

THE

WORKERS OF THE WORLD - UNITE!



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TWO YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR THE ANTI-FASCIST FRONT
 FRANCE - THE PEOPLE'S FRONT AND UNITED PARTY
 OF WORKING CLASS ARE TRIUMPHING IN
 SPITE OF ALL THOREZ
 CHINA - - - - - THE NEW STAGE: WAN MIN
 SPAIN - IN MEMORY OF GEORGE BROWN AND NINO
 NANETTI
 U.S.S.R. - - - - - IN MEMORY OF M. I. ULIANOVA

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CONTENTS OVERLEAF

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TWO YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR THE ANTI-FASCIST FRONT

WE all remember the enthusiasm with which our World Congress, two years ago, decided that the struggle for the formation of a united proletarian and anti-Fascist people's front was the central task of the policy of the Comintern. In the two years following this decision, the chief concern of the Comintern has been how to unite the ranks of the working class, the peasantry, all working people and all supporters of democracy, on the basis of a broad united front to fight against reaction, Fascism and war.

Two years is too short a time in which to look for *decisive victories* in such a far-reaching matter of world policy. But it is quite long enough to verify in practice the *vitality and opportuneness* of a given political slogan. The correctness of the slogan of the working-class united front and of the anti-Fascist people's front has already been tested and proved in practice in many countries. This is something that nobody can dispute but those who do not shrink from challenging obvious facts.

Two years ago it was a different matter. At that time there was no lack of "wiseacres" who were ready to believe in magic sooner than in the possibility of forming a people's front. At that time the people's front did not exist in a single country. Among the working class, it is true, one could at that time already sense in a number of countries a spontaneous urge towards unity, but France was the only country where, just before the Seventh Congress, there had been formed a real united front of the working class to which other sections of the working class were being drawn. Let us not forget in this regard the powerful demonstrations of July, 1935.

This movement in France already signalised "the beginning of a broad national people's front against Fascism." (Dimitrov.) But it was only after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, in 1936, that the people's front in France finally took shape, and that after the victory of the democratic forces at the Parliamentary elections in May, a government based on the people's front was formed.

Comrade Dimitrov, in his speeches at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, showed that, in view of the growing danger of Fascism and War, it was essential that unity of action should be established between the proletariat and the wide masses of the people. Condemning all sectarian and capitulatory tendencies, he shattered the rotten theory of "the inevitability of the victory of Fascism," pointing out that the question of defeating Fascism resolved itself into a *question of struggle*, the united

mass struggle of the working people. Addressing himself to all the millions of working people, Comrade Dimitrov spoke these words:

"Yes, comrades, the way can be barred to Fascism. This is quite possible. It depends on ourselves—the workers, the peasants, and all the working people!

"The prevention of the victory of Fascism depends *first* and foremost on the militant activity of the working class itself, on its rallying its forces into a united militant army which will fight against the offensive of capital and Fascism

"It depends, *in the second place*, on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, which will correctly lead the struggle of the working people against Fascism

"It depends, *in the third place*, on the correctness of the policy of the working class towards the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeois masses.

"It depends, *fourthly*, on the vigilance and promptitude of action of the revolutionary proletariat."

The revolutionary workers of France showed in practice that they realised the importance of the policy of the people's front as the chief condition for preventing the growth and victory of Fascism.

They soon succeeded in extending the united proletarian front which had come into being in the sphere of the political struggle to the sphere of the economic struggle as well. They soon succeeded in achieving trade union unity. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, it was still necessary for Comrade Dimitrov to warn the French comrades against forgetting "the organisational weakness of the French working-class movement which facilitates the success of the Fascist offensive," but once unity had been achieved, the French trade unions developed with amazing rapidity into the strongest trade union army of any of the capitalist countries, an army of five millions. This army provides a strong proletarian basis on which the anti-Fascist people's front is developing successfully in France, on the initiative of the Communist Party.

The people's front has saved France from Fascist barbarism. The people's front has enabled millions of workers and office employees to defend themselves against the onslaught of capital and to obtain higher wages. It won a shortening of the working week and brought about the passing of social legislation, which had been practically non-existent in France. The people's front also brought some aid to the French peasants. These results are, of course, only a beginning, but one fact is absolutely clear: *without* the people's front, the working people of France not only would have failed to obtain any help or any protection from the State, but on the contrary,

the reactionary bourgeoisie, with the aid of Fascism, would have deprived them of all their rights, ruthlessly trampled their interests underfoot, and brutally suppressed their organisations and their movement. Without the people's front, the French people would have suffered the same cruel fate as the German people.

The indisputable successes of the people's front in France do not at all mean that the Fascist menace has been overcome in that country. For it is on Fascism that Big Business is relying, while increasing its intrigues and utilising the fact that the most important measures provided for in the programme of the people's front to ward off the Fascist menace—in particular the banning of the Fascist organisations, and the purging of the Army and the State machine from violent reactionaries and Fascists—have not yet been carried out. The French system of taxation, which weighs so heavily on the working population, has still not been overhauled; on the contrary, a whole series of new burdens have been imposed on the people, although obviously the task of strengthening the people's front demands the policy that "the rich be made to pay." The constant financial intrigues of the reactionary bourgeoisie against the Government and the people also show that the people's front has a stubborn fight to wage against reaction and Fascism.

It cannot be otherwise, for the entire purpose of the people's front is to carry this fight to a victorious finish.

If the reactionary bourgeoisie in France succeeded in bringing about the resignation of the first Government which emerged from the people's front, they did so because this Government would not work consistently and resolutely to carry out the historic mission of the people's front. The half-heartedness and the indecision of the Blum Government were shown both in their Spanish policy and in the carrying out of the programme of the people's front. The new Chautemps Government is also a government basing itself on the people's front, but its fate depends on how far it will act resolutely in carrying out the programme of the people's front.

The French Communist Party is acting rightly in loyally supporting the Chautemps Government, as it supported the Blum Government, while at the same time never ceasing to combat those tendencies within the people's front (the Right elements of the Radical and Socialist Parties) which are aiming at a return to a coalition government of the old type. It is obvious that a government of this kind, having no mass basis, and owing its existence purely to parliamentary combinations, would inevitably pave the way for a Right reactionary government and facilitate the victory of Fascism.

In order to prevent a turn of affairs so favourable

to Fascism, an unceasing struggle must be carried on to consolidate the people's front to the maximum degree, both politically and organisationally, and two-fold vigilance observed with regard to those elements which are endeavouring to disrupt the people's front from within, to those forces which are doing everything to bring about the formation of a government which shall not be based on the people's front and shall not be bound by the programme of the people's front.

* * * *

In Spain, more clearly even than in France, the people's front is acting as the saviour of the people from Fascist barbarism.

At the time of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the Spanish people were absolutely defenceless under the rule of the capitalists and landowners. The Fascists had already penetrated into the Government, but the working class had not as yet overcome the after-effects of the defeat they had suffered in the battles of the previous year (the chief organ of the Communist Party, for instance, had to be published illegally).

At the beginning of 1936, during the election campaign, an anti-Fascist people's front was formed on the initiative of the Spanish C.P. This took the form of workers' and peasants' alliances, and was the decisive step which led to the victory of the supporters of the democratic Republic at the February elections to the Cortes. The forces of reaction and Fascism lost their support in the Government, and so, acting at the dictates of German and Italian Fascism, they secretly planned a rebellion against the lawful Government of the Republic, which had the support of the great majority of the people. Herein lay their weakness, and this was immediately revealed at the outbreak of the revolt in July, and enabled the masses of the people in Madrid, Barcelona, and a great part of Spain, unprepared and very poorly armed as they were, to crush the revolt of the generals' detachments which were armed to the teeth.

This began the heroic stage of the anti-Fascist people's front in Spain. In accordance with the military revolutionary situation in Spain, the Government of the people's front is leading the fight of the Spanish people against Fascism. The rich experience acquired in Spain, both at the fronts and in the rear of the struggle conducted by the people against the Fascists and interventionists, is of incalculable importance for the entire international anti-Fascist movement. At the same time, valuable experience has been acquired in Spain in the fight to overcome the internal difficulties of the people's front, particularly the half-way policy and indecision of the Government of the people's front. The difficulties

which were created by Largo Caballero and his followers, while the previous Government was in office, are no secret. The grave mistakes in military policy countenanced by them actually assisted the advance of the Fascist troops. Largo Caballero fought long and stubbornly against the formation of a regular people's army and the introduction of compulsory military service, hurling the sectarian reproach against the Communists that they were "restoring the old army." He fought against the formation of a single command in the army and against the cleaning out of patently treacherous officers from the staff. Blindly trusting in their advice, he even opposed the erection of fortifications around Madrid, when the Fascist troops were approaching the city. He neglected to ensure order in the rear, where bandits from Franco's Fifth Column, including Trotskyists and all sorts of lawless elements, were active. Instead, he devoted his energies to a factional struggle against the Communists, even going so far as to weaken the fighting capacity of the people's army, of which the Communists already were the backbone, especially on the central front.

Thus it turned out that a government, the head of which was incapable of grasping the decisive importance of the people's front, and who placed his own factional interests above the interests of the general anti-Fascist struggle, could not create the necessary conditions for victory. The change of government undoubtedly improved the leadership of the national struggle. In spite of the considerably increased numbers of Italian and German interventionist troops in Spain, the heroic Republican units succeeded on practically all fronts, not only in repelling the enemy's offensive with increased vigour, but also in undertaking energetic and successful counter-attacks.

The internal difficulties of the people's front in Spain, however, are still far from being disposed of. The necessary replacement of Largo Caballero's Government was accompanied by the refusal of the Anarchist Ministers to hold office, these preferring Caballero's factional struggle against the Communists to a united, solid and consistent struggle against the Fascists. The central leadership of the Anarchist trade unions refused to support the new Government and dallies on the one hand with the group belonging to the "insulted" Caballero and, on the other hand, with the Trotskyists, the ill-disguised agents of Franco.

This irresponsible conduct on the part of a number of Anarchist leaders is no accident, as neither was their struggle against the formation of a disciplined regular people's army, the introduction of a single command, and the maintenance of order in the rear. It is characteristic also that while Socialists like Caballero underestimated the role of the peasantry as a necessary ally of the proletariat, the Anarchist

Committees in the villages, by their methods of compulsory collectivisation, directly stirred up the peasantry against the proletariat. In a whole series of negative steps of this kind, the typical duality of Anarchism revealed itself with definite clarity—more clearly than ever before: on the one hand, its ultra-radical anti-capitalist programme and, on the other, a practical policy of disorganisation, which is a menace, not to capitalism and to Fascism, but to the struggle of the workers and working people generally.

Fortunately, this practical policy of the Anarchists soon betrayed its own utter bankruptcy, as the experience of Spain has shown. Gradually the Anarchist leadership has been obliged to retreat from its incorrect line. The overwhelming majority of the rank and file Anarchist workers, guided by their class instinct, have long since found the right way—to fight side by side with the other workers, united and unyielding, against their Fascist enemies. The majority of the Anarchist trade unions are solidly behind the people's front. It is to be hoped that the central leadership of the Anarchist organisations, too, will finally join the solid militant united front of the proletariat and all the anti-Fascist forces.

The Spanish people's front is now well-enough steeled to be able to face the difficulties ahead without fear, and not to flinch before any danger.

The idea of the people's front has found supporters everywhere, and in the majority of countries one can already see the beginnings of a people's front movement or at least the germs of this movement.

