal was demanded.

In reality, the printers raised the following demands: (1) reduction of the salaries of the directors; (2) revocation of the 10 per cent. wage-cut carried out last year; (3) dismissal of leading employees, who are members of the National-Socialist Party (and not of Jewish editors, as inferred by the fascist Press), namely, of General Manager A. Mueller, who directs the whole enterprise since the Hitler Government came to power, of Editor Gerd von Glass, member of the National-Socialist Party, and of Editor Thimm, responsible editor of the "Vossische Zeitung" since the advent of the Hitler Government to power. The dismissal of these persons was demanded, because they had proved to be active mischief-makers. The Nazi's stupid lie was rather unconvincing, since the "Berliner Tageblatt" and the "Vossische Zeitung," i.e., the publishing houses Ullstein and Mosse, each gave a different explanation for the painful strike. On May 16th, 17th and 18th fifty well-known oppositional printers were arrested.

It can no longer be denied. The celebrations could not eliminate the class struggle, all tricks of the leaders of the Third Empire remained ineffective. The expression of discontent on the part of the masses become louder and louder. People no longer keep silent in the street, in the tram and on the markets. We don't want celebration speeches; we want at last work, bread and all the promised improvements. The masses want something *now*, and not only at the end of the Hitler Four-Year Plan. In a trial on May 20th in the Nuremberg Court, the attorney declared unexpectedly: "I must frankly admit that we are not enthusiastic about the new Government." By order of the political police he was immediately arrested.

The latest results of the Factory Committee elections are also a proof of the growing opposition on the part of the workers, which opposition has, in hundreds of cases, led to strike actions. If, in the first weeks after the Hitler coup, and the special terror against followers of the C.P. and trade union opposition, a certain decrease in revolutionary votes could be observed, finding its expression in a sharp increase in the number of fascist votes and an increase of reformist trade union mandates; this has now changed. In all factories, where notwithstanding fascist terror, it is possible to establish united front lists—such cases are abundant—these lists receive a large number of votes.

In the "X" factory a meeting of members of the reformist trade union took place, in which the question of the establishment of lists for the Factory Committee lists was discussed. Our comrades, members of the reformist trade union, presented a list of candidates, including several class-conscious social-democratic workers. On the list submitted figured the names of two comrades excluded from the trade union four years previously, on account of their membership of the Red trade union opposition. The secretary of the trade union fought against the inclusion of any trade union opposition people in the reformist union list. Under pressure of the meeting he then made the half-hearted remark that this would only be possible if the two trade union opposition people rejoined the unions. Following a decision of the factory cell which had got in touch with the leadership of the Red trade union opposition factory group—the two trade union opposition people rejoined and the reformist trade union united front list of the "X" factory was established.

In the *Mohr Margarine Factory*, in Altona, near Hamburg, the Nazis categorically demanded the withdrawal of the united front list, threatening to arrest all candidates if this demand were not complied with. Of the twenty candidates, fifteen withdrew as a result of the frightful terror. The other five, however, maintained their candidature. In spite of the Nazi terror, the result of the election was as

follows: United front list 317 votes—5 seats; Reformists 276 votes—4 seats; Nazis 113 votes—1 seat.

In the *Gas Works of the city of Oldenburg* all factory workers, most of them organised in the reformist united trade union, were compelled by the Nazis to join the Nazi factory organisations; those resisting were dismissed. Furthermore, the Nazis demanded a factory meeting, in which the election was to be discussed, and suggested to establish a single list. The workers agreed to this, but on this list they elected four trade union opposition representatives and three members of the reformist union, while not a single Nazi was elected.

Often it is not easy to establish united front lists, because not only the fascists and the employers, but also the courts and the old degenerate Social-Democratic Party functionaries call them Communist lists, declaring them invalid and arresting or dismissing the candidates. This threatening of the workers often leads to withdrawal of the candidates, as, for instance, in the case of the *Osvam* factory.

Anti-fascist counter-action creates more and more uneasiness in the circles of the Nazi usurpers. This is obvious from the nervous speeches made by the national-socialist leaders, as also from their acts. On May 19th Goebbels addressed a meeting of the national-socialist functionaries of Berlin. The Press report on this meeting reads as follows:

"I do not think it fortunate that since January 30th such an enormous number of new members have been accepted in the Party. These new members, according to my experience, are no gain for the Party, but only a dead weight. It is to this number of new members that I ascribe a number of difficulties within the Party.

"There they come with the Party programme and with Hitler's book 'My Fight' asking: Why hasn't this been carried out? why haven't the banks been socialised yet—and thinking they can impress us in that way."

Goebbels furthermore announces that all those erring brethren who now demand the realisation of the Hitlerite phrases—on the grounds that, after all, Hitler is in power now—are to be weeded out root and branch. Furthermore, Goebbels reported at the same conference, that even in the camp of the "National Revolution" ever greater dissatisfaction makes itself felt. On this subject the report states:

"The movement must see to it that no disguised Commune creeps into our own Party, too . . . It has not escaped my knowledge that in Wedding, Gesundbrunnen und Neukölln* German nationalist fighting squads, which had thirteen to fifteen members before, in the course of two or three months increased their membership to 500 and 600

* Working class districts of Berlin.—Ed.

—and these are no converted national-socialists, but in the majority of cases the Commune which has crept into these organisations.”

Many leaders of national-socialist organisations are at a loss as to what is to be done with these people, who, as Goebbels said, “must be thrown out of the Party.”

This alarm speech of Goebbels and the complaints, however, are not yet all. After the trade unions had been supplied in a rush with commissioners and had been “co-ordinated,” fascism saw no improvement in the situation, but was faced with a further sharpening. The trade union members do not pay any dues, they tell the commissioners: We are not going to give you our money after you have destroyed our trade unions. The fascist leaders swear that they had only carried out the “co-ordination” to save the hard-earned pennies of the workers, so that they might get benefit from the unions’ unemployment, invalidity, sickness and other funds also in future. So as to ensure that reformist workers would believe this, some social-democratic trade union leaders have been appointed commissioners also, e.g., the notorious social-democratic strike-breaker Ullrich from the metal workers’ union in Berlin. Hitler-Goebbels & Co. have, however, no longer much confidence in demagoguery without force, as may be seen from their measures for industrial peace, of May 17th:

“The Reich Commissioner for Economy, and the leader of the German Labour Front have issued the following decree: ‘National-Socialists, German working people of hand and brain, the State is ours! Nobody can snatch it away from us. The economy is our economy, the factory is our factory, the vice is our vice! Just for this reason, because this is so, every endeavour, to destroy all this that belongs to us, must be nipped in the bud and you, the guard of the national-socialist revolution, have the task of honour to smash without pity or consideration anybody who dares to damage this wonderful property of the German people.’

“Only the enemies of our revolution can be interested in stoppages, unofficial strikes, lock-outs and similar actions. Therefore, oppose them, be on your guard, don’t tolerate it, for it involves our success, our victory, it involves Germany and our people.”

In order to ensure this “victory,” district leaders are appointed for the various parts of the country. The decree continues:

“The district leaders of economy and labour are responsible for economic peace and for the reconstruction in their territories. Since they are both Party comrades of long standing and thus have a conviction to guide them, they are warrants for the national-socialist revolution of national-socialist thought and action throughout German economy.

“They regulate the wage agreement, they survey labour protection and labour rights, as well as social measures.”

The resolution of the C.C. of the German C.P. says that “not only the working class and the poor peasantry, but all toiling strata in general, in the struggle for their smallest demands immediately clash with the most bitter resistance of the capitalist State power and, that, in the near future among the great masses of toiling Hitler followers, disillusionments about the ‘Third Empire’ are bound to occur, since it reduces them to ever greater misery, instead of improving their conditions.”

That which this resolution predicted, for the near future, is already beginning to take place.

Recently cases of demonstrations on the part of market-buyers against the rapidly growing rise in prices are accumulating. In order to quiet down the enraged masses, the fascist authorities of Munich had 200 butter dealers arrested and sent to the labour service camp of Dachau. As shown by the decisions of small traders in the Palatinate, they are already resorting to counter-measures. They refuse to be the victims of a policy which indicates as enemies of the masses, not the Government which drives prices of agricultural products up, but them, the small traders. They therefore refuse the sale of foodstuffs, the prices of which have been increased. As a first result of an anti-tax campaign among the small handicraftsmen, traders, and peasants, we find an increase in refusals to pay taxes which induces the fascist leaders to implore them, not to allow themselves to be incited and to pay taxes punctually.

Just lately peasant revolts have occurred in the Palatinate, among the unemployed in Rheinland-Westphalia revolts have also taken place (in the labour service camps), and Nazi storm troop leaders been shot by rank and file members of the storm troops (five cases in the course of a single week).

Facts which bear witness to the awakening of the working class are, of course, of decisive importance, but they in turn are closely connected with the revival of the activities of the German C.P.

The examples quoted to illustrate the awakening of the working class to resistance and counter-attack are sufficiently indicative of the increased activity of the German C.P. They are only a cross-section through the life and struggle of the German Party, but sufficient proof that the Trotskyite and Brandlerite slanders about the death of the German C.P. are simply slanders. At the same time, however, it shows how ridiculous is the moaning in our own ranks about the German C.P. being unfit for struggle for years to come because of its wrong policy of July, 1932 and the spring of 1933. It could perhaps be inferred that all this verbal and printed propaganda, these demonstrations, to say nothing of the strikes and

the actions on the markets, are spontaneous actions of the masses.

Actually the rôle of the Party in the growing resistance of the masses to fascism is very important, and the Party has actively prepared itself for this rôle.

The resolution of the C.C. of the German C.P. has shown that all demagogic manoeuvres which the Hitler Government resorts to for fear of an open outbreak of the workers' resistance, are incapable of concealing the fact that the "social manoeuvring possibilities of the Hitlerite dictatorship are extremely limited."

"The temporary insignificant concessions of fascism, contradictory in themselves, but necessitated by reasons of political utility, are unable to conceal that the basic principle of fascism is monopoly capitalism, great landownership and imperialism, they cannot stop the ever-growing rate of the sharpening of the contradictions of the interests of monopoly capital and great landowners on the one hand, and of the petty-bourgeois followers of the Nazis on the other.

Following the establishment of these facts, the resolution of the C.C. warns most emphatically against the illusion that the internal conflicts within the fascist camp would be able to themselves bring about the disintegration of the fascist dictatorship :

"The Party must oppose with the greatest determination the hopes and delusions deliberately fostered by the Social-Democratic Party, to the effect that the conflicts and their political symptoms (contradictions within the National-Socialist Party, tension between the German Nationalists, "Steel Helmets," Storm Troops, Police and Reichswehr) could in themselves lead to the fall of the Hitler dictatorship, and it must be made common knowledge in the Party, and the whole of the working class, that only to the extent to which the working class itself succeeds, under the leadership of the German C.P., in developing mass struggles, these conflicts will grow, the militant power of fascism against the proletariat will be weakened."

The C.C. of the Party correctly emphasises the Party's rôle and lays down its next tasks. In the resolution it is said :

"Those tasks which the XIIth Plenum set, remain in force : Through the development of partial struggles, to lead the masses to the political mass strike, towards the general strike, the struggle for power, for the workers' and peasants' republic, for socialism. To this effect, the economic partial demands of all strata of the toiling masses, which are the key to a broad mass mobilisation (against wage-cuts, rise in wages according to rise in prices, prevention of mass dismissals, increase in benefits, elimination of taxes weighing on the masses, prevention of evictions and seizures, cancellation of pacts and debts of the toiling peasantry, etc.)

must be linked up with the political partial demands of the anti-fascist struggle (release of our leader Ernst Thaelmann and of all political prisoners, freedom of propaganda, organisation of the workers, and their meetings, right of strike and association, disarming of the fascists, return of the property stolen from workers, etc.)."

The resolution of the C.C. points out the defects in Party work to be overcome (already indicated before the Hitlerite dictatorship). The discrepancy between the correct decisions of the Party and their practical realisation ; insufficient realisation of the correct decisions of the German C.P. leadership, according to which the factories have to be made into the actual political centres of the Party work, and the basis of the united front tactic ; insufficient initiative in developing partial struggles, resulting in the revolutionary forces lagging behind the rate of development of the fascist forces ; keeping too strongly to the old, insufficiently manoeuvring activity, insufficiently quick reaction to concrete measures of the enemy, whereby the carrying out of the united front policy is hampered, etc.

Besides these old tasks, which also remain in force, the C.C. resolution sets new ones, or stresses some previous tasks with greater emphasis in accordance with the new illegal position of his Party :

"The first pre-condition of the higher development of the class struggle is the consolidation of the cadres of our Party, the raising of its striking force. To this effect full political clarity regarding the position and the tasks down to the lowest rank-and-file units is required, and independent initiative of all leading bodies, an iron discipline, serious mastering of conspirative methods, greatest courage in breaking through illegality. Stricter than ever before the unity of the Party . . . must be maintained."

The Party has tackled the re-organisation of its work, in accordance with the new illegal conditions, with the greatest energy, and has thereby helped the working class, in a comparatively short space of time, in awakening to resistance and counter-attack.

After January 31st the Party had to break definitely with the old methods of leading the Party membership, and the public or organisational activities. It had been preparing itself for this during a great number of months. Since the middle of January its newspapers had been prohibited. Owing to this, it was no longer possible to exert daily influence and give daily directives. Then, when the persecutions of the Party apparatus, and the suppression of the legal Party apparatus sharpened ever more, especially after the Reichstag fire, the method of circulars and large meetings of officials had to be dispensed with, because this would have played directly into the hands of the fascists.

In the same way as the rank and file Party organisations had to be reorganised into groups of five and ten, in order to achieve maximum safety for the membership, the leadership was reorganised on the system of instructors. Through these personal connections of the C.C. with the district committees, and the latter with the rank and file Party organisations, it has been possible to ensure that the Party membership is continuously kept informed of the estimation of the situation by the C.C. and the actions the C.C. thinks it necessary to carry out. But the committees, too, are able by this method to keep informed upon the spirit of the masses—even better than before. Only after the necessary illegal protection of the Party and safety of the leadership throughout the Party had been ensured by this method, did a general revival of the whole Party's activity make itself felt. The discords of dissatisfaction, caused or furthered by one or two oppositional members were soon overcome. To-day it may safely be stated that the Party is united. This is why, in spite of numerous arrests, it is comparatively quickly possible to fill the gaps.

Apart from its verbal instructions and supervision, the C.C. has organised a press service, which forms the basis for the district, local and cell meetings. This press service is published several times a week, at least twice. Moreover, the Party issued information material in the form of letters. This material contains: (1) a general appreciation of the whole situation and of the various political and economic events; (2) concrete directives for the preparation and realisation of the actions decided upon and locally possible; (3) experience gathered in the struggle hitherto. In its directives, the Party puts all questions concretely; the question of gaining the majority of the working class; the question of united front; the question of work in the enterprises; T.U. work under the rapidly changing circumstances; the question of work among the agricultural labourers and peasants, taking tax problems into special account, and explaining how the peasants, artisans, and small traders can fight the system by refusing to pay taxes. It is explained in detail to the party organisations how the courier service is to be built up, and how it must function so as not to endanger both the couriers and the Party apparatus. Detailed indications for the preparation and carrying through of various meetings and sessions are given; for work in the mass organisations, also in the opponent organisations for the methods to be adopted in strike actions; for the safety of the leadership and actions of the Party. Other instructions show how work can best be carried out. All new and tested methods of work are transmitted to the members, similarly the methods of stool pigeons. Examples are given showing how, due to frivolity and unpunctuality, dangers arise for the Party membership; and the realisation of the actions planned.

