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MAY-DAY APPEAL OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

**Against the Capitalist Offensive, Against Fascism, for the Maintenance of
Peace, Against Imperialist War, for the Defence of the Soviet Union !**

WORKING Men and Women throughout the
World!
Young Toilers!
Toilers All!
Oppressed Peoples of the Colonial and Dependent
Countries!

On the 1st of May, the Communist International calls on you to undertake the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and the threatening imperialist war.

The sufferings of the working class and of all the toilers in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries are growing from day to day. The partial increase of industrial production has been advantageous to only a handful of the biggest capitalist magnates. Their profits are growing, while the broad masses of the toiling people are sinking into ever deeper poverty. The measures of the bourgeoisie directed towards overcoming the crisis of the capitalist system amount to the imposition of new burdens on the toilers who are being subjected to the most ferocious and ever-growing exploitation. Millions of unemployed are losing all hopes of ever again becoming employed under capitalism. Entire generations of young people, sons and daughters of the toiling people, have been deprived of all possibilities of learning a trade or of finding work. The working woman receives starvation wages for the hard work she does, while her rights are becoming ever more restricted. The high cost of living drives the toiling housewife to despair. The tax collectors and usurers rob the toiling farmer of his last strip of land. There are no prospects for the future whatsoever as far as the artisan, the handicraft worker and small shopkeeper are concerned under capitalist society. Ruin and extinction are the inexorable fate awaiting them under capitalism.

The bourgeoisie are making a desperate effort to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the toilers by establishing terrorist fascist Governments. Fascist gangs, in the countries under fascist dictatorship, deprive the toilers of their last vestiges of freedom, disperse the trade unions, take possession of and plunder the workers' co-operative societies, destroy the legal working-class press, militarise the workers' sport organisations, dispatch the unemployed and the young people who have finished school to forced labour camps, while tens of thousands of proletarian fighters, regardless of

the political parties they follow, are interned in concentration camps. A similar fate awaits the toilers in the countries where bourgeois democracy exists, by means of which the Social Democrats promised to bring them to socialism. The democratic rights of the toilers in these countries are now being more and more curtailed, while the oppression of the broad masses is being uninter- ruptedly intensified, and thus the road to fascism is being paved.

The world is on the verge of a new imperialist world war. The strained international relations are coming ever more closely to a point like that at which the world war broke out in 1914. The expenditure on the preparation for the new world slaughter is being mercilessly squeezed out of the toilers, who are doomed first and foremost to be the victims of that war.

Fascist Germany, the principal instigator of imperialist war, has already created an army which leaves the old army of the Kaiser far behind. The introduction of universal conscription, and the legalisation and further increase of German armaments production, which has hitherto been carried on secretly, are a warning that German fascism is feverishly completing its last preparations for war.

The military alliance between fascist Germany, military fascist Japan and fascist Poland is becoming a fact. This military alliance is directed first and foremost against the land of Socialism, against the U.S.S.R.

While a counter-revolutionary onslaught is being prepared against the U.S.S.R., imperialist wars are already being carried on between various countries. The robber war being conducted by Japanese imperialism in China has been going on for years, and is now menacing the whole of China. War is being waged in South America between British and American imperialism through their vassal states, Paraguay and Bolivia. Italian imperialism is calling up one group of recruits after another to the army, and is dispatching troops to Abyssinia, preparing to subject the people of Abyssinia to colonial plunder and servitude. German fascism is already reaching out its mailed fist against Austria, Lithuania and Danzig, and is making ready to put its plans of colonial plunder into operation.

Only by mustering the broad masses of the working class into a united front of struggle will it be

possible to stop the fleecing of the toilers by the capitalists. Only in this way will it be possible to stop the further advance of the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie in establishing their bloody fascist domination. Only thus can a stop be put to the mad armament race of the war-thirsty imperialist cliques.

United action of the proletariat renders it possible for all the toilers of town and country to be drawn, under the leadership of the working class, into the struggle against capitalist plunder, bloody fascism, and wars of imperialist robbery.

Working Men and Women!

Wherever Communist and Social-Democratic workers, members of the revolutionary and reformist trade unions, whom also unorganised workers follow, have proceeded to consolidate their forces, the united front has already yielded its first successes.

The workers of France have entered the path of the united front, and have repelled the first onslaughts of fascism.

The united front of the working class in Austria prevented the fascists from demoralising the ranks of the Austrian proletariat, which is carrying on a heroic struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship.

Workers of all political shades in Spain fought shoulder to shoulder in armed struggles. They were not the victors in this combat; but they prevented the consolidation of the fascist dictatorship, and they are continuing heroically and in serried ranks to carry on the struggle against fascism.

In Italy the Communist and Socialist workers are carrying on joint action against the robber colonial war in Abyssinia.

The proletarian forces in the workshops and factories of Germany are uniting for a joint struggle of the workers against the fascist terror, against the poison of chauvinism and against military adventurism, in spite of unprecedented difficulties, and though under the heel of Hitler's hangman régime.

In England there is a growth of united action by the workers against Mosley's fascist gangs and against further deterioration of the conditions of the unemployed.

In Poland the united front of Communist and Socialist workers is consolidating and extending in mass strikes against wage cuts, and against the counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet plans of the Pilsudski fascists.

These first united front successes can be increased manifold provided that the united will of the working masses will put a stop to the policy of class collaboration, pursued by Social Democracy.

The oppressed peoples in the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries are more and

more entering the world front of struggle against imperialism. The Red Army in Soviet China is fighting the Kuomintang, the traitor to and hangman of the Chinese people, and is becoming the central gathering point for the forces of the national liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism, and against the partition of China between the imperialist powers.

Communist, Social-Democratic and non-Party workers! Members of reformist, revolutionary, anarcho-syndicalist and christian trade unions, members of co-operative societies, sports societies, cultural and all other working-class organisations!

Build the united front of all proletarians in joint struggle! The united front of the struggle against the class enemy can prevent the destruction of the rights of the toilers, can overcome fascism and strengthen the struggle for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for real government by the people, for proletarian democracy, and for Soviet Power, which will do away forever with capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Workers, Toilers!

Turn your eyes to the Soviet Union, which points the way out of capitalist slavery, to freedom, to Socialism. The peoples of the Soviet Union are triumphantly building Socialism. While the ruling classes in the capitalist countries are depriving the masses of the people of their rights, the U.S.S.R. is extending democracy and is drawing the masses of the people to a still greater degree into the administration of the state. Socialist property and government by the people as embodied in the Soviets have become the foundation of all life in the U.S.S.R. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers and collective farmers are realising the programme of the mighty October Revolution. The workers and collective farmers of the Soviet Union, who are masters of their own fate over one-sixth of the globe, fighters for peace, and defenders of the oppressed, weak and small nations, advanced fighters for the international proletarian revolution, are raising ever higher their standard of living and their culture, and are sweeping out of their way the last remnants of capitalism, and are marching forward in full confidence, over all obstacles, towards the classless society.

Two worlds confront each other—the world of Socialism and the world of capitalism. There are two roads, the road of class struggle and that of class collaboration. The road taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the road taken by the Communist International, has led to the abolition of unemployment in the Soviet Union, to a well-to-do life, to freedom and Socialism. The road taken by international Social Democracy, the road of class co-operation with the

bourgeoisie, has led to hunger, want and fascist slavery and is leading to imperialist war.

Working Men and Women! Communists, Social Democrats, Anarcho-Syndicalists and non-Party Workers!

In the name of the world Party of the revolutionary proletariat, the Executive Committee of the Communist International addresses to the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International the proposal that joint May Day actions be organised in all capitalist countries against the capitalist offensive, against fascism, for the preservation of peace, against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union. The Red International of Labour Unions has already addressed a proposal to the International Federation of Trade Unions that joint demonstrations be organised on May 1st. Joint action by Communist and Social-Democratic workers, by members of the reformist and revolutionary unions will also attract the unorganised workers, and the members of the anarcho-syndicalist and christian trade unions. Joint action will draw in and weld together the broad masses who still stand aside from the class struggle, and who may fall victim to fascist demagoguery.

Working Men and Women!

At joint May Day meetings, demonstrations and in strikes, show your determination to engage in united struggle under the banner of proletarian internationalism!

Against capitalist exploitation, against the capitalist offensive, for higher wages, for unemployment insurance, and against the robbery of the toiling farmers!

Against fascism, and for the defence of the democratic rights of the toilers! For the release of Ernst Thaelmann, Mathias Rakosi and all revolutionary fighters! For the liberation of Largo Caballero and all anti-fascists!

Against the bloody terror in China, Japan, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Finland, Hungary, and all other capitalist countries! Against the death sentences in Spain, Germany and Bulgaria!

Against the imperialist armaments race, against the principal instigator of war, fascist Germany and its allies, the Polish fascists; against Japan engaged in pillaging China and preparing to attack the Soviet Union. Against British imperialism, inciting anti-Soviet war; against fascist Italy, engaged in throttling Abyssinia!

Render active support to the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace!

For the defence of the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the toilers in all lands!

Protect Soviet China!

Fight for the united front of all fighting proletarians!

Fight for the unity of the international trade union movement!

Forward to the victorious struggle against fascism, against capitalism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviet Power and for Socialism!

Long live May Day, the review day of the forces of the international proletariat!

Workers of all lands, unite!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND FASCISM

Appeal of the Communist Parties of Germany, France, Great Britain, Poland, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Austria, Hungary and Lithuania.

PROLETARIANS of all countries, unite!
To the working men and women of all countries!

To all toilers! To the toiling youth!
To all who wish to maintain peace! To all enemies of imperialist war!

The German fascist government has introduced general conscription. It has incorporated the German civil air fleet into the military air force. The law of the fascist murder-régime on the introduction of conscription means the open carrying out of the hitherto secret arming and a feverish increase of this arming. It furnishes the war parties of all the imperialist countries with a new pretext for increasing the insane armaments competition.

The German fascists, by creating an instrument of murder which even surpasses the pre-war army of hated Prussian militarism, further increase the international tension. The Hitler government is placing war immediately on the order of the day. It immediately threatens the neighbouring countries. The German fascists are deliberately heading for a new imperialist world war. They are directing the points of their bayonets, the mouths of their guns, their aeroplanes against the land of socialist construction, against the Soviet Union, against the firm walls of which every wave of fascism beats in vain.

This great war provocation has been prepared by the Hitler government by means of all the horrors of the fascist reign of terror. No fascist

terror, however, has been able to break the resistance of the German working class. Under the increasing pressure of the difficulties at home, Hitler is increasing the nationalist incitement, the incitement against the Soviet Union, and is resorting to war.

Working men and women, toilers, ex-servicemen and victims of the world war!

The German imperialists were able to realise their armament plans only with the help of the other imperialist Powers. The war allies of Hitler Germany, military fascist Japan and the Poland of the Pilsudski fascists are supporting the arming of the German fascists. Step by step with imperialist Germany they are increasing their armaments for the purpose of attacking the Soviet Union.

Of all the imperialist Powers, English imperialism is foremost in encouraging German armaments against the Soviet Union and feverishly making use of them in order to increase its own armaments. The war party of French Imperialism, the heads of the heavy industry and the fascist bands, who in France itself are persistently encouraging armaments, favour German armaments and are endeavouring again to bring France into the anti-Soviet front. The Italian fascists, who by their whole former policy promoted the armaments of the German fascists and who are now commencing their robber campaign in Abyssinia, submit as a pre-condition for recognising the German armaments the arming of their allies, Horthy Hungary, Austria and Bulgaria.

German imperialism, which is now armed, is doing everything in order to obtain direct support in Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia and in the Baltic countries for its war plans by foreign political orientation to Germany and against the Soviet Union, as well as by fostering fascist movements.

All who wish to frustrate the war provocations of German imperialism and its Japanese and Polish allies and the men behind it, must work for the realisation of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, for the setting up of the Eastern Pact. It was the peace policy of the Soviet Union which rendered it difficult and still renders it difficult for the German fascists, the Japanese militarists, as well as all imperialist war parties, to let loose a new war. All who wish to preserve peace, who are opponents of imperialist war, must support the peace policy of the Soviet Union and fight in order that it be rendered effective against German fascism.

Working men and women, young workers, toilers!

Organise the mass struggle against any alliance with fascist Germany. Fight against any yielding

on the part of your rulers to the pressure of the newly-armed German imperialists! Do not believe the lying peace asseverations of the fascist Hitler government!

The German fascist leaders maintain that the introduction of general conscription and the increase in armaments are only intended to protect the German frontiers.

They are, however, unable to name anybody who to-day, at the time of the introduction of general conscription, threatens the German frontiers. Hitler Germany was able to regain the Saar without any foreign-political conflicts. This is used by German imperialism, however, in order to stretch out its armed hand to the Memel district, Danzig, Austria, North Bohemia and Danish Schleswig, to the Baltic countries and increase its war incitement against the Soviet Union. German imperialism is not preparing for defence, but is making ready for a robber attack. It insolently rejects the Eastern Pact, because it is against peace and in favour of war.

The German fascist leaders maintain that the introduction of general conscription and the increase of armaments are putting an end to the shame of Versailles. The German imperialists would like to put in place of the robber treaties of Versailles, the burdens of which they have shifted on to the working people, fresh and still greater oppression of foreign nations. German imperialism has already shown what baseness it is capable of. In 1918, when the German imperialists thought they had won the war, they dictated the peace of Brest-Litovsk. By this peace Soviet Russia was to be overthrown and pillaged, the Soviet Ukraine converted into a German colony, the dismemberment of Poland maintained and Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia secured to the German barons. The successors of those imperialist robbers who dictated the peace of Brest-Litovsk, the present fascist rulers of Germany, have the same plan in mind, when to-day they speak of securing room for expansion of the German people towards the East. They want to obtain, with the blood of the German people, territory for the German trust magnates, the Prussian 'junkers', the former officers of the Hohenzollern army.

Communists and social-democratic workers, members of the trade unions of all tendencies, women and youth!

The Communist Parties of Germany, France, England, Italy, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Austria, Hungary and Lithuania declare:—

Under the leadership of the Communist International we have fought uninterruptedly shoulder to shoulder with the German working people against the Versailles peace. We have fought and

will also fight in the future against any fixing of the State frontiers by force of arms, against any national oppression, for the right of self-determination.

We shall continue with redoubled strength, at the head of the working class and the working masses in town and country, to fight unweariedly and with all means of the proletarian class struggle under the banner of proletarian internationalism, against the class enemy in our own country, against imperialist war preparations and war incitement of our own imperialists.

For this reason we shall at the same time mobilise the masses of the working people in every country: against the war provocations of the fascist rulers of Germany, the chief instigators of a new imperialist world war, against all their allies, against all who promote the war-mongering German imperialism. We shall support the heroic working class of Germany in its fight against the fascist dictatorship, against the war provocations of German imperialism. For we know: Hitler means war, and the overthrow of Hitler by the proletarian revolution will destroy for ever the war menace of German imperialism.

We welcome, therefore, every increase in the defensive power of the only fatherland of the working people, every step made towards strengthening its red workers' and peasants' army, which secures peace, every strengthening of the frontiers of the socialist country. In the event of a counter-revolutionary war against the land of socialism we shall support with every means the red army of the Soviet Union and fight for the defeat of German imperialism and its allies, for the defeat of every Power which makes war against the Soviet Union. We shall promote with all means the victory of the socialist Soviet Union in its fight against all who attack this land of Socialism.

War against the Soviet Union is war against the proletarians in all countries, against the working people in all countries. It is a war against all the oppressed and exploited in the whole world.

Those who wish to maintain peace, those who are opposed to imperialist war must know: wherever the German fascists launch war, there the world war will inevitably commence. No country will be able to escape this world conflagration and its effects.

We approach the Social-Democratic Party of

Germany, and especially the Social-Democratic organisations in Germany itself, we approach the Socialist Party of France, the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party in England, the Socialist Party of Italy, the Social-Democratic Parties in Czecho-Slovakia, the Polish Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialists of Austria, the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary, and the Social-Democratic Party of Lithuania with the proposal:

To organise immediately joint conferences, demonstrations against the war-mongering of the German fascists, for support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and for this purpose form joint committees.

Jointly prepare and carry out the May Day demonstrations under the slogan of the fight against German imperialism, against all who support its armaments, against the war preparations of our own imperialists; under the slogan of joint support of the fight of the German proletarians against the Hitler dictatorship, under the slogan of support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

We approach these parties with the proposal to make a joint appeal to all trade unions, workers' sport organisations, peasant organisations, to all mass organisations of the toilers who are prepared to fight against war and fascism, in order to draw them all into this united fighting front.

Down with the chief war-monger, Hitler fascism!

Down with its war allies, military-fascist Japan and the Polish fascists! Down with imperialist war preparations in all countries!

For the support of the working people in Germany in their fight for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship!

For the defence of the fatherland of all toilers, the Soviet Union! For its peace policy, for the Eastern Pact!

Forward to the fight in the united front for the maintenance of peace, against imperialist war and against fascism!

Forward to the fight for Socialism, which alone secures peace.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Germany, France, Great Britain, Poland, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Austria, Hungary, and Lithuania.

(Sections of the Communist International.)

MAY 1, 1935

THE world proletariat will meet May 1, 1935, in an extremely tense international atmosphere. Never, since 1914, when the world imperialist war broke out, has the breath of war been so powerfully felt as now, in the spring of 1935. International contradictions are now more tense than they were in 1914, on the eve of the first imperialist world war.

But why, if the international situation is such that it already exceeds the contradictions of 1914, have those in the capitalist countries who are the instigators of war not yet succeeded in beginning the new slaughter of the peoples? The reason for this lies in the DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO HISTORICAL PERIODS. When on May 1, 1914, the international proletariat demonstrated on the streets against the direct menace of imperialist war, the international organisation of the working class, the Second International, was already BLIGHTED WITH OPPORTUNISM WHICH DURING THE WAR YEARS GREW INTO SOCIAL CHAUVINISM. The Social-Democratic parties, in pursuit of their policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie were already preparing to support the imperialist war of their own bourgeoisie, under the guise of defending their fatherland. Only in one country, in Tsarist Russia, was there a truly revolutionary party of Bolsheviks, which fought consistently against the war, and fought to convert the imperialist war into civil war.

Now the situation is different. The vanguard of the international proletariat, the working class of the U.S.S.R., is fighting against war, by defending the cause of peace now as a ruling class, wielding power in a gigantic country which extends over one-sixth part of the earth. The toilers of the U.S.S.R. have the workers' and peasants' Red Army at their disposal, which draws its power not only from the emancipated peoples of the Soviet Union, but from the whole of the international proletariat. This army is a mighty bulwark of peace. NOW, on the eve of May 1, 1935, when the workers and toilers of all political trends are faced with the capitalist offensive and are beginning to forge their own united front under the yoke of fascism, and the sharpening danger of war—the struggle to maintain peace and against imperialist war is under the leadership of the WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PARTY of the proletariat, the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The peculiarities of the struggle around the problems of peace and war on the eve of May 1, 1935, are as follow:

AT ONE POLE, where preparations are going forward for a new imperialist war, we have the

FASCIST VANGUARD of international imperialism. Fascism and war — these are the last words of bourgeois wisdom, in their search for a way out of the crisis by means of further robbing the toiling masses.

AT THE OTHER POLE, where the struggle is going on to maintain peace against the forces heading for imperialist war, there stands the mighty proletarian state, the land of Socialism, the U.S.S.R., the vanguard of the toilers of all lands in their struggle against war.

FASCISM AND PREPARATIONS FOR IMPERIALIST WAR (chauvinist slander, war preparations, etc.) ARE MOST CLOSELY INTERWOVEN AT THE PRESENT HISTORICAL MOMENT. AND IN JUST THE SAME WAY, SOCIALISM, PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, AND THE STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN PEACE, ARE CLOSELY INTERWOVEN. The workers of all countries are beginning to muster together all their forces to offer successful resistance to the capitalist offensive, fascism and the threat of imperialist war.

The imperialist bourgeoisie of all countries are seeking a way out of the crisis in war. Fascist Germany is the CHIEF instigator of war.

In these circumstances, on the eve of May 1, 1935, the main task facing the proletarians of all countries is to LINK UP THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE, FASCISM AND THE PREPARATIONS FOR IMPERIALIST WAR, as closely as possible. It is to gather all the forces of the proletariat into a united front of struggle against the violence of the fascist potentates, whose military designs are a menace to all who are keeping guard over peace; first and foremost the SOVIET UNION.