The position is weakest in the Fascist countries like *Germany and Italy*. It is true that here conditions are difficult, since they do not admit of an *open* anti-Fascist movement. But it is wrong to say that these countries have lacked the pre-conditions for a people's front. The mass basis of Fascism has become narrowed; discontent is spreading among increasingly broad sections of the oppressed masses of the people not only the working population, but even the middle class, while great numbers of conscious anti-Fascists of all trends of opinion are filled with deep hatred of the Fascist Government. All this feeling exists, but there is no vital effort at *uniting* all the forces of the people against Fascist oppression. Efforts are being made to establish anti-Fascist unity of action among the *emigrants*. A united front agreement exists between the Communist and Socialist Parties of Italy, but this agreement operates more among Italians in France and Spain than in Italy itself. There is also a "Committee for the Preparation of a German People's Front," but its activities are almost exclusively confined to work among emigrés. This obviously will not lead anywhere. The anti-Fascist refugee forces can, of course, render valuable service

to the development of the people's front movement, but their work should be of an auxiliary character, while the *centre* of the work of developing the people's front should function in Germany itself, in the heart of the many millions of people who daily feel the cursed yoke of Fascist slavery.

Whereas in the countries of bourgeois democracy the task of the people's front is to prevent Fascism from coming to power—in the Fascist countries, on the other hand, the aim of the people's front is to overthrow Fascism which is actually in power, and uses all State methods of force to crush every open anti-Fascist movement at its very inception, before it has time to develop and gain strength. Hence it is obvious that the forms and slogans natural to the people's front movement, say in France, are not at all suitable to Germany. In Hitler Germany, specially appropriate forms and slogans must be found. Since it is impossible to start the movement by coming out in the open, then, besides carrying on illegal agitation and establishing semi-legal contacts, legal forms of movements must be tried, forms which *bear no resemblance* to the anti-Fascist movement (and, above all, not to the French people's front), but which will gradually lead the masses to opposition and resistance to the policy of the Fascist Government.

Obviously the supporters in Germany of the idea of the people's front have not yet mastered this initial point. But they must do so, otherwise the result will be not a people's front movement, but utterly useless attempts, not devoid of danger, at imitating the French movement.

The demand that the policy of the people's front be correctly adapted to specific conditions applies, of course, not only to the Fascist countries. "In every country," said Comrade Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress, "it is necessary to investigate, study, and find out the peculiarly national features Fascism takes, and plan effective methods and forms of struggle accordingly to fight Fascism." Knowing that this in practice is a difficult task, requiring special care, Comrade Dimitrov lashed out against those comrades who, "suffering from mental sloth, instead of a detailed and careful study of the *concrete* situation and relation of class forces, indulge in general formulas which mean nothing."

The experience of two years has everywhere confirmed the great importance of this demand for the most careful application of the policy of the people's front in accordance with the specific conditions in the different countries. It has turned out in a number of countries that even where a fully correct concrete form of the movement, or a correct slogan, has been found, we must not give ourselves over to "mental sloth," but have a keen eye to changing circumstances so as correspondingly to supplement or replace the old forms and slogans by new ones.

Thus, for instance, in the *U.S.A.* it has latterly proved necessary to combine the work for the formation of a workers' and farmers' party, which was laid down by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern as the specific form the people's front should take in America, with the simultaneous development of the progressive movements connected with the Democratic Party. Why? Because account had to be taken of the requirements of the situation which had arisen as a result of several important events such as: the very extensive movement of the masses of the people in connection with the presidential elections, in support of the candidature of Roosevelt against the reactionary candidate; the great strike wave which followed; and the springing up of a new progressive trade union movement (led by the Committee of Industrial Organisation) which is politically close to the Left Wing of the Democratic Party. Thus the great mass of the progressive and radical elements which can already be drawn into the anti-fascist people's front movement are supporters of the Democratic Party and are unwilling to break with it. The people's front movement would isolate itself from these masses if we were now to insist that the workers' and farmers' party should be the *only* form of this movement.

In *England* the slogan of forming a people's front government has lately won some popularity among progressive Liberal and Left-wing Labourites. Obviously, however, the conditions for this are not yet ripe in England. Although there, too, a differentiation is developing in the ranks of the old parties, this process is still far from having led to such a new alignment of class forces as is necessary for the formation of a real people's front. There is not as yet in England the necessary solidarity in the ranks of the working class, which will play here a bigger role in the formation of a people's front than did the working class in France. But one can have in view at the present time in England a struggle to procure such a majority of Labourites and other democratic and progressive elements in Parliament as would enable the reactionary "National Government" to be replaced by another Government which would carry out a really democratic programme both in its home and foreign policy. Such a line would undoubtedly be in accordance with the vital interests of the working people and the great majority of the English people. The Labour Party, of course, is the deciding factor in this matter. But its Right leadership (Bevin, Citrine and Dalton), who are actually co-operating with the "National Government" and working, not to unite, but to split the working class, will scarcely adopt such a course unless great pressure is exerted by the mass organisations of the Labour Party.

In a number of other countries, experience has

shown that even where the supporters of the people's front are still inconsiderable in number, the vigorous struggle of the C.P. on the basis of the people's front has had a perceptible influence on the parties of its opponents; it has hastened the process of differentiation in their ranks, it has made co-operation with the Fascists difficult for many Conservative and agrarian parties, or even split such parties away from the Fascist camp, and has prevented Socialist Parties and Left petty-bourgeois parties from capitulating to reaction, etc. It has frequently happened that the slogans or arguments put forward by the C.P. were at first rejected and scoffed at by the entire Socialist and Left bourgeois press, to be taken up later and repeated in the same press as self-evident truths (in Czechoslovakia, for instance, where Henlein is described as the "Czechoslovakian Franco").

In general, the logic of things is such that the cause of the people's front is frequently furthered by the very actions of its conscious opponents, much, of course, against their will. The profound vitality of the slogan of the people's front is shown in the very fact that it has to a certain degree anticipated the inevitable march of events. In Finland, for instance, the violent opponents of the people's front willy-nilly formed a democratic governmental bloc as a counter to the reactionary Fascist bloc, thereby opening the way for the development of the people's front movement. It is not surprising that the political police there see traces of the people's front behind every street corner. In Japan, the situation is even more delicate: there, the conception of the people's front became such a "dangerous idea" that the Government has felt obliged to ban the very mention of the term in the entire press. So that if a Fascist journalist wants to abuse the people's front, he must not mention it by name, as the very term is dangerous to the existing order. . . .

Finally, the struggle for the people's front has proved in all the capitalist countries to be the best school for our Communist Parties in learning to master the tasks of working among the masses. We need only consider the amazingly rapid and manifold development of the French and Spanish C.P.s in the model school of the people's front. And it is not they alone who have developed—we have all learned a lot and will learn still more.

The policy of the people's front teaches our Parties not to fight for dead formulas, but for the vital interests of the working masses. It teaches them also successfully to defend the needs of the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, which are in harmony with the basic interests of the proletariat. It has already taught them to give up their ignoring of and contemptuous attitude to the various organisations and parties of these sections of the working population, who are allies of the working class. It has taught

them also to come closer to the honest, really progressive intelligentsia who stand for the defence of liberty and culture against reaction and Fascist barbarism.

The policy of the people's front really teaches us Communists to weld ourselves inseparably to the millions of working people and, as Comrade Dimitrov said, "to sail the stormy waters of the class struggle," and not remain on the shore "as spectators and recorders of the oncoming waves, in the expectation of good weather." But at the same time it teaches us to grasp still better the leading role of the working class, the only class which remains revolutionary to the end, and all the vast importance of the *unity of the working class* for the successful development of the anti-Fascist people's front. The experience of two years has fully borne out the statement that "the united front of the proletariat and the anti-Fascist people's front are bound together by the *living dialectic of struggle*, become interwoven, and merge each into the other in the process of the practical struggle against Fascism." The united front of the proletariat is the backbone of the people's front, and the people's front in turn is a most powerful factor in welding the ranks of the working-class movement—the political and trade union movements alike.

In the light of this two years' experience of the proletarian united front and the anti-Fascist people's front, what a sorry plight those "Left" croakers find themselves in who raised the outcry after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, that "the Comintern has abandoned its revolutionary principles," that "the Communist Parties have become reformist parties," "have renounced their independence," etc., etc. How these petty calumniators have disgraced themselves in face of the powerfully increased independent strength of the Communist Movement! The hysterical rage of the Fascist bourgeoisie against the Comintern testifies not only to the strength and revolutionary character of our fight, but also to the bankruptcy of the "Leftist" windbags.

All the successes of the people's front have been won in spite of the sabotage of the Leftist croakers.

The successes of the united and people's front won by the Communist Parties are inseparably bound up with the struggle against the wreckers of the working-class movement—the Trotskyist agents of Fascism. Communists, Socialists, and all supporters of the people's front of democracy and peace must henceforth as well bear firmly in mind that the unmasking of Trotskyist disorganisers, wreckers, spies and warmongers is a necessary condition for carrying on the anti-Fascist struggle and achieving successes for the people's front.

To drive out the Trotskyist wreckers from the ranks of the working-class movement is the task of all who wish to bar the way to Fascist barbarism.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern also indicated the line of the *anti-imperialist united front* in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The decision adopted by the Congress on this question is of extremely important international significance just now.

Japanese imperialism has begun its long-prepared general drive against China. It is threatening to seize the whole of China, to torture and slay hundreds of thousands of Chinese, and enslave the entire Chinese nation of 400 million people. Never was there a more barefaced, more criminal war of plunder in the history of all the disgraceful colonial wars waged by the capitalist Powers.

The great Chinese people, though poorly armed, are rising bravely in defence of their country, their freedom, their national existence. This cause is the cause of the whole nation, and no one but a traitor can stand apart from the common front for defending the fatherland from the brutal imperialist aggressor! This is in fact an anti-imperialist national front—a much broader thing than the anti-Fascist people's front.

The Chinese C.P. two years ago already had adopted the policy of forming the broadest possible united front against Japanese imperialism, for the invasion of Chinese territory by the Japanese usurpers began in 1931. But the appeals of the C.P. to the Kuomintang produced no results up to 1937. It is only in the last few months and especially in these last weeks that considerable progress has been made in this respect.

The C.P. proposes first of all that constant co-operation be established between the Kuomintang, the C.P. and all other anti-Japanese political organisations, on the basis of an agreement to join in a common struggle for the purpose of resisting Japan and saving the fatherland, all partners to the agreement to preserve their political and organisa-

tional independence; the formation of an all-China Government (by reorganising the Nanking Government) and a single Republic embracing all China; the mobilisation of all military units and the formation of an all-China united anti-Japanese army; the general mobilisation and arming of the whole Chinese people.

As we see, the programme of the anti-imperialist national united front drawn up by the Chinese C.P. means a tremendous change in the policy of this glorious Party. Such a daring change of policy is, of course, fraught with great difficulties and danger, and the C.P. of China is acting rightly in not being afraid of them. This is the only way it can bring all its leading strength into action in the fight against Japanese imperialism. Only in this way can it now form the closest contact with the main masses of the working people and successfully continue its work to better their position and to achieve Socialism.

The Japanese proletariat is now assuming a more responsible and at the same time a more difficult place in the fight against the robber war of Japanese imperialism in China. But it is not alone in being responsible for this fight. This is the affair of *the entire international proletariat*. To-day it is not only the Spanish people who are entitled to appeal to us to fulfil our obligations of international solidarity, but so also are the *Spanish people and the Chinese*.

* * * *

The people's front movement against Fascism and war, despite all difficulties, is forging ahead, proceeding along different lines and assuming diverse forms according to the particular conditions and position of the working-class movement in the different countries. No force will be able to halt this movement, for it answers the vital interests of millions of people, and facilitates the advance of the working class and the whole of progressive mankind along the road to liberation from Fascist barbarism, wars of conquest, and capitalist slavery.

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT AND UNITED PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS ARE TRIUMPHING IN SPITE OF ALL*

M. THOREZ.

COMRADES! The discussion which has taken place at this enlarged plenary session of the C.C. on the informative report of Comrade Jacques Duclos, does great honour to our Communist Party and the working people.

With what seriousness, depth of analysis, confidence in their judgments and conclusions all the comrades who have followed each other on this platform have spoken and displayed their unanimity in thought and action. What clear proof this is of the depth to which our Party is rooted among the masses of the people of France, whose representatives have come here to tell of their conditions and their sentiments, and to remind us of their needs, hopes and desires!