All these questions are explained to them by specific examples, so that they may correctly recognise, in practice, the negative and positive sides of their work. This concrete help from above to the rank and file is considered extremely important and indispensable by the membership. It may rightfully be said that this is the main factor in the rapid activation of the widest masses. Naturally, many things are still behind-hand. The Party membership does not yet solve all problems correctly, in particular those of illegal work. Much educational work with the individual members is required. Moreover, a large number of prejudices have still to be overcome.

A number of mistakes have still to be noted along the lines of seemingly least resistance, e.g., a reconciliatory attitude to the pressure of the working masses to join the national-socialist factory organisation—as a result of compulsion or from fear of dismissal—instead of energetic resistance to the advance of the national-socialist factory organisation in the factories., that is, to joining this organisation to do oppositional work from within, under its cover, so to speak, without offering strong resistance to the growth of their organisation, in all enterprises. Voluntary relinquishment of membership of the reformist trade union, which has now assumed large proportions, goes in the same direction, without our comrades sufficiently opposing it, which is tantamount to abandonment of the defence of the existing trade union organisations from the fascist attack, to failing to gather the trade union membership for common action against the reformists capitulating to fascism. To the same category belongs the barring of payment of membership dues in those organisations, which are being headed by commissioners, without simultaneous organisation of resistance to those commissioners to ensure the illegal continuance of unions.

Among the Party instructions for work in the trade unions the following deserve special mention: the methods of the fascists of forcing the trade unions into the framework of the fascist state with reference to the danger of the reformist theory of waiting for the fascist commissioners to cause their own downfall; the necessity of the struggle against the tendency of joining the Nazi factory organisation, showing what must be done against the dispersal of the trade union membership, and for gaining members for the Red trade union opposition. It is explained how united front can be formed in the enterprises by taking advantage of the various differences obtaining. The different methods of mass resistance are enumerated, and how they can be used to advantage. Special attention is devoted to drawing reliable workers into the leading cadres.

In one of these directives, Hitler's tax system is thoroughly analysed, while arguments best comprehensible to the toiling strata, hit by these taxes, are

quoted to win them over for resistance to the whole system. In the directives dealing with work among agricultural labourers and the toiling peasantry, those demands are discussed which these elements consider most urgent, and which are skilfully utilised by the national-socialists to win the agricultural labourers and peasants to national-socialism. Another instruction again, deals with work among social-democratic workers and the members of the reformist unions, in connection with the invitation to them to participate in the fascist May Day celebrations, while another instruction shows under which slogans the workers must be mobilised by us on May 1st. In the proletarian mass organisations, instructions regarding the plans of the fascists in the cultural sphere have been arranged, to find out the concrete methods which must be applied in the mass resistance to cultural reaction. A large part of these instructions is devoted to the ideological struggle against the Nazi Party and the Nazi trade union organisation.

The practical application of the directives given by the Party was tested in the campaign for the sending of delegates to the anti-fascist congress in Paris. It was essential, in this respect, not only to get the workers of certain enterprises to elect delegates, but to impress the significance of the anti-fascist congress in as many enterprises as possible and on the largest masses of workers which could be reached, and to get them to participate in the preparations for the congress, the sending of delegates, collections, defence of the delegates and reporting on the congress, as well as in the realisation of the congress decisions.

The increased activity of the Party organisation, the growing excitement of the masses, and the successful realisation of a number of actions carried out by the Communists have led to the fascists endeavouring even more energetically than hitherto to discover the directing centres of the anti-fascist movement. As a result the Party has suffered losses of important functionaries in recent weeks. Substitutes must be

found for these. Therefore it is the task of the Party to create new cadres under the intensifying fire of the enemy, to educate them and to merge them with the old cadre, to arm them better for the greater tasks. It is very fortunate, precisely for this activity of the Party, that extraordinary courage is found, in very wide strata of the proletariat, that many workers who had not fought in our ranks hitherto, declare themselves prepared, in spite of all fascist terror, to carry out their militant functions under the leadership, and on behalf of the Party. A further extraordinarily important task, which faces the Party, and must be solved, is the creation of illegal mass literature. The fascist usurpers boast that they have confiscated and destroyed thousands of tons of revolutionary literature, and fondly imagine that they have thereby succeeded in eradicating the "Marxian poison" in the masses. But this hope of the enemy, too, will be brought to nought by the Party, by distributing, to an even larger extent than hitherto, illegal literature and leaflets—and by creating a substitute for the destroyed revolutionary literature in illegal pamphlets, so that the propaganda of the teachings of Marx and Lenin may create in the masses the theoretical revolutionary base for the practical revolutionary actions of the Party to rest on.

We close with the following words of the resolution of the Central Committee.

"Only the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, can open a way out of the crisis of capitalism, liberate the toiling masses from social want and national serfdom and win work and bread for all toilers. To the "Third Empire" of hunger and oppression we oppose the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, the realm of socialism. Not back to bankrupt bourgeois-democracy which has of necessity developed into fascist dictatorship; but forward to the proletarian dictatorship which guarantees broadest and freest democracy for all toilers."

(Continued from page 440)

great growth of the war danger caused by the advent of Hitler's Government to power and his foreign policy with all its power. In a resolution on the "Present Situation in Germany," published April 7th, 1933,* the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. pointed out that the policy of the Fascist Government will inevitably lead "only to a further sharpening of the whole international situation, and a tremendous growth of the war danger." Since then, the situation has grown still more acute, and mainly the anti-Soviet plans of German Fascism have become clearer. The Communists of all countries must expose this special character of the foreign policy of German Fascism. At the same time they must expose the

treacherous policy of the German social-democrats who, at the ceremonial meeting of the German Reichstag, on May 17th, after the speech of Hitler officially expressed their solidarity with the foreign policy of Fascism, i.e., the policy of preparing a new war. According to the just remark of the organ of German heavy industry "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," this vote of German social-democracy can only be compared with the vote of August 4th, 1914, for war credits to the German Government. The intensity of the situation is characterised precisely by the fact that social-democracy has joined the war front of the German bourgeoisie even before war has been declared.

* C.I., No. 9.

(Continued on page 424)

HAWAII, THE STRATEGIC KNOT OF THE PACIFIC

By SEN KATAYAMA.

THE Hawaiian Archipelago has twenty islands, only nine of which are habitable, and covers an area of 6,449 square miles. It is situated at the junction of routes across the Pacific. It is separated from the continent by over 2,000 miles (from San Francisco to Honolulu 2,418 miles, from Panama 5,395 miles, from Manila 5,429 miles and Yokohama 3,915 miles).

Though the territory is small, nevertheless the Hawaiian Islands form the most important strategic point in the Pacific Ocean. With the growth of the danger of imperialist war, the thunder clouds are hovering low over the Pacific Ocean—the interventionist plot against the U.S.S.R., the war in China, the ripening military conflict between the U.S.S.R. and Japan, etc. North American imperialism is making the fullest preparations to utilise these little islands, which are a colony of the U.S.A., for its war aims. The repeated big naval manoeuvres in the Hawaiian Archipelago, the concentration of the Atlantic fleet of the U.S.A. in the Pacific Ocean, the proposed militarisation of Hawaii, etc., are all facts which speak sufficiently for themselves. The Japanese imperialists are likewise not lagging behind in their efforts to use the Hawaiian Islands in their own interests, arguing that the majority of the population on Hawaiian territory are of Japanese origin. The agents of Japanese imperialism in the government circles of Hawaii, the representatives of big firms, newspapers, etc., use every effort to implant patriotic chauvinistic feelings among the Japanese population of the islands. Rumours circulate as to the nearness of the Japanese-American war, a permanent place is taken by agitation for a further advance on China, and a war of intervention in the U.S.S.R. The Japanese imperialists have even sent their "labour" agents in the person of the "left" social-democrat, Professor Oyama, to Hawaii for the purpose of finding an approach to the toiling Japanese population of the islands.

The Japanese press publish reports of debates in Congress emphasising the great importance attached by American imperialism to the Hawaiian Archipelago in the Japanese-American war:

"Last year (May 18th, 1932) a bill was introduced into Congress to appoint an army or naval officer as governor of Hawaii. It was emphasised that, in the future, the day would undoubtedly arrive when the lives of American citizens would depend on military action developed around Hawaii. From this point of view we propose, together with Panama, to

subject Hawaii to complete and direct military control because this is a most important line for the defence of the U.S.A. Enemies cannot approach us from the East without first destroying the line of defence and the naval base at Hawaii."

In giving this quotation, the Japanese paper points out that, up to now, the governor of Hawaii has been elected from among the Americans living on the Hawaiian Islands.

HOW AMERICAN CAPITALISM SEIZED HAWAII.

The process of colonisation of the Hawaiian Islands is a classic illustration of the reactionary rôle played by Christian missionaries in support of the imperialist policy of colonial plunder. The Hawaiian Islands came under the influence of the American missionaries in 1820. A considerable part of the native population adopted Christianity. With the active help of these missionaries, who cleverly utilised the discontent of the native masses with their rulers, the U.S.A. staged a "revolution" in 1893, and drove King Liliuokalani from the throne. As the attempt at immediate annexation of the islands broke down, on July 4th, 1894, a "republic" was proclaimed, under the "protection" of the U.S.A. navy, while in 1900 the islands were "officially" annexed by the United States. On the grounds that there were large numbers of Japanese emigrants in the islands, Japanese imperialism attempted to interfere in Hawaiian matters, but these attempts were frustrated by the U.S.A.

Since the occupation of the islands, the best part of the land has been seized by the American bourgeoisie, especially by American missionaries. It is interesting to note that many of the rich Americans who now own sugar plantations on the Hawaiian Islands are descendants of these "messengers of Christ." The Hawaiian Archipelago became an American colony, a source of wealth to the imperialists of the U.S.A. at the expense of the natives and the immigrant workers, chiefly Japanese, Filipino and Chinese.

Hawaii is one of the centres which supply the U.S.A. with sugar. In 1920-21 the U.S.A. imported from Hawaii 977,738,902 lbs. of sugar and in 1927-28, 1,647,586,758 lbs. In 1926-27 the amount of pineapples (the second in importance of the products grown in the islands) exported to the U.S.A. was 410,570,322 lbs. The U.S.A. exports to Hawaii chiefly iron and steel goods, mineral oil, meat, fertilisers, etc. In 1927-28 the total amount of American exports into the Hawaiian Islands was \$78,585,650 (Hawaiian exports to the U.S.A. in the same period were

valued at \$113,547,157). According to an approximate estimate, from 1900-25 the Hawaiian Islands paid \$117,195,205 into the U.S.A. treasury. The U.S.A. government has officially established a big military post in the islands with accommodation for 30,000 men in Schofield and several secondary posts. The naval ministry has a big base at Pearl Harbour with dry docks, opened in 1919. Here also are big hangars for airplanes and a powerful radio station. Since 1925, a national guard has been organised on the Hawaiian Islands, the numbers reaching 1,727 men in June, 1928 (102 officers and 1,625 volunteers). People of various nationalities, including those of Eastern origin, are taken into the national guard.

The ports of Hawaii are maintained by direct taxation and special loans from the population to the sum of several million dollars. Hawaii is covered with a network of excellent railroads. From 1901-25, over 25,000,000 dollars were expended in building the chief lines, which, of course, are of great strategic importance. It is interesting to note that of 1,038 miles of railroad in Hawaii in 1926, about 700 miles or about 70 per cent. of the whole system passes through plantations, which clearly illustrates the specific colonial character of railroad construction in Hawaii. On the one hand, there are strategic military lines and on the other there are lines adapted to the easiest extraction of the specialised agricultural products of this colony for the main country (sugar and pineapple).

THE POPULATION AND ITS RACIAL COMPOSITION.

The population of the Hawaiian Islands—Polynesian—at the time of their discovery by Captain Cook in 1778 was about 200,000.

"But together with civilisation," states the "World Almanac," "the population fell, and eventually the Polynesian race disappeared, rather owing to mixed marriages and other causes than extinction."

The falseness of this statement is obvious, as the Almanac admits that the death rate among the Hawaiian population was 30 per cent. and that the whole population of the Hawaiian Islands, including those who had made mixed marriages, was 49,143 in 1929. The cause of this rapid fall in the numbers of the local population must be sought elsewhere. The fate of the American Indians, Japanese Ainu, victims of the barbarity of imperialist plunder, form a complete analogy with the fate of the peoples of the Hawaiian Archipelago.

In contradistinction to the American colonies and to other colonies of the same type, the majority of the population in the Hawaiian Islands does not consist of locally born people

who inhabited the country before its conquest, but of masses of emigrants. It is a mixture of different nationalities, as we shall see from the following table. It is of great importance that about 40 per cent. of the population are Japanese. This fact emphasises the rôle of Hawaii in the approaching conflict between the U.S.A. and Japanese imperialism. At the same time it creates a complex situation and makes the work of Communists difficult in the organisation of the independence movement in Hawaii.

Race and Nationality	1910	1920	1925	1929
Hawaiian ...	26,041	23,702	21,145	21,106
Aryan-Hawaiian	8,772	6,955	13,837	17,164
Asiatic- Hawaiian ...	3,754	6,955	8,346	10,903
Aryan- Portuguese	22,301	22,002	27,470	30,609
Porto Rico ...	4,890	5,602	6,382	7,109
Spanish ...	1,990	2,430	1,946	1,915
Other Aryans (Americans, English, Ger- mans & Rus- sians) ...	14,864	19,408	18,786	36,154
Chinese ...	21,674	23,507	24,851	25,068
Japanese ...	76,676	109,274	128,068	141,515
Korean ...	4,533	4,950	5,956	6,593
Filipino ...	2,361	21,031	49,335	65,785
Negroes ...	695	348	—	—
Others ...	376	110	—	—
Total ...	191,927	246,275	306,122	367,821

Note.—These figures do not include the naval and military forces of the U.S.A.

The national composition of American and foreign subjects in 1926 (according to the Statistical Bureau "Vital Statistics"):

Nationality	American Citizens	Foreign Citizens	Total
Americans, English, Germans, Russians ...	35,833	300	36,133
Portuguese ...	24,620	3,250	27,870
Porto Rico ...	6,594	—	6,594
Spanish ...	1,212	670	1,882
Chinese ...	13,783	11,328	27,111
Filipino ...	5,885	45,260	50,146
Hawaiian ...	21,054	—	21,054
Japanese ...	74,973	54,928	129,901
Koreans ...	3,122	2,956	6,078
Aryan-Hawaiians ...	14,555	—	14,555
Asiatic-Hawaiians ...	8,801	—	8,801
Others ...	231	190	421
Total ...	201,563	117,882	328,444

Although the proportion of Americans and Europeans is very small, nevertheless, as pointed out above, they practically rule the whole of the industrial and political life on the islands. The following table is significant from this point of view:—

Tax Assessment of the Population.
(Report of the Governor in 1926.)