* * * *

“Try-out wars,” as the imperialist military press call the wars which are already taking place in South America, the rapacious drive of the Japanese in China (which is now menacing a country with a population of 400 million) and the war against Abyssinia being waged by imperialist Italy, are already fraught with dangers of a new world imperialist war for a fresh partition of the world.

“While a counter-revolutionary onslaught is being prepared against the U.S.S.R., imperialist wars are already being carried on between various countries. The robber war being conducted by Japanese imperialism in China has been going on for years, and is now menacing all of China. War is being waged in South America between British and American imperialism through their vassal states—Paraguay and Bolivia. Italian imperialism is calling up one group of recruits after another to the army, and is dispatching troops to Abyssinia, preparing to subject the people of Abyssinia to colonial plunder and servitude. German fascism is already reaching out its mailed fist against Austria, Lithuania and Danzig, and is

making ready to put its plans of colonial plunder into operation."

The law of March 16 wherein the Hitler government introduced universal conscription, has demonstrated to the world at large that German imperialism has built up an enormous army, and is continuing to build up this army at a furious rate. This army is a perfected edition of the Kaiser Wilhelm army of Prussian militarism, equipped according to the last word in military science. The German trust magnates, the Prussian Junkers, and the fascist rulers of Germany, are reckoning upon launching a new world war in a very short space of time. A few forced assurances of their devotion to peace on the part of the leaders of the fascist bands in no way alter the fact that the GERMAN FASCISTS ARE THE CHIEF INSTIGATORS OF WAR IN EUROPE. All the measures they have adopted in the sphere of home and foreign policy are directed towards preparations for the speediest possible launching of a new world imperialist blood bath, and first and foremost counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

The legalisation of the armament building which has been done hitherto in secret, means the military-strategic and military-technical preparations for the new imperialist war. The armaments race being carried on by fascist Germany reveals its expansionist plans, its plans to partition Soviet Ukraine, to establish a "Great Germany" by seizing Memel, Austria, Danzig, etc. By its open preparations and its further increase in armament building, by establishing a gigantic army, whose regular forces now, in peace time, amount to almost one million combatants, by training reserves at an extremely rapid rate, and reorganising the whole economic life of the country on military lines, the German fascists also want to create the PREMISES IN THE SPHERE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, that will make it possible for them to carry out their expansionist plans and to bring about a new partition of the globe. In so demonstratively stressing their military might, the German fascist leaders are mainly pursuing the fulfilment of three tasks in their foreign policy.

FIRST OF ALL, they want to show their military allies—the ruling Japanese military fascist clique and the Polish Pilsudsky fascists, that Hitler Germany is an ally with superior forces from a military point of view, and that the Japanese and Polish instigators of war can expect to find a firm military ally in Germany.

SECONDLY, the German fascists wanted to help to bring about the victory of the open anti-Soviet tendencies in the camp of the British bourgeoisie. The anti-Soviet circles among the British

imperialists have encouraged the armament of Germany and Japan, in so far as they have been directed against the Soviet Union. They are afraid, however, that the German bombing planes and gigantic Zeppelins may become the means of attacking not only the U.S.S.R., but London as well. The British imperialists are afraid that military fascist Japan may fulfil its plans of seizing the whole of China. Hence the struggle between groupings in the camp of the English bourgeoisie, which is reflected in Britain's official foreign policy to a certain extent. The demonstrative display by German imperialism of its military might in the sphere of foreign policy has in view to help those imperialist circles in Great Britain to get the upper hand. These latter want to rely upon the forces of German imperialism to unloose a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union as quickly as possible, to solve the main contradiction of our epoch (namely, that between the capitalist world and the U.S.S.R.) in favour of capitalism.

The THIRD objective which the German fascists are pursuing in their foreign policy is to frighten the bourgeoisie and the masses of the people in the small countries and in those capitalist countries which do not want war at the present moment. The German fascists want to terrorise those countries and peoples (Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, Switzerland, etc.), which have perfectly good cause to be afraid of the menace that German imperialism constitutes to their state and national independence. The German fascists are trying—and not without success—to force the leading political circles of these countries to take the side of imperialist Germany, to force them into a rapprochement with the Hitler government. The main point is that German fascism is carrying on a struggle to bring about a re-division of the globe, is openly preparing counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. and is sharpening its terror.

German fascism has become the chief instigator of war not only by virtue of the fact that it has given the imperialist warmongers in all countries a new stimulus to speed up the armaments race. This is not all. German fascism has sharpened its terror on an international scale against the small and weak nations, against the masses of the people, who are anxious to avoid war at all costs. It wants to lead to war with its policy of instilling terror and to break down the resistance of the masses and the small nations to war.

In every single country, the working class must not lose sight of the fact that THE CHIEF ENEMY IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES is their own bourgeoisie, the warmongers at home, for a minute. The working class must already now begin an extensive

struggle against the chauvinist slander being whipped up by the bourgeoisie. At the same time, it is the duty of the international proletariat to concentrate all its forces, all the forces of the toilers of all countries, against the chief instigator of war, which is the chief pioneer of the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. The chief instigator of war against the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the international proletariat to-day, is, at the same time, the chief enemy of the INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT as a whole. Therefore, it is the task of proletarian internationalism to concentrate the forces of the international proletariat against German fascism and its allies. And this means that the fatherland of the international proletariat, the U.S.S.R., must be defended by all possible means, that the utmost assistance must be given to the German proletariat in its struggle to overthrow the butcher dictatorship of Hitler fascism.

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The fascist oppression of the toiling population and the approaching war have been rendered possible by the policy of CLASS COLLABORATION WITH THE BOURGEOISIE, ON THE BASIS OF THE BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRACY, PURSUED BY THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, when they promised the working masses that they would overcome the crisis, peace would be assured and socialism achieved by "peaceful" democratic means. The conditions of the working class in the capitalist countries, want, hunger and unemployment, ruin of the toiling masses in town and country, and lack of political rights—THIS is the situation to which the masses have been brought by following the road indicated to them by international Social-Democracy.

And along the other road, the beginning of which was laid down by the Bolsheviks in decades of struggle, under Tsarism and through the mighty October Socialist Revolution—along that road, indicated in the past by the workers' Communist International, and still indicated to-day, we see how great are the successes achieved by the working class and the toiling masses already. In the U.S.S.R., land of the proletarian dictatorship, the toiling masses, led by the working class and its Bolshevik party, led by Comrade Stalin, the mighty leader of the international proletariat, are building socialism, sweeping aside all obstacles in their path. Men and women—old and young, are realising the mighty aims put forward by October, step by step. Free, full of joy, with clear prospects of further improving their standard of living, in possession of ever growing treasures of material welfare and culture, they are now on the threshold of material welfare and culture, they are now on the threshold of the class-

less society. The social ownership of the means of production is destroying the last remnants of capitalist private ownership. Extensive Soviet democracy has been brought about on the basis of socialist ownership, in the process of rooting out class distinctions, of destroying classes. The toilers no longer need to fear the morrow, and the future. All traces of unemployment, and uncertainty of the morrow, are gone in the Soviet Union. The youth of the Soviet Union, who know of the oppression of the toilers only from reminiscences or stories they have heard, enter life without alarm regarding the future. Workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are mustered in the Soviets, on the basis of mighty Soviet democracy, and exercise the only power of the people that has existed in the history of mankind.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union, this mighty proletarian power, surrounded by capitalist powers, is a policy directed against the feverish armaments race being pursued by all the imperialist war parties. It is a very living proof of the fact that socialism means peace between the peoples, while capitalism means war.

The struggle of the U.S.S.R. for peace not only means a struggle for the safety of the frontiers of this mighty socialist country. It is a struggle for a worthy existence for the people in all the imperialist, colonial and semi-colonial countries, a struggle to save the treasures of human culture, a struggle against the barbarity of war and fascism. Backed up by the inexhaustible wealth of one-sixth of the globe, won and defended by the workers and peasants in armed struggle against their exploiters and oppressors, supported by the spiritual and physical might of 170 million people, ready to lay down their lives in defence of the socialist property they have won for themselves, and in defence of socialist construction—the Soviet Union points the way to all who desire peace, freedom and socialism. This way is the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviet democracy, which means the government of the overwhelming majority of the toilers over an insignificant minority of exploiters, the only power that leads to socialism—Soviet Power.

All the waves of counter-revolution and of fascism, have broken and still continue to break against the unassailable ramparts of the Soviet Power. The Soviet system has shown itself to be strong enough to safeguard the economic independence of the land of the Soviets from world capitalist economy. And if the imperialist war policy of the German fascists, of all their allies and instigators behind the scenes, does lead to war, then the workers' and peasants' Red Army of the Soviet Union, together with the toilers of

all countries, will be able to defend the only fatherland of the proletariat.

"And let not Messieurs the bourgeoisie blame us if on the morrow of the outbreak of such a war they will miss certain of the governments that are near and dear to them, and who are to-day happily ruling 'by the grace of God.'" (From the report of Comrade Stalin to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

The U.S.S.R. and its Red Army have allies in the toilers of all lands who are bound to it by living bonds. The system of concluding alliances between imperialist countries will never overcome the contradictions that exist between the allies. Only the U.S.S.R. and its allies—the toilers of all capitalist countries — are bound by absolutely identical interests, the class interests of the proletarians of all countries. Proof of this is to be found in the manifesto issued by the Communist Parties of Germany, France, England, Poland, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Austria, Hungary and Lithuania, in which we read:

"We welcome, therefore, every increase in the defensive power of the only fatherland of the working people, every step made towards strengthening its red workers' and peasants' army, which secures peace, every strengthening of the frontiers of the socialist country. In the event of a counter-revolutionary war against the land of socialism we shall support with every means the red army of the Soviet Union and fight for the defeat of German imperialism and its allies, for the defeat of every Power which makes war against the Soviet Union. We shall promote with all means the victory of the socialist Soviet Union in its fight against all who attack this land of Socialism."

To defend the Soviet Union from all its enemies, to further its victory over all who dare to raise their hands against the land of the proletarian dictatorship, means to defend the base of world revolution, to defend the road which will free the workers of all capitalist countries from hunger and poverty, from the capitalist yoke and the chains of fascism, and lead them forward to socialism.

* * * *

The victorious construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is of exceptional importance for developing the united front of the fighting proletariat in the capitalist countries. The prohibition of all workers' organisations in a number of fascist countries, such as Germany, Austria and Latvia, has shown the masses of workers the results of Social-Democratic policy, has shown them that the policy of class-collaboration not only does not lead to socialism, but that it cannot even maintain the most elementary rights and liberties of the working class, and paves the way for fascism. Both these facts of world-historic importance are the source which serves to revolutionise the masses of reformist workers. These are the reasons which are causing the working masses to seek ways and means for joint struggle, together with the Communist vanguard, which is persistently calling

upon all fighting proletarians to rally their forces for joint struggle against the enemy. There has been a considerable increase in the desire for the united front during the year which has passed since May 1, 1934. The first-fruits of success have been achieved in the creation of the united front between Communist and Social-Democratic workers in France, Austria, Italy, Spain, Greece, England, Poland and—last but not least—Germany.

The bourgeoisie have been impotent to break down the resistance of the working class, even in Germany, Italy, Austria and Hungary, where the most cruel fascist terror has been operated. They have not been successful in demoralising the ranks of the working class. In all countries revolutionary battles break out again and again. The Red Army of Soviet China is carrying on a successful struggle against the drives of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang and the imperialists. For the first time in the history of Spain, the workers of Asturias organised Soviets and a Red Army. The Spanish workers did not emerge victorious in this struggle, but they prevented the consolidation of the fascist dictatorship. And in all the remaining countries there is an increase in the struggle of the toilers against the merciless capitalist offensive upon the standard of living of the masses.

The example set by the brilliant victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the menace of imperialist wars (not only on the part of the fascist countries, but also on that of those imperialist powers where bourgeois democracy still remains as the form in which the bourgeoisie realise their dictatorship), the fascist terror which is already rife in some countries and hangs menacingly over other countries, and the steady offensive of capital—all these are stimulating workers of all political trends to close up their ranks.

Under pressure from the masses of workers, even the Social-Democratic leaders in some countries have been compelled to form a united front with the Communist Parties. In France, Austria, Italy, and Latvia, and at one time in the Saar, agreements have been arrived at with the leading Social-Democratic bodies for unity of action between the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties. In spite of repeated proposals made by the E.C.C.I., the Second International has hitherto refused to establish unity of action on an international scale.

To-day, on the eve of May 1, the Social-Democratic Parties in several countries have joined their bourgeois governments. The fact that the Belgian Social-Democrats have joined the government, that a Social-Democratic government has been formed in Norway, that the Labour Party in England is getting ready to form a new Labour government—all this goes to strengthen the forces

in the leadership of the Second International that encouraged it to reject the proposal for the united front in support of the Spanish workers, made by the Communist International.* The desire of the masses of Social-Democrats for the united front is growing, while the tendencies inside the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions making for the creation of the united front are becoming stronger. Although the Amsterdam Trade Union International has given an insolent and curt refusal to the proposal made by the Profintern that joint demonstrations be organised on May 1, the revolutionary members of the trade unions will not cease striving for the holding of joint demonstrations on this account. They will participate in united front demonstrations on May 1, without obtaining previous sanction. The new proposal made by the Comintern to the Second International for the organisation of joint demon-

* See Verbatim Report of Negotiations in Brussels. Modern Books, Ltd.

strations on May 1 is based on the desire of the masses of workers for unity of action. Whatever decision the Second International may arrive at on this point, one thing remains unaltered: the Communist Parties are preparing to demonstrate, and will conduct their demonstrations on May 1 under the flag of the united front of struggle of the whole of the fighting proletariat against the capitalist offensive, against fascism, for the maintenance of peace, against imperialist war, and in defence of the Soviet Union. And after May 1, they will also continue this struggle in defence of the vital interests of the toilers of all countries.

May 1, 1935, will be a day of the review of the forces of the fighters of the proletariat, a day when the international proletariat will undertake united front action against the capitalist offensive, fascism and war. On this day, the fighting proletariat in all lands will demonstrate the will of the working class to victory, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviets, for Socialism.

FOR THE BROAD UNITED FRONT IN JAPAN

By TANAKA.

FOR more than three years now, the Japanese imperialists have been waging a war of plunder in China, while at the same time feverish preparations are being made for the "great war." The Japanese bourgeoisie and the fascist militarists presume that war will help them to solve all the burning questions that confront them.

Enormous sums of money are required for war. These are being got together in Japan at the expense of an unprecedented reduction of the standard of living of the working class and of the broad masses of toilers there. War requires "national unity" and peace "in the rear" at home. And the Japanese bourgeoisie and militarists, actively supported by their social-democratic (Syakai Taisiuto)* and fascist allies are trying to scare the masses with the "difficulties facing the fatherland," and the "1935-36 crisis," and are propagating the chauvinist idea of Japan's "life line," which actually means spreading the efforts of the Japanese bourgeoisie and militarists at expansion towards the Soviet maritime province, the South Sea Islands, and Latin America. All this is being done so as to poison the minds of the Japanese proletariat with the drug of chauvinism, to rally them in support of war, and to separate them from all the "dangerous ideas" which are becoming more and more widespread in the minds of

the Japanese proletarians. To this end the bourgeois-landlord government, which has a complete arsenal of refined methods of provocation and espionage at its disposal, is employing a ferocious terror against the toiling masses, especially the advanced section of the working class. During 1934 alone, over 4,500 revolutionary workers were added to the thousands previously imprisoned.

But whether the ruling classes of Japan want it or not, their drive to war is sharpening to the extreme the contradictions inside the country. The strike struggle in the towns is developing, and unrest is growing among the peasants in the villages. Differences are growing among the ruling strata themselves as to how Manchuria is to be ruled, how profits are to be divided and as to the date to be fixed for the "great war." The war drive of Japanese imperialism cannot fail to lead to a sharpening of the contradictions between Japan and the other imperialist powers with interests in the Pacific Ocean. But the ruling bourgeois-landlord clique sees no other way out, and is feverishly preparing for the "great war," and first and foremost for counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

The Rule of the Social-Imperialists and the Trade Union Bureaucrats.

The social-imperialists and the reformist trade union bureaucrats give their full support to the aggressive policy of bourgeois-landlord Japan.

* Syakai Taisiuto: Japanese social-democrats, fundamentally social-imperialists.

The "Syakai Taisiuto" and the leaders of the Right Wing of the reformist trade union movement (Kumiai kaigi) are playing an especially active and open-handed rôle in this respect. The "Kumiai kaigi" has about 280,000 members, i.e., 80 per cent. of the total organised workers of Japan.

When the very first steps were taken in the occupation of Manchuria, the "Syakai Taisiuto" and the trade union bureaucracy strove to deceive the masses, by making the workers believe that the enslavement of the toiling masses of Manchuria by Japanese finance capital was actually "the creation of a Japano-Manchurian bloc under the government of the people." In the beginning of last year, the trade union bureaucrats of the "Kumiai kaigi" offered their assistance to the government in setting up organs of class collaboration, "Sangiu Kiiorioku Yinkai," after the fashion of the military-industrial committees that existed in Russia during the imperialist war.

In 1933, the "Kumiai kaigi" on the initiative of the leaders of the extreme Right "Sodomei"* (48,964 members) and the Seamen's Union (98,775 members), which play a leading rôle in the Trade Union Congress, adopted a programme of "healthy trade unionism." The essence of this programme is the rejection of all active methods of class struggle, and the establishment of class-collaboration between workers and capitalists — "Class peace in the name of national unity." In actual practice this programme meant that whereas the trade union bureaucrats formerly persuaded the workers that there was no need to strike (strikes are allegedly of no advantage to the workers since they undermine the enterprise which feeds them), now, on the other hand, the local trade union organisations are forbidden to strike without permission from the centre. The only methods of "struggle" on behalf of the interests of the workers recognised by the trade union bureaucrats are agreements signed on the basis of class collaboration, which, according to Sodomei, are the "corner-stone of industrial peace and collaboration," as well as the presentation of petitions, the development of the workers' mutual aid societies, etc.

The new programme adopted in October, 1934, at the last Congress of the "Kumiai kaigi" is a further step on the part of the reformist leaders in the direction of collaboration with the ruling classes. This programme provides for the establishment of a so-called "ministry of labour and industry," representatives of the workers (read: trade union bureaucrats) to take part without fail in all its work, which ranges from control over the productivity of the labour of the

Japanese worker in the interests of the capitalists, to the elaboration of legislation for the whole of industry, for compulsory arbitration in connection with strikes. This programme, which is nothing but a proposal to give official shape to collaboration of the trade unions and the government, is yet another proof of the increasing development of the social democratic and trade union bureaucracy towards fascism.

There is additional proof of the development of the trade union bureaucrats towards fascism in the fact that while they talk of the right against fascism, they make no attempt to carry on this struggle in actual practice. When the fascists split away groups of workers from the Sodomei and the Right moderate Dzenro (over 40,000 members) and led them into their own trade unions, the trade union bureaucrats adopted no measures whatsoever against this move. Some of the successes obtained by the fascists in setting up their own organisations were achieved just because of the rapid development towards fascism of the leaders of the reformist trade unions. The leaders of the fascist unions, the "Rodo domei"† declared at the beginning of last year, for example, that they were not against joining the "Kumiai kaigi," since the latter had rapidly evolved towards national-socialism, and their common interests had grown. The leaders of the "Sodomei" on their part have been telling the workers (and are telling them to-day) that the Japanese fascists are not the workers' enemies, since they are conducting a struggle against finance-capital. Now the trade union bureaucrats have passed from words to deeds. In October, 1934, amalgamation took place between the Osaki section of the "Sodomei" and the Osaki section of the fascist "Rodo Domei," and in November of last year the Tokio section of the "Dzenro"† amalgamated with the Tokio section of the "Rodo Domei."

This is why the organs of the government have the support of precisely the leaders of these organisations when conducting their policy of further enslaving the toilers. It is not for nothing that the Minister of Home Affairs discusses questions of home policy with them and with the leaders of the "Syakai Taisiuto." It is not for nothing that the most prominent trade union bureaucrats from these trade unions participate in court functions (the presence of Sudzuki at the Court on the occasion of the "Chrysanthemum Festival"). It is not in vain that the government despatches its representatives to greet the congresses of the Right trade unions. The Minister of Home Affairs himself greeted the last Congress of the

* Rodo Domei—union of labour.

† Dzenro—reformist trade union organisation.

* Right Reformist Federation of Labour.

"Kumiai kaigi" and approved the policy of the Rights. The authorities know full well that they have trusty servants in these "representatives" of the working class.

The Militancy of the Workers in the War Industries.

However, the class struggle undertaken by the Japanese workers is sharpening and consequently undermining these tactics of class collaboration and the inculcation of chauvinism among the masses.