What then, are the sentiments of our people at the present time as expressed here at this plenum?

THE LOYALTY OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE TO THE PEOPLE'S FRONT.

The dominant sentiment is a profound, conscious, powerful attachment to the People's Front, a sentiment, however, which is beginning more and more to reveal a certain tinge of disquiet.

Where are we going, the workers and peasants of France are asking themselves, if we continue to move away from the general economic and financial home and foreign policy approved and confirmed by us in May 1936, from the programme presented to us by the parties and groups united in the People's Front?

There is not the slightest doubt that the working masses of our country *still* remain attached to the People's Front; and the numerous elections have proved this, as well as demonstrations like those of June 26 at the Place du Nation, and of July 14 in Paris and throughout the country. The explanation of this is that the People's Front has improved the living conditions of all sections of the working people; that it has maintained and extended democratic liberties; that despite certain disappointments, the

condition of the country and the working masses is better now than during the so-called governments of national concentration, which pursued the policy of Big Business, the policy of oppressing the French people.

The workers and peasants of France are confident that their alliance can and must secure to the workers and peasants new advantages, both material and political; that it can and must secure the economic revival of the country; that it can and must be successful in securing the salvation of democracy and peace.

It is precisely in stating the gains achieved as a result of the People's Front, in stating the possibilities inherent in the People's Front, that there is born a feeling of alarm for the future, because the ministerial crisis which follows concessions and retreats, can and is bound to cause the people to fear that reaction is capable of forcing a return to the past.

It is only too well known that though the reactionaries were beaten on the election arena in May 1936, they have never to this day ceased to exert every effort to bring defeat to the People's Front, to defeat the programme of social justice, liberty and peace.

It is only too well known that the big industrialists only reluctantly submitted to the social legislation, that they have systematically violated it, going even as far as sabotage in the enterprises, regardless of the interests of the country.

The working class who are more and more identifying their own material and political interests with the cause of democracy, the cause of the Republic, are beginning increasingly to understand that the development of the productive forces of the country is one of the conditions of progress and of the maintenance of the gains won in the sphere of social legislation. At the same time the big industrialists are refusing to bring about the necessary improvements and modernisation in technique, are refusing to make the further capital investments required by the new methods of production, and are behaving in an increasingly provocative fashion. They are forcing the workers to resort to strikes in defence of holidays with pay, the 40-hour working week and the collective agreements which are systematically violated. In this connection, we would like to advise the working class not to fall into the net spread for

* Speech delivered by Comrade Maurice Thorez at the enlarged plenary session of the C.C. of the Communist Party of France on July 23, 1937. Published in "L'Humanité," July 25, 1937.

them by the forces of reaction, not to allow themselves to be provoked into isolated battles. (Applause.)

So as not to become empty-sounding doctrinaires, divorced from reality, we must not allow the working class to become isolated.

What is more, we must, especially in the coming weeks and months avoid a two-fold danger: on the one hand, passivity, which would consist in rejecting the struggle to maintain the advantages gained and, on the other hand, we must avoid hysterical gestures in the form of strikes by minorities of particular categories of workers. (Applause.)

We must not only strengthen the positions of the working class, but also ensure its alliance with the working people of the middle classes, with the rural masses of France.

As you well remember, this line was approved by you at our Party conference held in July of last year in Huyghens.

This policy was confirmed by our Party alone, because it alone had the courage to come forward with the slogans: "Everything cannot be obtained at once," and "We must know how to stop the strike as soon as the chief demands of the working class are satisfied."

And it was only for the sake of this solicitude about the unity and cohesion of the People's Front that we smiled when we saw the nervousness of irresponsible adventurists, and at the same time turned to those who hold the fate of our country in their hands, and declared: all the severity of the law must fall on those who are at present violating it with impunity. (Applause.)

And a whole year has passed since the financial oligarchy, the big banks and trusts have been engaged in a systematic attack on the People's Front, and, we must admit, not without success. They brought intolerable pressure to bear upon the Chamber of Deputies and the first government to come to power as a result of the victory of the People's Front; they positively blackmailed it.

THE REBEL LEAGUES CONTINUE THEIR PROVOCATIVE WORK.

Parallel with this counter-offensive in the economic and social field, the leagues which were dissolved on paper but have been restored in actual fact, and have stores of arms at their disposal, have been conducting their foul work throughout the country to divide the people, to instigate civil war.

It is extremely important to stress the point that the less chances the reactionaries have of an election victory by legal and constitutional means with the help of the universal suffrage entrusted to us by our forefathers, the more do the real and seeming breaches among the reactionary groupings manifest themselves and the more are the most aggressive circles of big

capital, of the big bourgeoisie inclined to resort to forcible and bloody methods of brutal terror, to the Fascist methods from which the peoples of Germany and Italy are already suffering so much.

Have we not, for several months already, been witness to the repetition of criminal assaults on the one hand by a renegade from our Party, and on the other by the leader of a band of cut-throats* by the president of a new party which is fundamentally the old Croix-de-Feu organisation—criminal attempts in Pussey, Chateaurenard, bloody conflicts in Marseilles, bloody night provocations in Clichy?

Is it not a regular thing for us to learn of the discovery of new stores of arms at different points in the country? And our people know of the conditions which frequently bestow such a dramatic character on our efforts to save the People's Front. Our people are aware that there must be an end to the policy of concessions and retreat, because to depart from the People's Front means to encourage reaction and Fascism in their struggle against the people; this means to allow reaction to dictate conditions harmful to the interests of the working people, harmful to the cause of peace and liberty.

The people realise that only unity—unity of action of all the forces united in the People's Front for the purpose of fulfilling the programme of the People's Front resolutely and firmly, can ensure successful resistance to the offensive of reaction and Fascism; only unity can render it possible to consolidate and extend the fruits of the May victory; only unity can render it possible to continue or rather renew our gradual advance in the field of the struggle for bread, liberty and peace.

Ensure the cohesion of the People's Front and the fulfilment of its programme.

The formula of the Communist Party, the one that is our supreme law namely: "All for the People's Front, all through the People's Front," has become the slogan of all sincere champions of the great cause for which we pledged ourselves to obtain victory in the solemn oath taken on July 14, 1935.

Our Party is proud of the fact that it was the initiator of the People's Front in the struggle for bread, liberty and peace. Since the Ivory Party conference in June 1934, which advanced the slogans: "Unity of action between Communist and Socialist brothers, at all costs." "Support for the efforts towards trade-union unity at all costs." "An alliance between the working class and the middle class working people at all costs," every big meeting of our Party has without a break urged forward the cause of unity.

* This is a reference to Doriot the renegade-Fascist, and De La Rocque, the Fascist leader.

The present Plenary Session of the Central Committee must formulate proposals, draw up and present for discussion to our friends and allies, a plan of action enabling us on this occasion as well to justify the hopes of the masses.

Our first great task is to ensure the solidarity of the People's Front. Comrade Nedelec has made a proposal which the Political Bureau asks the Central Committee to discuss. He advances the idea of the convening of a National Congress of People's Front committees. It would be a good thing, and Duclos in his report mentioned the fact, if these committees of the People's Front were to be elected from below on a democratic basis.

But even as they are composed at present, even if we bear in mind that very often these committees include representatives of organisations which have hardly a few thousand members throughout the country and possess equal rights with such an organisation, for example, as the powerful General Confederation of Labour with its five million membership—even if we allow such an extremely incorrect relation of forces, the idea of convening a wide national congress of the People's Front committees should be discussed and proposed by our Central Committee. The convening of such a congress would be of great importance for our policy, for our policy of rendering firm support to the present government under the leadership of the radicals, for the realisation of the programme of the People's Front. (Applause.)

What would be the agenda of such a congress, which would be discussed in advance by the rank and file committees and be widely discussed by the delegates they elect to the national congress? To find ways and means of ensuring the realisation of the programme of the People's Front approved by the electors, with a view thus to rendering the government support against the resistance of the capitalist oligarchy.

Much is being said about the further extension of the programme. In this connection I must repeat that there are no measures too radical, in the literal sense of the word, for our Communist Party. We are fighting to build a new society, to reorganise the industrial system in such a way that there are placed into the hands of the community all the tremendous wealth, the fruits of the labour of the people—the wealth which to-day is in the clutches of a parasitical minority which dooms the working masses to poverty, whereas we could guarantee the French people abundance in labour. And as Duclos has already said in his report, we are on no account opposed to the nationalisation of certain branches of the national economy such as the railways and insurance companies.

Nationalisation figures in the programme of all or

almost all the groups or parties embraced by the People's Front. In the programme of certain parties it has already figured for half a century. Incidentally, it often happens that it is talked about chiefly on the eve of an electoral struggle after which people try not to remember its existence during the whole term of office of the given parliament.

This goes to show—and I want to stress this as well—that the main thing is not the drawing up of new paper programmes. The main thing is the realisation of the programme already adopted. (Applause.)

We consider it necessary to declare that the difficulties which the People's Front has come up against in the past, that it is meeting now and will continue to meet in the future, that the failures of the preceding government did not result from any lack of the most radical, most revolutionary measures in the programme. By no means!

The cause of the partial defeat we have sustained lies in the fact that the measures outlined in the programme of the People's Front were not operated. (Applause.) This refers, as Duclos has already pointed out, to financial measures like fiscal identity cards or a more democratic, more fundamental fiscal reform, or measures against the flight of capital abroad.

This also refers, in the sphere of the defence of the People's liberties, to measures providing for the effective disarmament and dissolution of the leagues and for increasing the republican spirit in the higher administrative bodies, in the police and the army.

Incidentally, comrades, what guarantees have we, even if we have a more resolute programme on paper, that we shall not, in a few months' time be asked to agree to a pause as was the case when we had a much more modest programme? I repeat, we are fully prepared to discuss such additions as will be recognised as necessary by all the parties and groups now belonging to the People's Front, but the real guarantee that the programme will be carried out, it seems to me, lies in a government built up on the lines of, and similar to the People's Front and backed up by the masses of the people. (Applause.)

And from this point of view the Central Committee will undoubtedly agree to confirm its previous declaration to the effect that we are prepared, when necessary, if our friends and allies deem it necessary, to undertake a share of the responsibility in such a government. The main thing is unity in the work of the People's Front itself.

We Communists have never regarded the People's Front as an electoral, purely parliamentary, operation, as fortuitous tactics—you remember our Congress at Villeurbanne; no, we regard it as the policy which corresponds to the present and future interests of our people, as an organisation of the masses themselves

operating in a legal framework and finding its normal, legal and constitutional expression in the shape of parliament and the government.

Our solicitude for the Unity of the People's Front.

It is precisely our solicitude for the unity of the People's Front that makes us rejoice so sincerely and without reservations at every display of unity which emanates from various parties and groupings of the People's Front, and moves us to regret splitting manoeuvres, wherever they may take place, directed towards dividing these groups or parties of the People's Front.

We are glad when the great Radical Party is able, on the basis of unity in its ranks, to confirm a policy which answers the profound hopes of the peasants and small middle-class people who have, till now, trusted the Radical Party.

We are glad when our fraternal Socialist Party creates the preconditions for unity, and what is more we wish it, in this respect to assist in achieving increasingly closer unity of action between the Communists and Socialists.

We are glad when the League of the Rights of Man confirms its loyalty to the principles of liberty and peace, which lie at the basis of its statutes, and un-masks the low, foul intrigues of overt or covert enemies of the People's Front, or the enemies of its Communist ally, which is so loyal to the People's Front.

We are happy when, the former members of the General Confederation of Labour and the Unitarian Confederation of Labour, strong in their unity achieved in the ranks of the united General Confederation of Labour, now draw millions of trade unionists into the economic struggle and into the struggle for liberty and peace. We issue a warning against the crafty plans of the reactionaries who are anxious to call forth an open armed struggle in the ranks of the C.G.T. between brothers who have become reconciled and united around Jouheaux, Frachon and the other members of the Executive Committee of the Confederation.