Americans and Europeans	...	\$9,951,412.48
Hawaiians (including half-breeds)	1,098,803.54	
Chinese	...	613,593.87
Japanese	...	656,236.42
Filipinos	...	158,119.35

The number of voters does not correspond to the number of the population. During the local elections in 1926 only 40,569 persons voted. By nationalities they were divided as follow:—Hawaiians and semi-Hawaiians 11,763; Americans and Europeans 15,540; Japanese 3,094; Chinese 2,906; others 12,068. In 1926, during the elections in Honolulu district there were 4,000 citizens of Japanese extraction who had the right to vote, but only 1,800 actually voted.

Harada, the Japanese professor at the Hawaiian University, wrote as follows in his book, "The Social Position of Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands," published in 1927:

"In 1920 a Hawaiian made the following statement at an official meeting in Washington: 'In seven years the majority of the voters in the Hawaiian Islands will be Hawaiian-Japanese, and if the Americanisation of the Hawaiian Archipelago is not completed, the Hawaiian Islands will be under the power of the Japanese government.' Exactly seven years have gone by since this forecast, but we find that the Hawaiian-Japanese are far from being the majority of the voters. . . . The fact is that the majority of the second generation of Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands are still very young, and only a small fraction of them have reached the age of twenty-one, i.e., the age which gives them the right to participate in the elections."

In spite of these words of Harada, which seem so comforting to the U.S.A., there are real motives which incite the American imperialists to raise hysterical howls about the "yellow peril" and the "danger of Japanese violence." The agents of Japanese imperialism in the islands are establishing special Japanese schools where they inculcate Japanese culture, teach the scholars the Japanese language and the religion, but at the same time send them also to the American schools. Many of these youngsters are sent to Japan for special "Japanese training." There are several Japanese senators, who were born in the Hawaiian

Islands, and many local officials. All these are elements on which Japanese imperialism can rely. The Japanese imperialists are trying to make the greatest use of the "favourable situation." Senator Yamashiro, a Hawaiian-Japanese, reporting on the proposed militarisation of the Hawaiian Islands, prophesied the growing force of Japanese influence in the islands, stating that: "At present there is only talk of the militarisation of Hawaii, but these words may become deeds, as the strength of the Japanese here is growing" ("Los Angeles News" in Japanese, July 15th, 1932).

CHIEF BRANCHES OF HAWAIIAN INDUSTRY.

The cultivation of sugar and pineapple is the main branch of economy in the Hawaiian Islands. The output of these products has increased 100 times since the annexation of the islands by the U.S.A. Rice, coffee and bananas are also grown. Animal rearing is widely practised.

The output of sugar in 1882 was 57,088 tons. In 1900 it was 289,554 tons, in 1929, 913,670 tons. In the same way the output of pineapple increased from 2,000 cases in 1901 to nine millions in 1929.

THE WORKERS IN THE SUGAR AND PINEAPPLE PLANTATIONS.

1. *National Composition.*

Whereas the dominating rôle, especially in the sugar plantations, was previously played by the Japanese workers (in 1908 there were 38,711 Japanese workers in the sugar plantations), this rôle is gradually passing to Filipino workers. This does not mean that the Japanese immigrants have been sent back to Japan. The fact is that the heavy conditions of labour on the plantations, the unlimited exploitation, results in the rapid exhaustion of labour power and compels a constant import of fresh immigrants who can be paid still cheaper. Therefore, according to the report of the Governor in June, 1929, the workers in 41 plantations of the Hawaiian Association of Sugar Planters (controlling the whole of the sugar industry on the territory of the Hawaiian Islands with insignificant exceptions) numbered in all 56,658. Their national composition was as follows:—

Men.	Total number	Percentage
Americans	1,269	2.5
Japanese	9,197	18.5
Filipinos	34,345	69.3
Chinese	946	1.9
Koreans	502	1.1
Porto Ricans	810	1.6
Portuguese	1,682	3.4
Spanish	72	0.2
Hawaiians	572	1.2
Others	160	0.3
Total	49,579	

<i>Women.</i>		Total number	Percentage
Japanese	...	1,472	85.0
Others	...	261	15.0
Total		1,733	

<i>Youths.</i>		Total number	Percentage
Regular Workers	...	461	—
Scholars	...	4,855	—
Total		56,883	

According to the report of the Statistical Board of the U.S.A. in 1929, there were 7,512 workers (3,933 men and 3,579 women) in the pineapple canning factories, and in the same year there were 3,577 workers on the pineapple plantations (3,416 men and 161 women). These figures are plainly below the real state of affairs. It is possible that day workers are not counted at all. According to the same report, there were 4,285 workers in the rush season in 1929 on two big pineapple plantations alone.

The national composition of the workers on these two plantations gives a general picture of the distribution according to nations: Japanese 35 per cent., Chinese 4.7 per cent., Filipinos 65 per cent., Hawaiians 0.8 per cent., Koreans 3.4 per cent., Others 3.6 per cent.

The following figures show the national composition in a big pineapple canning factory in Honolulu: Japanese 42.1 per cent., Chinese 9.7 per cent., Hawaiians 16.4 per cent., Portuguese 7.6 per cent., Filipinos 11.7 per cent., Americans 2.6 per cent., Others 0.9 per cent.

In the above-mentioned branches of industry the majority of the Americans work as engineers or skilled workers. Some of the skilled workers are Hawaiians and people born in the Far East. It is quite obvious that the majority of the unqualified workers are natives of the Far East, chiefly Filipinos and Japanese.

2. *Wages and the Working Day.*

The average working time in a week in these branches of industry is sixty hours. The working day lasts ten hours, according to the report of the Statistical Board of the U.S.A., but frequently is it dragged out to twelve hours.

The average daily wage in the sugar plantations and factories in 1929 was \$1.84 for men and \$1.30 for women and \$0.87 for children. The full wages for a week were \$11.04 for men and \$7.80 for women. It is very difficult and dangerous to believe these figures which are given by the government. The "average" wages in these statistics is a very obscure quantity, because it evidently includes the much higher wages of the

European managers and technical staff. A piece-work system of wages is operating in the plantations, and the above-mentioned figures probably apply to those workers who work on the system of so-called participation in profits. The same applies to the pineapple industry.

In the pineapple plantations the *average* wages in 1929 were \$1.90. The weekly wages for men were \$13.62 and for women \$6.96. In the canning factories the average wages in 1929 were \$1.65. The weekly wages of men were \$16.26 and of women \$10.08. We should be extremely sceptical of this official "average" figure. In addition, during the economic crisis of 1929-1933, even these wages were greatly reduced.

The workers in the sugar plantations "receive apartments, heating, water and medical help free. They receive their basic monthly wages, and a premium which varies according to the price of sugar," says the government report. If we translate this into ordinary language, it means that the workers in the plantations are compelled to work in conditions of forced labour, of a long working day, for low wages, in miserable barracks. The premium is merely the sugar coating to the low "basic monthly wages." In addition, a loophole is left. "The premium varies according to the price of sugar."

The general income of such a worker may be calculated by multiplying the daily wage by 365 minus rest days, and there are very many of such unpaid rest days. The sugar season lasts less than eight months, and the pineapple season only four months. It is counted very good if a worker, on the whole, is employed for sixteen days in a month in the pineapple plantations. This is shown by the turnover of labour power in these branches, and also the fact that, with the exception of Americans, the majority of the workers are not on monthly wages. As we have already mentioned, the American workers are mostly skilled workers and mechanics.

Night work or overtime is not paid. In addition, there are "elders" who act as an intermediary between the plantation owners and the workers. The workers can only get work through the "elders" and this creates a double burden of exploitation for them. These apply especially to the Japanese and Filipino workers. These elders not only control work and wages, but also living quarters and food, for which the workers are compelled to pay monstrously high prices.

HAWAII AND THE CRISIS.

The crisis has severely affected the Hawaiian Islands, with their single crop farms, and the bourgeoisie are trying to throw the whole burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling masses. The output of canned pineapple has

fallen by half, and last year there were rumours that the Philippine Canning Company would soon wind up its business. There are no other figures on the crisis in this industry. But without doubt the situation of the workers in the pineapple canning industry has worsened. There are mass dismissals, they are not paid their wages, pay is being cut, premiums abolished, the intensification of labour introduced, etc. Small farms which grow pineapples are also seriously affected by the crisis.

"The small Japanese farmers who produce pineapples on Saku Island," writes the newspaper "Los Angeles News" on July 9th, 1932, "in view of the closing of the canning company are deprived of the possibility of selling their products. The harvest on which so much labour was expended is rotting as it stands, and their families are starving."

There can be no doubt that the same applies to the condition of the sugar industry. The workers employed in the sugar plantations and the sugar factories are in a difficult situation. We have no concrete information on the effect of the crisis in the Hawaiian Islands, the winding-up of industry, the amount of the wage cuts, the intensification of labour, unemployment, the bankruptcy of small farmers and shopkeepers, so that we can only judge on the basis of scattered information which appears from time to time in the bourgeois press. But even the bourgeois papers admit the growth of the army of unemployed in the Hawaiian Islands. Even in autumn, 1931, a Japanese bourgeois paper "Hawaii Hotsi," which is published in Hawaii, wrote that thousands of Japanese workers cannot find work and are flocking to towns like Honolulu.

SMALL FARMERS.

In 1920, out of 5,280 farms on the territory of the Hawaiian Islands, 882 belong to whites (627 owners), while 3,098 belong to Japanese (188 owners, eleven managers and 2,899 tenants). These farmers are mostly Japanese peasants growing rice, coffee, sugar and pineapples. They are forced to sell the two latter products to the big sugar and pineapple companies at low prices fixed by these companies.

THE TWO CHIEF FACTORS ON THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS—JAPANESE AND FILIPINO WORKERS.

The leader of the Hawaiian Association of Sugar Plantation Owners stated cynically that the chief reserves of labour power for them are Japanese and Philippine workers because they do such hard work, on such small wages, that Americans or white workers in general cannot rival them. At first Japanese workers predominated,

and still play a very important rôle. They immigrated in large numbers and became a menacing "spectre of the yellow peril," both in the United States and on the Hawaiian Islands. However, a law was passed prohibiting the immigration of Japanese, and since then the planters have begun bringing hundreds of Filipinos, with whom they make contracts guaranteeing them "free passage back to Manila if they work a certain minimum time." With the aim of "identifying" them, their finger prints are taken like criminals. However, at the present time, a howl has been raised regarding the "growing danger from the Filipino workers." This howl is going up from the American Federation of Labour and other elements, both in the U.S.A. and in the Hawaiian Islands.

According to the "North-American Annual," the Japanese population of the Hawaiian Islands (persons having an independent wage) in October, 1925, was distributed among the following professions:—

Plantation workers (3,985 women)...	17,118
Farmers	3,470
Fishermen	890
Metal workers	310
Builders	2,675
Factory workers	2,030
Railroad men	355
Chauffeurs	1,296
Port workers	246
Teachers	193
Household workers	2,707
Bank and Office Employees	2,313
Various	3,217

Of course, these figures are by no means exact, but nevertheless they enable us to judge the general tendency. The Japanese population of Hawaii, and also of many towns on the west coast of the continent have special sections of the town, their own banks, schools, temples, etc., not to speak of thousands of Japanese stores in which Japanese store-clerks work.

As for the Filipino workers, 43,433, or 64 per cent. of the total Filipino population of the Hawaiian Islands work on the sugar-cane plantations. Five thousand work regularly on the banana plantations and 6,500 to 12,000 work at the pineapple factories, etc.

PERSECUTION OF THE TOILERS OF HAWAII.

We have no information of the exploitation and the persecution of the native masses of the Hawaiian Islands, also we do not know whether there is an independence movement among them, in what form it shows itself, or how. However, there can be no doubt that the majority of the Hawaiian native bourgeoisie, the landlords and

descendants of the royal dynasty, are entirely in the pockets of the American imperialists and collaborate with them, to exploit the masses of toiling natives.

The recent lynching of Hawaiian and Japanese youths who were caught by an American officer and his relatives, the so-called Massie case, the encouragement given to such lynchings by the Hoover régime and the limitation of freedom of action for native jurors during the trial of this case in court (introduced by such a "liberal" lawyer as Clarence Darrow, who was defending counsel in this case), show what restrictions were and are applied to the Hawaiian toilers. In particular, these attempts to justify lynching in Hawaii have caused great excitement among the toiling masses of Hawaii, although they have not made attempts at organised protest.

On the Hawaiian Islands, strict restrictions are practised towards Negroes, and for this reason the plantation owners refuse to bring workers from Porto Rico. They say: "Negro blood flows in the veins of many of the workers of Porto Rico."

In spite of their large numbers, the Japanese population of Hawaii are also subjected to every kind of social, economic and political restriction, which, it is true, does not apply to the rich Japanese who live on the islands. With regard to Filipinos, Chinese and other toilers, the attitude towards them is still worse. We are informed that the Young Men's Christian Association refused to take in Japanese or Chinese youth, on the grounds that there is no place for them in a "white" organisation. The rich Japanese and religious fanatics were greatly excited at this, but the end of the matter was that they formed a separate Y.M.C.A. for Japanese youth.

It is noteworthy that the yellow reformist organisations of white workers on the Hawaiian Islands refuse to accept Japanese, Filipino and other Far Eastern workers. With regard to the latter, there are restrictions also in the matter of wage scales, housing conditions and the type of work given them. In 1920 the Japanese struck against low wages and bad housing conditions on the sugar cane plantations, obtaining a partial victory. The persecution of Filipino workers is still worse.

WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS.

The Statistical Board of the U.S.A. writes as follows in its report on the Hawaiian Islands (No. 534) regarding workers' organisations:

"In Hawaii there are few workers' organisations and their membership is small, with the exception of the hairdressers' union. They have no wage agreements with the employers.

Mechanics, pattern-makers, pattern-makers' helpers and boiler-makers in the metallurgical and machine construction plants have organisations. This applies also to type-setters and linotype operators in the printing industry, ship-mechanics, carpenters and joiners, plasterers and riveters in the building industry and repair work, and also hairdressers, except Japanese and Filipinos."

Although it is not stated, we must suppose that the Hawaiian trade unions belong to the reactionary A.F. of L., or, at any rate, support its platform, especially on the question of restricting the rights of Far Eastern workers.

In the same report is said that, in Honolulu, there are about 1,000 Japanese carpenters who do about 90 per cent. of the carpentry of the town for wages of \$3.50 a day, while union carpenters demand \$6.50 and an eight-hour day. However, the report does not make the slightest mention of the large number of strikes of Japanese and Filipino workers in the sugar plantations which took place in 1920-1925.