In the front ranks of the strikers are to be found the workers employed in the war industries, the metal workers and chemical workers, precisely those among whom the influence of the reformists is especially strong, and strong chauvinistic propaganda is conducted, and over whom a military régime reigns supreme. During eleven months of 1934, there were 215 strikes among the metal workers and 279 among the chemical workers. The struggle of the miners of the Kiusiu region, who until quite recently have been backward, is also taking on broad dimensions now. The miners are fighting against the capitalist offensive, against the intensification of labour, the lowering of their standard of living (the maximum wage of the miner is 1 yen 87 sen,* the minimum 70 sen), and for increased wages and a shorter working day. In 1931 this region was the arena of a mass struggle of the miners, but the government and fascists suppressed the struggle then with bloody terror. The heavy burden that has grown in connection with the war is compelling 100,000 miners to rise up in struggle once more.

The increase in the number of the strikers shows the militant activity of the Japanese workers. During eleven months of 1934, the number of strikers reached the figure of 103,300 as against 97,500 in 1933. First place among the strikes that took place during the past year was occupied by those in support of demands for increased wages. They represented about 33 per cent. of the total, while in 1931, when the Japanese imperialists began their adventure in Manchuria, strikes of this kind constituted 18 per cent. of the total. The number of strikes against wage cuts fell to 4 per cent. (according to official statistics), but in 1931 they constituted 27 per cent. of the total number of strikes. About 30 per cent. of the total are strikes for a shorter working day, for recognition of the trade unions and for the abolition of the system of overseers.

Once they have begun a strike, the workers stubbornly defend their interests. Cases are not infrequent when strikes go on for one to two months and more, and, what deserves particular attention, these strikes take place even in muni-

tions factories. It is especially important to note that during these prolonged strikes, the workers have to overcome the organised sabotage of the reformist leaders, and to go on strike over their heads, despite the military and police terror.

The urge towards the united front is embracing ever broader masses of the members of reformist trade unions, who are learning by experience that divided action and scattered strikes only retard a successful struggle, and that it is more essential to-day than ever before to confront the united front of the owners, militarists and fascists with the broad united front of struggle of the proletariat. Strikers are more and more frequently appealing to workers in other factories and their appeal meets with response. Delegate conferences are not infrequently called during strikes to decide upon some measure or other to help the strikers. Time and time again the workers declare strikes over the heads of the reformist leadership in protest against the dismissal of their comrades, or against the arrest of active workers, etc.

Examples of Strikes Waged.

Here are a few facts from the struggle of the Japanese workers against the worsening of their living conditions which has come about as a result of the military-inflationist policy of Japanese imperialism.

A strike of workers engaged in the military engineering works of the Kikai Seisaku Company in Osaka lasted for two months. During the course of the strike, the engineering workers, members of the "Dzenro" spontaneously established a united front with the workers of the Daiotsu Seidzai saw-mills and of the Tekkan Company pipe-rolling works, members of the reformist Dzenro, who were on strike at that time. A joint strike committee was formed, and although the workers were defeated, it was emphasised in the declaration issued by the strike committee, that they had succeeded in strengthening solidarity between the workers of these enterprises during the course of the struggle.

All the workers of another military engineering works in Osaka, Kikai Kosaku (1,000 employees), fought for two months against the intensification of labour and dismissals. The strike began a short time before the term expired for the delivery of orders for the War Office. Neither the threat of a lockout nor deception of the workers by the administration (fake telegrams about the misfortunes befalling the families of the strikers), neither efforts to influence the workers through their wives nor even the arrest of over 80 strikers in the very heat of the strike — nothing could shake the determination of the workers in their struggle against the burden brought about by the

* 1 yen = about 9d., 1 sen = 1/100th of a yen.

war, for a period of two months. Only the united forces of the government and leaders of the "Sodomei" were successful in suppressing the strike.

At the Teppan and Tominaga munitions works, the men went on strike for a 20 per cent. increase in wages, for the abolition of part-time work and for a shorter working day.

The workers of two factories belonging to the Nihon Singo Company (they are in different localities: in Omori and Tsukidzima), went on strike simultaneously, demanding increased wages and the payment of full wages to families of mobilised workers during the time of service of the latter in the army. The strike was declared over the heads of the leaders of the "Sorengo," which is close to the fascists.

5,500 workers of the militarised shipbuilding wharves of the Kawasaki Company and the Kamaisi Kodzan works, fought against intensification of labour and longer hours.

Unrest broke out in the Mitsubishi aviation works and the Gasu Denki chemical works in connection with the dismissal of temporary workers.

6,000 women textile workers employed in four factories belonging to the Toyo Muslin Company conducted a joint struggle for an increase in their wages which had been reduced to the utmost in connection with the adoption of super-dumping, and against the dismissal of active working women (moreover these factories were situated in different localities, and the women were members of different reformist trade unions). This action on the part of the women also took place in spite of the reformist leaders. Nevertheless, the latter were successful in preventing the conflict from developing into a strike. They smashed the struggle by obtaining petty concessions from the employers.

The whole of the 12,000 tramwaymen of Tokio went on strike against the will of the trade union bureaucracy, and conducted a stubborn struggle for over a month.

These are facts which characterise the struggle of the Japanese proletariat. One could continue this list of strikes and battles still further.

Conclusions to be Drawn.

What are the conclusions to be drawn from the above?

1. All these facts smash the assertion of the Japanese social-chauvinists and reformists that the class struggle of the Japanese proletariat has subsided and that the workers have passed to class-collaboration—an assertion which aims at diverting the proletariat from active methods of struggle against capital and war. All these indications of the further swing of the Japanese workers to the Left are of even greater importance because these workers carry on their struggle in circumstances of police error, of

bloody license on the part of the fascists and of the treachery of the social-imperialists, and at a time when the workers are being persuaded that any display of struggle for their own interests "will lead to weakening the fighting power of the Japanese nation," when every strike is regarded as a "betrayal of the fatherland," and when strikes and mass action of every kind in defence of the interests of the workers is subject to cruel persecution. The facts quoted go to prove that the conditions exist for the development of the struggle of the Japanese working class on the basis of a broad united front, and for raising the struggle to a higher level.

2. The consequences of the treacherous policy of the reactionary trade union bureaucrats and of the social-chauvinists are being felt strongly by the workers. They are beginning actively to break through the network of class collaboration more and more. The leaders of the "Sodomei," of the Seamen's Union and of the "Dzenro," etc., are against strikes, prohibit strikes; but in spite of this, the rank-and-file members of these unions are more frequently going on strike over the heads of the reformist trade union bureaucracy. And so more favourable conditions are being created for winning the reformist workers to the side of the revolutionary trade union movement. However, in consequence of the extremely feeble work of the supporters of the class-conscious trade union movement inside the mass reformist and reactionary trade unions, the trade union bureaucrats are still successful in confusing and deceiving the masses, and in repeatedly keeping them under their influence, in holding them back from the class struggle, and in urging definite sections of workers to take the path of class collaboration and chauvinism.

3. The masses are making spontaneous efforts to engage in struggle and are displaying a desire for the united front and trade union unity. This is a very important, new change in the Japanese working class movement. Ever new sections of workers are being drawn into the struggle. The growing spontaneous dissatisfaction of the masses and their desire for joint action create favourable ground for extending the front of struggle. However, frequently the economic battles undertaken by the Japanese workers take place without the participation of the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement. Concrete cases of strikes and statistics at our disposal all point to this. Out of 273 strikes (taking the largest) which took place during the last year, 138 were spontaneous, and trade unions, in the overwhelming majority of cases reformist and fascist, took part in 135. As regards the total number of labour conflicts, over two-thirds of them were spontaneous strikes. When the struggle remains spontaneous, the forces of the working class cannot be developed to the full. The absence of a fighting leadership is one of the chief reasons for the defeat of economic battles in Japan.

Why the Supporters of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement Are Lagging Behind.

What is the main reason why the supporters of the revolutionary movement lag behind the rate at which the struggle of the Japanese workers is becoming revolutionised and is developing? For they have had a fair experience in leading economic struggles during 1931-1932.

In the line they take, the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement quite correctly lay stress upon the development of the strike struggle on behalf of the daily needs of the workers, especially in the war enterprises. However, as far as we know,

there are still only very few cases where the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement have participated independently either in struggles which have broken out spontaneously, or in strikes conducted by the reformists.

We know that the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement organised the action of the workers in the munitions factories in Himedzi, the aeroplane construction workers of Nakadzima, at the militarised artificial silk factories in Ivaoka and Tzukusima, and at the iron-works in Muroran. This was all action directed against the intensification of labour, for increased wages and against a reduction of the standard of living. The supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement organised a strike of weavers at the factories of the Aoume company in Tokio for increased wages; preparations were made for a strike at 10 chemical works, but just before it began our comrades were arrested and the strike did not take place. Strikes in which the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement took part were carried through on several steamers. But all these, with the exception of the Tokio tramwaymen's strike which was also prepared by supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement, were in the main small strikes which took place entirely isolated from each other.

True, the work of the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement is rendered more difficult by the terror. They have not yet completely recovered from the damage sustained in connection with the undermining work carried on by the provocateurs and police spies who made their way into their ranks. All this cannot fail to hinder the establishment of strong contacts with the masses in the factories themselves, and cannot fail to retard the work of the revolutionary trade union organisations.

Without a doubt, conditions of work are extremely difficult. But we also know that both terror and provocation are powerless to stop the work of the revolutionary trade union movement. We know that the preceding years of struggle have educated splendid forces of rank-and-file activists, who are overcoming all the difficulties that lie in their way, and are carrying on stubborn, self-sacrificing work, displaying very considerable initiative in doing so. It is only thanks to the display of great persistence and self-sacrifice that the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement have succeeded in penetrating to the most difficult spheres of work, namely work in the munitions factories, transport, etc., where particularly severe measures have been adopted against their activities. The supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement carried on bold anti-war work in the military-naval arsenal

of Kura, where there are 25,000 workers, and in Hirosima (one of the chief military bases). Here they arranged the issue of a works' newspaper entitled "The Forward." At the Odzi military powder works, at the Nakadzima and Isikavadzima avio-construction works, and at the Tokio Gasu enterprise, etc., they have been trying to rouse the workers to engage in struggle.

It can be seen from information published during the last few months in the press concerning the arrests made among the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement, that they have been working on the railways, among loaders, and among the metal workers, with a view to re-establishing their organisations. In the military port of Kura, twenty comrades were arrested for revolutionary work. In April (1934), the police press reported the existence of a revolutionary organisation in Hirosima, which they had allegedly succeeded in smashing. However, in September, 1934, the police were compelled to admit that during the raid on the arsenal in Kura, among those arrested were found members of the Hirosima revolutionary organisation which had allegedly been smashed up in April. These cases point to the fact that comrades working in the localities have in individual cases been successful in finding the methods of approaching the masses which correspond to the local conditions and to the given period. The central organ of the Party, the "Sekki," when dealing with the anti-war struggle in the Himedzi district, noted the initiative displayed by Party workers in the locality in developing anti-war work in that district.

Self-sacrificing work on the part of the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement does not, however, give the results it should, for they often work in the dark, without any leadership and without taking into account the changes taking place in the general situation inside the country.

Changes in the working class movement demand new methods and new forms of struggle to win the broad masses to the side of the revolutionary movement, changes in the form and methods of struggle against the social-imperialists; they demand increased mass work, an increased struggle against reformism and fascism.

The Need to Create a Broad United Front.

The Communist Party and the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement of Japan should see to it that the determined struggle to create a broad united front with the reformist trade union organisations against the capitalist offensive, fascism, and war, occupies the central position in all their work.

The supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement in Japan do not reckon with the changes in the situation. The tactics of the broad united front have still not become part of the system of their work and struggle. The strike of the Tokio tramwaymen could have developed into an extremely powerful struggle — could have spread beyond the confines of Tokio, had the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement, during the strike, ensured the operation of a broad united front and had unmasked and paralysed the treacherous tactics of the reformists. A fine opportunity presented itself for establishing a broad united front. Under pressure from the masses, about twenty reformist organisations in Tokio, including the leaders of the Right "Kumiai Kaigi" and "Sodomei," were forced to declare themselves in support of the strikers. The strike of the Osaka tramwaymen was ripening. But the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement did not succeed in making use of this situation to consolidate the united front, and the broad wave of solidarity merely took the shape of material assistance to the strikers. This gave the reformists an unimpeded opportunity of pursuing their tactics of negotiating behind the scenes and of isolating the strikers. The fact that the strikers were isolated deprived them of the opportunity of organising energetic mass action (meetings, demonstrations, picketing) against the owners and strike-breakers, and led to the strike being smashed.

In every strike and in every concrete case where the workers express their indignation against exploitation, the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement must endeavour to bring about the united front of all the workers in the given enterprise, by making proposals to the rank and file members of the reformist trade unions and to the reformist trade union organisations, as well as to rank and file members of the fascist trade unions that a united front be established. If the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement strain all their efforts to extend the struggle beyond the bounds of the given enterprise, by arranging unity of action conferences in the localities and according to industry, then if ceaseless work is carried on among the masses, joint action of this kind on the part of the workers will have a marked effect upon the outcome of the struggle, and will draw broad sections of unorganised workers into the struggle. Only on the basis of approximately such activities can a broad united front of struggle be set up against the bourgeois-landlord government and against fascism and war.

The realisation of this task demands that the Communist Party of Japan and the revolutionary

trade union movement make A RADICAL TURN IN THE STRUGGLE TO WIN OVER THE MASSES. THE MAIN STRESS MUST BE LAID UPON WORK IN THE REFORMIST AND FASCIST TRADE UNIONS, AND IN OTHER MASS ORGANISATIONS OF A LEGAL AND SEMI-LEGAL CHARACTER, in which the basic masses of organised workers are concentrated, and which thus exert influence over considerable sections of the Japanese proletariat.

It is quite clear that unless a mass opposition movement and mass opposition groups are established in these organisations—instead of the self-isolation and confinement in sectarian groups as has hitherto been the case — unless a sensitive, individual approach is made to each worker who is in the ranks of the fascist and reformist organisations, unless shape is given at the right time to the demands advanced by the workers, and unless their daily struggle is organised (in spite of the resistance of the reformist and fascist leaders) there can be no question of mass economic battles, of revolutionising these battles, of leading the workers to mass political strikes, and of decisive battle in a broad united front against the capitalist, offensive, fascism and war.

In the seamen's union (Kayin Kumiai) which controls all the work done among sailors, the dissatisfaction which the membership feels towards the leaders of the union has matured long ago. In consequence of the extremely feeble work of our comrades, the fascists have made use of these moods to strengthen their influence inside the union. If the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement do not set their work going in all the reformist unions, it is possible that the same thing will be repeated there as has taken place in the seamen's union (it is a known fact that strong dissatisfaction exists among the members of many reformist trade unions), i.e., the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement will find themselves caught unawares.

Will it be possible for the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement to represent the interests of the workers in the enterprises, to know what interests each worker, to give shape to their daily demands, to prepare the struggle for these demands, to unmask the enemies of the proletariat and to consolidate the forces of the working class for the struggle against exploitation and oppression, if they are entirely divorced from the broad masses?

The Manoeuvres of the Trade Union Bureaucrats.

The supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement correctly define the essence of the policy of Japanese social-democracy, when they declare it to be a policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie at all costs, as a social-chauvinist,

social-imperialist policy. But within the bounds of this line of class collaboration, the social-chauvinists resort to extremely flexible methods of deceiving the masses, the real meaning of which the worker in the reformist union cannot understand by himself, unless we set our own tactics and enlightening work in opposition to these methods. While they endeavour to fulfil the task set them, namely, of reconciling the exploiters and exploited, the social-imperialist agents of the bourgeoisie adopt a pose of defending the interests of the workers. With a view to suppressing the growing dissatisfaction of the workers, they haggle from time to time with individual owners for one or another petty concession for separate groups of workers, while doing nothing and not wishing to do anything to improve the position of the working class as a whole, though they are continually talking about the difficult position of the workers. For instance, last year about 200 labour conflicts took place among the seamen; the leaders of the reformist unions settled the conflict on the "Toyo Mosu" and many others with the owners "in a peaceful fashion." Although, as a result of the conflicts extremely insignificant concessions were obtained, a section of the workers got the impression that the trade union bureaucrats were defending their interests.

The trade union bureaucrats undertake measures supposed to help the workers, not infrequently with the money of the workers themselves. For example, the "Sodomei" has a workers' bank, the basic capital of which consists of workers' deposits. If two trustworthy members of the union agree to vouch for him, a depositor applying to the bank receives a short-term credit to an extent which sometimes exceeds his own deposit. In exceptional cases, when it is to the advantage of the trade union bureaucrats, credit is allowed to workers who are not depositors. The "Sodomei" equips so-called "Workers' homes," where club and other "cultural work" is carried on. There are workshops in the "workers' homes." According to the report of Nisio, the General Secretary of the "Sodomei," they have built 18 "Workers' homes." The seamen's union, which is in receipt of considerable subsidies from the Government (300-400 thousand yen) spent (according to the union's report) about 200 thousand yen out of this money in assistance to unemployed (loans, organisation of all kinds of auxiliary works, etc.). The seamen's union has the biggest clubs, lodging houses, etc., in the big ports. Moreover, there were 300 cases of help of one kind or another being given from the funds, of this union to seamen (sickness, accidents, small loans for travelling home after dismissal, etc.).

The supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement with their extremely feeble work in the reformist mass trade unions, are not in a position to carry on a day-to-day exposure of the real meaning of the measures adopted, and the demagoguery displayed by the reformist leaders with a view to camouflaging their policy of support for the Japanese bourgeoisie and the bourgeois-landlord government. The supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement stand apart from these unions, and, therefore, cannot carry on enlightenment work and rally the masses of the members to win leading positions in their unions in the localities and at the centre, to secure control over the mutual benefit and trade union funds, which are at present being squandered by the trade union bureaucrats.

The Demagoguery of the Fascists.

The weakness of the work carried on in the reformist trade unions threatens later to deepen the split in the ranks of the working class. The fascists have of late been developing particularly active work among the masses, demagogically depicting themselves as the "defenders" of the workers' interests, making use of and inculcating still further chauvinistic sentiments among the workers, and camouflaging their policy with demagogic anti-capitalist phrases; and they are now getting a grip upon the workers who are dissatisfied with the reformists. For instance, the fascists put forward demands of this kind: equal pay for equal work, state insurance for the unemployed, recognition of the right to strike and to organise unions, and demands for various aspects of labour legislation, etc. — i.e., more radical demands than those put forward by the reformists.

Although they are opponents of strikes, the fascists at times conduct small strikes, in order to penetrate into the ranks of the working class. Thus, they conducted a strike of navvies in the Miyagi prefecture against dismissals and for an increase in benefits, in case of being discharged. At one chemical factory, where young workers are in receipt of 70 sen a day, the fascists declared that this was unjust, and organised a strike for increased wages, and got the men a rise. We know of still more facts of this kind. As a result the fascists are succeeding in bringing certain sections of the proletariat to their side.

Of late the fascists can boast of certain organisational successes: the number of members in the existing fascist organisations has increased, and new organisations have been established. The chief of them, the Sangyo kurabu, is trying to spread its influence among the workers employed in the big military undertakings (their member-

ship now is 17,000, whereas last year it was 11,000). A union has been newly organised in the Yavata ironworks combine, and covers about 4,000 workers. Fascist organisations have been, or are being, organised in the localities. Some of the fascists are making use of the slogan of trade union unity which is popular among the masses, and make use of this slogan to unite their small unions with the right-reformist organisations, thus extending their own mass base.

The supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement are doing nothing to oppose these efforts of the fascists to secure control over those organisations whose members are disillusioned in the reformists; and they only feebly unmask the demagoguery of the fascists. Cannot the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement make the proposal to the rank and file members of fascist unions that a joint strike be carried through on behalf of the demands advanced by the fascists for demagogic purposes? And then in the course of the mass strike, really directed against oppression and exploitation, the fascists will not only drop out of the struggle, but will do their utmost to smash the strike and thus reveal their real face to the masses. This would be a convenient opportunity for the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement to unmask the demagoguery of the fascists.

The supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement must fight against the establishment of fascist trade unions. But where these unions have already been formed, we must penetrate into them and work inside them. If we do not do this, the fascists will without doubt succeed in taking a further step towards realising their task of consolidating their positions in the factories, of ideologically disarming the proletariat and deepening the split in the Japanese trade union movement.