It is in the spirit of this passionate desire for unity that the Central Committee must determine the second big task of our party.

As the members of the Central Committee and secretaries of regional committees have declared here, we must take a rapid and resolute step in the direction of creating a united party of the working class. This is the opinion of the Political Bureau, and it asks the Central Committee to adopt a decision to this effect.

The successes already achieved thanks to unity of action, and, on the other hand, the difficulties we have been meeting in the course of last year, have made the desire for complete unity, which inspires both the

Communist and Socialist workers, much more alive, more ardent, and more imperative.

Do not our Spanish brothers, Socialists and Communists by their example make it an obligation on us rapidly to take the road of complete unity?

We have had the great honour and tremendous joy of welcoming on our platform Comrade Del Vayo, representative of Republican Spain at the League of Nations, and, at the same time, one of the leaders of the Socialist Party who is working sincerely and successfully for the complete fusion of the Communist and Socialist parties of Spain. (Applause.)

A UNITED PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS MUST BE CREATED.

It is quite evident, that if we join forces and create a united party of the working class, we shall be in a stronger position to beat back the attacks of reaction, to defend the interests of the working class and all working people.

It is quite evident, that the result of unity will be not only to unite the forces which have been dis-united hitherto, but will also be to increase their number manyfold at the expense of the unorganised, indifferent, wavering workers, or even of those now under hostile influences whom the great movement for unity will draw into the struggle for liberty and peace.

But it is quite clear, as Comrade Tournemaine said, that the working class does not understand why it is that what was possible in the trade union sphere turns out to be so difficult or, as some declare, even impossible, in the political field.

The Marseilles Congress of the Socialist Party adopted a resolution of which I will give one excerpt:

"The Socialist Party will continue to strive for organisational unity, to the principle of which it has always been loyal, and which will become possible of realisation as soon as the contracting parties agree to proclaim:

'Democracy throughout the organisation';

'The sovereignty of national and international congresses';

'Independence of the Party from all governments.'"

And so, after Duclos, I want to repeat that such a basis, in our opinion facilitates to an extraordinary degree the unification of the Communist and Socialist Parties that is so much desired and is so extremely necessary. (Applause.)

"DEMOCRACY THROUGHOUT THE ORGANISATION."

The draft plan of conciliation and agreement for the creation of a united party of the proletariat, as presented by us on December 29, 1935, and which was the result of the primary proposal of May, 29, 1935, says:

"The united party of the proletariat is based upon democratic centralism; its policy is determined at Con-

gresses by all its members; the leading organs are elected by general assemblies at the congresses, and are obliged to report back periodically to their electors about their activities."

As we understand it and undoubtedly as our socialist comrades understand it: "Democracy throughout the organisation" must mean if a congress is necessary to decide the question of creating a government led by members of this united party it is also necessary to convene a congress to solve the question of its resignation, if it still enjoys confidence on the basis of universal suffrage, and that it cannot violate a decision adopted by resigning. (Applause.)

For example, our parliamentary group was confronted on June 15th with particularly difficult and complicated problems.

And the Central Committee alone which, according to our statutes is the highest authority and possesses full powers in the interim between congresses, was able, within the bounds set by the decisions of the Villeurbanne Congress, to draw up a declaration announcing the possibility of our participation in a strengthened People's Front Government and created on the lines of the People's Front.

"THE SOVEREIGNTY OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES."

As regards the sovereignty of national and international congresses, we, comrades, are as much in agreement with you as it is possible to be!

Our draft says:

"Decisions adopted after an absolutely free discussion of questions, are binding for all."

"The united party of the proletariat conscientiously operates the decisions adopted by international congresses."

This means that in the future the possibility will be excluded of repeating the scandalous fact of the Tours Congress* when the minority refused to subordinate itself to the rightfully adopted decisions of the congress after a discussion freely conducted in all organisations, sections and federations of the party.

If our young members will acquaint themselves with the minutes of the Tours Congress, they will see how one after another the delegates at Tours voted, three quarters of them being in favour of our party affiliating to the Communist International. (Applause.)

The sovereignty of national and international congresses and, of course, it goes without saying, of the supreme international authorities, means, that to-day, when the Communist International and the Labour and Socialist International confirm the identity of their views as regards the defence of peace and support

* The congress of the Socialist Party in Tours took place in December 1920. The majority of the congress affiliated to the Communist International. It was then that the Communist Party of France was formed.—Ed.

for republican Spain, the French socialists and communists should fight in unison for the lifting of the blockade of republican Spain, for the withdrawal of the fascist troops encroaching on the independence of the Spanish people and creating a menace to international peace, for freedom of trade for Spain and the observation of international law. (Applause.)

This means that it is impossible now for an individual member or individual organisation of the party, knowing of the sovereignty of national and international congresses, to allow himself or itself to popularise, support or defend the tragic mistake of so-called non-intervention—contrary to the decisions of the Labour and Socialist International.

INDEPENDENCE OF THE PARTY FROM ALL GOVERNMENTS.

Comrades, I said—and excuse me for quoting myself—on April 25, 1936, when speaking before the microphone on behalf of our party:

"Neither in Rome, nor Berlin, nor in any other foreign capital, and not even in Moscow, towards which we Communists do not hide our deep attachment will the fate of our people be decided: it will be decided in Paris."

It goes without saying that this independence should also be displayed—and Peri made this declaration yesterday in his splendid speech—towards the British government. (Applause.)

I even want to add that in the future, in regard to a possible government formed under the leadership of or in collaboration with members of the united party of the working class, we shall have to demand our independence, freedom of criticism, and even preliminary approval of the party, in regard to the chief measures—something which, truth to tell, has not yet been practised.

We can come to agreement on this point as well. What is more, it is absolutely clear that in respect to these principles, the communists cannot and do not make the slightest reservation, the slightest objection, so profoundly are they convinced of the need for democracy in their party, so strongly are they persuaded of the need to fulfil the sovereign decisions of national and international congresses and leading bodies, so strongly are they convinced of the need for the independence of their party in relation to all governments!

THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS CAN BE REALISED WITHOUT DELAY.

We want now to add that no considerations whatsoever can be the reason for failure to include in this united party all who accept its basic principles, its fundamental charter, who are prepared to conduct a struggle in the vanguard of the working population

under the *banner of the working class and Socialism*. Those who, after freely discussing the problems raised before the party, undertake, as behoves convinced and disciplined members, to carry into life all the decisions of the party must not be excluded from the united party of the working class.

What prospects would open up before the working class if a united party were rapidly established! How we could go ahead in realising the People's Front programme concerning the provision of pensions to aged workers, representatives of whom came here to greet the Central Committee of our Party; concerning the provision of security to the peasants in the event of natural agricultural calamities, and the other demands described by Comrade Renaud Jean, such as the introduction of a complete system of family grants, capable of protecting the French family and removing the serious menace of a falling birth rate, and of realising an effective programme of large-scale public works, as demanded by the building workers through their federation and the G.G.T.!

How strong we should become! We should then be in a position to force the rich to pay, to render the restored fascist leagues harmless, to fight more successfully for the maintenance of peace, by freeing republican Spain and carrying out in practice the theses common to the French socialists and communists!

But, comrades, we now have seriously to ask ourselves, whether it is really necessary to wait until we have finished a detailed discussion of all points of the charter, all articles of the common programme, before realising the first resolute step in the direction of unity?

Why not immediately unite all our people, all our means, all our strength, the whole of our press throughout the country?

Why not make it a step to be immediately operated for the Communist and Socialist organisations from top to bottom, from the E.C. of the Socialist Party and the C.C. of our party down to the rank and file sections, to begin henceforth coming together and jointly discussing all the questions which confront the working class and the people of our country? Why not jointly operate the decisions we shall adopt together?

It is fully possible to conceive that in the intermediary stage, socialists and communists in local groups, in united sections of the united party of the proletariat, may temporarily continue to be considered members of their respective parties and receive membership stamps from their respective treasurers. This however, will not prevent them from being constantly together at meetings, at work, in the factories and in their districts, in order to resist attacks of the reactionaries and to ensure the carrying out of the People's Front programme.

Comrades, it is easy to imagine the atmosphere

of brotherly joy that would reign in these united local groups. What a splendid prelude it would be to complete fusion! It would be possible to have discussions on theoretical and practical questions in conditions far more favourable for unity. It is easy to imagine the deep response that would be evoked in our country by this unity, which can be realised immediately, and which nothing can prevent.

This is the great idea which must emerge from the Central Committee, this is what we must propose without delay to our Socialist comrades. There is not the slightest doubt that taking account of the decisions of the Marseilles Congress of the Socialist Party, we shall be able at the forthcoming session of the conciliation committee, to come to agreement, so that the working class will be in a position to raise the banner of struggle and victory of the People's Front, the strongest hope of the French people.

THE NEW CONTRIBUTION OF OUR PARTY TO THE CAUSE OF UNITY OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

I will finish, comrades, with the proposal that you accept two decisions which supplement each other:

1. Close the ranks of the People's Front still further by proposing to our friends and allies that a national congress of the People's Front committees be convened, elected as far as possible on a democratic basis from below, and if that is not possible, then, as at present composed:

2. Unite the forces of the working class politically and without delay, by proposing to our Socialist comrades the realisation of joint organisation and work throughout the country from top to bottom beginning with the E.C. of the Socialist Party and the Central Committee of our party and ending with the rank and file organisations of both parties, socialist and communist.

The whole of our Central Committees—you yourselves can see—supports these proposals. The whole of our party—as you well know, comrades—will accept them with enthusiasm and work for their realisation.

We can say that the entire working class will welcome them as a great new contribution of the Communist Party to the cause of working class unity, to the cause of unity of the French people.

Who better than our Communist Party is capable of raising such a task and seeing to its fulfilment? For we are before all a party of unity, because we preserve in our ranks the absolute and profound unity that is based on mutual fraternal trust, and also the unshakable firmness that is based on the principles of Communism. (Applause.) No other party has at its disposal such an elite of old and young working class fighters, headed by leaders who have passed through the school of Lenin and Stalin, leaders of

whom even the very youngest have been steeled in the experiences of difficult days. No other party possesses such workers, whose absolute loyalty to the common cause is beyond all doubt. No other party can boast of such friendly collaboration with outstanding and high-minded intellectuals, scientists, writers, artists, as can our party. (Applause.) No other party can boast of such a large membership—we have 332,000 members to-day—and of such a stable organisational base in the factories, as has only just been proved by the workers, these best representatives of the working class of the Paris region—the 7,200 communists of the Renault works! No other party can boast of more hearty support from the masses of the people, headed by the working class and proletarians of Paris! No other party can boast of the confidence of a more numerous, more ardent youth, “marching towards life, towards labour and love,” marching under the

banner of communism, under the leadership of the Communist party. (Applause.)

We are the party of the working class, the flesh and blood of the French people, its proletarian vanguard with its glorious traditions. We are and will always remain the party of the youth, the party of the future, the party that will make France free, strong and happy!

In five months time, at the New Year, there will meet at Nice the Ninth Congress of our Communist Party which will be able, we are sure, to sum up the results of the work we are planning to-day.

Therefore, comrades, forward to work, to the struggle for unity, for the triumph of the People's Front, for bread, liberty and peace!

(Ovation lasting several minutes. Members of the Central Committee rise and sing the International and Marseillaise.)

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN GERMANY

By WILHELM PIECK.

THE great enthusiasm which was engendered among the masses throughout the world by Comrade Dimitrov's report at the 7th Congress of the Communist International and the Congress resolutions on the united front and the People's Front for the fight against war and fascism, was echoed by the masses of the working people in Germany. The tactics of the united front filled the masses with confidence that the fatal split of the German working class which facilitated the victory of fascism would be overcome, and unity of action for the overthrow of the barbaric fascist dictatorship would be accomplished. The great success of the united and People's Front in Spain and France exercised great influence in this direction.