In 1927-28 over 5,000 workers employed on some sugar cane plantations on Oahu Island came out on strike, with demands for equal wages and housing conditions with the white workers. The strike spread to other plantations and threatened to spread to all the plantations of the island. It lasted over a month and ended in the victory of the strikers. The strike was led by Japanese journalists and business men from Honolulu and was supported by all the Japanese residents of this town, who collected money, housed the strikers, organised food kitchens, etc. Naturally, the leaders of the strike were not so much interested in defending the interests of their "fellow-countrymen," although they continually declaimed about this, as they were interested in utilising the discontent of the Japanese workers to develop a struggle against their competitor, American capital, for the benefit of the Japanese bourgeoisie. The leaders of the strike were sent to jail for several months. During this strike, no attempt was made to draw the workers of other nationalities into the struggle, although they, especially the Chinese workers, employed on the plantations, sympathised with the strikers. After the strike, a Japanese workers' association was formed, which about 5,000 workers joined, but later it collapsed.

The strike of the Filipino and Japanese workers in 1925 aimed at securing wage increases. The workers struck for "an increased minimum daily wage," says Bruno Lascar in his last book on the immigration of Filipinos to the U.S.A. and the Hawaiian Islands (1931). They demanded that "the conditions of work should approximate to

those in the big farms of the U.S.A." The strike was defeated. During the strike, five policemen and fifteen strikers were killed in a clash. After this, the Filipino governor appointed a commissar on workers' affairs in Hawaii, who carries on negotiations with the planters and the Filipino workers, striving to keep the latter in subjection.

The leader of the strike was a Filipino lawyer—Pablo Manlapit. He was sent to the Hawaii prison for several years, after which he left for the U.S.A. At first he showed sympathy with the C.P.U.S.A. and the Anti-Imperialist League, which at that time (1927-28) was carrying on an active campaign for the independence of the Filipines. However, he then informed the correspondents of the papers that he had nothing in common with the League, and the position he set forth in this interview with the correspondents differs in no way from that of the national bourgeoisie. Since his arrival in the U.S.A. he has lived in Los Angeles, and did not participate in the organisation of the strike of the Imperial Valley plantation workers, and many other strikes of farm workers in which Filipino workers took an active part.

However, according to the latest information, Manlapit last year once again began to carry on active work among the Filipino workers in the Hawaii plantations. The newspaper "Rodo Simbun" (organ of the C.P.U.S.A., published in Japanese), taking into account the past history of this man, says that "Manlapit is probably a spy." As for his further organisational work in the movement of the Filipino workers in Hawaii if such a movement exists, we have no material making it possible for us to make any decision. It is true that we know that last autumn 200 unemployed Filipinos held a spontaneous demonstration and organised a march to the municipal buildings of Honolulu, and this is sufficient to show that a ferment is also taking place among the Filipino workers.

The Koreans have their organisation on the islands, "Korea Mindan" (the Korean national organisation), which publishes a newspaper and has wide international contacts. However, it is a diehard nationalist group under the influence of Christian missionaries, and penetrated with the ideology of the Korean national bourgeoisie. It is difficult to judge the degree of influence of this group among the Korean workers on the islands.

Among the Japanese workers in Hawaii there was a group which was long under the influence of the Japanese revolutionary movement. The members of the group came chiefly from the Japanese islands of Riu-Kiu, where, at one time, the Japanese Workers' and Peasants' Party (which supported the C.P. Japan, and was dis-

solved by the government in 1928) had a strong influence. This group remained, for a long period, without contact with the masses, but in 1930 it began to take some active steps. As a mark of protest against the arrival of Major-General Kanna from Riu-Kiu in 1930 there was a collection of money for the election fund on Maui and other islands, and the organisation "Yuaikai" was formed with over 200 members.

Later the Hawaiian Proletarian League was organised, a group for studying sociology in the Hawaiian University and a literary group around the journal "Hagurum" (The Cog Wheel). All maintained close contacts.

The arrival of Professor Oyama, who at one time sympathised with the C.P. Japan and is now one of the wildest social-fascists, caused a split among these elements. The majority were on the side of Oyama, held mass meetings, gave a banquet in his honour, etc.

The minority, consisting principally of youth, energetically fought against him. This was in summer, 1932. In autumn, after Oyama had been exposed by the American workers as an agent of Japanese imperialism, that part of the League which had split away, again joined up and organised "Hawaii Musansia Higogikai" (Hawaiian Proletarian Soviet). At the present time it has 2,500 members and branches on five islands—Oahu, Hawaii, Maui, Kawaii and Molokai.

The intensification of the crisis is driving American imperialism to further increased exploitation and oppression of its Hawaiian colonies. As the preparations of the international imperialists for anti-Soviet intervention progress and the clouds of imperialist war gather over the Pacific Ocean, North American imperialism will still more definitely carry out its military control of the Hawaiian Islands. At the present time, the militarisation of Hawaii is on the order of the day, and American imperialism takes account of the rôle which this colony may play. But Japanese imperialism is also trying to strengthen its influence in the Hawaiian Islands, and there was good reason for the social-fascist Oyama going there. The objective situation is favourable for the development of work among the revolutionary elements on the Hawaiian Islands, the more so as the discontent of the masses is growing, as is shown by the formation of the Hawaiian proletarian council by the workers, and also by the demonstration against unemployment organised by the workers.

The C.P.U.S.A., the Japanese and Philippine C.P.s, but especially the C.P.U.S.A., must give the greatest help to the liberation movement of the toiling masses in Hawaii.

The immediate tasks of the revolutionary movement in the Hawaiian Islands are determined by the specific social and economic conditions and the international situation of this colony.

1. The main island is of exceptional naval strategic importance in the approaching war between the basic imperialist powers on the Pacific.

2. The whole economy of the Hawaiian Islands is adapted to the interests of American finance capital and the military aims of American imperialism.

3. American imperialism, having converted the Hawaiian Islands into a classic agrarian appendage for producing raw material, implanting the plantation form of agriculture for the more successful pumping out of the raw materials and products needed by it, at the same time has maintained and conserved the most barbarous form of pre-capitalist exploitation, feudal exploitation, combining it with modern "civilised" forms of indentured semi-slave labour on the plantations and in the factories.

4. The specific nature of the social conditions of the Hawaiian Islands are, firstly, that it is difficult to establish any definite native national mass, typical for most colonies. Here, in the Hawaiian Islands, it is *American imperialism* which dominates economically and militarily. Its rival, not only in the general economic and military sense but in the direct internal economic sense, is Japanese imperialism, which has such an important means of influence as almost half the population of the Hawaiian islands. American imperialism, of course, exploits *all* the population of Hawaii. But in addition to the usual differentiation of classes and class contradictions, we here find an unusual phenomenon of the national-race factor, which is utilised with fair ability by American and Japanese imperialism in their interests (the Hawaiians form only 15 per cent. of the population, Japanese over 40 per cent., Filipinos 20-25 per cent.).

5. This circumstance has its effect on the workers' movement and the organisational forms of the revolutionary movement.

Here in a preliminary article (as we have not many important facts concerning the peasants,

the prevailing forms of economy, the existing national liberation and revolutionary movement, tendencies, organisations, etc.), we merely wish to indicate the direct tasks which plainly rise for the revolutionary elements in Hawaii :—

1. Firstly, it is necessary to start to organise mass revolutionary *trade unions*; and, above all, among the workers of the sugar, pineapple and transport industries, and also among the farm hands. These trade unions *at the given stage* will evidently have to be constructed according to nationalities (Japanese T.U.s, Filipino T.U.s, etc.) with a leading centre to unite them (the central trade union council). There are undoubtedly many difficulties and dangers with such organisational forms (race and national differences and chauvinism, the inevitable attempts of Japanese and American imperialist agents to get possession of these unions, etc.). But while building these unions at first according to nationality, linking them up in a unifying centre, it will be necessary to follow the course of an international union of T.U.s.

2. At the same time a firm *united Communist group* (or Party) must be formed, which will include Communists of all nations, and which would guide the trade unions and the revolutionary mass movement in general.

3. The immediate slogans and demands in the every-day practical struggle of the masses, under the leadership of the Communist groups, must be concentrated around the question of *conditions of labour* (the eight-hour day, equal pay with white workers, defence of labour, etc.), demands for elementary *political freedom* (freedom of press, organisation, assembly, electoral rights, etc.). Special demands must be worked out for farm hands, plantation workers, tenants and poor peasants (taxes, rent conditions, etc.). In addition concrete demands must be prepared in the sphere of national, cultural freedom and equality (teaching the national language to the given group of the population, equality in political and cultural respects, etc.).

4. The Hawaiian revolutionary movement must be linked up with the revolutionary movement in the U.S.A., Japan, and the Philippines.

(Continued from page 416)

The struggle against the war danger, and especially against the danger of a military attack on the U.S.S.R. which is being prepared by world imperialism as a whole, and, at the present moment, chiefly by

German Fascism together with the British die-hards, in the West and the Japanese imperialists in alliance with the British in the East, is the most important task of the international proletariat.

THE SECOND COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

By BELA KUN

PART II.*

I. THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY OF GERMANY, THE "PUREST CULTURE" OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.

THE collapse of the German Social-Democracy and the reformist trade unions, which took the form of their open capitulation to Hitler, and their virtual withdrawal from the international organisations, constitutes a serious blow at the Second International and all of its national sections.

The Social-Democratic workers of all capitalist countries are naturally asking the question: How did this happen? How did it happen, that a party which has so stubbornly and pitilessly fought against the proletarian dictatorship and in the defence of bourgeois democracy, which has talked so much about the struggle against fascism, which has organised the notorious "iron front," completely failed to make even the least show of resistance to the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship, but immediately joined Hitler's camp?

The Second International and its leaders are evading every attempt to analyse the events in Germany, to examine the tactics of German Social-Democracy. They refer to future historians, and content themselves with a statement to the effect that the Labour movement in Germany had been split, and that the Hitler dictatorship was inevitable as a result of this split.

Some delegates to the Congress of Austrian Social-Democracy (April 16th, 1933), who learned the lesson of the Hitler terror and the capitulation of Social-Democracy in Germany—and who are also learning a lesson from the collaboration of their own leaders with Austrian fascism now smashing ahead—in despair, raised the question at the Congress: Does not the policy of Austro-Marxism (this most rotten upper layer of the Social-Democratic clique, which always played the "left" wing of the Second International) lead to the road trod by German Social-Democracy?

In reply to this outcry of despair, Otto Bauer found nothing better to say, than that things in Austria were not as bad as in Germany, that in Austria things had not yet come to the same pass as in Germany. By all means do not resort to extreme measures, let not the proletariat *resort to force*, he urged. It would be an exaggeration "already to maintain that the road of development in Austria *inevitably* leads to fascism," so modestly and timidly does the now quiet Otto Bauer reply, and his words sound strained as if issuing

from the depths of a cellar, into which he, together with his theories and the Linz programme of Austrian Social-Democracy, had been thrown, by order of Dollfuss.

It is characteristic that Otto Bauer raises the question of the "inevitability" of development towards fascism. The sense of his speech at the Congress is that Hitler's victory in Germany was inevitable. Indeed, what else could his statement, to the effect that the road of Austria does not inevitably lead to fascism, mean?

Here, too, Otto Bauer could not help resorting to deceit. He raised the question on a plane as though in Germany, as in Austria, the march and pressure of fascism, the inevitability of its victory depended only on *objective* forces, *not* dependent upon the working class. This deceit aims at defending both German and Austrian Social-Democracy.

What is the actual situation concerning the "inevitability" of the development of fascism?

Fascism is a product of imperialism and the post-war crisis of capitalism, and there can be no doubt that the working class does not, by its conduct alone, determine whether the bourgeoisie, and *just when* it will prefer fascist methods to bourgeois-democratic ones. But the *success or failure* of the fascist advance, depends upon the power and speed of the advance of the resistance and counter-offensive of the working class, upon who leads the majority of the working class at the decisive moment, upon the degree of influence over the working masses by the Communist Party, on the one hand, and Social-Democracy on the other, in general and particularly during the decisive moments.

The Communist International and the Communist Party of Germany, opportunely drew the attention of the German working class and international proletariat to the tendency of the German bourgeoisie to end the bourgeois democratic forms of dictatorship, and raise Hitler on its shield. The Communist Party of Germany organised a united front of struggle against the fascist offensive.

The adoption of fascist methods was an inevitable process for the bourgeoisie and its party, inasmuch as the bourgeois-democratic forms and methods of dictatorship displayed their powerlessness to stop the development of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. But, from the view point of the working class, the victory of these tendencies was not inevitable. Whether or not the bourgeoisie succeeded in establishing a fascist State apparatus, depended on the working class. Although the German Com-

* Part I. in No. 10.

unist Party successfully fought for the united front of the working class in the struggle against advancing fascism, although the German Communist Party succeeded, already in 1932 in outstripping the tempo of development of Fascism, as the two election campaigns in July and November demonstrated, Fascism has nevertheless succeeded in gaining a temporary victory in Germany, only because at the decisive moments, when the bourgeoisie, anxious to thwart the danger of the rapidly approaching revolutionary crisis, decided to call Hitler to power, the majority of the working class was still fettered hand and foot by Social-Democracy.

Hence it is *not* merely a question of noting the existence of fascist tendencies among the bourgeoisie of the different countries, when defining the inevitability of the development towards Fascism, the inevitability of its victory as Otto Bauer has attempted to hoodwink the workers. Here a most important rôle is played by the specific gravity of the Communist Party and Social-Democracy among the masses, by the attitude of Social-Democracy, of the Second International as a whole, of *all* of its sections and the working masses led by them, to the factors causing these tendencies towards "fascisation" within the bourgeoisie itself. Here a decisive part has been played by the attitude of Social-Democracy to the bourgeoisie and its State, to capitalism, the universal crisis of capitalism, the proletarian revolution, the bourgeois dictatorship and the dictatorship of the proletariat. From the position of German Social-Democracy on all questions of economic and political development of the war and post-war days in Germany, the paralysis of the forces of the revolutionary working class and the victory of fascism inevitably arose, owing to the existing relationship of forces between Social-Democracy and the Communist Party. To the bourgeoisie the road to Fascism was objectively given, inasmuch as Social-Democracy, as the agency of the bourgeoisie within the working class, inevitably became a companion of the bourgeoisie on its way towards Fascism.

Inevitability of development in the direction of Fascism is by no means objective to the working class in other countries. Germany, with its highly developed degree of Fascism, does not necessarily constitute an inevitable model of their future fate to the countries in which the bourgeoisie still prefers the bourgeois-democratic methods to Fascist ones. The question of the inevitable development of Fascism has been, and is, solved only by the extent to which we succeed in paralysing the disorganising, sabotaging work of Social-democracy and isolating it from the masses. The working class can free other countries from the "fate of Germany" *if it rejects the Social-Democratic policy and promptly establishes a united front under the leadership of the Communist Party, in the struggle against Fascism.* But where Social-

Democracy preserves its influence over the majority of the working class, at the moment when the bourgeoisie decides to substitute fascist methods for the old methods of oppressing the working class to overcome the crisis, disrupt the proletarian revolution and prepare the imperialist war, the victory of Fascism may become inevitable.