The struggle carried on in a broad united front only increases the fighting power of the working class. An inalienable condition essential for this is unity of the trade union movement on the basis of the class struggle and trade union democracy. The Japanese workers need powerful united fighting trade union organisations.

The Tactics of the Right Reformist Trade Unions Leaders.

The workers of Japan are striving to bring about unity in the trade unions for the purpose of defending their interests against the capitalists. This desire on the part of the masses is so strong, that the leaders of the Right trade unions (affiliated to the "Syakai Taisiuto" and the "Kumiai Kaigi") are forced to hide their splitting policy behind shouts about unity. The right leaders are carrying on a noisy campaign for unity; but what is behind all their clatter?

1. They do not want to hear about unity either with the revolutionary trade unions or even with the unions in opposition to them, like the present "Hyogikai." What is more, the Right leaders are waging a violent struggle against these trade union organisations. The Right leaders do not even ask the opinion of their own members, when they expel all those who are dissatisfied and especially those who are in the opposition. The C.C. of the Right reformist unions have appropriated to themselves the right of engaging in the uncontrolled expulsion from the union of individual members and of whole groups. The splitting policy of the leaders of the "Kumiai kaigi" has gone so far that they rejected the proposal of the "Hyogikai" unions which oppose them, to unite the May-Day demonstrations of the unions in 1934.

2. The most Right reformist trade union movement is, as hitherto, split into several independent federations: the "Sodomei," "Dzenro," "Sorengo," "Rodo sorromei," and others. The Right reformist leaders are shouting with all their might about trade union unity, but they have not even united these federations which differ in no way from each other. They have limited themselves to forming the "Kumiai kaigi," which is merely a consultative organ of these federations, of the seamen's union, etc., and is composed exclusively of leading officials. The "Kumiai kaigi" does not muster together the forces of the workers in defence of their interests; it is engaged in persuading the workers that they must obtain aims from the government and collaborate with the capitalists.

3. It is becoming more and more clear of late that the Right leaders will not succeed in suppressing the desire of the masses for unity, by setting up the "Kumiai kaigi." The Right leaders have themselves been talking about uniting the "Sodomei" and the "Dzenro." But they get no farther than mere talk. Even in these conversations, the question is not raised of real unity among the trade unions in one and the same branch of industry, which belong to these various federations. It is again a question of unity merely at the top, on the lines of the "Kumiai kaigi." The reformists are maintaining the present position, where there are several small trade unions in one and the same factory and in one and the same branch of industry. These unions differ in no way from each other, except that they belong to some federation or other which, in turn, differ from each other mainly in that some leader or clique of leaders rules the roost in each of these. Every Right reformist federation of trade unions is composed of innumerable small and minute trade unions, which themselves fall into still smaller groups. It is enough to give the official figures of these federations themselves: the "Sodomei," for example, has 48,000 members; but it is split into 78 (!) unions; the "Dzenro" has 42,000 members, split into 47 unions; the "Sorengo"—27,000 members, in 37 unions; the "Rodo sorromei"—8,000, in 20 unions.

What mockery of the workers and all their hopes are words about unity on the lips of those very trade union bureaucrats who maintain such divided trade unions in their own camp!

Side by side with this union from above of the trade unions of the "Kumiai kaigi," there exists yet another organisation of trade unions on a national scale — the "Dzenkoku hiogikai." This organisation of trade unions, as a result of pressure from below, is against the policy of class collaboration pursued by the reformist and fascist trade unions, and is against fascism and war.

The Struggle for Real Trade Union Unity.

The "Hiogikai" is uniting the hitherto scattered individual trade unions which now form part of its composition. However, the "Hiogikai" is still

sectarian in its attitude towards the struggle for unity of trade unions of all shades. The "Hiogikai," for example, has not sought unity even with the unions which are close to it like the transport workers' federation, the municipal workers' union, the Tokio gasworkers' union, etc. And yet, IF THE "HIOGIKAI" REALLY WANTS TO BRING ABOUT THE UNITY OF ALL THE TRADE UNIONS, IT SHOULD STRIVE FIRST AND FOREMOST TO SECURE UNITY WITH THE TRADE UNIONS WHICH ARE MORE LEFT THAN THE "HIOGIKAI," AND TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN UNITING ALL TRADE UNIONS IN JAPAN, IN ALL BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY, IN EVERY TOWN AND REGION, AND ON A NATIONAL SCALE.

The unprecedented disunity which exists in the trade unions of Japan, and the absence of trade union democracy in the Right and fascist unions, is one of the most important reasons why the trade union bureaucrats are successful in pursuing their treacherous policy.

IF EACH AND EVERY COMMUNIST AND SUPPORTER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WERE A MEMBER OF THE LEGAL TRADE UNIONS WHICH

EXIST IN THE FACTORY WHERE HE WORKS, THEN — AND ONLY THEN—WOULD THE ADVANCED WORKERS BE IN A POSITION TO DEVELOP THE STRUGGLE IN ACTUAL PRACTICE AGAINST THE SPLITTING POLICY OF THE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS, ON BEHALF OF REAL TRADE UNION UNITY, AGAINST THE UNCONTROLLED RULE OF THE TREACHEROUS LEADERS, ON BEHALF OF TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY. TO ENSURE THAT THE RANK AND FILE OF THE MEMBERSHIP, AND THEY ALONE, DEFINE THE POLICY OF EACH AND EVERY TRADE UNION. OBVIOUSLY THE SUPPORTERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT MUST TAKE UPON THEMSELVES THE INITIATIVE IN THE FIGHT FOR TRADE UNION UNITY, AND HEAD THE STRUGGLE THEMSELVES.

The changed situation confronts the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement in Japan with new, extremely complicated tasks. These tasks require a radical reconstruction of the whole of the trade union work. There is not the slightest doubt that the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement will determinedly carry out this reconstruction.

THE POLICY AND PROGRAMME OF DANISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

By D.F.

FOR over ten years, the Danish social-democratic leaders have been performing on the ministerial stage. Formerly they only constituted a minority in the cabinet. But for the last five years they have formed a majority in the government, and they hold almost all the chief ministerial portfolios. It would, however, be fruitless to attempt to discover the slightest improvement in the conditions of the proletariat in Denmark as the result of the long years of the ministerial activity of the social-democratic leaders. On the contrary, what can be seen is a serious worsening of the conditions of the toilers.

In 1934, the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark, the pride and joy of the Second International, set forth its policy in the form of a programme. It would be useless to search in this programme for even the slightest hint of socialism. But even bourgeois democracy is not in favour with the Danish social-democrats, for both the practice and "theory" of this section of the Second International are directed to the destruction of the basic rights and liberties of the toiling people, the fascist development of the state.

What runs through the whole programme of the Danish social-democrats is the cynical way in

which they scorn the basic principles of the international working class movement. In the introduction to the programme we read the following:

"The Social Democratic Party of Denmark has always carried on a positive policy, and during the last three years of crisis has drawn consistent conclusions from the profound changes in the world situation, leaving out of account the principles that were established under altogether different conditions and circumstances.

"It is therefore not the time to work with theories and programme points, the operation of which is a thing of the indefinite future. On the contrary, the time has now come for the elaboration of a programme of positive work for the immediate future, the basis for which has already been laid by the practical work we have fulfilled."

The Danish social-democrats have gone further in their denial of the class struggle than even Bernstein, with his thesis that "the movement is everything, the end — nothing." They are now preparing to sacrifice the working-class movement to their "positive policy."

No trace of the class struggle remains either in their theory or practice. The unconditional defence of the domination of capital has taken the place of the class struggle of the proletariat, and the aims of this struggle. Furthermore, the Danish social-democrats do not shrink at utilising "ideas" filched from fascism. The leaders of this

party, before whom Friedrich Adler and Vander-velde respectfully bow their heads, define the basic line of their "positive policy" in the following way:

"The doctrine of free trade and the old liberal system are bankrupt. Attempts are being made in all countries to build a new system. The common feature for all countries, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL CONDITIONS, is the defence of planned economy, with protection for home production and control over trade. The necessity for such an anti-capitalist development has been produced by the world economic crisis, and it is natural that the task facing social democracy is to help this development in the future, as was the case during the crisis . . ."

The words "all countries irrespective of political conditions," have in view only capitalist countries, because this programme later on indignantly repudiates the "fantastic experiments and lawless actions" being carried on (in the opinion of the social-democrats) in the Soviet Union.

At the same time, the social-democrats specially insist on the "new system" in the fascist countries. Both the economic and the political programme of the Danish social-democrats coincides, in many respects, with the revised programme of German fascism. The Danish social-democrats depict the present stage of the development of monopolist capitalism, the allocation of subsidies to capitalist factories, as well as super-protectionism with its tremendous super-profits for the capitalists, and the degradation of the peasants as the result of the subordination of the whole market to monopolist capital as "socialism" and "anti-capitalism." The Danish social-democrats preach the same quack theories as the German fascists.

With a view to bringing about such "anti-capitalist development," the social-democratic ministers of Denmark took steps which basically amount to the following:

(1) The state regulation of foreign currency prices, giving a guarantee of an absolute monopoly on the home market both to the agrarians and to the industrialists who control the manufacturers of agricultural produce. The price of butter in Copenhagen is often three times in excess of export prices, as a result of these measures.

Stauning, the social democratic prime minister, said in a speech at the beginning of February that:

"We are forced to continue the policy of rising prices, even though the consumer on the home market is astonished that he has to pay more for goods than they cost abroad, and higher than the price that we sell our goods abroad."

This market monopoly and this policy of high prices carried on by the social-democrats, lead to an unheard-of reduction of the REAL wages of the workers, even if nominal wages remain the same.

(2) The reduction of the output of goods, particularly in the chief branches, namely, of milk and meat products. This could only be achieved by means of the complete and final monopoly of the marketing of milk and meat products. Such an "anti-capitalist" measure is equivalent to ruin for tens of thousands of poor peasants, because their poor farms can only exist if they produce a definite amount of milk and meat products. And in

reality, the majority of the Danish peasants have already been ruined, as a result of such a reduction of output.

The monopoly of the sale of the chief agricultural products makes the Danish toiling peasants directly dependent on the big slaughter houses and milk companies belonging to financial and agrarian capital, directly dependent on the whims of the companies that sell their goods.

(3) Large-scale subsidies for export operations. The lion's share of these subsidies goes to the big exporters and banks.

(4) Big supplementary allocations to the big bankrupt capitalist firms. The big "Landmansbanken" private bank received 150 million kron*, and the biggest industrial firm in Denmark, "Burgmeister and Wein," received a big sum, the exact amount of which is not known.

(5) The taxation policy, the essence of which amounts to protecting the capitalists, and covering a considerable part of the expenditure of the state budget by indirect taxation, some of which, such as the tax on margarine, were introduced by the social-democratic government.

And finally:

(6) Among the "anti-capitalist" measures, of course, is included the cutting down of social expenditures, especially unemployment relief (reduction of the period of payment of relief and the establishment of a longer qualification period).

The programme of the Danish Social-Democratic Party makes provisions for prolonging and extending this policy. After the example of the German fascists, the social democrats propose that those capitalists "who try to increase the number of employed workers by opening new factories" will receive direct subsidies from the government. Thus, the capitalist is offered a special bonus for exploiting a larger number of workers. This measure renders it possible for some capitalists to receive special big subsidies in conditions when the market is wavering. Under the pretext of "providing productive work," it helps every bankrupt capitalist enterprise to get on to its feet again.

Further, the social democratic programme provides for the government allocating large subsidies for the reorganisation of shipping according to the most modern technique, after the example of other capitalist countries like Great Britain, Germany, U.S.A., etc. At the same time, this to a certain degree is a measure of preparation for war.

Big subsidies are contemplated for house owners, for the reconstruction of their houses, as well as subsidies for building contractors and the banks, to finance the building of new houses.

Finally, the programme speaks of "rehabilitating agricultural debts." It is a noteworthy feature of this social-democratic demagoguery borrowed from the fascists, that the programme does not make any concrete proposals on this question, but merely refers to proposals made by a government commission. And none other than the representatives of the landlords, kulaks and banks sit

* 1 Kron: 11d.

on this commission. The first outlines of the draft produced by this commission appeared after the publication of the social-democratic programme. They show plainly that in essence "the removal of agricultural indebtedness" means the liberation of the landlords and kulaks from debt. We cannot in this article try to deal with all the details of the draft of the commission of the social-democratic government. We merely mention that this draft deprives the masses of the toiling peasants of any possibility of obtaining cheap credit in the future from the government, thereby handing them over completely into the power of finance capital and the "co-operative" societies, in which the leading figures are big agrarians. Thus the plan for "liberating agriculture from debt" simply means speeding up the economic ruin of the masses of the toiling peasants.

Such, on the whole, are the chief features of the "positive and anti-capitalist" economic policy pursued by the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark.

In the section of the programme dealing with the "socialisation of banks" there is no hint of socialisation. The "socialisation" of banks amounts altogether, firstly, to the fact that the government wants to concentrate the majority of the shares of the emission bank in its own hands, giving the stock-holders generous compensation in return, and secondly, keeping in the hands of the state the "Landsmanbanken" which, in practice, already belongs to the state, which gave it a subsidy of 150 millions. We know that in some capitalist countries, such as Germany, the emission banks have been state capitalist enterprises for decades. Nobody, however, has claimed that the German Reichsbank, for instance, has anything in common with socialism. Such a bank is loyal in defence of the interests of the capitalists, especially the big ones. It is only the Danish social-democrats, the faithful servants of their capitalists, who try to pass such a state capitalist enterprise off as socialism.

In various parts of their programme, the Danish social-democratic leaders, in the interests of monopolist capital, describe their economic programme as the "regulation and control of capitalism," but still more frequently they use the term "planned economy" to signify this capitalist society supported by government funds.

At the 7th All-Union Congress of Soviets, Comrade Molotov stated the following:

"The workers can now see that in capitalist states, whatever their system of government—from parliamentary to fascist—economic crises with all their destructive consequences are inevitable. And vice versa. The workers are now becoming convinced not only from the theory of Marxism, but from the living facts which face everybody, as to which social order liberates them from econo-

mic crises and opens up unlimited possibilities for an economic and cultural advance." (Molotov, Report on the work of the government at the Seventh Congress of the Soviets of the U.S.S.R.)

In reality, a "new system," and "planned economy" could not save a single capitalist country from the destructive blows of the crisis, and did not save Denmark. As in other capitalist countries, "planned economy" in Denmark merely led to a fall in the standard of living of the working class, to the ruin and proletarianisation of broad sections of the toiling peasants. Under the "new system" the power of finance capital became still stronger.

All the idle chatter about the "regulation and control of capitalism," about "planned economy" and "socialisation" has the one aim of justifying the policy which undermines the foundations of bourgeois democracy in the country, the policy of crushing the class struggles of the proletariat. The leaders of the Danish Social Democratic Party not only borrowed from fascism its social phraseology but they have put the same meaning as the German fascists into the conceptions of "socialisation" and "socialism." They have gone to fascism to learn how to "unify" the workers' organisations, and fuse them with the capitalist state apparatus. In his speech, delivered on May 9th, 1934, which was a kind of commentary on the new programme of Danish social democracy, the social-democratic premier, Stauning, stated:

"Once the state has guaranteed certain deliveries under commercial agreements, and has undertaken to guarantee the purchase of a definite quantity of goods in other countries, we cannot allow fortuitous groups of the population the right to destroy the whole of this system that has been built up with such difficulty. The time has passed for liberalism, and we cannot any longer permit the free interplay of forces. We are living nowadays under controlled and regulated capitalism, and there cannot here be any uncontrolled freedom for other forces and tendencies.

"... If the functions of society are socialised, as is taking place now, the trade unions must be socialised as well. Their task was always social, and this task is more clearly evident than formerly."

It is useless to enter into a discussion with the social democratic premier as to the functions of trade unions. Although the Danish trade unions were under reformist leadership from the first moment that they came into being, nevertheless, the reformist leaders have hitherto not succeeded in completely eliminating the class character of the trade unions. Most important of all, they have not been able to wipe the class understanding of the functions of the trade unions out of the consciousness of the workers.

The first predatory steps towards the unification of the trade unions were taken by the trade union bureaucrats when they permitted the violation of the rules of the trade unions in 1931 and 1932.

and the law prohibiting strikes, introduced in 1933. But the decisive step was the law of January, 1934, the main points of which amount to the following:

(1) The arbitration law is revised in the sense that now a "qualified majority" is required to reject an arbitration decision; (2) the arbitration court is given the right to put the proposals of the court to a vote in as many trades as it wishes, and then declare the arbitration decision compulsory for those who rejected it, even if the decision is rejected by a qualified majority.

Directly after this law, a law was passed in 1935 giving the government the right to stop any conflict by a compulsory decision and to declare any strike illegal.

The fact that the Danish social democrats are trying to prevent and forcibly crush every strike "in the interests of society" is spoken of quite openly in an article in the central organ of the Danish Social Democratic Party, the *Social-Demokraten* of May 12, 1934, which declares that:

"Strikes, and partial strikes in particular, were of great importance at a certain stage of capitalist development. But the tasks and forms of work must be different under the conditions of production controlled and partly managed by a social-democratic government. In other words, under capitalism that is in process of being abolished. This point of view is the new feature in the tactics of the trade union movement."

In February, 1934, the Danish seamen struck work in protest against the new law. And though the reformist leaders of the seamen's union also participated in the strike, the social-democratic government used the whole force of the state apparatus to crush the strike. The strike committee was arrested, strike-breaking detachments were organised by the authorities, the police were sent in full force against the strikers, the funds of the trade unions were tied up by special court injunctions, enormous fines were inflicted on the executive committees of the unions, etc. Similar measures were taken during the smaller textile strike in one of the factories in Silkeborg in the summer of 1934. To these measures must be added the special commission formed by the trade union bureaucrats to combat Communism in the trade union movement, and the withdrawal of the democratic rights of the trade union members in a number of trade union branches.

The Danish social-democrats, however, are still not satisfied with these measures leading to fascism. They are making efforts to "strengthen the power of the state by radically changing the constitution." The essence of this change in the constitution is to give dictatorial powers to the government while formally preserving parliament and not allowing small parties to enter it. But the chief aim of all these laws is the fight against the revolutionary working class movement, against the Communist Party. Thus, the *Social-*

Demokraten of January 19, 1934, openly demanded the withdrawal of the freedom of the press, for the fight against Communism. We find the following in the new programme of the Social-Democratic Party:

"The agitation and the movement proceeding from Russia are the basic prerequisite for fascism and similar tendencies. Social democracy is firmly determined to carry on an irreconcilable struggle against any movement that is a menace to society, and which sets itself the object of violating the peaceful development of social relations and functions."

This political programme of Danish social democracy is clear. It demands the violent suppression of the revolutionary working-class movement, and the salvation of capitalist society by all means of violence and terror. As far as this social-democratic party is concerned "democracy" is only a decoration, a screen. Danish social-democracy states with similar frankness that all means are good to save capitalist society, that it will not stop at the destruction of democratic rights and liberties, one after another (it is actually already destroying them), and that it is in favour of violence, but only when it is directed against the revolutionary proletariat.

It is easy to understand that the leaders of such a party that considers the violent suppression of the Communist movement to be one of its chief tasks, refuse to enter into any united front with the Communists, and expel the members of their organisations for participating in proletarian united front actions. And in the same way, the whole line and policy of this party inevitably give rise to its irreconcilable position within the Second International, against any negotiations with the Comintern or any united front agreement between the various sections of the Second International and the Sections of the Comintern.

Immediately after the appeal of the Comintern to the Second International for common actions in defence of the Spanish proletariat, the Danish social-democratic leaders together with the Swedish social democrats began to carry on "lively" negotiations with the British Labour Party, and with the Dutch and Czecho-Slovak Social-Democratic Parties. They wanted by their common efforts to bring about the prohibition of further negotiations and of the conclusion of an agreement for joint action. They even threatened to split the Second International if their demands were not granted.

Resistance to the policy of their leaders is growing among the social-democratic workers of Denmark. In the spring of 1934 the workers forced the social-democratic leaders of the Seamen's Union to declare a strike along with the Communist leaders of the Firemen's Union, although this

strike was declared "illegal" by the social-democratic government. Tens of thousands of workers of other trades, both Social-Democrats and Communists, displayed their sympathy with the seamen on strike by participating in joint demonstrations. In Esbjerg, the second most important port in Denmark, a general protest strike nevertheless took place against the police and strike-breaking measures of the government and the trade union bureaucracy, in spite of the weakness of the Communist organisation. Similar examples of joint action by social-democratic and Communist workers can be found in a number of smaller scale strikes, which, like the seamen's strike, were declared "illegal" by the social-democratic government and sabotaged by the trade union bureaucrats.