But, unfortunately the cause of proletarian unity of action and of the People's Front came up against vigorous resistance on the part of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany which looked on the tactics of the united front as a manoeuvre of the Communists designed to draw away the Social-Democratic workers from their leaders and to win them for the Communist Party. The fruitful results of the joint work between the Communists and Socialists in France and Spain led finally to a noticeable change in the attitude of a number of Social-Democratic leaders to the tactics of the united front and the People's Front; they became ready to enter into conversations with the Communists. Nevertheless it must be said that the majority of the Central

Committee of the Social Democratic Party—the Wels group—has been completely unaffected by this change.

After the 7th Congress of the Comintern and the Brussels Conference of the Communist Party of Germany, conversations were held in November, 1935, in Paris and Prague between the Communists and some of the leaders of the Social-Democratic opposition groups living in emigration and some well-known progressively-minded bourgeois people. The subject of these conversations was co-operation in achieving the united and People's Front. It is precisely the people who have been driven by Hitler fascism into emigration, the Communists, Socialists, Democrats, Catholics and in part even the representatives of the right wing parties, who are the representatives of the German people. This gives particular weight to these German émigrés; if they come together and mutually co-operate it can greatly assist in the formation of the People's Front in Germany. The horrible terror of the fascist regime to which Social Democrats, Democrats, trade unionists, Catholics and above all Communists have fallen victim has been one of the chief reasons compelling the leaders of these parties living in emigration to come to an agreement about joint action against the terror and for the support of its victims. The movement for the liberation of Comrade Dimitrov, which was crowned with historic success, the campaign for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and the other imprisoned anti-fascists have smoothed the path for this joint work. The declara-

tion of protest against the execution of Rudolf Claus for his Red Aid activity was the first document that was signed by leaders of the Social-Democratic opposition and representatives of the Communist Party.

Out of these discussions and occasional collaboration arose the need for constant co-operation; regular meetings began of representatives of Communists, Social Democrats, Democrats and intellectuals in Paris not connected with any Party (the 'Lutecia circle,' as it is called after the name of the building in which it meets) from which after a time developed the "Committee for the preparation of a German People's Front." The first big discussion took place in December, 1935, when the idea of the People's Front was explained by the Communists in detail. Then in February, 1936, there followed a wider conference at which a "Declaration to the German people" against the war provocations of Hitler fascism was agreed on, and to which 118 signatures were attached. The necessity of the common struggle for peace was also laid down in an article by Breitscheid, the Social Democrat, in an article in "Mitteilungen der Deutschen Freiheitsbibliothek" of the 1st of May, in which he also regretted that "no close contact has been established till now between the representatives abroad of the German workers' parties."

The great defect of this co-operation consisted in the fact that agreement as to the tasks and aims of the People's Front was lacking. Among a number of those participating in the conversations there were frequently not only very different, but also very confused conceptions of the tasks of the People's Front. In one of the larger meetings held in July, 1936, which also served as preparation for the conference on the right of asylum and at which for the first time a representative of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party took part, although unofficially, tasks and aims of the People's Front against the fascist regime were explained in detail by the Communists. They were requested to put forward in writing a "Platform of the German People's Front," for the discussion of which a special commission was appointed. The discussions in the Commission brought out the existing unclarity and even the contradictory character of the views on the People's Front, and so no agreement was arrived at regarding a definite platform. In its place a conference in December, 1936, decided on a "Call to the German People," in which there were put forward in general outline the demands of the Peoples' Front, and the measures which must be taken after the overthrow of fascism. This call was signed by 20 Social Democrats, 14 Communists, 28 writers and intellectuals and 10 members of the so-called Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei (S.A.P., Socialist Workers' Party). The great defect of this call was that nothing was said in it as to how the day-to-day fight against Hitler fascism should be carried on and how this fight should

be supported in Germany. Neither did the call contain anything about the necessity of supporting the Spanish people in its fight against the intervention of Hitler fascism. In the middle of April, 1937, there was held a wide conference of representatives of the entire anti-Hitler movement, called by the People's Front Committee; this conference concerned itself more with the concrete tasks of the fight in Germany, such as with wages and trade union questions, assistance for political prisoners and their dependants and above all with the fight for the maintenance of peace. In the "Message to the German People" agreed on by the conference, the chief weight was laid on the fight against the war provocations of Hitler fascism, on the maintenance of peace and on the demand for the withdrawal from Spain of the troops and warships of the Hitler government. In the "Message" it says:

"Socialists, Communists, Democrats, adherents of all religious sects, let us act together, render aid to one another, let us end all divisions which can only play into the hands of Hitler, let us join together in the great German People's Front, which alone can and will lead our German people to the overthrow of Hitler. . . We want the German people to establish a free, happy, Socialist Germany on the basis of the newly won democratic liberties."

The work of the "Committee for the Preparation of the German People's Front" and the conference called by it constitute a certain advance. Special mention should be made of the work of the chairman of this committee, the writer Heinrich Mann, who has worked to broaden the work of the committee and to draw in all the anti-Hitler forces. His speech at the April session was of a programmatic nature, and undoubtedly assisted in advancing the work of the committee. There are a number of Social Democratic members of the committee who, together with the Communists, are seriously working to make the committee more active and its work known. But the results of the work of the committee are far from satisfactory. This work is still very much hampered by absolutely fruitless discussions with certain representatives of the S.A.P., who want anything rather than to extend the work of the committee. If the committee is really to become a centre of the movement against Hitler fascism and to play a serious part in bringing about the People's Front in Germany, then the committee will have to do everything to conduct really practical work to support the fight against Hitler fascism, and for the advance of the People's Front in Germany.

All the news from Germany shows that in the factories the workers, Social Democratic and Communist, Catholic and in part also National Socialist, are coming together to offer common resistance to the drive against wages and to the speed up. This resistance has to a certain extent taken on higher forms, such as the refusal to work, passive resistance, etc.,

but still suffers from lack of organisation. Naturally the extraordinarily difficult conditions in which the working people in Germany have to fight for bread and freedom and against the fascist regime must be taken into consideration. But above all the workers lack a clear understanding of the need for organised collaboration. The blame for this lies at the door of the Social Democratic leaders in the first instance, who are in the majority against organised collaboration and reject the united front, whilst another section does not fight energetically enough to bring about the united front. The Communist Party also bears some of the blame, as there are still some sectarian tendencies existing which stand in the way of comradely co-operation with Social Democratic workers.

Similar difficulties also exist in connection with bringing about the People's Front. Far too little has been done to Social Democracy and also by the Communist Party to make the workers, the urban middle classes and the peasantry understand the need for the joint struggle against Hitler fascism and for the immediate demands of these strata. Here also the most serious obstruction is the rejection of the united and the People's Front by the majority of the Social Democratic leaders, above all by the majority of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Of course, it is not only a question here of propaganda for the united front and the People's Front, what is needed in the fight for the vital demands of the different strata of the population and for the maintenance of peace, is, with the aid of the experience accumulated by the workers in this sphere, to rally these strata and win them for the formation of the united and the People's Front.

There is great unclarity on the tasks and aims of the People's Front and on the relation between the proletarian united front and the anti-fascist People's Front, the basic mistake being that these are set off one against the other. It is no accident that in communications sent by Social Democratic workers from Germany the question of the united front almost disappears before the question of the People's Front. It seems as if the opinion is rife among Social Democratic workers that the People's Front is easier to establish than the united working class front and that for the time being therefore the united front of the working class should be renounced. The cause apparently lies in the fact that the Social Democratic Central Committee abroad has up to now refused to conclude any agreement with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany regarding joint action against Hitler fascism, and turns down all proposals of the Communists regarding the establishment of the united front of the working class. On the contrary, the C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party has given instructions to the Social Democratic groups in Germany to have no truck whatever with the Communists. Although the Social Democratic workers

in the majority disagree with the policy of their Party leaders, they cannot make up their minds to act against the will of their Central Committee, and as a result do not see any possibility of concluding the united front with the Communists in Germany. Nevertheless in some districts regular organised joint work by the local and district functionaries of the two parties has taken place, and has led to good results. Many Social-Democratic workers believe they can get over the dilemma created by the Social-Democratic party leadership by relegating the question of the united front to the background, and bringing forward instead the question of the People's Front. But their idea too, as to what the People's Front should be and what are its aims and its tasks is still by no means clear. This is shown clearly in the draft of the People's Front programme and the arguments for it worked out by the opposition Social Democratic group in Berlin. There it states that "the German People's Front can be only a temporary form of proletarian unity, which must be followed by a consciously socialist unity. How far the bourgeoisie will allow itself to be drawn into a German People's Front is a question of the policy in practice of the first People's Front government." And the authors of this programme draw the conclusion that in the People's Front the "outlived old Parties" should not be "preserved" and that all those taking part in the People's Front must pledge themselves "to stop their special party work inside Germany from the day of the formation of the People's Front up to the overthrow of Hitler." A completely confused conception! Yet the authors of this programme of the People's Front belong to the progressive section of the Social Democratic opposition in Germany and categorically demand from the Social-Democratic Central Committee agreement with the Communists, and the establishment of the united front!

The most dangerous thing in these views is the misunderstanding of the importance of the united front from the point of view of the fight against fascism, and also of the leadership of the People's Front. The People's Front can not fulfil its task properly as long as the united working class action is not realised. In order to ensure united, firm leadership of the forces gathered together in the People's Front, unity of action between the Social Democratic and Communist workers must be achieved. The demands of the People's Front are based in the first place on the demands of the working class which are in no way in opposition to the interests of the middle class and the peasantry. It would be fatal for the working class, as well as for the middle class and the peasantry if the Social Democratic workers in Germany did not put their whole strength into the formation of the united front with the mass of Communists and Catholic workers.

The Social Democratic workers cannot wait until their leaders, under the pressure of the workers, bestir themselves and alter their attitude to the united front. Important as an agreement between the Social Democratic leadership with the Communist leadership is, the key point in achieving the united front lies among the Social Democratic workers in Germany.

Since the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship, the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany has repeatedly made the proposal of joint action against Hitler fascism to the C.C. of the Social Democratic Party. In spite of the refusal of the latter the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany is continuing these attempts to arrive at an agreement, and is following the example of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in its efforts to bring about international unity of action. In approaching the Social Democratic Party leadership the C.C. of the German Communist Party is making persistent efforts to bring about the united front. These repeated approaches are treated by certain opposition groups in German Social Democracy as though they raise the authority of the leadership of Social Democracy in the eyes of the Social Democratic workers, and thereby hold up the formation of the united front between the Social Democratic and Communist workers. This is a completely wrong conception and estimation of the Communist united front proposals. The C.P.G. stresses the need for concluding the united front with the whole of Social Democracy and not only with some of its opposition groups for it is in this way that the forces of the united front can be developed to the full. The C.P.G. is not aiming at a split in Social Democracy, but is striving to establish a united, powerful revolutionary Party of the proletariat which will be of the very greatest importance in the fight for the overthrow of Hitler fascism and the complete liberation of the masses of working people.

The C.P.G. does not at all underestimate the importance of the work of the Social Democratic leaders and groups who are in opposition to the policy of the C.C. of the Social Democratic Party, and come out in favour of realising the united and the People's Front. The work which has been done in the Committee for the Preparation of the German People's Front by Breitscheid and certain other Social Democratic leaders, helps to extend the work of the Committee and to develop collaboration between Social-Democrats and Communists. This is undoubtedly influencing certain members of the Social Democratic leadership who no longer support the sharply negative tactics of the Wels' group and are showing themselves more inclined to collaborate with the Communists.