The fate which has temporarily afflicted the working class of Germany, in consequence of the victory of Fascism is by no means "Germany's destiny," as the leaders of the Second International maintain, in unison with the apostles of "German socialism"—Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg—but is a fate which Social-Democracy prepares for the proletariat. The national hymn, which Otto Wels and the Social-Democratic fraction of the Reichstag chant together with Hitler, the National-Socialists and their former partners in the Coalition, from the Democrats to the German Nationalists, is the "music of the future" of the entire Second International—which it is already rehearsing.

Leon Blum, Vandervelde and Otto Bauer who has now become a figure of secondary importance, must not be allowed to disguise this future prospect, not of the working class, of course, but of the Social-Democracy, by dexterous tricks. Yet the "criticism" levelled against German Social-Democracy by the Second International, sought precisely to humbug the workers, at least outside Germany, and delude them that the German Social-Democrats were not "true democrats"; in other countries the Social-Democrats are "better and are therefore stauncher defenders of democracy" (as regards the "socialism" of Social-Democracy they consider it useless at the moment to waste words. And they are quite right about it. "There is no need to mention witches, which do not exist," enlightened people wrote as far back as the darkest Middle Ages).

But how is it possible to deny that Germany was the classic country of Social-Democracy, and not only before the war, but after it, as well?

If Social-Democracy is to be regarded in its purest form, the "pure culture" of Social-Democracy, so to speak, then it is German Social-Democracy which we must consider. The Social-Democratic Party of Germany carried on its political activity in a land of highly-developed capitalism, in a land in which all the material prerequisites for socialism exist in sufficient measure. German Social-Democracy worked in a country with a numerically powerful proletariat. It developed its activity in a country in which the class contradictions reached a point of extreme intensity, and the class struggle assumed the most acute forms; in a country where Social-Democracy and the reformist trade unions embraced more widely than in any other capitalist country the great masses, and controlled them politically. Even in the Hitler elections of March 5th, 1933, German

Social-Democracy polled about eight million votes. In Germany, the Social-Democratic leaders, the general staff of Social-Democracy, had achieved the highest stage possible in the bourgeois State for the social support of this State, for its props claiming to represent the working class. The ranks of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany included about 300,000 municipal and State officials. It had developed the strongest and most influential labour bureaucracy. It, that is, the Social-Democracy, had rendered the greatest service in the salvation of the capitalist system, and the bourgeois State. It had created the democratic constitution of a vast empire, the Weimar constitution. It was regarded by the entire Second International as the guiding star indicating the *democratic* road to socialism. German Social-Democracy was the "pole of civilisation" opposed to the pole occupied by "Bolshevism of Tartar origin."

Did not the decrepit Kautsky mumble, as recently as last February, in referring to the German experience that—

"Democracy is not only the road to the socialist objective, but is *part of the objective itself*, which aims not only at general well-being, but at giving everybody freedom and equal rights." (See "Kampf," No. 2, 1933, p. 48.)

German Social-Democracy had succeeded—even in a greater measure than the British Labourites, the Belgian, Polish, Swedish, Danish and other Social-Democrats, past managers of the affairs of the bourgeoisie in the capacity of ministers—in convincing the great working masses that the participation of Social-Democracy in the running of the bourgeois Government machinery was equivalent to participation of the working class itself in the power which governs the bourgeois State. No other Social-Democracy has succeeded as well as the German Social-Democrats in making the workers believe that the democratic State represents "not the power of one class," but the division of power *between the classes*, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Small wonder! At the head of the republic was a president nominated by Social-Democracy; Social-Democratic ministers not only in Prussia, the biggest German State, but in the other States of the German Republic; scores of Ober-Presidents, Landrats (State councillors), higher officials and, what is of most importance, police presidents in the biggest cities; police officers, organised in a free trade union, and in daily friendly intercourse with the Reichswehr generals—did not this constitute, from the viewpoint of the Second International, power to the working class, in contrast to "Bolshevik Russia, where there is a dictatorship over the working class"? Why did not one of the leaders of the Second International call upon the German working class to be on its guard on the eve of July 20th, 1932? Not one of them warned

the workers that this power of Social-Democracy was such that it could be overthrown in less than twenty-four hours.

Indeed, the Social-Democracy in Germany was not overthrown—but merely dismissed.

Dismissed as some lackey, as an unnecessary servant.

Even after its dismissal its conduct did not change. It started to bargain with its master regarding the size of the pension; it appealed to the bourgeoisie's sense of gratitude for its long term of faithful service; it opened court proceedings; but worse than fire did it fear one means of defence. An appeal to the masses against the master. The dismissed Social-Democratic Party of Germany perished, not in a fight against Fascism, but was blotted out by the black ingratitude of the bourgeoisie. But not even the Fascist club succeeded in destroying its dog-like loyalty to its master—German capital. On the contrary, it wagged its tail still more. This has been splendidly proven by Otto Wels, the Social-Democratic fraction of the Reichstag, and finally, the Executive Committee of the German Federation of Trade Unions in its May Day appeal.

However, the Second International, the Social-Democratic Parties in all the capitalist countries are constrained to "explain" somehow how Social-Democracy could have come to such a pass, to the workers.

They explain the victory of Fascism in Germany by the split of the German Labour movement and the policy of the Communists (we shall return to this infamous slander later.—B.K.). They attempt to explain the conduct of the German Social-Democracy by the fact that it has radically changed its policy on the question of Fascism and democracy.

In this way they seek to create the impression that the German Social-Democracy was not following the road trodden by the Second International, that it was not "a genuine Social-Democracy."

But did the German Social-Democratic Party betray its principles, its policy, when it capitulated to Fascism, when it publicly knelt before Hitler, and on his orders broke with the Second International; did it change its policy or not?

And the Second International as a whole, together with its national sections, did they apply in the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, other principles, other policies than those of German Social-Democracy? Such, primarily, are the two questions which must be clarified after the collapse of German Social-Democracy; before light is thrown upon the true causes of the split of the Second International, which are so carefully concealed by its leaders. The answer must be given not only for Germany—there, the workers, through the mercies of the Social-Democratic Party and reformist trade union bureaucrats are learning to understand these

questions, in a school in which the main pedagogic method consists of the "stahl ruten" of the Storm Troops—with which they had been equipped through the efforts of Severing, Grzesinski, Zörgiebel and the other Social-Democratic police presidents. A correct Marxian answer to these questions must become the property of the working class, of the toiling masses *in every country*, so that they may build their own destiny and avoid the fate prepared for the German proletariat with the active assistance of the Social-Democracy.

There can be no doubt that no small section of the German working class, which broke its organisational connections with the Social-Democratic Party after January 30th, after Potsdam, *is still* under the ideological influence of the Social-Democracy and believes that a better Social-Democracy is possible than their German variety. And although, owing to the self-dissolution of the Social-Democratic organisations, the German workers are no longer exposed to such enormous doses of poison in the Social-Democratic Press and agitation, nevertheless the opium of Social-Democratic ideology still dopes the head of many a German proletarian. Too powerful are the traditions of the Social-Democratic spirit in Germany. Social-Democracy, though *politically and morally* dead, still continues to exercise its demoralising influence. In this, it is aided even by the National-Socialists, who accuse Social-Democracy of being a vehicle of Marxism. And the deadly stench of Social-Democracy will continue to contaminate the atmosphere long after its final disappearance.

2. TRUE TO THEMSELVES TO THE END.

Thus the first question which must be answered is as follows :

Has German Social-Democracy betrayed its principles, its policy, when it capitulated to Fascism, when it publicly fell at the feet of Hitler, and broke its connection with the Second International on his orders?

Judging by the cautious reproaches made to German Social-Democracy by certain leaders of the Second International, particularly of the countries allied to France, it might be thought that their reply to this question is in the affirmative. Although Leon Blum leaves the final decision of the question of "whether German Social-Democracy represented the interests of the workers well or poorly, to the judgment of history," he still finds that the party headed by Otto Wels had made such concessions, had occupied such a "cautious, reserved, so to speak, objective" position to Hitler Fascism, that it "conceals within itself a recognition of the accomplished facts."

Thus, the alleged change in the policy of German Social-Democracy, which Blum and his friends, in

their own words, claim they cannot support, consists in the adoption of a "cautious, reserved, so to speak, objective position" to Hitler's Fascism. However, as regards the old position, from which the German Social-Democracy has allegedly departed, in taking up the present position, which gives Leon Blum the opportunity to pose as "critic"; of this Blum has not a word to say.

Hitler adheres to the very same view upon the present policy of German Social-Democracy as those leaders of the Second International, who, at least since Hitler's victory, had been attempting to throw up a smoke-screen about some imaginary change of principle on the part of the German Socialist Party. Hitler's reply to Wels in the Reichstag: "You have come too late, but still you have come," is nothing but a statement similar to that by Leon Blum on the change in principle, of the German Social-Democratic Party to National-Socialism and its policy. The only difference is that Hitler finds that the Social-Democracy was *too late* in making this turn in the direction of the "national revolution."

The leader of the Second International and the leader of Fascism in Germany, Leon Blum and Adolf Hitler, are both *equally unjust* to the Party of German Social-Fascism.

The Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party has not replied to this estimation of their conduct on the part of Hitler and the Second International. The Fascist prohibition of the Press is here very handy to the German Social-Democracy, just as the censorship during the world war was handy to them when the Social-Democratic leaders were therefore able to shroud themselves in silence for "certain difficulties still had to be overcome," and meanwhile to openly write what was prescribed them by Hindenburg and Ludendorff.

But the truth will out. It will come out, if not through the Social-Democratic Party Press, then through the organs of the trade unions, which are still allowed to be published in Hitler's Germany, and this truth has broken forth in the article published in the official organ of the German Federation of Trade Unions "Gewerkschaftszeitung" (of April 15th) captioned "The Working Class and the National Revolution." This philosophy is addressed to the leader of the "national revolution" Hitler, but it may be rightfully regarded as a reply to the timid rebukes of the Second International.

"The *German revolution* which began, not on March 5th, 1933, nor on July 20th, 1932, but in November, 1918, has entered a *new phase*." (Italics mine.—B.K.)

In this phrase is expressed nothing more nor less than the truism that Hitler's "national revolution" represents a further development of the "German revolution" which was begun in November, 1918. It is stated quite unambiguously that the November

revolution—of course not the one made by the German proletariat, but the one which was accepted by Scheideman, Ebert, Noske and Haase, after being betrayed and castrated by them—and the “national revolution” of Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Rosenberg are two successive milestones in one and the same process of the development of German history with a *common* content. The *continuity* in the development of German history since November, 1918, in the spirit of November 9th, of the Eberts, Scheidemans, Noskes and Haases, right up to January 30th and March 5th, 1933, was enforced not by National-Socialism, but by Social-Democracy. In other words; Ebert sowed, Herman Mueller, Otto Wels and Rudolf Hilferding watered, and Hitler reaped.

Did not the “Vorwaerts” of February 2nd (morning edition) express the same idea, when, in connection, with Hitler’s Governmental declaration in Reichstag of February 1st, it wrote :

“Herr Adolf Hitler . . . you spoke of the ‘ November crime,’ but had it not been for this ‘ November crime ’ a man from the working people, such as you, would never have become German Reichs Chancellor.”

The official article of the Social-Democratic trade union leadership follows in the same strain, noting the *unity of the contents of the November policy of Social-Democracy and the “national revolution” of Hitler*. It is the Social-Democratic trade union leadership which maintains that the Weimar Republic with its bourgeois democracy merely represents a stage on the way to Hitler’s “Third Empire,” to Fascism, or to use the phraseology of the Social-Democratic theoreticians, “from the relative democracy of the Weimar Republic to the authoritarian democracy of the Presidial Republic.” Concerning the tasks facing the Weimar Republic, solved by the Social-Democracy, the article says :

“The first step, the Weimar Republic, was defined by three tasks : liquidation of the lost war, the crushing of Bolshevism, and the saving out of the wrecked order whatever could be saved.”

Every word in this phrase represents the *purest unadulterated* truth. The only change that should have been made is in the order of the words, the resistance to Bolshevism being placed first. This phrase by no means represents an unprincipled adaptation to the severest censorship, being forced by the Hitler dictatorship. There is *nothing* in it that has *not* been repeatedly and officially stated by all the Social-Democratic and trade union leading organisations before, under Papen and Schleicher.

Did not the All-German Federation of Trade Unions declare, before von Papen’s coup, in its resolution of June 14th, 1932, quite officially :

“The working class, apart from all nationalist phrases, has been the strongest support of the

German State in all the dangers and troubles of the post-war years.”

The article in “Gewerkschaftszeitung” emphasises precisely the *continuity* of the *nationalist policy* of Social-Democracy. And if anything is hushed up for fear of Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda, it is only perhaps the following thought : You National-Socialists, Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Co., were still crawling under the table, you were still unweaned when we, the Social-Democratic Party and the trade union leaders, were already fighting for the national cause of Germany.

We have no special difficulty in proving that German Social-Democracy and the leaders of the trade unions are right in maintaining that “the first stage of the Weimar Republic” realised all the tasks, whose solution Hitler’s “national revolution” promises, under the changed circumstances. To do this it is not at all necessary for us to go into the full post-war history of Germany and German Social-Democracy. It is sufficient to take several examples at random to prove that the Weimar Republic, with its Social-Democracy did really represent the *first stage*, and preparation for the *second stage of the German counter-revolution*, “the national revolution.” We shall not make use of evidence from “suspicious sources.” We shall give the floor to the Social-Democrats themselves.

The *first task* of the November revolution and Weimar Republic, in the opinion of Social-Democrats, consisted of the “liquidation of the lost war.”

How did Social-Democracy solve this task in November, 1918 ? In any event, not by a proletarian means, *not by the conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie*. Nobody, not even Hitler, has ever made this charge against German Social-Democracy. They liquidated the war in the way all the other parties of the Second International did, that is by defending the interests of their own bourgeoisie and of their own imperialism to the end in so far as this was possible at all, under the circumstances of the conclusion of the war.

Already then, the German Social-Democratic Party in the face of the threatening defeat of Kaiser William and Hindenburg at the front, fifteen years before Hitler’s “national revolution,” proclaimed the slogan of a general “national revival.”

As far back as October 7th, 1918, all the Social-Democratic newspapers published a semi-official article of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party, which was in the nature of a desperate appeal to hold out to the end.

“ . . . When the entire national representation, the entire nation, the entire army rallies to the national fighting standards, finding in themselves a maximum of power, national wrath and love for the fatherland, then will the empire have a united ministry of national defence.”

What the Social-Democracy did, to save, from the proletariat and for the bourgeoisie, everything left by the victorious allies after the collapse of the "Ministry of National Defence" was sincerely told by Scheideman, without any embellishments, in his well-known book on the "collapse":

"Social-Democracy first of all succeeded in preventing a blood bath into which November 9th threatened to develop. Its representatives, particularly my friend Wels, went early in the morning, even before the prospects of the success of the movement had become clear, to the barracks, addressed the soldiers and diverted the terrific agitation into a bloodless channel. . . ." (page 210).