By organising the united front with the social-democratic workers, the Communist Party of Denmark has succeeded in the process of the struggles, in increasing its influence over the opposition in the camp of the Danish social-democratic workers and certain of the reformist trade unions, and in helping towards the further development of this opposition. A so-called "liberation movement" came into being in Fredericia at a conference of representatives of a number of local organisations of the General Workers' Union (a union that includes unskilled workers of various industries, and now, agricultural labourers as well). It carries on a struggle against the violation of the rights of the unemployed, the anti-strike laws and the destruction of democracy inside the trade unions. In the leading body of this movement, which is supported by over 100 trade union organisations, there is the closest co-operation between Communist and social-democratic trade union officials.

In the Young Socialist League, the opposition movement and the urge towards unity of action with the Y.C.L. is still stronger, especially in the struggle against the fascist reactionary League of Youth. The opposition inside the Danish Young Socialist League has a programme of radical demands, issues its own paper, holds joint demonstrations with the Y.C.L., and is winning more and more influence among the young social-democratic workers, in spite of persecution by the leaders, and in spite of the expulsion of oppositionists on a mass scale.

The C.P. of Denmark has already secured some successes in applying the tactics of the united front with the social-democratic workers. But these successes are still very small, if we take the fact that the opposition of the social-democratic

workers to their leaders is growing day by day into account.

Clearly expressed sectarian views are to be met with in the C.P. of Denmark, a tremendous under-estimation of the tasks facing the Party in the organisation of working-class battles by means of the united front tactics. Sometimes the C.P. of Denmark succeeds in calling forth the militant action by the workers as a result of its agitation and propaganda, but it does not yet sufficiently understand how to develop the movement, to create the organisational forms of the united front and thus to extend the struggle. The "liberation movement" shows that the broad masses of the social-democratic workers are ready to co-operate with the Communist workers. The task facing the C.P. of Denmark is to develop this united front of all the workers in defence of their rights, and to repel the attacks made on the standard of living of the unemployed and the employed workers. In the recent period a serious weakening of the trade union work of the Communists is to be noted. This is an alarming signal for the Party leaders and for the whole Party. The main cause for this weakening must be sought in the absence of flexibility in the methods of trade union work, in the absence of the line which aims at utilising the wide opposition among the social-democratic workers, and in the inability of the Danish Communists to establish a united front with the social-democratic workers in the process of this work in the trade unions.

During the last few months, the economic situation has grown much worse in Denmark, unemployment having very much increased, and continuing to do so. The capitalists do not see any other way out except by further worsening the conditions of the working class. The new "Programme for Providing Work" proposed by Steinek, the social-democratic minister of social welfare, which has short time and forced labour for the unemployed at wages lower than unemployment relief in view, is equivalent to an attack on the whole working class. The C.P. of Denmark must lead the movement against this new drive of the capitalists, and above all against the plans of the government. In conditions when indignation among the workers is growing from day to day, the Communist Party will be able to raise this movement to the level of mighty struggles conducted by the working class if it determinedly conducts a struggle against sectarianism in its own ranks, and boldly takes a line for unity of action with the social democratic workers.

THE WORK OF THE CANADIAN C.P. BETWEEN THE 6TH AND 7TH CONGRESSES OF THE C.I.

By J. PORTER.

AT the time of the 6th Congress of the Communist International in 1928, Canadian capitalism was in the heyday of its post-war expansion. New industries such as mining and newsprint, reached high levels. An expanding home market, assisted by large immigration, accompanied a developing market abroad for agricultural and industrial products, until in 1928 Canada ranked among the large capitalist exporting nations. Agriculture developed, particularly in the branch of wheat farming, on an increasing mechanised basis, and Canadian grain and dairy and lumber exports, chiefly to the European market, rapidly mounted.

During and since the Great War, Canada grew into an industrial nation. In contrast to the older capitalist countries, its industry was organised in a most modern manner, utilising all the advantages of capitalist rationalisation. Output per man-hour was higher than in the older countries. The bourgeoisie became fabulously rich, and passed on some small portion of its profits to the more highly skilled strata of the workers. The wages of the mass of the unskilled working class did not rise in similar proportion, but remained at the subsistence level.

While British capital investments in Canada had maintained first place in the pre-war days, in the period following the war, U.S. capital poured into Canada, obtaining absolute control in some industries. At the same time, the Canadian bourgeoisie possessed the balance of economic power, and was able to invest during this period, not only huge sums for home development, but more than two billion dollars abroad, chiefly in Latin America and the U.S.A. With finance capital entrenched, and possessing independent interests in the world market, Canada has definitely become an imperialist country, if not of the first order, at least of secondary rank.

This development of Canada from its former colonial position transpired in the midst of sharpening imperialist contradictions. As a result of its economic, social and geographic position, Canada is placed in the midst of the Anglo-American imperialist conflict. In this conflict, the Canadian bourgeoisie orientates to best suit its economic ambitions and advantages, now veering towards U.S. policy, now to British. This creates

inner conflicts in the camp of the Canadian bourgeoisie.

The imperialist interests of the Canadian bourgeoisie place Canada definitely as an active organiser for war; its position on the Pacific seaboard makes it an extremely important war base for Great Britain in the Pacific, and recent happenings (the Hankey mission) show that Canadian and British war authorities are alive to this fact. The Canadian Government, through its own ambassador, maintains very friendly relations with Japan. The Canadian bourgeoisie is mobilising thousands of young unemployed for semi-military camps, it organises military training in the schools, increases expenditures for war preparations, builds new air bases, etc. At all times, the Canadian bourgeoisie evinces a bitter hatred of the Soviet Union, and this resulted in 1931 in an almost complete embargo of Soviet imports into Canada; since that time the government has consistently refused to heed demands for the resumption of trade with the U.S.S.R.

The economic crisis which commenced in 1929 hit Canadian capitalist economy particularly severely. Within a year and a half, more than one million workers were thrown out of industry, of which a million still remain jobless. Foreign trade dropped until imports exceeded exports. The world wheat market declined, almost wiping out Canadian wheat exports, on which Canadian foreign trade vitally depends. The collapse of the wheat market literally ruined the 240,000 wheat farmers who rely mainly on foreign sales for their existence. Wheat prices fell far below the cost of production.

Faced with a rapidly falling foreign market, the Canadian bourgeoisie entered on a stiff tariff policy, which led to a trade battle with the U.S. and Great Britain, its chief commercial associates, and to the strengthening of monopolies in the country. Relief from the crisis was sought within the orbit of the British Empire through a system of mutual preferences, but an effort to organise this (the Ottawa Imperial Economic Conference, 1932) failed. Panaceas of all descriptions (wheat price pegging, government sales control and marketing, mixed farming, etc.) have failed to solve the crisis, but have placed new burdens upon the toilers.

A slight recession in the severity of the economic crisis was noted by the C.P. of Canada at its 7th Congress in June, 1934. This was marked by an upturn in production in some industries (mining, steel) a slight rise in employment and a strengthening of the foreign trade balances. The recession has not affected agriculture to any marked degree, and such industries as building remain stagnant. Entrance into the "depression of a special kind" has not vitally affected the general critical position of Canadian capitalism, nor has it reduced the objective possibilities for revolutionary mass work.

Fascisation and the Drive to War.

The Canadian bourgeoisie, in its efforts to beat back the increasing militancy of the masses and to strengthen monopoly capital, is resorting more and more to semi-fascist methods. The state apparatus is being fascised through the medium of a number of measures introduced to outlaw strikes, to legally enforce codes of wages and hours with provisions for penalties by openly repressive means, and establish rigid control over workers' meetings. Fascist organisations have been formed in the recent past.

The bourgeoisie, in carrying out its policy, is resorting to rabid social-demagogy. Premier Bennett, faced with a general election this summer, is masquerading as the apostle of "reform" of capitalism, and is proposing a policy of rigid government interference in capitalist "evils."

The attitude of the big bourgeoisie, for whom he speaks, can best be shown in Premier Bennett's own words:

"Opposition from any class which imperils the future of this great undertaking we will not tolerate!"

Through this demagogy, the bourgeoisie attempts to exploit the growing discontent of the workers and the lower middle class, to divert their militancy from the path of struggle against capitalism into that of support for the fascist plans and policies of the big bourgeoisie.

Commencing with the outlawing of the Communist Party in 1931, and the imprisonment of several of its leading members for long terms, a period of severe political reaction set in. Open terror, mass arrests and violent strike breaking are the means used by the bourgeoisie to force through its depressive policies.

In carrying through its fascisation measures, the bourgeoisie is relying directly on social reformism in the parliamentary and trade union fields, both in order to sap the revolutionary energy of the masses and directly aid in passing anti-working class measures. Integrally connected with this process, are the increasing expenditures

for military and air armaments and the growth of war industries (chemical, nickel) pointing to steady preparations for war.

The Fight for a Bolshevik Party.

The rapid sweep of the crisis had disastrous effects on the living standards of the workers, toiling farmers and lower middle classes. Coupled with this, more effective mass work of the Communist Party, and the revolutionary trade unions and mass organisations has brought about a mounting wave of strikes. It has also produced an increase in the mass movements for unemployment insurance, against the miserable relief system. A virile, popular movement against political reaction and police terror has sprung up. Numerous fights against evictions and for better prices among the toiling farmers have occurred. The radicalisation of the BASIC sections of the Canadian proletariat is becoming more marked each day.

If the Communist Party has been able to stand at the head of these movements and successfully withstand the vicious attacks of the bourgeoisie, it was so only because it has rid itself of the opportunist leadership which existed at the time of the 6th Congress, the MacDonald-Spector group, which is now the official Trotskyist gang in Canada. These renegades refused to accept the policies laid down at the 6th Congress. They rejected the Comintern's diagnosis indicating the sharpening general crisis of capitalism, adhering instead to the Lovestonist position of "American exceptionalism." They sought to destroy the independent leadership of the workers by the Communist Party, by tying it to the tail of the now defunct Canadian Labour Party. They repudiated the need for independent leadership of economic struggles and the organisation of revolutionary unions. They sought to maintain the social-democratic federalist structure of the Party.

After the 6th Congress of the C.P. of Canada in 1929, and with the active assistance of the Comintern, the Right-opportunist leadership of MacDonald was removed. The Trotskyists were exposed and expelled. A new leadership, adhering to the programme and theses of the Comintern, was established. Though the general line of the new leadership was correct, it committed serious mistakes at first.

The main error of the new leadership consisted in an incorrect understanding of the degree of the development of capitalism in Canada, its position in the imperialist world, and the character of the driving forces of the revolution. The leadership of the Party proceeded from the theory that Canada was a semi-colonial country. Its

bourgeoisie was seen to be "hopelessly divided" between the U.S. and British capitalist interests. The perspective was considered to be, not a proletarian revolution, but civil war between these two bourgeois camps. This led to raising the slogan, "Canadian independence" from Britain.

Such a theory meant the denial of the proletarian character of the revolution in Canada; it gave a wrong estimate of the driving forces and tasks of the revolution and led to the point of view that not the Canadian, but the British and U.S. bourgeoisie are the main class enemies of the Canadian workers.

It is necessary to note here that Lovestone, trying to prove the "exceptional" character of American imperialism, supported this opportunist position. The Trotskyist Spector has previously put forward such a point of view.

With the help of the Communist International, the Canadian Communist Party overcame this mistake and characterised Canada as an imperialist country of secondary rank possessing no colonial characteristics. It was shown that the approaching revolution in Canada is a proletarian revolution, and the slogan "Canadian independence" was characterised as opportunist. The new leadership unreservedly accepted this characterisation.

Since the removal of the opportunist leadership the Party has become more fully conscious of the need for struggle against Right opportunism, as expressed in a failure to head the struggles of the workers, slowness in establishing living contacts with the masses, and a strong tendency to lag behind, to depend on the spontaneous militancy of the workers. The Right danger has been and remains the main danger for the Party, as was emphasised in the January, 1933, Plenum of the Central Committee (the first after the outlawing of the Party), at the 7th Party Congress in June, 1934, and at the intervening and subsequent plenary sessions of the Central Committee. THE FIGHT AGAINST RIGHT OPPORTUNISM IN THE DAILY WORK OF THE PARTY HAS BEEN A STRUGGLE TO TURN THE PARTY FROM ITS OLD ISOLATION FROM THE MASSES INTO A REALLY MASS PARTY. IN THE FIRST PLACE IT MEANT THE THOROUGH REORGANISATION OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY FROM ITS OLD FEDERALIST SYSTEM OF NATIONAL ENTITIES — INTO A PARTY WITH NUMEROUS SHOP, MINE AND FACTORY UNITS CAPABLE OF CARRYING OUT REVOLUTIONARY MASS WORK.

The Party developed a successful struggle against "Left" sectarianism, which substitutes phrasemongering and generalities for actual concrete, living leadership and work.

It can be said of the Canadian Party that the fight against opportunism of both the Right and

"Left" variety, has been the most valuable political experience of the Party, and has enabled it to emerge from its former isolated existence and become a growing factor in the political and economic struggles of the workers.

The Capitalist Attack on the Party and the Fight Against Political Reaction.

In meeting the attack of the Bennett government in 1931, the Party passed its first test of fire with little panic, without serious loss of membership. The Party organisation went underground, preserving its apparatus after reorganising it to meet the new situation.

The Party quickly orientated and strove to make the defence of the Party a burning issue among the masses, pointing out that the attack on the Party was the commencement of a reign of terror against the working class as a whole. The Party was conscious of the meaning of the attack and the motives behind the action of the bourgeoisie. A wide agitation was conducted. The Canadian Labour Defence League rapidly grew into a large mass organisation, and mobilised hundreds of thousands of workers for the defence of the Party, and through that, for the defence of the civil liberties of the working class. During the trial of the eight comrades who were arrested, errors were made in placing the Party programme correctly and turning the attack of the bourgeoisie into an attack upon the government. These mistakes were later admitted by the central leadership. In the three years which followed, before the release of the imprisoned comrades in the summer and autumn of 1934, the Party learned how to struggle for the masses in the new situation.

From 1931 to 1934, the Party was able to mobilise the largest mass movement ever to arise in Canada, behind the demand for the release of the imprisoned Communist leaders, and for the cessation of the system of capitalist terror against the working class movement.

The Party is mobilising the masses against the fascisation measures of the bourgeoisie under the slogan: "Defend every last bit of freedom from the capitalist attack!"

The Party and its mass organisations can register big successes in this movement, and through its growing mass influence was able to effect the release (though as yet only on parole) of seven of its leading members, and to defeat the plans of the government to imprison other outstanding revolutionaries.

IT MUST BE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THE PARTY HAS NOT YET COMPLETELY LEARNED THE CORRECT MANNER IN WHICH TO MAKE THE FIGHT FOR ITS LEGALITY A MAJOR ISSUE AMONG THE MASSES, VITALLY CONNECTED

WITH THE WHOLE FIGHT OF THE WORKERS AGAINST POLITICAL REACTION AND IN DEFENCE OF THEIR DAILY INTERESTS.

Opposition to the concrete measures of fascism being enacted by the bourgeoisie, such as the codes in industry and forced agreements which abolish the right to strike, has not yet assumed mass forms, although the beginnings of local united front actions between the reformist and revolutionary unions in localities have started. Such anti-labour measures as the Special Powers Act in British Columbia, the Arcand Act in Alberta, can be defeated by the mass united opposition of the workers and toiling farmers.

The Party and Economic Struggles.

The Canadian trade union movement is split into five different groups. The reformist unions unite a majority of those organised. The past two years have witnessed a growth of the revolutionary trade unions until, at the present time, they number 37,000 members in the mining, lumber, furniture, garment, food, canning, and other industries. Thousands of hitherto unorganised workers have become members of the unions of the WORKERS' UNITY LEAGUE, the revolutionary trade union centre. While the W.U.L. unions have penetrated the light industries in the main, strong unions exist in the mining and lumber industries. In addition to this, the revolutionary unions and the Party maintains leadership over independent unions in the mining industry and among the longshoremen.

The Party and the Red unions have led the overwhelming majority of the strike struggles in the past period, and definitely stands at the head of the mounting strike wave. The revolutionary unions have led bitterly fought class battles (Stratford, Anyox, Noranda, Flin Flon), during which extreme police and military terror was used by the bourgeoisie.

The task of the Party and of the Red trade unions in the immediate future is to extend the organisation of the unorganised workers into the steel, auto, textile, agricultural and other industries, where as yet the overwhelming majority of the workers are not in unions.

THE 7TH PARTY CONGRESS LAID THE PARAMOUNT TASK OF OVERCOMING THE CRIMINAL NEGLECT OF WORK WITHIN THE REFORMIST UNIONS BEFORE THE MEMBERSHIP. Unless the Party is able to build a powerful rank-and-file movement within the reformist unions, all talk of building a united front in economic struggles and extending the mass influence of the Party becomes phrasemongering.

Among the rank-and-file workers of the reformist unions there is a noticeable movement towards

trade union unity. The government is forcing through code legislation to outlaw strikes, and to prevent the growth of revolutionary unions. Company unions are on the increase in the heavy, unorganised industries such as steel, packing, auto and textile. Faced with this situation, the revolutionary unions have proposed to the entire labour movement a "crusade" to build the unions, to organise the unorganised industries, to defeat the company unions, and to unite the five wings of the trade union movement into one class federation of labour. At the same time, the revolutionary unions and the rank-and-file movements in the reformist unions will fight for and concretely propose one union in each industry.

A vigorous fight for trade union unity, accompanied by flexibility and an analysis of each concrete situation, must be carried on by the Party and its fractions in the unions. Such a fight will bring about a solid front of labour, and break the reactionary grip of the reformist trade union bureaucrats. This demands a more determined fight for trade union unity, for one united trade union movement, founded on the principles of struggle and trade union democracy from the Party. The revolutionary trade unions must be in the forefront of these struggles.

The fight for a united trade union centre must proceed by way of a fight for one union in each industry. The Party is creating a powerful, united front movement of all unemployed workers, regardless of the type of organisation to which they belong with the active co-operation of many unions, clubs, churches and kindred bodies, to force the government to institute genuine unemployment insurance and abolish the present system of relief in kind and slave labour camps.

Our Party has been guilty of allowing the fight for unemployment and social insurance to lapse somewhat in the past period. In 1931 our Party was instrumental in first realising the issue of contributory versus non-contributory unemployment insurance. Recently, the movement received an impetus due to the calling of the SUCCESSFUL NATIONAL UNITED FRONT CONGRESS OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN FEBRUARY, 1935, IN OTTAWA. Understanding that unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and the employers is a first-class issue in Canada, particularly now that the Bennett government has introduced a contributory insurance scheme which will EXCLUDE the present million strong unemployed army, the Party is trying to rectify the error made in the past two years.

The Fight for the United Front.

The Party is in the leadership of a widening movement of the masses to achieve unity around

the slogan of the Party: A UNITED FRONT IN THE FIGHT AGAINST HUNGER, FASCISM AND WAR!

At the time of the attack by the government on the Communist Party in 1931, the forces of social reformism consolidated through the formation of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.). The programme of the C.C.F. is modelled after that of the British Labour Party.

A growing desire to enter into a united front with the C.P. is to be seen among the rank-and-file and lower officials, while the reformist leaders have set their face against the united front, and have refused to enter into negotiations with the Communist Party. But pressure from below is increasing. Local united front actions are becoming more frequent. Pacts have been signed between district organisations of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, a section of the C.C.F. Friendly relations are being established between Communist and Socialist workers, leading directly to joint actions and the breakdown of the obstacles which have separated them.

In the carrying through of the united front tactics a number of errors have been committed. We fail to sharply differentiate between the reformist leaders and their followers. We group the Liberal, Conservative and Labour Parties together as "bourgeois" parties, as in the general election platform of our Party. We too often resort to abuse, and to a frequent use of the term "social-fascist," which arises from our sectarianism. This places obstacles in the way of joint actions with the Socialist workers. On the other hand, the united front, during election campaigns, has been wrongly interpreted to mean unprincipled election agreements, in which the face of the Party and its independent position, have been distorted or hidden completely — concrete expressions of Right opportunism.

This summer the Federal election will take place. The Party must utilise this campaign to mobilise masses of workers behind its independent programme. The Party, with its own candidates in the field, nevertheless comes forward with its proposals for unity, based on the burning needs of the masses, calling for a united labour front against the new attacks of the bourgeoisie, winning support for these proposals even if the Socialist leaders are opposed to it.