In complete contradistinction to the conception of those Social Democratic workers who imagine that the United Front takes second place after the People's Front, the leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party (S.A.P.) are of the opinion that only the unity of the class-conscious section of the proletariat is necessary, and that the middle class and the peasantry should only be used by the working class. These leaders of the S.A.P. therefore reject the People's Front of the workers, peasants and the middle classes and see in it an opportunist danger. The representatives of this Party it is true, take part in the discussions of the Committee for the Preparation of a People's Front, and have also signed its declarations in favour of the People's Front, but in practice they try to sabotage the work of this Committee and to frustrate any extension of this Committee. The harm this brings to the work of the Committee has already been pointed out. In its press, the S.A.P. openly says what its representatives do not dare to say in the People's Front Committee for fear that their participation in its discussions will be stopped. In the Committee they are carrying on a very dangerous double game which it is therefore necessary to expose. Just as the S.A.P. in its press uninterruptedly tries to discredit the idea of the People's Front in the eyes of the working class, so it also conducts a persistent campaign against the People's Front in France and Spain. It is clear that such a policy is only grist to the Fascist mill. To what degeneration such a policy leads is shown by the struggle carried on by the S.A.P. against the People's Front government in Spain attacked by fascist intervention, which it points to as a counter-revolutionary government. The Trotskyist bandits who organised the counter-revolutionary putsch in Barcelona in the heat of the bitter fight against Fascist intervention are described in the S.A.P. press as the "most active and revolutionary-minded section of the working class of Barcelona." Actually these leaders of the S.A.P. help Hitler fascism in Spain as well, and in fact desire to bring about a defeat of the Spanish people in their fight against fascist intervention. There are apparently some differences of opinion within the leadership of the S.A.P. in regard to this criminal policy. It is also certain that the workers who still support the S.A.P. in Germany and abroad are not in agreement with such a counter-revolutionary policy on the part of their leaders. The People's Front Committee is faced with the important question of whether to give this party further opportunities to sabotage the work of the Committee.

Further, considerable unclarity also exists regarding the question as to what the People's Front can achieve. True, there is general agreement that the activity of the People's Front must be directed to-

wards the overthrow of Hitler fascism and that all the forces opposed to Hitler must be won for this fight. There are, however, among Social Democrats certain preconceived ideas against collaboration with the Catholic organisations; this was seen in their attitude to the proposals of the Communists regarding measures to be taken against the trials of Catholic priests and monks undertaken by the fascists. The sectarian views which are at the bottom of these preconceived notions also explain the ignoring of the great role which could be played by the masses of the Catholics in the fight for the People's Front. It is no accident that the higher clergy and the Catholic émigré paper "Der neue Weg" have done everything possible to prevent the masses of the Catholics from being drawn into the People's Front movement. For the very same reason they refuse to mobilise the masses for the fight against fascist persecution. They know that such a mobilisation must lead the masses of the Catholics into the camp of the People's Front movement.

The most varied opinions exist as to the path to be taken to achieve the overthrow of Hitler. The People's Front has set itself this aim. But vacillations are being shown by some supporters of the People's Front as to whether it will be at all possible in view of the fascist terror to form the People's Front in Germany and to overthrow Hitler by mass struggle. This lack of confidence in the power of the masses constitutes the basis for the speculation on war—as the deliverer from fascism. But this speculation is extremely dangerous, since it prevents the concentration of all forces on the concrete fight against fascism and for the maintenance of peace, and is a cover for passivity. During war time the fascist terror will not be less fierce than before war breaks out, and the working people of Germany will have to carry on the fight against Hitler fascism under far more difficult circumstances.

There is a great deal of discussion in the People's Front Committee as to what will happen after the overthrow of Hitler. Some have even gone so far as to draw up an entire programme for the activity of the future state. The Communists in their draft programme for the German People's Front have put out the slogan of a democratic republic, "in which the people freely decides all question of economy, of the home and foreign policy of the country, while the composition of the government will be determined by a decision of the working people on the basis of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage." The Communists thereby made it clear that the fight for the overthrow of Hitler fascism will be a wide mass struggle and that the masses after their victory will exercise a decisive influence on the development of a democratic republic, which under no circumstances will be a repetition of the Weimar Republic and

which will tear out fascism by the roots. But the slogan of the democratic republic is attacked by the S.A.P. representatives on the committee and in their press on the grounds that it is an opportunist slogan. They also succeeded in persuading the Social Democratic representatives to reject this slogan. The April appeal of the People's Front Committee no longer contains the slogan of the democratic republic. In one of its pamphlets "How to Overthrow Hitler" the S.A.P. writes:—"Not a democratic Germany will follow, directly or indirectly after the Third Reich, but a German Soviet Republic, the next and decisive link in the chain of the world revolution." This assertion completely corresponds to the whole of the agitation against the People's Front of the S.A.P. which wants to prevent members of the middle classes and peasantry from adhering to the People's Front.

When the Communists in their draft platform of the People's Front put forward the slogan of the democratic republic and not that of the proletarian dictatorship, they take into consideration the fact that in order victoriously to overthrow Hitler fascism, not only the workers but also the middle classes and the peasantry as well as all those who want to be freed from barbaric fascism are needed. Therefore, slogans must be put forward of the kind for which all these strata are ready to fight. It would be self-deception to think that the majority of the German working class, the middle classes and the peasantry are already prepared to fight for Soviet power. They have still to be won to its support. That will be best advanced by the experience accumulated by the masses in their fight for their emancipation. The experience of the masses in these battles against all counter-revolutionary forces and the question as to what mass forces can be developed in these struggles will be of the greatest importance in the solution of the question of the form of state power after the overthrow of Hitler. Comrade Dimitrov aptly expressed this in the concluding speech to his report at the 7th Congress of the Comintern:—

"The whole question boils down to this: will the proletariat itself be prepared at the decisive moment for the direct overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of its own power and will it be able in that event to secure the support of its allies? Or, will the movement of the united proletarian front and the anti-Fascist people's front at the particular stage be in a position only to suppress or overthrow Fascism, without directly proceeding to abolish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie? In the latter case it would be an intolerable piece of political shortsightedness, and not serious revolutionary politics, to use this alone as a ground for refusing to create and support a united front or a People's Front Government."

It is a completely misleading idea to imagine that the People's Front can bring about a Socialist Germany and Socialism without a proletarian revolution and without Soviet power. Such an idea corresponds to the ideology of reformism which rejects the class

struggle just as much as the proletarian revolution. Here lies the reason why a large section of the Socialist leaders rejects Soviet power and wages a campaign against it. The fact is ignored by the reformists that Big Business, like Fascism, will not voluntarily abdicate but can only be overcome by wide mass struggles. But reformism has a holy horror of just this work of organising these mass struggles, and tries in all possible ways to prevent the organising of these mass struggles.

Just as misleading also is the opinion that a People's Front Government can simply expropriate the big landed estates, nationalise the key industries and the banks without at the same time conducting the most vigorous mass battles for the carrying through of these measures which aim at the very heart of capitalist society. It is peculiar to all those socialisation and nationalisation plans of the socialists that they only put forward demands without indicating the measures necessary for carrying them out, for developing and intensifying the mass struggles. And so these socialisation and nationalisation plans merely amount to pseudo-radical phrases designed to deceive the masses. The Communists cannot agree to such deceptive manoeuvres, and must clearly point out the conditions that need to be created for carrying through such measures.

Recently, endeavours have been made which, under the guise of extending the People's Front, are directed towards hindering it or breaking it up. This refers to the attempt to form a so-called "German Party of Freedom" in Germany, as undertaken by the émigré National Socialist, Otto Strasser. It seemed at first as if this "Party of Freedom" had been formed in the closest contact with the People's Front Committee. But the published documents of this "Party of Freedom" show that its formation is only a manoeuvre in order to keep bourgeois anti-Fascist circles from adhering to the German People's Front and to use them in the interests of National Socialism. In one of the latest appeals Otto Strasser openly shows his hand when he declares that he sees his task to be that of fighting Communism, i.e., that part of the German People's Front which is fundamentally its initiator and most active defender. The People's Front without the Communists would be like a knife without a blade. This would mean that the People's Front would be deprived of its most important link, namely the united front of the working class. Without the Communists no united front is possible, and without the united front there can be no People's Front.

These plans of Otto Strasser, of building the people's front without the Communists, seem to be finding an echo in the Social Democratic leadership the majority of which, the Wels group, had already placed great hopes at an earlier stage on the move-

ment propagated by Strasser under the name "People's Socialism." They count on this movement, the so-called "third force," which they imagine has more prospects than the Communists and Social Democrats of organising the forces in Germany for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship. It would, however, be completely false to assume that Strasser has anything like this in view. It is also doubtful if the National Socialist émigré Strasser is working for a "reform" of Hitler Fascism on lines more in the interests of the masses of working people and less in the interests of the big bourgeoisie. In actual fact, Strasser is not encroaching on the existence of the Hitler dictatorship, and would undoubtedly come forward as its most active defender if Hitler were once again to receive him into the arms of this dictatorship. As a matter of fact the "German Party of Freedom" exists only in name, and serves to sign some of the leaflets put out by the Strasser group. But nevertheless it shows what deep roots the idea of the People's Front has already struck among the masses in Germany when elements like Strasser try to use the name of the People's Front for their reactionary purposes. In face of these attempts, the forces working towards the formation of the People's Front must do everything to win those elements for the People's Front who have allowed themselves to be lulled by the demagogic phrases of a Strasser in the belief that he is really fighting the Fascist régime and wants Socialism. But, it is all the more necessary therefore thoroughly to expose this demagoguery of Strasser.

All these reactionary attempts to hold up the formation of the People's Front, as well as the still existing unclarity on the tasks and aims of the People's Front reflect the great weakness of Communist propaganda for the united and People's Front. The Communists have not sufficiently understood how by their work and agitation to support the great enthusiasm which has seized hold of the masses of the working people of Germany after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and after the brilliant victories of the United and People's Front in the last two years. The sectarianism which still exists has been a great hindrance in this work. The weaknesses of the work of the Communists make it possible for the enemies of the United and People's Front to introduce confusion among the masses and to prevent them from recognising the great importance of the united and People's Front in the fight of the masses for the overthrow of Hitler Fascism. The growing unrest among wide masses of the German people must be turned into a recognition of the need for organised struggle, for the formation of the United and the People's Front. Herein lies the supreme task facing all Communists and all other

adherents of the United and the People's Front movement.

Solidarity with the victims of Fascist terror, the fight for the release of the imprisoned anti-Fascists, for the release of Ernst Thaelmann, Ossietzky, Heilmann, Schuhmacher and many other Communist, Social Democratic and Catholic anti-Fascists weld the

great alliance of the German people against Fascism. In the fight against the Hitler Government's brazen war provocation, against the military intervention in Spain, for the maintenance of peace, the united and the People's Front will be brought about in Germany also, in spite of all difficulties.

THE NEW UNITY PACT BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES OF ITALY*

THE Socialist and Communist Parties of Italy have stood together now for three years in relation to the policy of united action. This is a policy which, in Italy, in emigration and in Spain has brought positive results, and served as a necessary weapon in the struggle of the proletariat against fascism and war. Being fully determined therefore to consolidate the results achieved, to increase and develop them the two parties conclude on agreement, a new pact for united action on the following points:

1. The Socialist and Communist Parties of Italy, possessing the common goal of overthrowing fascism and capitalism and building up a socialist society, decide to strengthen the ties which bind them both in the sphere of general political activities and in the sphere of day-to-day practical work. They consider the existence of stable unity of action between the Communist and Socialist Parties to be one of the basic conditions for uniting all anti-fascist forces and establishing a people's front movement in Italy.

2. At the present stage of the class struggle and political struggle, both parties undertake to call upon and organise the entire Italian people for the struggle to win liberty and democracy and to establish a democratic republic headed by the working class—a republic which will secure to the people bread, peace and liberty, which will adopt the necessary measures to secure the root and branch destruction of the economic basis of reaction and fascism (nationalisation of monopolist industrial and banking capital, the destruction of the remnants of feudalism in the villages, etc.) and open up the way to Socialism.