The road to the socialist revolution was opened, the collapse of the Kaiser's Germany was complete. What did Social-Democracy regard as its historic mission, under these circumstances? What did it regard then, as now, as its historical merit in the liquidation of the lost war? Herman Meuller, late Reichs Chancellor and Chairman of German Social-Democracy, would have been untrue to himself had he not replied to this question. Did he not write, in those days, when the Weimar democracy was in full bloom, that is, there was still no pressure from Hitler's Fascism, of Ebert, his friend, Hindenburg's predecessor in the post of President of the German Republic, the following:

" . . . When the first imperial ministry of Scheideman—Count Brockdorff resigned owing to the Versailles Treaty, Fredrich Ebert, was also *inclined to go with them*. And if we succeeded in saving the child of Bismarck, created by blood and iron, from complete collapse, it was due, in no small measure to the fact that Frederick Ebert *forced himself to remain at his post*."

What is Hitler building his "third empire" up on, if not this same Bismarckian child, created by iron and blood, the salvation of which, from the proletarian revolution, German Social-Democracy *rightfully* regards as its most essential task!

The second task, which was to be solved at the "Weimar stage of the single German Revolution" according to the view of Social-Democracy (held to this day) was to "*crush Bolshevism*."

Did not German Social-Democracy begin its governmental activity by deporting the Soviet Embassy.

This was the time when German Social-Democracy, seeking to create a "Ministry of National Defence" urged the German people to rally to the battle standards of the Kaiser's empire. On October 1st, 1919, Lenin, foreseeing the German revolution, wrote in an instruction:

"All will die to help the German workers push forward the revolution which has begun in Germany.

"Conclusion: (1) Increase tenfold the efforts to secure grain (take in *all* supplies both for ourselves and for the German workers).

"(2) Increase tenfold the *enrolment* into the army.

"An army of three million we must have by *spring* to help the international workers' revolution" (Lenin Collected Works, Vol. XXI. published in 1932, page 252).

With Bolsheviks, words are followed by deeds. Transports of grain were shipped to Germany. In this connection the official communique of the Social-Democratic Government of November 18th, 1918, says:

"The Soviet Government has offered to send transports of grain to the new German peoples republics and has already sent two trainloads of flour. . . . The German Government . . . rejected the offer of the Soviet Government. . ." (From Eberhard Bucher's "Revolutionary Documents.")

The Social-Democratic Government returned the first two trainloads. The crushing of Bolshevism began by Social-Democracy snatching a morsel of bread out of the mouth of the hungry workers, merely to be able to sign the Versailles Peace.

Later the historical mission of German Social-Democracy, that of resisting Bolshevism, expressed itself in paralysing the activity of the Soviets of workers and soldiers' deputies and their subsequent destruction by its poison.

We shall pass by an endless number of well-known facts, testifying that the leaders of German Social-Democracy from 1918 to 1932, not only paved the road for the Hitler dictatorship, but gave the Fascists an example of merciless brutal suppression of the workers' movement. *The names of Ebert, Noske, Wels, Gersing, Severing, Zoergiebel, Grzesinsky and others will forever remain in the history of the persecution of the working class, even after their successors in the field of terror developed into such "giants" as Hitler, Goering, Count Helderhoff, Roehm, and other gangsters of the Brown House, and their lieutenants. In the struggle against the ferocious terror of Hitler's Fascism, which kills hundreds of the best proletarians, which tortures thousands, and throws tens of thousands into jails and concentration camps, the "jeats" of the Weimar democracy will not be forgotten. The murder of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Jogiches, the death of tens of thousands of German workers who were tortured and killed during the Weimar stage of the republic, the emergency laws, the martial law on a big and small scale, the furious censorship of the Labour Press, the destruction of the revolutionary labour organisations, of the Red Front Fighters' organisation, and all the other terroristic measures applied by Social-Democracy, will all remain in the memory of every class-conscious worker even now when these instru-*

ments of terror are being applied not in the name of the Weimar democracy, but in that of National-Socialism.

In the struggle against Bolshevism, German Social-Democracy did not limit itself to saving all that could be saved from the Kaiser's Germany and the bourgeois machinery of oppression; it not only embraced within the Weimar Republic the officer class, the Prussian Landrats from the ultra-reactionary Junkers, and the highest police officers. Social-Democracy nurtured in its bosom the future Fascism, carefully safeguarding it from the hands of the proletariat. Even when Hitler did not figure as a leader even on the scale of a big Munich beerhouse, Noske already protected, by every instrument of martial law, the organisation which was, at that time, a reservoir of the future National-Socialist mass movement, the "Einwohnerwehr." Noske's decree (I am quoting from a pamphlet by Crispian, now a member of the Central Committee of the German Social-Democracy, "Settling Accounts with the Right Socialists") says:

"In accordance with paragraph nine of the martial law regulations, I forbid . . . All economic threats and the causing of losses (boycott) to members of the 'Einwohnerwehr,' and their families, as well as urging and inciting to boycott. I further forbid abuse and threats to members of 'Einwohnerwehr' in public places, and writing."

No one, not even the braggart Hitler, can deny that the German working class, even as recently as 1928 could have swept away the entire National-Socialist Party, bag and baggage, at one blow, had Social-Democracy not prevented this by its ideological influence over the majority of the working class, and the police power of the State machinery, in the interests of the common struggle against the proletarian revolution. We are ready to grant that the Social-Democratic leaders had not foreseen that Fascism, which was then still being kept in reserve behind the front lines of the counter-revolutionary front of Social-Democracy, directed against the proletarian revolution, would advance *the fore* in the defence of German capitalism. But this does not at all mean that the policy of German Social-Democracy to Fascism has ever been determined by anything but the interests of the bourgeoisie, the interests of the struggle against the proletarian revolution. The fact that the Social-Democratic leaders, in their prognosis of the prospects of the Fascist development had been mistaken, merely shows that they lacked in their arsenal the gift of political foresight, of political vision. But even had the Social-Democratic leaders come earlier to an understanding of where their road led, they would have acted in just the same way as they did, and are still doing, now that Fascism is already in power. To repulse Bolshevism, they

disarmed the proletariat at the Weimar stage, they left it unarmed in the face of Fascism. In this matter they are proficient indeed!

Let us now turn to the *third task*, which Social-Democracy, on its own admission, undertook at the "Weimar stage" of the transition from July 20th to January 30th, the task of "saving out of the wrecked order whatever could be saved."

Is it necessary to mention the fact that the system saved, was the capitalist system?

German capitalism had been crushed by the blows of the four-year imperialist war; nothing but a heap of ruins remained of it. Social-Democracy and the heads of the reformist trade unions alone remained as the "element of law and order." Despite the fact that the Social-Democratic Party (both the majority Social-Democrats and the independents) together with the reformist trade unions, shackled the feet of the German proletariat, it still entered upon the broad highway of proletarian revolution, even though in a limited measure. Regardless of everything, the German working class, in its overwhelming majority entered upon the struggle. The workers did not wait for the bourgeois national assembly (made up of Social-Democrats) to pass the eight-hour law, introduce social insurance, and improve labour conditions in the factories. On their own initiative and ignoring the laws, the workers themselves enforced in each factory, in each commune, in each State of the German Republic the eight-hour day, created social insurance organs and changed the labour conditions. The workers still had arms, and *the bourgeoisie had not yet recovered from its fright*. But everything that the working class had *wrested*, without the aid of Social-Democracy and even against its will, from the capitalists *by revolutionary means*, the Social-Democratic legislators gradually began to take back, upon the first opportunity, in any case, as soon as the working class was disarmed.

No wonder the Social-Democratic leaders and the chiefs of the reformist trade union movement, openly boast that they were not merely saviours of the capitalist system in Germany, but that they helped to restore the economic power of German capitalism and recapture its former positions on the world market. For they, too, fought to give Germany a place in the sun, that is they sought to secure exactly what Kaiser William II attempted in the world war, and Hitler is now vainly seeking to-day.

The *first* thing that had to be "saved" from the wreckage was the "businesslike collaboration between the employers and the labour organisations" and its development by Legien and Stinnes. This organisation of practical co-operation gave birth to the system of compulsory arbitration, which facilitated the further limitation of the right to strike, which was to give effect to the notorious slogan of "The Class

Struggle at the Green Table," and finally served as a base for the strike-breaking policy of the labour bureaucrats, which Hilferding, Naftali and Tarnow elevated to the level of a theory of "industrial democracy."

The second thing which it was necessary to save from the wreckage, was the restoration, through the unlimited exploitation of the working class and toiling masses, of the competitive ability of German industry on the foreign market, the creation of new prerequisites for the realisation of the new "Drang noch Osten" (drive to the east).

The demand of the German trusts "to mitigate the social burdens, which were weakening the competitive powers of German industry" served as the reason for the liquidation of the maintenance of the unemployed, and its replacement by unemployment insurance by the Social-Democratic Minister of Labour, Wissel. On the basis of the same claim, Social-Democracy threw the entire burden of the cost of unemployment insurance upon the backs of the workers themselves. The Social-Democratic Press gave the first impetus to the curtailment of social insurance to create an economic base for the new imperialist policy of expansion of the German bourgeoisie, by plundering the unemployment and sickness benefits, and invalids' and old-age pensions.

Wage-cuts, and the capitalist rationalisation of industry, at the expense of the working class, were also part of the same scheme. The beginning of wage-cuts in Germany was made by the Government of the Social-Democratic Reichs Chancellor, *Herman Mueller*. Social-Democracy "tolerated" in the emergency decrees of the Brüning Government, merely that which they had themselves started under Herman Mueller's Government. From July, 1929, to August, 1932, the German industrial workers were robbed of 19 billion marks in wage-cuts. The total robbery of all the workers and employees of Germany, during this period, amounted to 38 billion marks. This gigantic robbery was carried out, in part, directly by Social-Democracy itself, in part by its "tolerance." But if two robbers start out to loot, one breaks the door while the other keeps watch, will it occur to anyone to say that this other robber merely "tolerated" the robbery.

Nor were the interests of *agrarian capital* ignored; the Prussian Junkers were by no means the losers, they received a nice present from the Social-Democratic Food Commissioner, the Reichstag deputy Baade. Baade's tariffs raised the price of bread for the workers, employees, petty-bourgeoisie of the city and poor peasantry. This, too, was part of the problem of saving for the capitalists and landlords, from the general wreckage, what could still be saved.

And now that German industry, under the leadership of Hitler, is again openly making the "Drang

noch Osten" the chief objective of its foreign policy, it must not be forgotten that the foundation of this policy had been built at the expense of the robbery of the social insurance funds, cemented by the sweat of the German workers, spurred on by capitalist rationalisation. It would indeed have to be inscribed in the annals in history as the blackest ingratitude, should the German bourgeoisie forget that they had partly accomplished this with Social-Democracy directly, and partly by its active support.

The German bourgeoisie, realising that the time is not yet ripe for Hitler and his ideological lackey, Alfred Rosenberg, to openly inscribe on their banners the "Drang noch Osten" slogan, has pressed another slogan into the service of its interests, the Social-Democratic slogan "never to fight."

But this pacifist slogan of the German Social-Democracy is based upon the same idea as that which prompted the Social-Democrats to "approve the demands of the Reichschancellor in the field of foreign policy," at Potsdam, demands reflecting the national policy of Hitler's Government.

There is no need to deal at greater length with Hitler's foreign policy, which can be characterised by a single word, namely, "war." What the driving forces of the pacifism of German Social-Democracy consisted of in the final analysis was revealed by the late Social-Democratic minister, *Edward David*, who will be remembered as the initiator of the policy of "maintaining ourselves to the end," in his pamphlet "The Pacification of Europe" (Berlin, 1925, page 7).

"A new world war must inevitably lead to a proletarian revolution throughout the world. This causal connection must be appreciated by every thinking politician. If in the years 1918-1920 it was only with great difficulty that the Bolshevik Revolution could be thwarted in Germany by building a Social-Democratic wall against it, the second world war will immediately cause social upheavals and explosions under which the modern State systems of Central and Western Europe will collapse like a house of cards." (Author's italics.)

At the same time, David no less than Papen, Schleicher and Hitler, emphasised the demands of Germany for equality in armaments with the other imperialist countries arming for war. He wrote:

"It is clear as daylight that the totally one-sided disarmament of Germany, surrounded by a Europe which is seized by fever of the greatest preparations for war, is unthinkable for any length of time."

German Social-Democracy, during the post-war years temporarily opposed war, on the one hand, because the German bourgeoisie had not yet prepared for war, and, on the other, because Social-Democracy, fearing the proletarian revolution, considered it unsafe to arm the working masses.

Thus far the German bourgeoisie has succeeded, with the aid of Social-Democracy, in secretly preparing for war. It is now taking the liberty of speaking more openly. The fascist Press in Germany openly incites to war, and, at this second stage of the "German Revolution" Social-Democracy also formulates its old positions to German imperialism *more openly*. Thus the article from the "Gewerkschaftszeitung," quoted above, says :

"The working class represents the broadest foundation of the nation, without which, neither extensive development nor a military clash of the nation is possible, as the lessons of the Great War have revealed. . . . Let us recall that the position of the German workers, at the time of the outbreak of the Great War of 1914, was at first hesitant, watchful, heterogeneous. Only the definite position of the upper trade unions, of the then General Trade Union Commission (and of the Social-Democratic Central Committee, of course.—B.K.) gave the hesitating mass sentiments a single purposeful direction. Thus did the 'miracle in Germany' happen: National unity was created, which in no small measure promoted the strategical successes and prevented the enemies from having a mere walkover. . . . The days of August, 1914, which are now so frequently celebrated, in commemoration of national unity, again come to mind through this association; then, too, the relations between the State and the workers were regulated step by step. . . . On the day following the proclamation by Germany of war upon Russia, August 2nd, 1914, all economic struggles were prohibited, by a decision of the trade union executives. 'Civil peace' thus entered into force. This was immediately followed by the declaration of the Government which assured the existence and work of the trade unions. 'For we are pleased,' literally said this declaration, 'to have such a great organisation of the working class on which the Government can rely.'"

The sense of all of these statements is as follows: You, nationalist leaders, have climbed to power on our backs; we are prepared to offer our backs to you, in the future, as well. Instead of using our backs as spittoons, rather use them as one of the props of

national policy, following the example of Kaiser William II, Ludendorff and Hindenburg.

No doubt the road of treachery of German Social-Democracy covered during the period which passed from the first stage of Germany's fascisation, from the "relative democracy of the Weimar Republic," to the present stage, the "authoritarian democracy of the presidential republic" (that is the open and bloody Fascist dictatorship of Hitler), is very long, and we are least of all inclined to detract from the latest mighty "achievements" of the German Social-Democracy; in betraying the working class. But *to its principles*, the renegade principles of the post-war Second International, the German Social-Democracy remains true to this day, even at the price of its organisational self-liquidation and complete capitulation to Hitler. And it should not be forgotten that every dog has his day, that in the heyday of Social-Democracy, when it played first fiddle and laid the foundation of the "Weimar Republic, the future Hitlerites could not have saved the bourgeoisie, from the proletarian revolution, more effectively than Social-Democracy did.