The movement among the masses for unity can be judged from the Anti-War Congress which took place last year, at which 337,000 were represented, despite the banning of the Congress as a "Communist manoeuvre" by the officials of the reformist movement. Extremely diverse elements were present, who, with the exception of Trotskyite disrupters headed by MacDonald, former secretary of the C.P., unanimously endorsed a

programme of concrete activity against war and fascism.

Representative anti-war conferences exist in almost every town in the country, in the majority of which reformist trade union and local Socialist workers and parliamentary representatives participate. The main weakness here is the inability so far to carry through practical actions against war preparations and fascist measures. We must not be satisfied with calling reformist workers together with us in conferences, but we must become the best and most skilful organisers in carrying through united front actions to a higher and more militant level.

The main guarantee for the building of the united front is a decided improvement in the daily mass work of the Party. We must establish the independent leadership of the Party over wider sections of the workers, unmasking the Socialist leaders, particularly explaining our policy to the Socialist workers to win them closer to our Party.

The Party has as the chief danger Right-opportunist lagging behind the masses, a failure to take advantage of the expanding radical moods of the masses, a pronounced tendency to hide the independent position of the Party in united front actions and to cease active, practical exposure of the social-fascist leaders. Our Party in the course of building the united front of struggle on the basis of the pressing, immediate needs of the masses, has still to learn how IN PRACTICE TO POLITICALISE THE SCATTERED ECONOMIC STRUGGLES, AND TO LINK THEM UP WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS, WITH THE CENTRAL SLOGAN OF THE PARTY "FOR A SOVIET CANADA!"

In answering the new attack of Premier Bennett, the Party has placed before the masses the following call to action:

"Now, when Bennett is revealing in his speeches more clearly than ever before the earmarks of fascism, we raise the issue of the united front as the decisive question of the hour.

"We call upon the C.C.F., the A.F. of L. and the A.C.C.L. (Canadian national unions) and all working class organisations to form united fronts on every battle line of the working people against the new attacks of capital and for the immediate economic and political interests of the toiling people.

"What are these decisive lines of the plan of the working people to-day? They are:

"1. The united front of the entire labour movement through the Congress on Social and Unemployment Insurance to fight Bennett's starvation plans and organise the fight for genuine social and unemployment insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the government.

"2. The united front of the trade unions in organising the fight against starvation minimum wage scales and to initiate a wide strike movement for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living and to organise the unorganised workers.

"3. The united front of the toiling farmers to fight for special adequate drought relief, for exemption of the poor

farmers from taxes, against seizures and foreclosures, and the forced collection of rents and debts.

"4. The united front of the entire labour movement in the League Against War and Fascism to fight against Bennett's fascist deception and fascist measures of strengthened state power, and for the defence of workers' rights and the abolition of Section 98—and against the war plans of Canadian imperialism."

Our Party has not paid sufficient attention to mobilising the toiling farmers for struggle and establishing an alliance between them and the revolutionary workers. Strong opportunist tendencies manifesting themselves in our work among the farmers did not meet with the proper response from the Party. The Farmers' Unity League, organised in 1930, has not yet succeeded in emerging from its sectarian position. The Central Committee long since pointed out the danger of the Farmers' Unity League becoming a "farmers' party," and took steps to transform it into a broad organisation of the toiling farmers for struggle.

A turn has been made in the direction of cementing unity between the Farmers' Unity League and the reformist farm organisations with the establishment of a Farm Committee of Action at a fairly broad conference of toiling farmers in the summer of 1934. This committee, representative of many types of farming, is now commencing to mobilise mass conferences and hunger marches around the programme of action embodying the needs of the toiling farmers, and a Farm Relief Bill.

Our Party failed until now to organise a powerful mass movement of farmers for special relief in the drought areas covering the southern portion of the prairie provinces, where 240,000 people are literally facing starvation. Government policy towards these people is so brutal that the Party had a splendid opportunity of making the drought an issue of first-class importance, and to turn it into broad offensives against the bourgeoisie and its government. A beginning has been made with the calling of conferences in the drought areas.

A further weakness in farm work is the failure to extend the militant farm movement to the eastern provinces, primarily to Ontario and French-speaking Quebec, where the decisive section of the farm population is situated.

The Party To-Day.

Our Party to-day numbers 6,500 members, organised in over 700 units. Despite the fact that the Party has been declared illegal, it is appearing openly before the masses in various ways; for example, in election campaigns it comes forward with open Communist candidates, and speaks directly to the workers through the medium of public meetings, through leaflets and shop papers,

and to an increasing degree in the legal press. The Party leadership characterises the present period as a breathing space, won through the big mass movement against political reaction which it has led. THE LINE OF THE PARTY IS TO UTILISE THE LEGAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE PRESENT PERIOD TO THE FULL, BRINGING OUT THE PARTY'S FACE TO THE MASSES TO AN INCREASED DEGREE, EXTENDING ITS POLITICAL MASS WORK, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME TAKING PRACTICAL MEASURES TO SAFEGUARD ITS APPARATUS FROM POLICE ATTACK. To ensure this, the Party apparatus is underground.

The Party organisation has strengthened considerably since the bourgeois attack. Valuable experiences in the combination of legal with illegal work have been gained.

The central organisational task before the Party IS TO ROOT ITSELF IN THE BASIC SECTIONS OF THE WORKERS IN THE FACTORIES, SHOPS AND MINES, to improve the work of the basic units of the Party in order to be in a position to carry out the main political tasks set by the Party congress, and to give daily aid to build the Y.C.L. into a really mass movement of the working class youth.

Our Party's task in the factories: Less than 100 shop groups exist, and the majority of these do not function as Bolshevik cells in the enterprises. The Political Bureau has established the most important industrial districts as concentration districts, to which special attention is being given.

To this end, a "Tim Buck Recruiting Campaign" is now launched, with the aim of bringing thousands of workers into the Party's ranks. To successfully accomplish this, the Party must improve the daily work of units and sections, particularly paying attention to the political education of the members, and in this manner overcome the large membership fluctuation which has marked our Party in the past.

Our Party has emerged from the first serious attack by the bourgeoisie with an improved organisation, a larger and more experienced membership.

Our Party has taken to heart the words of Comrade Stalin to the effect that a correct political line is insufficient.

"More than that," said Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., "after the correct political line has been given, the organisational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, i.e., its success or failure."

Our Party possesses numerous new cadres of workers who entered its ranks direct from the struggles led by the Party. The improvement of these comrades and their work, "finding the right man for the right job," is a central organisational problem of the Party. Most of these new comrades are developing as leaders of Party sections

(embracing several units in a definite territory). The recent Central Committee decided to pay steady attention to the development of these comrades, and the strengthening of a **SERIOUS WEAK SPOT IN THE PARTY ORGANISATION, THE SECTION LEADERSHIP.**

Our Party has also trained a number of trade union cadres, who are occupied in the revolutionary unions and opposition work in the reformist unions. Serious inclinations to stereotyped leadership by these comrades must be checked. Our Party has placed its finger on a tendency to "trade unionism" in the work of these comrades—a tendency to look upon their trade union work as divorced from the "political" work of the Party. This opportunist position must be sharply combatted.

Our Party has always been largely of foreign-born composition. Great strides have been made to improve its national as well as social composition. Although the majority of the Party to-day is still composed of immigrant workers, the scale is turning in favour of the native Anglo-Saxon and French-Canadian workers, of whom increasing numbers are joining our ranks.

THE PARTY IS MAKING ITS FIRST SERIOUS EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A BASE AMONG THE FRENCH-CANADIAN MASSES IN QUEBEC, THE MOST EXPLOITED SECTION OF THE CANADIAN PROLETARIAT. We can now point, due to concentration work led by the Political Bureau, to a growing mass movement among the French-Canadian workers, and the existence of a serious Party organisation for the first time. Our

Party has set itself the task of overcoming its isolation from the French-Canadian masses by the development of a mass, popular French paper, the formulation of special demands, the provision of special cadres, and a general orientation to the problems of the French-Canadian masses.

IN THE FIGHT AGAINST ISOLATION FROM THE MASSES THE PARTY MUST STRIVE WITH ADDED ZEAL TO BECOME A PARTY OF THE NATIVE WORKING CLASS.

Our Party's agitational work has been weak, with the exception of the development of the press. The central legal organ, with an average 14,000 circulation, is now to be issued three times weekly. **THE PARTY HAS PLACED AS A CENTRAL TASK THE PUBLICATION OF THE LEGAL ORGAN AS A DAILY PAPER IN 1935. THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED.** Our Party must seek to develop special forms of agitation among the workers, and to overcome this outstanding political weakness.

Possessing a firm, united leadership substituting living, personal leadership for stereotyped directives, aware of the needs of the moment, and with rich experiences to guide it, our Party can and will in a short time become a mass Party of the revolutionary Canadian workers.

Our Party has a correct political line. It represents among the Canadian working class the revolutionary mass policy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The central task of our Party is to increase tenfold its energy in putting its policy into practice, and of permeating every working class home with the precepts of struggle for Communism, for a Soviet Canada.

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E. VARGA

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DISCUSSION ON QUESTIONS FOR THE VII CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

In preparation for the VII Congress of the Communist International the editors are publishing discussion articles and materials connected with the questions on the agenda of the Congress.—Editorial Board.

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(a) SOME PROBLEMS OF FASCISM

(Part I.)

By R. PALME DUTT.

THE phenomenon of fascism has now developed for 16 years since the original formation of the Milan "Fascio di Combattimento" in 1919, and for 13 years since the first fascist accession to power in Italy. The first wave of fascism, following on the post-war revolutionary wave and preceding the period of partial stabilisation, has been succeeded by the very much wider and further reaching second wave, following on the breakdown of stabilisation and preceding the second world revolutionary wave. The conditions of these two waves are profoundly different; fascism has gone through a very considerable development during this period; and the working class has also gone through a profound development in the experience of the struggle. The 6th Congress of the Communist International in 1928 dealt with fascism on the basis of the experience of the first wave and its aftermath (including the Polish coup of 1926). To-day the 7th Congress will need to carry forward the treatment of fascism on the basis of the conditions of the second wave, on the basis of the enormous experience of 1928-35, and in relation to the problems of the gathering, new, world revolutionary epoch.

1. The Definition of Fascism.

Fascism has widened and deepened its character and significance as a world phenomenon in the development of post-war capitalism from 1922 to 1935. In the early period after the war, during the first world revolutionary wave, bourgeois democracy, with the accompanying special mechanism of Social-Democracy, appeared as the main saviour of capitalism in the leading countries, as "the last anchor of salvation" of the entire reaction, in the phrase of Engels' letter to Bebel in 1884:—

"Pure democracy may acquire for a short time a temporary importance at the moment of the revolution, in the rôle of the last anchor of salvation of the entire bourgeois, even feudal economy . . . Both during the crisis and the day after it our only adversary will be the entire reactionary mass grouped around pure democracy." (Engels, letter to Bebel, December 11, 1884.)

This prediction was realised with startling completeness in the years 1917-1921. Fascism during this period appeared as a subsidiary auxiliary or alternative weapon of the bourgeoisie, of importance mainly in the less developed countries.

To-day this situation has changed. It would not be correct to say that Engels' analysis is no longer applicable to modern capitalism; on the contrary,

the development of the new world revolutionary epoch to its most intense point, with the crashing of the fascist dictatorships may yet reveal once again for a short moment the same picture. But in the present period, in the period of the maturing revolutionary crisis, the face of capitalism is profoundly changed. The old "classic" bourgeois democracy no longer survives intact in any country, the increasingly restricted remains of it have become the shell of a process of fascistisation in a dwindling number of countries. Despite the great differences of conditions in the different countries, and the differences of degree in the development towards fascist characteristics, fascism appears to-day as a UNIVERSAL tendency of the present stage of modern monopoly capitalism in all imperialist countries, not only in the countries of open fascist dictatorship, but also in the countries of bourgeois democracy. Following on the world economic crisis and the shattering of capitalist stabilisation, FASCISM IS REVEALED TO-DAY AS THE DOMINANT AND MOST TYPICAL CHARACTERISTIC TENDENCY OF MODERN MONOPOLY CAPITALISM IN THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS, OF INTENSIFIED CONTRADICTIONS AND OF THE MENACING PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

The treatment of fascism by the Communist International in the various theses and resolutions has developed step by step with the development of fascism since its inception. Four main stages or periods in this treatment may be distinguished:

- (1) The preliminary analysis, on the basis of the first wave of fascism, from 1921 to the Sixth Congress;
- (2) the main definition in the Sixth Congress Theses and Programme;
- (3) the extended working out of the character of fascism, on the basis of the second wave following on the shattering of stabilisation, and the question of social fascism, from the Tenth to the Twelfth Plenums, 1929-32;
- (4) the final statement to date, following the Hitler dictatorship, at the Thirteenth Plenum, 1933.

It is important at the outset (above all, to prevent unnecessary discussion of points already cleared) to review briefly what this step by step development of the line has already established and successfully demonstrated, to define more sharply the task of the 7th Congress, i.e., what is the new ground which requires to be covered by the 7th Congress, not only to draw together the treatment in the light of our present very much fuller knowledge, but also to bring it up to date in relation to the present stage of fascism and its future perspectives.

The first treatment of fascism in the Theses of the Communist International was at the 3rd Congress in 1921. The 3rd Congress Theses on Tactics noted the development of

"legal and semi-legal though state-protected white-guard organisations . . . In Italy it is the fascisti whose depredations affected a change in the mood of the bourgeoisie,

giving the appearance of a complete change in the respective strength of the contending political forces."

With the Fascisti are compared the Orghesch in Germany, the Union Civique in France, the Defence Corps in England and the American Legion in the United States. The Communists are urged to rally

"the best and most active among the workers to create their own labour legions and militant organisations which will resist the fascists and teach the 'golden youth' of the bourgeoisie a wholesome lesson."

This is the first, most elementary impact of fascism upon the working class movement, i.e., as the extra-state, but state protected, militant organisations of the bourgeoisie for guerilla warfare on the working class vanguard.

The 4th Congress in 1922 was already faced with the advent of fascism to power in Italy. The lessons of this were drawn in the "Address to the Italian Workers," which laid bare the rôle of reformism in surrendering the initiative to the reaction, and the significance of the bourgeoisie themselves establishing that open dictatorship which the workers' leaders had hesitated to set up and trampling underfoot the forms of bourgeois democracy and law and order—

"those false gods which the weak leaders of Italian Socialism worshipped."

The 4th Congress Theses on Tactics already drew the UNIVERSAL significance of the Italian experience for all countries:

"The salient features of the Italian fascism — that 'classical' fascism which has now taken possession of that country for some time — consist in the fact that the fascists, not content with establishing their own counter-revolutionary militant organisations armed to the teeth, seek also to gain ground by social-demagogy, among the masses and the peasantry, among the lower bourgeoisie, and even among certain elements of the working class, in order to make use of the general disappointment with so-called democracy.

"The menace of fascism lurks to-day in many countries — in Czecho-Slovakia, in Hungary, in nearly all the Balkan countries, in Poland, in Germany, in Austria and America and even in countries like Norway. Fascism in one form or another is not altogether impossible even in countries like France and England." (Fourth Congress Theses on Tactics) (5.)

It is noticeable that already in 1922, within the first weeks of the fascist accession to power in Italy, the Communist International clearly outlined the perspective,

(1) that Italian fascism was likely to hold power "for some time"; (2) that Italian fascism was likely to prove a "classic" type; (3) that the menace of fascism applied to all imperialist countries without exception, including the most "advanced" "democratic" countries.

At that time reformism was without exception, declaring

(1) that the fascist "adventure" in Italy would immediately collapse; (2) that fascism was an "exceptional backward," "purely Italian" phenomenon; (3) that fascism could have no significance for "advanced" "democratic" industrial countries.

Even as late as 1928 the Second International, at its Brussels Congress, was still declaring that fascism could only develop in "backward" "agrarian" countries and not in "advanced" "industrial" countries. Only in 1931 at its Vienna Congress was the Second International compelled to place on record that its previous view had been incorrect. Looking back, we can take a justifiable pride in the leadership of the Communist International, which thus gave with complete correctness the essential line with regard to fascism for the whole future epoch already in 1922.

The 1923 Plenum, faced with the Bulgarian coup following on the Italian, gave detailed attention to the question of fascism. In its discussions are to be found the most comprehensive treatment of the question of fascism (in particular, of its social roots, also the exposure of its contradictions) on the basis of the first fascist wave.

The main characteristics of fascism signalled by the Communist International on the basis of the first fascist wave, in the period up to the 6th Congress, may be shortly summarised under the following heads:

(1) Fascism as a phenomenon of the **DISINTEGRATION** of bourgeois economy and of the old state forms;

(2) the **SOCIAL ROOTS** of fascism in the impoverishment and disillusionment of the petty bourgeoisie, small peasantry, intellectuals and declassed strata, also backward sections of the workers, consequent on the failure of reformism and the parliamentary system to meet the needs of these;

(3) inadequacy of the old mechanism of the state bureaucracy and armed forces to maintain the bourgeois dictatorship; organisation of new **EXTRA-STATE SEMI-LEGAL FORMATIONS** to conduct destructive warfare on the working class organisations;

(4) **DESTRUCTION OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC FORMS**;

(5) the distinctive characteristic of fascism as the combination of social-demagogy, utilised to organise a **SPECIAL MASS BASIS**, with counter-revolutionary terrorism;

(6) responsibility of **REFORMISM** for the development of fascism ("the real forerunner of fascism was reformism," Resolution of the Italian Commission, Fourth Congress);

(7) the menace of fascism as **APPLICABLE TO ALL THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES**.

To these characteristics the 5th Congress in 1924 added for the first time the point of the **PARALLEL** character of Social Democracy and fascism as parallel weapons of the bourgeoisie in the current period.

"The Social Democrats from the Right wing of the Labour movement are in a process of transition and more and more becoming converted into the Left wing of the bourgeoisie, and in places into a wing of fascism. This is the reason it is historically incorrect to speak of the 'Victory of Fascism over Social Democracy.' Fascism and Social Democracy (in so far as their leaders are concerned) are the right and left hands of modern capitalism." (Fifth Congress, Theses on Tactics) (3.)

This was the first formulation (following the line of Stalin's article earlier in 1924) of the signs of the new development of Social-Democracy towards social fascism.

The 6th Congress in 1928 drew together the results of the experience and analysis up to that date, both in its theses and above all in the International Programme, into what still constitutes to-day the principal comprehensive Communist definition of fascism and its characteristics (Theses on the International Situation 24, and Programme 2, 3). Fascism was now definitely defined as the "terrorist dictatorship of Big Capital" (in 1922 the 4th Congress, in the address to the Italian workers, had still described the fascists, not incorrectly for that stage, as "international adventurers, without a definite programme and definite ideals, without a firm and united class basis"), specifically characterised by "the combination of social demagogy, corruption and active white terror, in conjunction with extreme imperialist aggression in the sphere of foreign politics." The peculiar "characteristic feature" of fascism lay in its organisation of "a reactionary mass movement."

The new features brought out by the 6th Congress covered principally,

(1) The attempt of fascism to organise "a new type of State"; its attempt "to establish political and organisational unity among all the governing classes of capitalist society" (International situation, No. 24);

(2) the "increasing application of fascist methods by the bourgeoisie" also in countries not under fascist dictatorship, e.g., the Trade Union Act in Britain and the Paul-Boncour Military Law in France (*ibid.*, 16);

(3) the increasing parallelism, both of theory and practice, of Social Democracy and fascism:—

"The ideology of class co-operation—the official ideology of Social-Democracy—has many points of contact with fascism. The employment of fascist methods in the struggle against the revolutionary movement is observed in a rudimentary form in the practice of many Social-Democratic parties, as well as in that of the reformist trade union bureaucracy. (*Ibid.*, 24.)

"The bourgeoisie resorts either to the method of fascism or to the method of coalition with Social-Democracy, according to the changes in the political situation; while Social-Democracy itself often plays a fascist rôle in periods when the situation is critical for capitalism. In the process of development Social-Democracy reveals fascist tendencies." (Programme 2, 3.)

The new period after the 6th Congress, already foreshadowed by the 6th Congress, marked by the shattering of capitalist stabilisation, and opening in 1929 with the world economic crisis and the beginning of the second fascist wave, was to see, not only the intensive development of the main basic features of fascism already noted (illustrated anew on a very much greater scale in the advance of the Nazis to power), but also the **QUALITATIVELY NEW** and very far reaching extension of the new features first briefly indicated by the 6th Congress, i.e.,

(1) the "increasing application of fascist methods by the bourgeoisie" in all countries, also in countries of still formal bourgeois democracy, through an amazing variety of transitional and partial forms (Brüning, Von Papen, National Government, Roosevelt, etc.), necessitating a very

great widening of the whole understanding of fascism and of the path of the transition to fascism;

(2) the increasing approximation of the central staffs of Social-Democracy to fascist or semi-fascist conceptions and ideology (theories of organised capitalism, Mondism, drawing together of the labour bureaucracy and state apparatus) and utilisation of methods analogous to fascist methods (war on revolutionary section of the working class movement by coercion and corruption, Berlin May Day shooting, Labour Government's rôle).