3. In order to achieve this aim, both parties undertake to conduct a campaign for unity on the basis of the anti-fascist struggle of all parties, anti-fascist

organisations in Italy and in emigration, and also for the establishment of unity between the two trade union centres at present in emigration. At the same time they resolve to begin an open discussion among the anti-fascist forces in Italy and in emigration, with a view to elaborating a programme of the Italian People's Front.

4. Convinced of the urgent necessity of our struggle against the home and international policy of fascism—the only way leading to a struggle to overthrow the fascist regime—the two parties undertake to fight shoulder to shoulder in the factories, in the mass fascist organisations (trade unions, Dopolavoro organisations, etc.), in populated areas, in the youth organisations, in the villages, in schools and in the army, so as to popularise all the immediate economic and political demands of the masses of the people, using in addition for this purpose all the legal possibilities of the fascist system.

In close connection with the direct economic and political demands of the masses of people, the two parties will encourage material and political solidarity with the Spanish Republic, its army, its people and its government; they will conduct a campaign designed to co-ordinate and make use of all the forces hostile to the foreign policy of Mussolini, in order to compel the fascist government to withdraw its expeditionary corps from Spain and smash the "Berlin-Rome military axis."

The two parties support an international policy of peace, the strengthening of the League of Nations on the basis of a system of collective security and mutual assistance against the aggressor; they undertake to fight together in defence of the Soviet Union and to give active support to the widest movement of the masses of people in all countries for the observation of the League of Nations' Covenant against the fascist aggressors, and for the withdrawal from Spain of all the fascist occupation troops.

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The two parties agree to place the means of agitation which they possess at the service of this policy.

5. In face of the menace of general war being provoked by fascism in Europe and throughout the world, the two parties firmly decide to intensify the mobilisation of the masses against the provocations of Mussolini and Hitler and to support all forces striving to preserve and consolidate peace.

They assert that universal war can be averted if peace is energetically defended by the peoples of all countries and if every policy of capitulation to the provocation and extortions of the fascist states is unmasked as a policy that stands in contradiction to the interests of peace and democracy.

If in spite of all, such a war does break out, the proletariat will make it the grave of fascism by fiercely defending their positions in the countries where they are in power, and in the countries where they enjoy elementary rights, and fighting against war where reaction is in power by raising the banner of liberty and of the solidarity of the peoples against fascism at home and throughout the world.

6. The two parties will collaborate in bringing about united action between the Labour and Socialist International, the Communist International and the Trade Union Internationals on an international scale and in each separate country in accordance with the concrete demands of the anti-fascist struggle.

7. The two parties see in united action the first step towards the creation of a united party of the working class which will be the most powerful weapon of the proletariat in their struggle against fascism and capitalism. The problem of organisational unity will be more deeply examined and discussed by the two parties in the light of the experience of Italy and other countries.

8. The two parties make it an obligation for communists and socialists in Italy and in emigration to work together in the ranks of the Italian People's Alliance created in France so as to develop the anti-

fascist policy of united action by the people's front.

9. The two parties preserve their complete autonomy as regards functions and ideology. Each of the parties continues its independent propaganda and work, and strives to use its right to express itself with complete frankness on the theoretical and tactical differences which hinder fusion, in such a way as not to render difficult or hinder the development of joint action.

In order to ensure the achievement of positive results by joint action the two parties will take the necessary internal measures to build up the work of their organisations in such a way that everything is directed towards strengthening unity of action and achieving the common goal.

10. The two parties undertake to collaborate closely in the struggle against fascist provocation and espionage, whatever form they may take.

11. The two parties maintain complete freedom in recruiting members. They agree that during the period of joint action they will refrain from all interference, each in the work of the other party, which may lead to breakaways, the undermining of discipline and to the discrediting of the other party.

12. The two parties operate unity of action for the achievement of the aims and forms indicated in the present pact, in all parts of their organisations.

They undertake to popularise and explain the present pact in the villages, accompanying it with directives such as will help the members of the two parties to carry it out; they undertake jointly and preliminarily to examine to examine all problems and all proposals which stimulate unity of action.

ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

(Section of the Labour and Socialist International.)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY.

(Section of the Communist International.)

Paris, July 26th, 1937.

THE NEW STAGE OF THE AGGRESSION OF JAPANESE IMPERIALISM AND THE NEW PERIOD OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

WAN MIN.

THE Japanese aggressors have begun a new military offensive against China. Chinese troops are offering armed resistance to Japanese aggression. China is in flames! Actually, a Sino-Japanese war, of hitherto unprecedented dimensions, has already begun.

On July 7, the Japanese military made a sudden attack upon Liukowtsao and were met with the heroic resistance of the 37th division of the 29th Chinese Army. In order to gain time to bring up reinforcements and conceal their real plans of further military action from public opinion, the Japanese militarists hypocritically declared the events in Liukowtsao to the "accidental," "a local incident." Subsequent facts, however, have thoroughly exposed the real aim of the new offensive of the Japanese aggressor in China.

THE EXPLANATION OF THE NEW OFFENSIVE OF JAPANESE MILITARISM AGAINST CHINA.

It has always been the dream of the ruling classes of Imperialist Japan to establish their rule in China and completely enslave the Chinese people. The history of the aggressive actions of Japanese imperialism against China can be divided into the following four main stages:

The first stage, from the Sino-Japanese War, 1895, until the world imperialist war of 1914-1918. During that period Japan seized parts of China proper and territories under Chinese rule, namely, Riukiu island, Formosa, the Pescadores islands the Kwangtung Region concession and Korea.

The second stage, from the time of the world imperialist war to the Mukden events of September 18, 1931. The Japanese imperialists seized Kiaochow and Tsingiao German concessions at that time in China), advanced their troops towards the town of Tsinan, and on January 18, 1915, presented Yuan Shi-Kai with what are known as the 21 demands, the operation of which would in fact have meant the conversion of China into a Japanese colony.

The third stage, from the Mukden events of 1931 to the events in Liukowtsao in July of the present year. During these six years the Japanese imperial-

ists have seized three north-east Provinces (*i.e.*, Manchuria) and part of the territory of what is known as Inner Mongolia, the whole of the Jehol province and six administrative divisions of North Chahar. The seizure of Manchuria and Jehol by Japanese imperialism was a huge economic and political blow at China.

The fourth stage opens with the Japanese offensive against Liukowtsao. The immediate and prime task of this offensive was the seizure of the five north provinces of China, Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi, Shantung. The seizure of these five provinces would provide Japanese imperialism with rich sources of raw materials and an extensive and wealthy market, such as has never been known in the whole history of the Japanese Empire. However, the military operations of the Japanese troops in the Shanghai-Nanking district go to prove that on this occasion the Japanese aggressors are not restricting themselves to military operations within the bounds of the northern provinces.

The present military operations of Japanese imperialism, after the seizure of Manchuria and Jehol, signify a new stage in the fulfilment of the monstrous Tanaka Plan.

This plan is aimed at the absorption of China, at preparations for the seizure of India, Indo-China, the Philippines, Indonesia and Australia, as well as for a "big war" against the U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and England, with a view to winning world domination for the Pan-Japanese Empire. To conquer the whole of China, Manchuria and Mongolia must first be seized, and to conquer the whole world the whole of China must be seized—this is the cherished idea of Tanaka that the Japanese Fascist militarists are to-day trying to carry out.

The open intervention of the German and Italian Fascist aggressors in Spain, and in this connection the severe tension throughout Europe, the policy of in fact tolerating Fascist aggression pursued by the British Government both in relation to Abyssinia and Spain and to China; the wait-and-see attitude of the Government of the U.S.A. the impotence of the League of Nations in face of the Fascist fomentors

of war; the conclusion of the alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy; and finally, the absence, till now, of any real militant unity of action of the international proletariat against Fascism and war, in consequence of the rejection by the reactionary leaders of the Socialist International of the proposals of the Comintern—all these are the chief facts in the present international situation, which facilitate the fulfilment of the Robber plans of Japanese militarism and are encouraging it to new aggressive acts in China.

The growth of anti-war and anti-Fascist sentiments among the working masses of Japan; the increasing conflicts between labour and capital, between the landowners and tenant farmers, the increase in financial difficulties and the growth of discontent among the moderate section of the bourgeoisie at the adventurist policy of the Fascist militarists who are leading the country in complete economic and military catastrophe—all these are the features of the position in Japan itself, which are spurring the Japanese militarists to speed up their aggression on the continent. Fascist militarism is trying, by means of a military adventure against the Chinese people, to draw the attention of the masses of the people away from the situation inside the country and introduce martial law in order mercilessly to crush the revolutionary movement and oppositional forces of every kind.

Japanese militarism is hastening on its offensive against China for the purpose of suppressing the ever-growing anti-Japanese movement of the Chinese people. It is setting itself the tasks of crushing the central national Nanking Government, of routing the forces of the united anti-Japanese national front that is now in process of formation and its chief participants—the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China, in order to decapitate and disorganise the resistance of the Chinese people, to convert China into its own colony.

However, it can be said with confidence, that the insolent aggressors are miscalculating this time! Today China is not what it was during the Manchurian events. The Chinese people are ready to offer resolute resistance to the Japanese militarists as witnessed by the recent declarations of Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Nanking Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Army. In connection with the events in Liukowtsao Chiang Kai-shek, in his speech delivered on July 17 in Huling, said that "the further development of the Liukowtsao events is a life and death question for China," while in connection with the seizure by the Japanese of Peiping and Tientsin, he declared on July 20 in an interview with the Central News Agency: "When the whole of our people see that the country is passing through a critical period, that it is a question of our very existence the whole of our people will fight to

the end as one man." Part of the Chinese troops and airfleet have already begun national-defensive military operations in Shanghai, Hangchow, Nanking, Nanchang, Hopei and Chahar, against the Japanese aggressor. Clear proof of the indignation of the Chinese people and of their readiness to undertake a resolute struggle against the aggressor is provided by the fact that all the organised anti-Japanese political and military forces in the country have begun to unite with unparalleled rapidity. Thus, at the National Defence Conference held in Nanking to which the Nanking Government for the first time invited the leaders of the Red Army of China, Comrades Chu De, Mao Tse-dun and Chow Gei-lai along with all the prominent military leaders of the country, considerable progress was made on the question of collaboration between the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and other organisations. Actually a general mobilisation of military forces is already taking place including in particular the Chinese anti-Japanese People's Red Army, for joint struggles against the common national enemy.

CAN CHINA OFFER SUCCESSFUL ARMED RESISTANCE TO JAPANESE AGGRESSION?

In the very first days of the Manchurian events, the Communist Party of China gave an unambiguous and positive reply to this question. The huge majority of the Chinese people share this viewpoint. But many politicians and military men of China, because of their "fear of Japan" and under the influence of pro-Japanese elements, have for a long time opposed armed resistance to Japanese aggression. True, the supporters of this so-called theory of "non-resistance," are becoming fewer in numbers with every day that passes. However, the thorough unmasking of their arguments is an inseparable part of the common struggle to bring about real armed resistance to the ever increasing aggression of Japan.

The supporters of this theory, the theory that China cannot be victorious in an armed struggle against Japan, assert that China is a country that is weak as regards military technique and industry, and is unprepared as yet to undertake armed resistance to the external enemy, that China will inevitably meet the fate of Abyssinia or, at best, of Spain if it should resort to armed resistance to the Japanese aggressor. In this connection they deliberately water down the tremendous difference that exists between China and Abyssinia or even Spain from the point of view of internal resources for the struggle against the invaders.

It is a fact that as regards military technique and industry, China is a weak country, and that precisely for this reason all the big, and even small, capitalist countries have beaten us Chinese. The weakness of China was emphasised by J. V. Stalin, the leader of

the peoples, in his report on the results of the First Five-Year Plan when he said that had the U.S.S.R. not been industrialised its position would have been more or less analogous to the position of China today " which has no heavy industry, no war industry, and is now set on by all who have a mind to do so!" The Chinese Communists understand full well that the level of the development of the heavy industry and the military and technical equipment of the army are of tremendous importance in modern warfare. But at the same time Marxist-Leninists understand another truth, proved by history, namely that it is living people who in the long run decide the outcome of war.