Herman Mueller was completely justified when he bitterly complained at the Görlitz Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party:

"It must be noted that to this day, we socialists have been paid by black ingratitude for our resistance to Bolshevism. I would like to remind the German Nationalists how their leaders, after the March Putsch of 1919 rushed panic-stricken about the lobby of the Weimar Theater anxiously inquiring: 'Will Noske succeed?' This was their only concern."

The German Social-Democracy has pursued and still continues to pursue its previous *policy of principle*, the policy of serving its bourgeoisie.

But the *tactics* of the Social-Democrats, in pursuing this policy, in connection with Hitler's advent to power, and its desertion to the open dictatorship of Fascism, have changed. At the present time, Social-Democracy employs new methods of supporting the bourgeoisie, which enforces its rule in the form of a Fascist dictatorship. But this is a subject for a special article.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF GERMAN FASCISM AND WAR PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE U.S.S.R.

By N. RUDOLPH

THE establishment of an open fascist dictatorship in Germany sharply raises the question of the plans of German Fascism in the sphere of foreign policy.

During more than four months that the Hitlerite Government has been in power, it has succeeded in sharpening the international situation of Germany to a degree unheard of since 1920-1922. There have been times when it was possible even to state with full justification that Germany was more isolated in the system of capitalist countries than at any period since the war. The intensification of Versailles contradictions has led to such a state of strain in Franco-German and German-Polish relations that they strongly recall the conditions immediately preceding the war. The French and Polish Press, scared by the growth of the aggressiveness of German Fascism, openly discuss the problem of a preventive war against Germany, while the recent "reassuring" conversation between the German Reichs Chancellor Hitler and the Polish Ambassador, Visotsky, took place on the basis of the problem "war or peace." Under the influence of the acuteness of this war danger, even British imperialism, which, in essence, sympathises with the strivings of German Fascism in foreign policy, has assumed a sharp anti-German position, and the British Minister of War, Lord Hailsham, publicly threatened Germany with sanctions. Further, the U.S.A. has spoken in no uncertain manner against the revision of the Versailles Peace Treaty, and the last message of President Roosevelt was directly sharpened not only against Japan, but against Germany. Finally, owing to the question of the "Anschluss" with Austria, relations with Italy have grown somewhat worse, which has even led to demonstrative attempts of Italy to soften down the intensity of relations with the Little Entente. And Germany is even at daggers drawn with the Government of its old ally Austria. The Austrian bourgeoisie, who are introducing the Fascist dictatorship in their own country, on the basis of the interests of their "fascised" bourgeoisie, have decided against union with Germany, under the influence of the internal development of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany (the abolition of provincial autonomy, the suppression of all other bourgeois Parties by the National-Socialists, the medieval persecution of culture and science, etc.) as the result of which a sharp conflict has arisen between the two countries, which led to the German Minister, the National-Socialist Frank being escorted out of Austria by the police.

Was the recent general isolation of Germany a temporary grouping of forces, or did it arise of necessity from tendencies of long standing in the foreign policy of Germany, tendencies leading it to conflicts with the whole capitalist world? What, in general, is the chief aim of Hitlerite Fascism in power, in the sphere of foreign policy? Is it the national liberation of Germany or a simultaneous war of counter-revolution and annexation in the East? A perfectly clear reply must be given to this question. This reply is the more necessary because international Social-Democracy has utilised the ratification of the protocol between the U.S.S.R. and Germany on the continuation of the Berlin treaty, to raise a new wave of anti-Soviet slander and to accuse the U.S.S.R. of "betrayal of international democracy," a "bloc with Fascism" and other "crimes."

I.

To reply to the question of the plans of present-day German imperialism in foreign policy, we must, first of all, examine the chief programme speeches of the National Socialist leaders, who have now in Germany a complete monopoly of power, and who at the present moment are the main political exponents of the German bourgeoisie. Some comrades adopt a slighting and contemptuous attitude towards the literary efforts of Hitler ("My Fight"), Rosenberg ("The Future Path of German Foreign Policy"), etc., on the grounds that these books contain a mass of ravings, and also a great deal of social and nationalist demagoguery from the period of the struggle for power. Both of these are correct. But the ravings of Hitler's writings merely demonstrate their profoundly ultra-reactionary character, by no means showing them devoid of foundation; that they do not reflect the tendencies of the most influential sections of the German bourgeoisie. Therefore a contemptuous attitude towards these books appears to us to be quite incorrect. The conception of foreign policy of Hitler and Rosenberg, if we omit the medieval phraseology, which is calculated on catching the petty-bourgeois, is the most genuine expression of the present-day counter-revolutionary imperialist plans of the German big bourgeoisie and landlords. Therefore serious attention must be paid them.

In his book "My Fight," Hitler sharply criticises the pre-war foreign policy of Germany. He criticises the efforts of pre-war German imperialism to create a powerful German colonial empire, since the possibilities for this were extremely limited. The fact that Germany entered the world arena very late,

when the best colonies had already been divided among themselves by England, France and other imperialist bandits, doomed her either to the necessity of contenting herself with the paltry fragments of colonial land still available, which did not in any way solve the problem of forming for Germany her own resources of food and raw material and markets for financial and industrial capital; or to a military clash with powerful British imperialism, on whose side in any case would be the "ancient enemy" of Germany, France. Hitler sees the fruits of this incorrect policy in the fact of the defeat of Germany in the World War, and the weakening of Germany after the Versailles Peace Treaty.

In Hitler's opinion, the only proper and healthy policy for Germany should have been a policy of territorial expansion in Europe. Only the formation of a big German territory in Europe could assure German imperialism of its own internal basis of food and raw material and a sufficient home market.

"The only possibility for Germany to carry on a healthy territorial policy," he writes, "was to obtain land in Europe itself."*

"Instead of a healthy European territorial policy, attempts were made to carry on a colonial and commercial policy. This was all the more mistaken, because it was hoped in this way to avoid armed conflicts. The result of this attempt to sit on two chairs was to fall between them, and the World War was the last payment of the Empire for its mistaken policy.

"Even then there was a third path which would have been correct—the strengthening of power on the Continent by obtaining new territory in Europe, and it is precisely owing to this that it would have been possible in the course of nature to obtain further expansion by colonial acquisitions."†‡

At whose expense could Germany have obtained new territory in Europe? Hitler gives a clear and unmistakable reply to this question. It could have happened only at the expense of Russia.

"If we wished to obtain new territory in Europe this would have taken place, on the whole, only at the expense of Russia. The Empire should have taken once more the path of the knightly orders, so that the German sword could obtain land for the German plough and daily bread for Germany.

"However, we could only have had one ally for such a policy in Europe, and that was England. Only with England covering our rear could we have begun a new German crusade to which we have as much right as our ancestors."‡

From this point of view, Hitler definitely repudiates the whole pre-war policy of German alliances which brought Germany into opposition to Britain, France and Russia, and linked up Germany with the patchy Austro-Hungarian Empire rotting at the roots. He equally repudiates the post-war policy of the German Governments which strove to arrive at agreement with France and Soviet Russia, and neglected England. England and Italy are the natural allies of Germany. It will never come into conflict with them, if it abandons an incorrect colonial policy and concentrates its power and aims on the acquisition of new territory in Europe. In the opinion of Hitler, England is the only country which is not interested in the complete destruction of German imperialism. The traditional policy of England is the policy of maintaining a balance of power on the Continent of Europe, a balance of power in which no great Power could arise in Europe capable of endangering British hegemony. Such a danger has now arisen from France, and to prevent any extreme strengthening of France, with the aim of forming a balance to it, England is interested in preserving and strengthening Germany. England is also interested in obtaining allies against the Soviet Union, and a strong Germany would be the best of such allies. For all these reasons, Germany must seek an alliance with England.

Passing on to the tasks of current policy in Germany, Hitler proposes to base himself on England, and concentrate on the winning of new territory in the east of Europe.

"The 1914 frontiers are of no significance to the future German nation. They were unable to protect in the past, and would be equally powerless in the future. . . . In contrast to this, we National Socialists must steadily keep to our aims in foreign policy, and must ensure for the German people a territory which is worthy of it."*

Further, Hitler formulates this more concretely:

"We National-Socialists deliberately place emphasis on the pre-war direction of foreign policy. We begin where Germany finished 600 years ago. We are stopping the century-long movement of Germans to the South and West of Europe and are casting our eyes on the territory in the East. We put an end to the colonial and commercial policy of pre-war times, and pass on to the policy of winning new territories.

"And when we talk at the present time of new territory in Europe, we can only think of *Russia* and the border countries under its power.

"Fate itself has pointed out this path. Having handed over Russia to the power of Bolshevism, it deprived the Russian people of the intelligentsia, who previously formed and guaranteed its govern-

* A. Hitler, "Mein Kampf," Volume 1, page 153.

† Ibid Volume 2, page 690.

‡ Ibid Volume 1, page 154.

* Ibid Volume 2, pages 738-739.

ment elements. For the organisation of the Russian Government was not the result of the governing ability of the Slavs in Russia, but only a brilliant example of the creative government activity of the German element among lower races. Russia lived for hundreds of years on the strength of this German nucleus in its leading circles. At the present day, we may say with confidence that this nucleus has been almost entirely destroyed, and its place taken by Jews. The Russians likewise cannot throw off the yoke of the Jews by their own efforts, just as the Jews cannot keep this tremendous State in their hands for a long time.

"The enormous country in the East of Europe is mature for a breakdown. The end of Jewish domination in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a State. Fate calls on us to witness a catastrophe which is a great confirmation of the National-Socialist racial theory."*

Such is the programme of foreign policy of German Fascism as set out in the book which, at the present time, is the official bible of the German bourgeois. This programme repudiates the limitation of the aims of German imperialism to the restoration of the 1914 frontiers, i.e., the return of the Polish corridor, Dantzic, and Upper Silesia to Germany. *It demands a German war for the seizure of new territories in the East of Europe, the subordination of Poland and the Baltic countries to Germany and the partition of the Soviet Union with the aim of forming a powerful agrarian hinterland and a tremendous internal market for German imperialism.* This is a programme of war of German Fascism against the Soviet Union.

Alfred Rosenberg, in his book "The Future Path of German Foreign Policy," formulates this programme still more concretely. We will not overload this article with new quotations from the "theoretical works" of Herr Rosenberg. The ideological level of the National-Socialist leaders has been illustrated well enough, by the examples just given of the racial theory of Hitler. The conception of Rosenberg on foreign policy rests on the same basis. It amounts to the following :

The Slavs are one of the lower races. They are incapable of independent state organisation. The two historic stages of the creation of Russia were stages of German creative work, the inflow of German blood into the Slav race—the coming of the Varyags (Rurik) and the policy of Peter I. A third stage must now take place. Millions of Germans must be transplanted to Russia, where they will form the fundamental nucleus of a new Russian bourgeois State, its technical and political intelligentsia. It is necessary to form an independent Ukraine, utilising for this purpose the "separatist movement" in Soviet

and Polish Ukraine. For this purpose it is also necessary to destroy Poland, which is hostile both to Germany and the Ukraine. The crowning glory of this reasoning is the following programme :

"As soon as we understand that the destruction of the Polish State is a primary need for Germany, an alliance between Kiev and Berlin and the formation of a common frontier will become a national and governmental necessity for future German policy.

"According to the attitude of England to Germany, the position of Germany will then be decided towards the Moscow Government, irrespective of what form the latter takes in the future.

"It must not be forgotten that even after the separation of the South (which of course means the Caucasus as well), the Russian Government may still be a colossus which, owing to its tremendous weight, may play a big rôle. . . . Bismarck stated in his 'Thoughts and Reminiscences' that the Indian interests of Great Britain were much easier to protect on the Russian-Polish border than in Afghanistan. An alliance between Germany and Ukraine would create the possibility of performing for England this service of protecting its richest colony, on condition that Britain took part in guaranteeing the German west against the French."

The search for a capitalist way out of the severe crisis in Germany along the lines of intervention in the U.S.S.R., the destruction of the Bolsheviks, and the seizure of Soviet territory, is clothed by Hitlerite Fascism in the form of the nonsensical ideas that the Slavs, as a lower race, are incapable of government organisation, that Germany must once more campaign along the path of the old knightly orders, that it must begin where it ended 600 years ago. But the danger of these ideas does not lessen because they are ridiculous. Further we shall show by facts how German imperialism is trying to put these ideas into practice through the present National-Socialist ministers and leaders, and not through them alone. At present we will indicate a definite historical continuity of these plans and ideas.

Even in the pre-war period of German imperialism, we saw in Germany a definite tendency in favour of a compact between Germany and England, in favour of a weakening of German expansion in the west, in favour of a naval policy which would not have brought Germany into conflict with Britain. This tendency strove to create an active German policy in the East and South-East of Europe with the aim of forming a great German Empire on the European continent. Two prominent representatives of the so-called liberal tendency of imperialism, Neumann and Paul Rohrbach, energetically advocated the expansion of Germany at the cost of Tsarist Russia, and partly at that of Austria-Hungary.

* Ibid, page 742-743.

During the World War, the German Reichs Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, also strove to concentrate the centre of the German annexation policy on the East of Europe, with the aim of arriving at a compromise with Britain against which, as we know, Tirpitz, Falkenhayn and Ludendorff fought. Finally, in the records of the organisations of the big bourgeoisie and landlords of Germany during the war (report of the German Economic Association to the Reichs Chancellor on May 20th, 1915, the articles of a group of German professors and politicians on July 20th, 1915, etc.), a big programme of German annexational demands in the East of Europe was presented. During the negotiations for the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty in 1918, Germany made an effort to carry out this imperialist programme, just as it attempted to separate Ukraine from the Soviet Union—Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Ukraine—such was the maximum programme of German imperialism at that time.

Thus the plans of Hitler and Rosenberg in foreign policy are by no means the product of their independent creative thought. They are firstly, a re-hash of the imperialist ideas of Neumann and Rohrbach, and secondly, they demonstrate that German imperialism is resurrecting these plans for German expansion in the East of Europe which were previously defeated. Hitler's argument that it is necessary to abandon a colonial policy, so that, in this way, the help of England can be bought against the U.S.S.R. and France is also not original. Before the World War, the idea of an Anglo-German alliance had its supporters both in Germany and in England. It is well known that before the formation of the Anglo-French Entente in 1907, the possibility of an agreement on the question of naval construction was discussed with considerable activity between German and British bourgeois politicians. If Hitler and Rosenberg are now prepared to "abandon" a colonial policy, and crawl on their bellies to the British die-hards, this is not because of the originality of their "ideas," but because of the fact that the German Navy is extremely weak, that German imperialism as a whole is not yet strong enough even to make a serious effort to raise the question of a struggle against Britain for the re-division of the colonies. Finally, the slogan of struggle against world Communism, and the idea of a joint Anglo-German bloc for the struggle to overthrow the Soviet power in the U.S.S.R., and weaken Russia in general, seems to the cunning leader of German Fascism to be sufficiently captivating for England, that on this pretence, England will be turned into an ally of German imperialism, which is aiming to win new territories at the expense of the U.S.S.R., Poland, etc.