The problems represented by these phenomena of the new stage above all occupied the attention of the 10th Plenum, the 11th Plenum and the 12th Plenum from 1929 to 1932. In consequence, the all important work accomplished by these conferences in the sphere of the questions of fascism covered two main and associated groups of problems.

(1) The process of FASCISATION, and the relationship of bourgeois democracy and fascism. The manifold development towards fascism in all countries, at an increasing speed and under all types of outer State forms, made it urgently necessary to destroy the remains of the abstract liberal counterposing of bourgeois democracy and fascism as absolute opposites, separated by a supposedly rigid barrier; since this view, inculcated by Social-Democracy, led to the passive looking to the question of a future "coup" as the sole feature of fascism, and in consequence inevitably to the "theory of the lesser evil," i.e., the actual support of the encroaching fascist offensive in the name of the defence of bourgeois democracy. Against this view it was necessary to awaken the workers to the present struggle against the already continuously developing fascist offensive, and to the decisive rôle of this present mass struggle as determining the development or otherwise of the future fascist "coup" and completed fascist dictatorship. These very difficult questions were cleared, above all, at the Eleventh Plenum in 1931,* and the correctness of this line, as against that of Social-Democracy, was fully confirmed by the development in Germany stage by stage to Hitler, as also in the later Austrian example;

(2) the problems of SOCIAL-FASCISM. It was urgently necessary to awaken the workers from being drawn unconsciously into the stream towards fascism, through their faith in Social-Democracy as the supposed "opponent" of fascism, when in reality Social-Democracy was assisting in its own fashion the development towards fascism and the fascisation of the state. The theory of social-fascism (first developed explicitly at the Tenth Plenum in 1929) placed this issue in the sharpest possible form, and, despite some confusions and errors in its current propagandist use in the various countries, achieved an important purpose in awakening a growing body of workers to the rôle of Social-Democracy in directly assisting the fascist offensive.

The advent of Hitler to power in Germany in 1933 brought the whole issue of fascism on a world scale to a new stage. Here for the first time was demonstrated with damning completeness the final working out (where Social-Democracy succeeds in paralysing the workers' action) of the process of fascisation in an advanced industrial "democratic" country to its ultimate outcome in the open terrorist fascist dictatorship, throwing

aside the last remnants of the old decayed bourgeois-democratic forms and openly setting itself the aim to exterminate physically the working class movement. The fascist offensive took on new energy in every country, at the same time as a widespread working class anti-fascist awakening took place.

The 13th Plenum at the end of 1933 had to review this situation, ratified the Presidium April resolution on Germany,* and issued its definition of fascism as "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital." The 13th Plenum further related the extension of fascism, and its coming to power in Germany, to the gathering revolutionary crisis; it drew the significance of the growth of fascism as indicating the growth of the revolutionary crisis and mass revolt, the failure of the old bourgeois democratic forms to serve the purpose of the bourgeois dictatorship either for internal politics or for foreign politics, and the close connection of the development of fascism with the direct preparation of the future imperialist war. At the same time the fallacies of the "inevitability" of fascism, and of the opening of a "fascist epoch" had to be combatted; the 13th Plenum showed how fascism simultaneously hastens and hinders the revolutionary advance, how it represents at the same time the strongest offensive of the bourgeoisie and at the same time reveals its weakening and growing instability.

Since then a whole further development has taken place, with the landmark of June 30th in Germany and the narrowing of the mass basis in the countries of completed fascist dictatorship, with the events in Austria, France and Spain, with the growing resistance of the working class and advance of the united front, with the signs of a check in the upward economic movement of 1933-4, the increasingly difficult positions of the National Government in Britain and the Roosevelt dictatorship, and the intensified preparations for imperialist war.

At the 7th Congress it will be necessary to draw together this whole development in a fresh survey of the present stage and development of fascism, utilising the work that has already been accomplished in the successive Plenum discussions since the 6th Congress, and at the same time bringing in what is newly developing.

2. New Questions.

The 13th Plenum definition of fascism, which remains our weapon for the current movement, achieved an important purpose in stating in the

* Reports of debates at Eleventh Plenum may be obtained from Workers' Bookshop, Ltd., Clerkenwell Green.

* Thirteenth Plenum Reports, as well as Report of German Party to E.C.C.I., and Resolution adopted April, 1933, obtainable from Bookshops.

sharpest possible terms the reactionary terrorist significance of fascism. Nevertheless, we cannot be satisfied to rest simply upon the basis of this definition for the purposes of the 7th Congress, which will need to achieve a more comprehensive review.

The existing definition, in stressing the character of fascism as a reactionary terrorist dictatorship of finance capital does not bring out with equal clearness the essential DIFFERENTIA of fascism from counter-revolutionary dictatorship and whiteguard dictatorship in general. If this distinctive character is not sharply brought out, it inevitably gives rise to the danger of the frequent loose use of "fascism" in our press to describe any and every reactionary phenomenon all over the world without distinction, with the consequences of blurring the serious understanding of fascism by the workers, who come to regard our use of the term as a catchword for all phenomena and activities of capitalism and capitalist governments in the present period. The distinctive character of fascism does not lie in the degree of its reaction, terrorism or chauvinism, but in its SPECIAL SOCIAL POLITICAL MECHANISM for sustaining this terrorism, i.e., in its special system of social demagogy for building a "reactionary mass movement" (6th Congress) on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism, the impoverishment and disillusionment of the petty bourgeoisie and other strata, and the disillusionment with reformism. Despite the destruction of bourgeois-democratic forms, the finance capitalist oligarchy cannot simply revert to pre-democratic (pre-capitalist) forms, but is on the contrary compelled to employ still more complicated forms of mass deception, alongside intensified terrorism, in order to maintain its rule. This is the distinctive character of fascism which differentiates it from other forms of counter-revolutionary dictatorship. The 13th Plenum resolution fully recognises this character, and proceeds immediately after the definition to deal with the question of the "mass basis." This question, however, cannot be treated as subsidiary; it must be brought directly into the essential definition of fascism, if we are to understand the conditions of the fight against fascism correctly. Just herein we differ from the liberal reformist social-democratic conception, which sees in fascism only terrorism, only destruction of bourgeois democracy and law and order, instead of its real character as the carrying forward by the bourgeois dictatorship of its methods of mass rule by combined coercion and deception, already demonstrated in an earlier form in bourgeois democracy, to an extreme stage of both aspects in fascism, that is, in the period of closely menacing proletarian revolution—endeavouring to

utilise the very sentiments of mass revolt against its system in order to distort them to the opposite outcome.

"The fascist system is a system of direct dictatorship IDEOLOGICALLY MASKED by the 'national' idea . . . It is a system that resorts to a peculiar form of SOCIAL DEMAGOGY . . . the COMBINATION of social demagogy, corruption and active white terror in conjunction with extreme imperialist aggression in the sphere of foreign politics, are the characteristic features of fascism." (Programme of Communist International.)

It is from just this character of fascism that arise the CONTRADICTIONS of fascism, which provide the conditions for successfully fighting fascism.

What are the essential NEW FEATURES of fascism which it is important to bring out at the 7th Congress?

First, it is essential to DEEPEN THE TREATMENT OF THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF FASCISM. In the first wave of fascism, preceding the partial stabilisation of capitalism, the fascist weapon was essentially the weapon of the bourgeoisie in certain special conditions to defeat and throttle the class struggle of the proletariat, in order to provide the conditions for the successful restoration of "NORMAL" capitalism. But since the world economic crisis this situation is changed. The second wave of fascism reflects a far-reaching difference of the underlying economic conditions. The conditions of the old "normal" capitalism are to-day recognised by the capitalists themselves to have vanished. It might even be said that capitalism has now CONSCIOUSLY entered on the reversal of its ascending rôle (a reversal already implicit in the whole imperialist epoch as the epoch of capitalism in decay), i.e., the organised restriction of production and throttling of productive advance, cutting down of international trade in the intensified fight for the dwindling markets, acceptance of chronic large-scale unemployment as a permanent phenomenon, and adjustment to a lowered standard of living for the masses. This changed economic situation of the deepened general crisis of capitalism, generating intensified class struggle and mass discontent, tends to require a different political mechanism for the bourgeois dictatorship from the old reformist democratic mechanism, based on continuous concessions to buy off the revolt of the masses. Fascism is above all the most characteristic political expression of this stage, of this phase of the culminating processes of imperialist decay. FASCISM IS, IN THE ULTIMATE ANALYSIS, THE ATTEMPTED ORGANISATION OF CAPITALIST DECAY. It attempts FORCIBLY TO OVERCOME THE INTENSIFIED CONTRADICTION OF CAPITALISM—both the contradictions of the class struggle reaching to the point of revolution, the economic contradictions of the gigantically increased productive power pressing

against the narrow shell of capitalist relations, and the political contradictions of the internal divisions of the bourgeoisie within each state expressed in the old style party fight. Herein lies the significance of its ideology of "totalitarianism."

This is the deeper character of fascism which underlies, not only the policies of a Hitler and a Mussolini, but also can be traced in characteristically different forms in the policies of a Roosevelt, a MacDonald or an Elliot. For this reason not only the growth and extension of the open fascist dictatorships, not only the intensified dictatorship and special measures against the working class and restrictions of the old "freedoms" in all countries, but also the new economic measures of intensified trade war and closed imperialist blocs, the drive to "national planning" and so-called "autarchy," the wholesale organised restriction of production and destruction of the means of production, are characteristic signs of the tendencies towards fascism in modern capitalism; and the intensified dictatorship, the regimenting of the population, by new methods of combined terrorism and demagoguery, are ultimately the necessary political accompaniment of this process. The wealth of experience of this process since the world economic crisis enables the 7th Congress to deal with this economic basis of fascism more fully and fundamentally than has yet been done.*

Second, it is essential to bring out and elaborate more fully the question of the special MASS BASIS of fascism, and the political armoury — the "DEMAGOGY"—whereby it is enabled to build up this mass basis. Our treatment of FASCIST IDEOLOGY has hitherto tended to be summary. But the experience of the last few years has enormously enlarged the examples of the methods of fascist agitation and propaganda in widely varying conditions—the characteristic differences in the methods of adaptation of fascist ideology and propaganda, not only to the varying conditions of Italy and Germany but to the still more widely varying conditions of Britain, France, the United States, etc.

Contrast, for example, the line of Nazi propaganda before power and of present British fascist propaganda. Nazi propaganda concentrated on the "national" or "racial" idea. British fascist propaganda has to concentrate on the "British Empire" conception (a forced combination of widely differing races under British dominion). Nazi propaganda drew its main source of agitation from the *Diktat* of Versailles, and placed this political fight in the foreground as underlying the

economic issues. British fascist propaganda, placed in the different situation of a "victor" country, draws its main inspiration of agitation from the manifest extreme decline of British capitalism since the war, the decay of the basic industries, the "derelict areas," etc., and places in the forefront its ECONOMIC programme as the solution of British problems. Nazi propaganda, faced with a powerful and class conscious working class trained for half a century in the conceptions of Marxism, had to profess the nominal aim of "socialism," while attacking "Marxism," and fascist propaganda attacks equally "socialism" and "Marxism," and thus appears more openly as an extremist wing of Diehard Conservatism (compare Rothermere's support of British fascism as representing a powerful "party of the Right"—*Daily Mail*, 15.1.34). Nazi propaganda and fascist propaganda in all other European countries builds strongly on the upper and middle peasantry as one of the principal bases of support. In Britain, where agriculture, already capitalistically developed, occupies only 7 per cent. of the population, the appeal to the farmers, though important (compare the Tithe agitation) can only play a secondary part; and the main basis of appeal has to be the urban petty bourgeoisie, the rentier class, the parasitic occupations dependent on the wealthy class and a proportion of the professional and technical strata, alongside such of the unemployed and backward workers as can be won. In all these ways, while the principles of fascist propaganda remain the same in all countries (playing on the grievances of the intermediate and lower strata for the benefit of finance capital), the contents differ according to the concrete conditions and social composition of the population in each country.

Third, it is necessary to analyse the DIVERSITY OF THE PROCESS OF FASCISATION more fully, as now developing through many forms in all imperialist countries. The old mistaken reformist view of fascism as a phenomenon of backward semi-agrarian countries has now been more than ever disproved by events. On the other hand, the development towards fascism in advanced industrial countries, with a powerful organised working class movement, takes on peculiar forms and has to go through very complicated manoeuvres, in order that the significance of the process in its earlier stages shall be concealed from the mass of the workers or even be disguised in the form of the fight against fascism for the defence of the existing "democratic" institutions. This question, and the laying bare of the significance of these half stages, becomes the main question of fascism at the present stage in all the bourgeois-demo-

* For a fuller discussion of these underlying economic tendencies connected with fascism, as well as for fuller material on the whole question, see *Fascism and Social Revolution*," published in 1934.

cratic countries. These questions will be considered further in the next section on "Fascisation, 'Semi-fascisation,' 'Semi-fascism' and 'Pre-fascism'."

Fourth, in connection with this widening of the process of fascisation on a world scale, we shall have to deal more fully with the question of FASCISM AND THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES, in the light of certain developments of the most recent period, such as the "Blue Shirt" movement of Chiang Kai-shek in China, the "Blue Shirts" of General O'Duffy in Ireland, the tendencies of certain sections of the Indian national bourgeoisie (compare Subhas Bose's recently issued book on "The Indian Struggle") to open sympathy with fascism, etc. Hitherto we have taken the view, and with basic correctness, that fascism cannot develop in colonial countries. As typical of our view we may take the expression of Comrade Manuilsky at the 10th Plenum:

"In the colonies which still stand before the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution, it is not, I think, possible to speak of fascism. Despite the existence of isolated capitalist factories of the latest type, pre-capitalist relations are dominant; these, and not highly developed capitalism, are typical for the colonies. In China it is the bourgeois feudal counter-revolution that rages, and not fascism." (Tenth Plenum Protocol, German text, p. 583.)

While this view remains correct in principle, we have now to take the significance of recent developments into account, revealing the influence of the world development of fascism on the methods of the counter-revolution in colonial countries. Fascism is the weapon of finance capital. But in the colonies and semi-colonial countries the power of finance capital is represented by foreign imperialism, which finds itself in opposition, not only to the mass of the population, but also in a certain variable degree of contradiction to the national bourgeoisie. Thus the conditions are not present for a mass movement of fascism to maintain the power of finance capital. Under what conditions, then, can phenomena of a "fascist" type arise in these countries, such as the "blue shirts" in China or Ireland? Clearly, only at that point when the inner class antagonisms and advance of the proletariat and peasantry have reached such a stage that the national bourgeoisie, or a considerable section of it, moves to an open counter-revolutionary rôle in the service of foreign imperialism, and in consequence, in the fight against the mass of the population, seeks to build up "fascist" formations, essentially in the service of foreign imperialism. Chiang Kai-shek, representing at once the leader of the bourgeois feudal reaction and the agent of foreign imperialism, seeks to build up his "blue shirts" against Communism and against the national revolutionary struggle. O'Duffy, representing the minority section of the Irish bourgeoisie (Cosgrave) which does

not follow De Valera but is closely allied to British imperialism, seeks to build up the "blue shirts" in Ireland as an attempted basis of support in the interests of British imperialism. These developments, however, can take no deep root in the given conditions, and bear only a very limited analogy to fascism in the imperialist countries.

Fifth, it will be necessary to come to the new questions of the relations of SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM, consequent on the destruction of the old Social-Democratic Parties in Germany and Austria and development of new groups and formations, the crisis of Social Democracy within all the parties of the Second International, the divisions within the Second International, and the wide range of tendencies now revealed. These questions will be considered further in a subsequent section.

Sixth, the question of the "MIDDLE CLASSES" or intermediate strata now becomes of burning urgency in relation to fascism. While the basic correctness of the Marxist analysis of the rôle of the middle classes, as only able to play an auxiliary rôle either to the ruling bourgeoisie or to the proletariat, is more than ever confirmed by the experiences of fascism and of the fight against fascism (in contradistinction to the Social Democratic theory of fascism as the "independent movement of the middle class" or "middle class dictatorship"), we need now to give the closest and most careful attention to

(1) The new "CRISIS OF THE MIDDLE CLASS," consequent on the world economic crisis and the depression, which have provided a powerful part of the impetus for the second fascist wave; (2) our tactics and propaganda in relation to the middle class, to counteract or neutralise the support of fascism and win over the widest proportion as allies for the proletariat (significance of the broad anti-fascist and anti-war movements of the Amsterdam-Pleyel type), as well as self-criticism of previous mistakes in approach and propaganda to the middle classes, their special demands and ideology, or under-estimation of their rôle (tendencies still sometimes visible of a contemptuous attitude towards, or neglect of, broad "mixed" movements of the Amsterdam-Pleyel type).

Seventh, the CONTRADICTIONS of fascism after its accession to power can now be more sharply brought out in the light of the developments of the two years since Hitler's coming to power; in the sphere of internal affairs, the economic dilemmas and the instability of the emergency expedients to overcome them, and the narrowing mass basis and loss of former petty-bourgeois supporters; in the sphere of foreign affairs, the extreme concentration on the preparation of the gamble of war, and the sharp conflicts already demonstrated between fascist Germany and fascist Austria, between fascist Germany and fascist Italy, etc. In particular, the close and direct connection of fascism with the PREPARATION AND

ORGANISATION OF THE NEW IMPERIALIST WAR needs to be strongly brought into the forefront at the present stage.

Finally, we shall need to deal as fully as possible with the future PERSPECTIVE OF FASCISM, as we see it; in particular:

(1) The prospects of the second wave of fascism in relation to the development of the world economic situation, the worsening conditions in the separate countries, the advance to war, the sharpening of class antagonisms and the signs of the beginning of a crisis of fascism;

(2) the fallacy of the liberal reformist view of the "epoch of fascism";

(3) the fallacy of the view of the "inevitability" of fascism in all countries; on the contrary, the demonstra-

tion during the past two years of the international working class increasingly learning from the experience in each country and beginning to rise to the height of the struggle (ascending scale of struggle in Germany, Austria, Spain), the advance of the united front, and the possibility of preventing fascism from developing in the countries where it has not yet established its dictatorship;

(4) the conditions of the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in the countries where it is established, through the development of the mass struggle; the warning as to the possibility of the revival of bourgeois democratic illusions (possible revival of Social-Democracy); and the necessity of placing in the forefront the goal of the proletarian dictatorship as the only decisive and finally victorious alternative to fascism and guarantee against fascism.

(b) RESOLUTION OF THE C.C. OF THE C.P. OF YUGOSLAVIA ON THE INNER PARTY DISCUSSION IN CONNECTION WITH THE 7TH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

IN connection with the Seventh Congress of the Communist International which will take place in the first half of 1935, the C.C. of the C.P. Yugo-Slavia finds it necessary to carry through a discussion in all the Party organisations and cells on all the questions which are on the agenda of the Congress of the Comintern. This discussion must be linked up with the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the C.P. Yugo-Slavia, which must be elaborated, approved, popularised and carried into practice.

1. On What Questions Should the Discussion Be Carried On?

The Agenda of the Seventh Congress is as follows:—

(1) Report of the E.C.C.I.; (2) the Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Comintern in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism; (3) the Preparations of the Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Comintern; (4) Results of the Construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. The discussion must centre around these basic questions of the Seventh Congress.

The aim of the discussion should be to give an all-round basic explanation to the line of the Comintern and our Party, and then to work out and concretise the basic problems of the Congress in accordance with the situation and the concrete conditions of the class struggle in the various parts of Yugo-Slavia. The C.C. of the C.P. of Y.S. calls the attention of the committees, organisations and individual comrades, first of all, to the following questions, which must be dealt with and worked over in the course of the discussion.

1. THE CRISIS OF FASCISM IN OUR COUNTRY. On what basic questions did the Serbian military fascist dictatorship ("The Régime of January 26") suffer defeat? In what way is the crisis of fascism expressed? Is "democratisation" of the régime possible? By what methods does the ruling bourgeoisie intend to carry on further fascistisation? What is the rôle of the various militarist cliques in the ruling fascist system? On what does the further development of the contradictions in the camp of the ruling bourgeoisie and in their policy depend?

2. THE FASCIST MOVEMENT AMONG THE OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES. How to fight against the fascist movement of Pavelich in Horvatia and with clerical fascism in Slovenia and Horvatia? Wherein lie the shortcomings of our previous struggle against the fascist movement among the oppressed peoples?

3. THE PROBLEM OF THE WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS. The way out indicated by the bourgeoisie (increasing social and national oppression, the course for imperialist war, the democratic manoeuvres of fascism), and the revolutionary way out (the overthrow of the militarist fascist dictatorship through the mass revolutionary struggle of the united forces of the proletariat, the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities). Why are we Communists in favour of the fall of present-day Versailles Yugo-Slavia? The bourgeois democratic nature of the forthcoming revolution and the possibility of bringing about the national independence of the oppressed peoples by means of revolution (and not by means of war)? What lessons can we draw from the Spanish events?

4. THE ESTIMATION OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY. Is the crisis turning into a depression in Yugo-Slavia, or does the economic crisis continue to develop? What caused an improvement in the situation in the various branches of industry (textile industry, mining, etc.)? The influence of the agrarian crisis on the economic situation of the whole country.

5. THE PROBLEM OF THE HEGEMONY OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE TOILING MASSES. What are the basic driving forces of the coming revolu-

tion in Yugo-Slavia? Why is the victory of the peasantry and of the oppressed peoples impossible in the revolutionary struggle unless the leading rôle of the proletariat is ensured in them? Why cannot the revolution be victorious unless the majority of the working class are won to the side of Communism? What should every organisation do in its sphere of activity to win the majority of the workers of the given factory, district, industry? How should the leading rôle of the proletariat be carried out in the fights of the peasants and the oppressed peoples (and national minorities) and of the toiling masses in general in the various districts, regions and localities? What is the cause, from the point of view of organisational development and activity, of the unsatisfactory condition and inadequate activity of the national revolutionary movement (in Horvatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, Macedonia and Montenegro) and the peasant movement (in all regions)?

6. **THE STRIKE MOVEMENT.** The lessons of the last strikes in the given locality. What should the units and the whole Party organisation do to develop and strengthen the strike movement? Why is there no strike movement among the metal workers (Horvatia, Serbia), among the miners (Bosnia, Horvatan mountain region, Serbia) and in the big centres (Belgrade, Zagreb, etc.)? The question of converting economic strikes into political strikes as the basic link in the chain of Party tasks.

7. **THE TACTICS OF THE UNITED FRONT.** Why are the tactics of the united front insufficiently applied in our country? How can the reformist leaders be removed from their dominating position in the workers' organisations and institutions, and how to deprive them of the possibility of hindering and disorganising the development of revolutionary struggles? How to strengthen the struggle for realising the unity of action of the proletariat in Yugo-Slavia?

8. **THE PROBLEM OF TACTICS AND SLOGANS.** Why is it necessary to take a definite stand towards the manoeuvres used by the bourgeoisie for awakening democratic illusions among the masses? What attitude should we assume towards the reformist plans for establishing minimum wages? What direct slogans of action should be advanced for the peasantry, for the oppressed nationalities, for the unemployed, and for the agricultural workers?

9. **THE FORMATION OF A MASS BOLSHEVIK PARTY.** The rôle of the subjective factor in the revolution. How to fight against the sectarian fear of bringing new members into the Party? How to combine the necessity for giv-

ing our organisation a mass character with the necessity of increasing conspiracy and the guarantee against exposure? Lessons to be drawn from past exposures by the police. The problem of Party cadres. The task of the work in the fascist mass organisations (Sokol, etc.).

10. **THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR.** The problem of work in the army and navy. Why has our work been so weak in forming a powerful, anti-fascist and anti-war movement? Why are we opposed to war?

11. **THE DANGER OF DEVIATIONS AND MISTAKES.** Why is the Right danger the chief danger at the present time? What is the essence of the Right and "Left" danger at the present time? What form does the Right danger take in the work of the given organisation? The Right essence of "Left" deviations and sectarian practices.

2. How to Carry on the Discussion.

1. As soon as this resolution is received, every district leadership and every local Party committee must discuss all these questions, work out definite proposals and give corresponding instructions for carrying on the discussion in the cells and Party organisations.

2. Every cell and every Party unit must thoroughly work through these questions at several meetings. The discussion must be directed by the secretary of the cell or the representative of the district or local committee (instructor).

3. Every Party worker and every Party member must take part in the open discussion of all these questions. This open discussion must also be conducted in the central organ *Proletar*, in the theoretical *Klassenkampf* and in all the provincial and local party papers.

4. After the discussion has taken place, all the leaders must send information on the results to the higher organs (district, section, sub-section committees) and the latter in turn must inform the regional committee. The regional committees must send written reports to the C.C. on the discussion.

3. What Materials Should Be Used for Discussion.

1. No. 3 and 4 of "What To Do and How To Do It."
2. Decisions of the Fourth Party Conference.
3. Reports to the Party Conference.
4. Special issue of *Proletar* on the Results of the Party Conference and the discussion in connection with the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

5. Separate pamphlets recently issued by the C.C.
C.C. C.P. YUGO-SLAVIA.

THE FEBRUARY STRUGGLE IN AUSTRIA AND ITS LESSONS	- - -	By Bela Kun	96 pages, 6d.
THE MOST BURNING QUESTION — UNITY OF ACTION	- - -	By Bela Kun	64 pages, 2d.
FROM THE FIRST WORLD WAR TO THE SECOND	- - -	By Nemo	76 pages, 2d.

WORKERS BOOKSHOP, CLERKENWELL GREEN, E.C.

REVIEW OF THE "WORKERS' WEEKLY"

The Central Organ of the Communist Party of Australia. June-October.

By J. BILLETT.

THE *Workers' Weekly* is a six-page paper published by the Party Central Committee in Sydney, the capital city of New South Wales. Its present circulation is 13,000. Three years ago, Fenton, a Lyons Government Cabinet Minister, asserted that the paper was published by "an unlawful association," and the *Workers' Weekly* was subsequently deregistered and denied cheap newspaper postal facilities. Added to this attempt to stem its steady growth, the Government refused to permit the paper's transport over the railways. Notwithstanding these difficulties the paper has a very wide circulation, copies penetrating into all the important towns. To reach its destination in a number of the States takes considerable time, as long distances have to be travelled. For example, it takes eight days for the paper to reach Perth, the capital of Western Australia; and even longer to reach many of our readers scattered throughout that State. The paper is ten days' old when it reaches Darwin. It takes two days to reach Melbourne, Brisbane and Broken Hill, and four days to get to Adelaide in South Australia.

Despite these difficulties the paper has a large circulation and reaches all important cities. The Party is also publishing district weekly papers at Perth and Melbourne, while a mimeographed paper is being issued at Darwin. It is the Party's intention to publish papers in other important outlying districts.

The Wonthaggi coalminers' strike, till its victorious conclusion in July, was fully reflected in the paper. Not only were the main events reflected in the *Workers' Weekly*, but concrete leads to strengthen and broaden it were given from week to week. This clearly indicates that the Central Committee correctly estimated the extreme political importance of this strike, which was a real test of the new militant leadership. The energetic campaign conducted by the C.C. and the *Workers' Weekly* had the effect of mobilising the whole of the Party and the Minority Movement around Wonthaggi. Another good feature was the frequent reminder to build the Party and the Minority Movement during the course of the struggle. Nevertheless the results of the struggle were not fully elaborated and utilised by the paper, which did not summarise its experiences and lessons adequately.

The Queensland sugar-cane strike and the metal workers' strike at Newcastle, which broke out in August and September respectively, apparently caught the paper unawares, as there were no articles heralding these struggles, despite the fact that the Party and the Minority Movement played a big part in preparing and organising these strikes. This indicates that the paper feels the pulse of the movement in the factories and workshops insufficiently. The victory of the sugar-cane workers opens up great possibilities for the Party in an industry where the workers are organised into the ultra-reactionary Australian Workers' Union.

In view of the large percentage of Italians engaged in the sugar-cane industry, and the attempts of the A.W.U., the Labour Party and the fascist British Preference League to incite the Australian-born workers against them, the struggles in this industry assume particular importance.

In the Lysaghts Steel Works strike, the workers accepted the timely and correct leads of our press to the point of repudiating the arbitration court and boycotting the compulsory ballot ordered by the Government. They were still firm when the award was cancelled by the court, but were then influenced to return to work by the reactionary Ironworks Union officials. Our paper did not carefully raise, with sufficient force, the strike-breaking rôle of Denford and Tannock and underestimated the strong influence they could bring to bear on the struggle.

Our press must pay greater attention than hitherto to trade union questions, not merely from the viewpoint of simple reporting, but more in respect to supplying concrete leads on the economic and political matters confronting the workers. Our paper should be the collective mouthpiece, giving voice to their discontent, and preparing and organising them in their struggles. It is necessary, therefore, that concrete leads be given on how to build the united front of struggle.

The major political campaigns carried on during the period under review were those against the proposed Disloyal Organisation Bill, the object of which was to drive the Party underground, and for the release of Comrade Thaelmann. Both of these campaigns were featured in our press. The chief weakness of the campaign against this Bill

was the altogether insufficient use made of the decision of the Miners' Federation to call a one-day strike on the day the Bill was to be introduced into Parliament. A lead to the workers in other industries to fall into line with the miners would have resulted in stimulating our work in the unions and factories, thereby developing the struggle against the Government to a much higher level. Opposition to the Bill would have been still broader had the *Workers' Weekly* linked it up with a struggle against the process of fascisation expressed in such measures as the Sydney Corporation Act, recently passed to disfranchise thousands of voters in the Municipal elections; and the amendments to the Printing Act. Apart from one or two articles, these measures received scant attention.

One of the Party's outstanding achievements, which was clearly reflected in our press, was the splendid campaign exposing the reformist manoeuvres which consisted of a joint application made on behalf of numerous craft unions to the Federal Arbitration Court for the restoration of the 10 per cent. wage reduction imposed in 1931. The Party utilised the discontent engendered by the Court's refusal to restore the cut. Immediate support was forthcoming for our policy in the unions and workplaces, but particularly at the Sydney Trades Council and the New South Wales trade union and Australian Railways' Union Conference, which carried motions in favour of withdrawing from the Court and building organs in the enterprises to struggle for the return of the 10 per cent. wage cut.

But despite the fact that the paper correctly estimated the importance of these successes, it did not popularise these important decisions sufficiently, and carry on an energetic campaign for their realisation. The whole campaign was permitted to lag, being only occasionally mentioned in our press. It is also noticeable that the paper did not make the extremely popular widespread demand for the return of the 10 per cent. cut a central demand in the whole of our mass agitation. In the July 6th issue of the *Workers' Weekly* the leading article headed "The Premier's Plan, the Federal Elections and the Workers' Struggle," although making a good attack on compulsory arbitration, does not call for the establishment of a broad united front to struggle for the return of the 10 per cent. wage cut. Instead, it calls for support for a six-hour day and a £5 minimum wage—demands which are not nearly so popular. The paper did not follow this up by giving concrete leads on how to develop a live campaign in the unions and factories, in order to mobilise the workers to struggle for this demand.

In regard to the Federal Elections held last

September, the *Workers' Weekly* conducted a sustained campaign for a period of several months. This enabled the Party to place 28 candidates in the field for whom £700 was required for their deposits, which was raised principally from the workers in industry. Nevertheless the demand for the restoration of the 10 per cent. wage cut and for the realisation of the Trade Union Conference's decisions was even omitted from the election programme of demands, whereas it should have been the central demand in the manifesto. Similar omissions are noticeable in the leading articles of June 8th and July 6th.

Still another important question almost entirely overlooked in our press during the Federal election campaign was the demand for non-contributory unemployed social insurance. The demand was certainly placed in the election programme, but that was the beginning and the end, as no articles appeared explaining this demand. This indicates that the Party has not yet understood the urgent need to wage a broad united front campaign in the unions, factories, among the unemployed for unemployed insurance. The fact that Labour and County Party politicians made announcements in their policy speeches in favour of unemployed insurance, for the upkeep of which the workers will make contributions, should have been used by our press to expose these schemes. It is not sufficient to only bluntly state demands, but our press should also concretely explain how the struggle is to be waged for them.

An article in the September 7th issue has a reprint from a statement published in *The Advocate*, the official organ of the Queensland branch of the Australian Railways Union, advising the workers to give their first preference votes to the Communist Party. This sound advice to the workers emanating from the A.R.U. was unfortunately followed by some sectarian advice from our Editorial Committee, which said the following, because *The Advocate* advised giving second preference vote to the Labour candidates:

"With this we cannot agree precisely because the Labour Party is a party of capitalism. Our advice to the workers is to distribute their preferences in their own order." In other words, the advice, in essence, really meant that the workers can give their second preference votes also to open capitalist parties.

Each issue of the paper had an article dealing with the war danger. In the main, these articles bore a general character, exposing the war preparations of the various imperialist powers, and the increased expenditures on armaments. Eleven out of sixteen of those examined did not concretely deal with the situation within Australia. Yet there is ample evidence to bring forward to show the war preparations of the Australian bourgeoisie;

how it is becoming a partner in the war plans of British imperialism. The paper gave prominence to the Western Australian, Southern Australian, Victorian and New South Wales and National anti-war conferences held at intervals during the year. Especially good was the live campaign on behalf of the National Anti-War Congress held in Melbourne. But the articles about these campaigns did not bear a sufficiently local character, but were more of a general character.

Still another weakness in our anti-war material is the fact that we did not conduct a consistent exposure of the deceptive rôle of the Labour Party: its defence of the chauvinist White Australia policy. While claiming to be against war, the Labour Party favours the building up of Australian defences, providing a large air fleet and building additions to the fleet in Australia. Accounts of the solidarity action of the crew of the warship "Moresby" were given in four articles. These reports, however, were not supplemented with appeals for support for the sailors and for their demands.

Considerable space was devoted to questions concerning the Soviet Union in each issue of our press. These were outlined in popular language, giving the vast programme of socialist construction and the Soviet Union's foreign policy and its entry into the League of Nations. Full use was made of the Australian Workers' May Day Delegation which provided information material while in the Soviet Union. Our press amply reacted to the provocations of Japanese imperialism in the Far East in connection with the C.E.R., as well as exposing the imperialist machinations for a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

We must note one very good article printed in the August 3rd issue contrasting the magnificent treatment accorded the gypsies in the Soviet Union, to the terrible treatment received by the Australian natives from the Government. The article was made the more serviceable by the fact that it was written at a time of extreme police terror against the natives. This type of article should appear more frequently.

One of the paper's weaknesses—its inability to conduct a sustained campaign—was to be seen in the case of the natives sentenced to death by Judge Wells for killing two Japanese. It was not till after the passing of the sentences that our press commenced a vigorous campaign for a new trial and their release. The same is true of the native Harry Tuckior, who was framed for the death of Constable McColl. These cases, especially that of Tuckior, were fairly well featured in several issues, then the campaign subsided somewhat and no mention was made of these cases in

the early October issues. The paper did not reflect our activity in the unions and factories around these cases, as there appeared only one trade union and one factory resolution during this period. There was not one leading article concerning these cases and about the plight of the natives generally. This campaign presents a golden opportunity of making it widely known among the masses of workers, and intellectuals, that the Party is foremost in fighting on behalf of this oppressed nationality.

A fair amount of space was devoted to the struggle against reformism, especially its "Left" variety, which is very strong in New South Wales. Several articles expose the "Labour Daily's" slanders about the Communist Party, its foul distortion of Marxism-Leninism and attacks upon the Soviet Union. The Labour Party's boosting of Roosevelt's N.R.A. was answered with very lucid explanations and facts proving that Roosevelt's whole policy aimed to strengthen monopoly capital at the expense of the toilers in town and country. Another exposure was that carried on against the "Labour Daily" and the reformist leaders who strove to shield Lang's complicity in the wage-reducing "Premiers' Plan." Articles written in popular language exposed the "Socialisation of Credit" and other banking "theories" contained in Lang's book, "Why I Fight." Many of these articles — those against the Roosevelt Plan, for instance, would be much better were they also to expose the policy of the Labour Party, particularly the Lang Plan; to make comparisons with the anti-working-class actions of past and present Labour Governments. A weakness in our struggle against social-reformism is the paucity of information concerning the present Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania Labour Governments. Nor does our press sufficiently react to the manoeuvres and demagoguery of the Labour opposition in the State and Federal Parliaments. In the issue of August 24th appears an article entitled "A.L.P. has no programme for unemployed women." But this article omits to mention our unemployed programme.

The Party made no united front proposals to the Labour Party during the period under review, the last offer having been made in April, 1933. Publicity was given to the united front developments in France, and commencing in September, there appeared a series of instructive articles by Bela Kun on the struggle of the Communist Parties for the united front. Leads were given to build the united front around the Wonthaggi strike, and in the workplaces for the workers' demands. The fact that the *Workers' Weekly* published no articles appealing for a united front between the Com-

munist Party and the Labour Party in order to struggle for certain immediate pressing demands, indicates unclarity on precisely how the Party should struggle for the united front. The more consistently this question is raised in our press, the more energetically the Party struggles to develop united front actions with the lower organisations of the Labour Party and trade unions, the stronger will become the feeling among the reformist workers for unity of action, and the greater the pressure that will be exerted upon the reformist leaders. This will strengthen the mass struggle against the bourgeoisie, bring the Party into contact with broader masses of workers, and strengthen its influence, besides weakening the influence of the reformist leadership.

An active campaign was carried on against the State and Federal Governments' policy towards the farmers, and of their unemployed policy of work for sustenance, and of drafting the unemployed into camps. The paper dealt exceptionally well with the abortive attempts of the reformists to split the unemployed movement by forming an unemployed union. Not only were local events and struggles reported, but international events in Austria, Germany and Spain were given consideration and their class significance and the rôle played by the Party was clearly revealed. There appeared, also, extracts from Stalin's speech to the 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U., and from the debates at the 13th Plenum of the C.I., and a number of articles explaining the slogan of Soviet Power. The application of the slogan of Soviet Power to Australia was not written in a popular concrete manner. This is to be seen in the Federal election programme, where the measures are very general.

Seventy letters from worker correspondents were published during the period under review. Of these, twenty-nine dealt with workshop conditions, eleven were about the unemployed and the remainder were of a miscellaneous character. With the exception of five issues, these letters were not put under a special heading, but were scattered throughout the paper. Letters concerning conditions in industry came from a power house, two railway workshops, sugar works, several tram depôts and a number of coalmines, nearly all of which are situated in New South Wales. Not all these letters are written in a manner that would convey a clear picture of the actual conditions and feelings and struggles of the workers. The paper has not yet succeeded in organising a chain of worker correspondents, especially in the larger workshops. Worker-correspondence is not treated

as an important part of the paper, but is relegated to a subordinate position.

Questions of Party life and recruiting were given attention, on the average, in every second issue of the *Workers' Weekly*. Number one District Conference was well reported and analysed in a self-critical fashion. In connection with the expulsion of the two Trotskyists, Tripp and Kavanagh, from the Party, a series of articles exposing and arousing the whole membership against Trotskyism were published. Neither Tripp or Kavanagh received a vestige of support either in or outside the Party, their expulsion resulting in strengthening the Party and raising the political level of the membership. There were also good articles explaining organisational problems, the building of rural units and the functioning of party fractions. The paper endeavoured to initiate a socialist competition between sections for Party recruiting, the raising of finance and for 100 per cent. dues payments.

But, apart from two reports of two units signifying their willingness to participate in this competition, and an article on recruiting in the October 5th issue, there were no appeals or concrete advice on how to conduct systematic Party recruiting. Similar neglect is shown towards Marxist-Leninist education, the question of the preparation and training of cadres, of the drawing in of comrades into Party work. Progress reports from the Party organisations on their recruiting activities, factory concentration work, and on how they are overcoming difficulties and the Marxist-Leninist training of the new members should frequently appear. A good example of a new factory unit of five members is quoted. This unit meets regularly, is 100 per cent. financial and contributes two shillings weekly to the Section Committee, sells eleven dozen copies of *Soviets To-day* in the factory and has built a revolutionary trade union group and F.S.U. local, also in the factory. Many of these articles were written in a general tone. They did not deal concretely with the work of the Party.

Despite a number of difficulties, the circulation of the *Workers' Weekly* is steadily increasing. The percentage of returns has been reduced to a minimum, and it is now placed upon a sound financial basis. In connection with the Party's growing influence, there is considerable room for an increase in the paper's circulation and a further improvement also, in the political contents of the *Workers' Weekly*, to turn it into a powerful weapon of the Party's struggle for the masses.