Having become strong on the basis of these conquests, having united Austria to itself and become

a powerful empire with a population of a hundred million or more, with enormous modern industry and the richest agricultural resources, Germany will then be able to settle accounts with its "hereditary enemy," with France, and will then be able to raise the question of colonies in a different way, and to make a trial of strength with Great Britain as well. Such are the dreams of German imperialism, and this is what the national Socialist leaders are preaching in a peculiar and distorted form, spicing all these ideas with a plentiful dose of anti-Semitic, racial, Malthusian and other ravings, to make them digestible for the German petty-bourgeoisie, without whose patriotic fervour these plans are of little value. With all the more seriousness should we examine these plans, carefully verifying them by the real policy of German Fascism.

II.

This real policy is above all a policy of preparations for a new imperialist war. In the book "My Fight," Hitler raises the question of the necessity of preparing Germany for war with the greatest intensity.

"The return of oppressed countries to the bosom of the united state is not attained by fiery protests, but by the power of the sword.

"The aim of the political leaders of the people at home is to forge out this sword. To ensure the forging out of this sword and to find counsellors is the aim of the leaders of foreign policy," wrote Hitler very recently.

The present Government of Germany has fully accepted this point of view of Hitler, and its aim is therefore to carry on a *stern struggle against pacifism*. Whereas the terror against the working class, the attempts to destroy the revolutionary workers' organisation, the arrests of Communists, etc., are measures intended to strengthen capitalism in Germany both internally and in the sphere of foreign policy, on the other hand the struggle against pacifist ideology—the suppression of pacifist organisations, the arrest of pacifist leaders and the burning of pacifist literature—is simply an ideological preparation for war. In this respect the speech of the German Reichs Chancellor, Von Papen, at Munster on May 15th, is very noteworthy. Papen declared an open struggle for the "militant traditions of the world war." He said :

"Above all, we want to explain to the whole world why the German nation on January 30th, 1933, wiped out the conception of pacifism from its dictionary."

And further, in pointing out that, for a German, "there is no finer death than a death from the blows of the enemy," Papen praised the young militant generation, for whom

"War, in spite of all its sufferings and sacrifices, is still the proper furnace for national unity, the

heroic epoch of its life from which it brings the joy of the future and the hope of life. And so, we see that the militant traditions of war after its sad results, remain alive in the minority of the people as the guarantee of its national future."

The ideology which the National-Socialists and their nationalist allies are now trying to graft on to the German people is the ideology of a new imperialist war. And whereas the chief agitational weapon of the National-Socialists before they came to power was social and national demagogy, its place is now occupied by the ideological preparations for war, carried on in the most varied forms, from the speech of Papen which has been quoted, to the demagogy of Goering that the National-Socialists want "to build German socialism for the German workers," which, however, comes up against the problem of territory ("German socialism cannot exist without corresponding territory"), which the German workers must obtain . . . in the east of Europe, as Hitler and Rosenberg explained.¶

Another problem in the preparations of German Fascism for war is the problem of *arming Germany*. We know that a lively struggle is now taking place around this question between the big Powers at the Disarmament Conference. Germany demands so-called equal rights on the question of armaments, i.e., that it should have the right to possess modern technical military weapons (tanks, aviation, heavy artillery, etc.). The great and small Powers who won the World War are trying to prevent the increased armaments of Germany or, at any rate, to prevent extremely big armaments. In reply to the resistance of France and its allies, Germany threatened a one-sided decision of this question, which called forth the threat of sanctions from France and Great Britain. The contradictions became extremely sharp. In Geneva attempts are being made to soften them by seeking for diplomatic compromises, but in the meantime Germany is creating the necessary armed forces with feverish speed. Detachments of "Steel Helmets," the Fascist storm detachments (S.A. and S.S.), forced labour camps for the working youth, etc., are simply ways of giving military training to hundreds of thousands of people. The training includes not merely the elementary features of military matters, but the Storm detachments have cavalry, automobile units, aviation, machine-gun units, etc. In addition to this, concrete fortifications are being put up in the border districts, while industry has begun to produce all the modern forms of weapons and means of warfare.

It may be asked, why Germany is trying to obtain a formal admission of its right to arm, when it is arming itself nevertheless. Germany is seeking the legalisation of its armaments for a number of reasons. Firstly, legal armaments would make it easier to

carry out the process of forming the material units of the army, and to train the corresponding cadres, and secondly, they would free Germany from the constant menace of sanctions for violations of the Versailles Treaty, and strike still another weapon for putting political pressure on Germany from the hands of France. Thirdly, lengthy diplomatic negotiations will make it possible for Germany to gain time to prepare for war, and at the same time will form the illusion among the masses of National-Socialist supporters that the Fascist Government is struggling for the "national interests" of the country. Thus the preparations for a new war are not only being carried on by ideological methods, not only by forming suitable armed forces, but also by the methods of diplomatic policy.

If we now examine how the National-Socialists formulate the aim of German foreign policy, we find that if we omit the Government declarations, the hypocritical diplomatic character of which is quite clear, the official policy is trying to carry out the plans of Hitler and Rosenberg, which were described above. To assure ourselves of this, it is sufficient to examine the public statements of the immediate colleagues of Hitler. As early as April, Rosenberg, who had just been appointed director of the Department of Foreign Policy of the National-Socialist Party, gave an interview to the representative of the American Hearst Agency, in which he categorically stated that Germany would not seek to solve its problems either in the West of Europe or in colonial policy, and that "its future lies in the East of Europe." During his visit to London, Rosenberg, according to the statements of the entire European Press and his own statement to the correspondent of the Canadian paper "Star," assured the British bourgeoisie of the necessity to solve Versailles contradictions at the expense of the U.S.S.R. and Poland. Finally, quite recently the French newspaper "Entrain Cigeand," published on May 21st a letter from a prominent National-Socialist historian and a close colleague of Hitler, Von Reibnitz, addressed to Ferdinand de'Erbinion, in which Reibnitz writes :—

"The path marked out by Germany does not consist of military conquests in the South and West, but of active colonisation and educational work in the East, which will be of tremendous importance in the process of coming to agreement with Western neighbours."

Thus we see that after German Fascism came to power, the attack on the Soviet Union was prepared completely unambiguously with the aim of destroying the Soviet Power, and winning new territories in the East of Europe for German imperialism. The programme of the National-Socialists is to form against the U.S.S.R. a bloc of capitalist Powers, including Poland, on the basis of an agreement with

Germany according to which Germany will receive the corridor from Poland, and Poland, in turn, will be compensated at the expense of Soviet Ukraine. German imperialism at the same time, cherishes a secret hope that a Germany which has conquered in the struggle against the U.S.S.R., will be able, at the second stage of the struggle, to break up Poland also, for the purpose of expanding German territory. Thus the first stage of the war is against the U.S.S.R., and the second stage is against Poland, with the aim of liquidating its independence.

According to the Hitlerite programme, Fascist Germany at the present time, is seeking for allies for the future war, The German bourgeoisie have had two plans of military alliances against the U.S.S.R. The first plan was openly advanced in June, 1932, by the then German Reichs Chancellor and the present Vice-Chancellor von Papen, at the Lausanne Conference, when Papen proposed to Herriot to form a Franco-German military alliance against the U.S.S.R. The French bourgeoisie, through Herriot, at that time rejected this proposal, and Herriot publicly exposed the anti-Soviet plans of Papen.

The mistake of the German bourgeoisie, who, at that time, put forward Papen for negotiations with France, was that they under-estimated the degree of caution with which France would regard the revival of militant German imperialism; that they failed to notice the process of change which was beginning, at the time, in the foreign policy of France and the transfer of the leading rôle in the preparation for anti-Soviet intervention from the hands of France to those of Great Britain. Therefore, Papen's plan for an anti-Soviet bloc, his plan for a military alliance against the U.S.S.R., broke down.

The social orders, which the National-Socialists received from the German bourgeoisie in the sphere of foreign policy was to carry out the second alternative anti-Soviet alliance, to try to build up a German-Italian-British alliance against the U.S.S.R. and simultaneously against the anti-Revisionist bloc of Powers. The conception of Hitler and Rosenberg in the sphere of foreign policy provided for the formation of an alliance with Great Britain against the U.S.S.R., and the present German Government is trying to realise this conception. Firstly, it is carrying on energetic propaganda in England, trying to convince the latter that there is no antagonism between Germany and Britain, and that Germany has no colonial aims whatever, at the present time. Secondly, it sent Rosenberg to England and Papen and Goering to Italy, to discover the possibility of finding a common anti-Soviet platform for Germany, Britain and Italy on the basis of the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. and the separation of Ukraine from her. Thirdly, it is carrying on a determined struggle to bring about the "Four-Power Pact," i.e., the plan

for the isolation of Poland and the Little Entente with the aim of compelling them to make concessions to Germany, Hungary and Italy in the interests of a united anti-Soviet bloc.

It cannot be said that these steps have been very successful. The reverse is rather the case. At first Germany met with an unfavourable attitude from England, and even from Italy. The very obvious aggressiveness of the steps taken by Germany in foreign policy, creating a direct menace of a Franco-German and a Polish-German war, for a time cooled the British bourgeoisie off from direct collaboration with Germany. This was assisted by the policy of France, which was trying to prevent an Anglo-German rapprochement. The extremely shameless pressure of German Fascism on Austria, with the aim of the "anschluss" with the latter, led to a certain cooling off of pro-German sympathies in Italy, which is not at all interested in a strengthening of German possessions in the Balkans. These failures did not stop German Fascism in its foreign political plans. They merely taught Hitler that he would have to carry on a more cautious and flexible policy, that he would have to adapt his steps better to the actual relationships of forces in the capitalist world, that he would have to win time for manœuvring. It is precisely this which explains why Hitler "suddenly" decided to ratify the protocol of 1931, to prolong the Soviet German Pact.

A Marxist must be able to distinguish in any policy, and still more in foreign policy, between phenomena depending on temporary economic conditions, and the more permanent basic tendencies. Thus, in the present case, it would be a great mistake if, owing to temporary economic conditions in the international situation and in the foreign policy of German imperialism, we failed to notice the basic line of the latter. The present lack of success in German foreign policy, the present condition of external isolation of Germany, and the present manœuvres of Fascist Germany, such as the prolonging of the Soviet-German Pact are phenomena of the type depending on temporary economic conditions. They do not change the basic general line of German Fascism to the slightest degree—the line of preparing for war against the U.S.S.R.

III.

The peculiar feature of the international situation is that the capitalist states are carrying on preparations for war against the U.S.S.R., and each other simultaneously. The contradictions between the capitalist states and those between the U.S.S.R., and the capitalist world are developing side by side, at the same time, irregularly. There are periods when the first group of contradictions are sharper, while, at others, the first place is taken by the struggle of two

worlds. It must not be forgotten that the U.S.S.R. is an active factor in international policy and international relations. Its policy of peace, to a considerable extent, affects these international relations, making it more difficult to build up a united front of capitalist countries against the country of socialism. The Fascist dictatorship in Germany has accentuated both groups of contradictions, and created a situation in which a peculiar type of race is taking place in the preparations for two wars—the war against the U.S.S.R., and the war between the capitalist countries. No one can foretell to-day which war will start first, where the outburst of antagonisms will ensue, which will evoke the new war.

This circumstance influences the international policy of the German bourgeoisie. The Versailles Treaty lies in the path of war preparations against the U.S.S.R. Germany demands concessions from Poland in respect to Polish territory, but Poland has no wish to make these concessions, and even dreams of the annexation of East Prussia in the future. Germany wants to create a powerful army, but France struggles against it, not allowing even the thought of a weakening of its military and political hegemony on the Continent of Europe. We could give other contradictions which are breaking down the attempts to form a united capitalist front against the U.S.S.R., at the present moment. On the other hand, the bloc of Great Britain, Italy and Germany has not fully matured. All the recent facts show that there are strong tendencies to create such a bloc, the basis for which has been formed, not only by international factors, but by the social proximity of the régime of Fascism in Germany and Italy, with the British Conservatives and their common hatred of the U.S.S.R. However, the complexity of the international relations, the fact that British policy is linked up with France, the contradictions between Great Britain and Germany, between Germany and Italy, the position of America, etc., all retard and make the formation and consolidation of an Anglo-Italian-German anti-Soviet bloc more difficult.

Certain groups and political personages of the German bourgeoisie realise the whole complexity of the situation of Germany. They see how far the contradictions between Germany, France and Poland are insurmountable, they see the contacts between Great Britain and France, and they understand that Germany cannot conduct war on all fronts at once, including the front against the U.S.S.R. Therefore they propose to limit and narrow down the front of the external political attack of Germany for a time, to concentrate all their forces against Poland, and for this purpose to maintain peaceful relations with the U.S.S.R. The representatives of this tendency, who in Germany have received the mistaken title of supporters of the "Eastern orientation" have struggled against the open anti-Soviet strivings of the

National-Socialists, calling on them to be moderate and sensible. A prominent place among them is occupied by General Seckt, who recently issued a programmatic book under the title "Germany Between East and West." In this book Seckt warns Germany decisively against the illusion that it can rely on England in its foreign policy. In his opinion, England is not interested in the strengthening of Germany, and will not back Germany against France, owing to its military strategic situation between America and France. On the other hand, Germany cannot count on an agreement with France, which will not permit a weakening of its hegemony. He considers that it will be easier to arrive at an agreement with Poland, but under present circumstances it is hardly likely. Therefore he is definitely against an anti-Soviet line, considering that a peaceful attitude to the U.S.S.R. is the main condition for the success of the German policy of restoring pre-war frontiers in the East. In view of this, Seckt puts forward the following slogan for German foreign policy :

"The formation of an agreement between Russia and Germany has taken place through the military : We will not speak here of the military possibilities of the future, but German conduct should be founded on the word of soldiers : It is said that Count Schliflen on his deathbed, repeated : 'Strengthen the right wing.' Thus we call on German policy : 'only guard the rear.'"

The policy of this wing of the German bourgeoisie is very clearly shown by this statement of General Seckt. In his opinion, the bourgeoisie of Germany must, first of all, fight not with the Soviet Union, but Poland. The restoration of German might rests on Poland, which has in the corridor an excellent position against Germany. It is only by defeating Poland and strengthening itself that victorious Germany will become the force before which the other great Powers will bow down, and finally admit German leadership in the struggle against the U.S.S.R., and then the time for this war will arrive.

Thus the differences of opinion between the National-Socialist wing of the German bourgeoisie, and the trend represented by Seckt are not matters of principle, but of tactics. The general line of the struggle against the U.S.S.R. is not changed, and the second trend merely takes into account the peculiarities of the international situation as we have set them forth here. But for both tendencies, there is only one path of expansion—the road to the East, the path which, even before the war, was indicated by the most influential representatives of German imperialism. This path is the path of war, and, in the long run, war against the U.S.S.R.

The international proletariat must expose the

(Continued on page 416)