In order to offer armed resistance to Japanese imperialism which is armed to the teeth, China must prepare. But how? The advocates of the " impossibility of victory for China " reduce this question merely to the purchase of arms abroad and to the increase of the production of armaments within China since, in their opinion, as long as China has not the same armaments as the enemy, it cannot offer successful armed resistance to the aggressor. It is, of course, essential to rearm and completely arm China, but arguments to the effect that as long as China's armaments do not equal the armaments of Japan, China cannot resist Japanese aggression, are radically wrong and harmful, and first and foremost because in this respect China is immeasurably behind Japan which latter will not allow China to catch up in peace to the level of its own armaments. The seizure by the Japanese aggressors of the extensive territory of Manchuria and Jehol with their huge wealth and resources has already delivered a serious blow against China's capacity to defend itself, and should China now lose in addition the five north provinces and the Shanghai-Nanking region, its power to defend itself will be reduced to an extraordinary degree. What does the loss of Manchuria, Jehol, and the five northern provinces mean for the defence of China? Why, it means the loss of over one-quarter of China's population, over one-fifth of its territory, nine-tenths of its total iron ore deposits, two-thirds of its railways, four-fifths of its total output of coal, one-half of its total coal reserves, and one-half of its total output of salt, etc. It is clear that if China fails to defend these very rich provinces against Japanese occupation, it will not only hand over a huge part of its population to the licence of the Japanese barbarians, not only will its extensive territories facilitate the military operations of the enemy, not only will its rich iron, coal and salt reserves, and its railways fall into the hands of the mortal enemy of the Chinese people, but at the same time it will be finally deprived of a raw material base, and of the basis for the development of its heavy and war industry. And what, further, does the loss of Shanghai mean for

China? It means not only the loss of the largest economic, industrial, political and cultural city in the land; it also means handing over to the enemy the most important military-strategic centre of the country, and opening to the Japanese aggressor the gates to all the rich regions along the Yangtse river, thus creating a constant menace to the capital of the Chinese Republic—Nanking. Should the Chinese people fail to defend the Shanghai-Nanking region, the aggressor would deal a blow at the very heart of China.

It should also be pointed out to the supporters of the " impossibility of victory for China " theory that the purchase of arms and receipt of aid from abroad also depend to a tremendous degree upon the strength of resistance and the wealth of China itself at the given moment. It is a bitter truth of our times that nobody has any consideration for the weak and those who cannot defend themselves. And if on the heels of the loss of Jehol and Manchuria, China loses its northern provinces, loses its most important Shanghai-Nanking region, it will be still poorer and weaker and the chances of being able to secure loans, arms and other forms of aid from abroad will become still smaller. On the contrary, if China seriously undertakes an armed struggle to defend its territorial integrity and national independence, then in the process of the struggle it can re-arm itself both from out of its own resources and from the purchase of arms from abroad. The clearest possible proof of this is provided by the experience of the struggle of the Spanish people against the Fascist rebellion of Franco and the German-Italian intervention. The area covered by Spain is incomparably smaller than that covered by China, whose population is twenty times larger than that of Spain. From the viewpoint of industrial development, Spain is one of the most backward countries in Europe. The Spanish Republican Government began its military operations against the fascist rebels with irregular army units made up of badly armed factory workers and other working people. But thanks to the common efforts of all the parties and organisations of the People's Front, and first and foremost of the Communist Party of Spain, thanks to the solidarity and aid rendered by the international proletariat and the democratic and anti-fascist forces, the Spanish Republic has, during the course of one year's armed fighting, not only created a regular army of half a million men, but has also managed to provide its army with modern military equipment. And if the comparatively small Spanish Republic has been able in the course of the armed struggle to form its army and secure the necessary armaments, why cannot the great Chinese Republic do the same? If Republican Spain is successfully offering armed resistance to the joint forces of fascist Germany and Italy which have invaded its

territory, why cannot the huge country of China offer successful armed resistance to the armed forces of the one Japanese aggressor? For, apart from its military and technical superiority during the first period of the war, the Japanese aggressor yields place to the united national forces of the Chinese people as regards the remaining conditions necessary to ensure victory.

The supporters of the idea of the "impossibility of Victory for China" imagine that the weaker the resistance to the foreign aggressor, the less the sacrifices for China. But the indisputable historical facts of Sino-Japanese relations themselves completely refute this argument. In the year 1895, China offered armed resistance to Japanese aggression, although China suffered defeat at that time, it nevertheless lost comparatively little territory. In the year 1914-1919, the Chinese people resolutely protested against Japanese aggression, and as a result Japanese imperialism was unable to force China to carry out the 21 oppressive demands. But in 1931, in connection with the Mukden events the Nanking Government pursued a policy of non-resistance, and as a result Japan in a very short time occupied the whole of Manchuria and, immediately afterwards, Jehol as well. This was the biggest territorial loss suffered by China in the last hundred years. In the year 1932, the 19th and 5th Chinese Armies, together with the Shanghai proletariat and Communists, offered heroic resistance to the Japanese troops, with the result that China saved Shanghai from Japanese occupation. In the year 1936 the Suiyuan-Shansi troops heroically resisted the so-called united Japano-Mongol-Manchurian troops, and as a result the aggressor was temporarily forced to retreat from these Provinces. And now in connection with the new big Japanese military invasion, the question that directly faces China is: either it will seriously defend its national existence—*then life*, or it will not resist Japanese aggression—and *then death*. The Chinese people must choose one of two possible roads: either they will succumb to the doctrine of those who support the "impossibility of victory for China," and take the road of non-resistance, allegedly "to avoid too great sacrifices," and thus convert the whole of China into the victim of the Japanese aggressors; or else they will take the road of the Spanish people, even at the cost of temporary partial sacrifices, and defend the territories and wealth not yet lost, win back the lands and wealth of the people already seized by the aggressor, and save the working people of China from the barbarity of the fascist militarists of Japan, and the entire people of China from enslavement. In other words, either the Chinese people, at the cost of partial and temporary sacrifices, will defend and win back everything, or, they will harp about the "undesirability of great sacrifices" in words, and in deeds lose everything,

including national independence, the people's liberty, the wealth of the country. There is no middle course.

The supporters of the "non-resistance theory" who make their starting point the alleged impossibility of victory for China, advance still further considerations of an international character. According to them the foreign situation of China is as yet unfavourable for armed resistance to the Japanese aggressors.

True the foreign situation for China to-day is still not as brilliant as we would like from the viewpoint of the defence of our country. But Japan is in a position no better than China. The new aggression of Japan threatens not only the national existence of the Chinese people, but also menaces the interests of the U.S.A., England and France. By its aggression, Japan is violating the covenant of the League of Nations, the treaty obligations of the Nine-Power Pact, and other International Agreements, thereby encouraging the aggression of fascist Germany and Italy in Spain and throughout Europe. It is a menace to universal peace. "*The situation is now developing in such a way that to preserve international peace means first and foremost to bring about the defeat of the fascist plunderers in Spain and China.*"*

The worsening foreign situation of Japanese imperialism eases the struggle of the Chinese people. More than ever before Japan is isolated on the international arena; her allies in what is known as the "anti-Comintern Agreement," namely fascist Germany and Italy, are not in a position to give Japan military aid to the extent they would have done, had they not been tied by their intervention in Spain; they will hardly be in a position to give her war credits, since they themselves are suffering to no less a degree from financial difficulties than their obliging ally. On the other hand, the struggle of the Chinese people against the aggressor and fomentor of war in the East is, like the struggle of the Spanish people against German and Italian fascism, not only a question of defending their own national existence and their own freedom, but also a component part of the struggle of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind against fascism and war, for democracy and peace. The solidarity and sympathy of the international proletariat and of all honest, peace-loving and democratic forces are on the side of the Chinese people.

Consequently, neither the internal nor the international position of China can justify the assertion of the supporters of the "non-resistance" theory that China is not in a position to offer up successful armed resistance to Japanese aggression.

However, it by no means follows therefrom that the struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressor is an easy matter, or that China's already guaranteed victory in advance. The armed struggle of the Chinese people to preserve their

national independence is faced with tremendous weaknesses and difficulties, to overcome which requires the exertion of tremendous efforts by them.

The *first* chief difficulty is the *far from adequate organisation and unity of the national forces of China*. Although, thanks to the tireless struggle by the Communists and the masses of the people, as well as by the progressive elements inside the Kuomintang, the internecine warfare has in the recent period ceased in the country, and a process has begun of the peaceful unification of all the anti-Japanese national forces. Yet the realisation of this unity is still far from what is needed if successful armed resistance is to be offered up to the enemy. The many millions of the Chinese people who constitute one-fifth of the whole of man-kind, can only become *an invincible force when they are united and organised into one indestructible national force*.

The *second* fundamental difficulty in the armed struggle against the aggressor arises out of the backwardness of China as regards military and technical equipment. Although the Chinese troops, who are self-sacrificing and enduring in the battles against the foreign invaders, many times outnumber the regular infantry units of Japan, yet from the viewpoint of military and technical equipment they are far inferior to their Japanese enemies. Despite a considerable increase in the number of planes, the training of new pilots, the heroism and skill, the aviation of China is still not strong enough.

The Navy of China is weak both quantitatively and qualitatively. The strengthening and consolidation of the naval forces for coastal defence is one of the most urgent fighting tasks facing the Chinese people and the Nanking Government. The Chinese troops and population are practically unprepared for chemical warfare, while the cannibals, the Japanese fascists are already beginning to employ poison gases against the Chinese people.

Finally, in connection with their weak military and technical equipment and the absence of experience in modern warfare, the Chinese troops have not at their disposal the necessary number of military and technical cadres. Although the experience of the Spanish Republic has shown that such weaknesses and difficulties can be overcome in the course of the war, they make themselves felt particularly in the first stage of the war.

Thirdly, a fundamental difficulty in the anti-Japanese struggle is that Japanese imperialism has had great experience of espionage, bribery and intrigue against oppressed peoples. The military political intelligence service of Japan—the so-called “special service departments”—has for decades been able to place its numerous spying agents, diversionists, terrorists, and provocateurs at all the more or less important military-strategic and political points and

organisations of China, including also among a section of leading political and military men. Many of these agents are deliberately abstaining for the time being from active operations in anticipation of a suitable moment to deliver a decisive blow at the most important points.

Finally, the *fourth* fundamental difficulty arising out of the economic backwardness, financial poverty and extremely limited communication lines in the country consists of the fact that the Chinese troops will experience the scantiness of, and hitches in, the supply of armaments, ammunition and provisions, and also difficulties in transferring reinforcements and ensuring the rapid and timely operative and manœuvring capacity of the troops, etc.

Yes, the difficulties and weaknesses facing semi-colonial China in the armed struggle against imperialist Japan are numerous and extremely serious. And so the task of the Communists and of the whole of the Chinese people is to find means and courage to overcome them. It would be a crime against the people to fear these difficulties and weaknesses. Today the whole of the Chinese people, with the exception of Japanese agents, national traitors and incorrigible cowards and chatterers, are no longer confronted with the question as to whether “China ought or can offer armed resistance to Japanese aggression”; to-day the only question that faces China is how to *organise* this armed resistance and how to *guarantee* to *victory* of the Chinese people in this hard but glorious national liberation struggle!

How on a national scale to organise armed resistance by the Chinese people and guarantee their victory

According to news in the foreign and Chinese press, the Kuomintang and the Central Nanking Government in the period between the Luikowtsian events and the beginning of military operations by the Japanese troops in Shanghai, *i.e.*, until August 14th, adopted the following measures in the interests of organising resistance to the new aggression of the Japanese.

(1) Between 100-150 thousand people have been mobilised in Hopei, Chahar and Shantung to strengthen the defence, and aid the 29th Army. (2) A first conference of National Defence has been convened. (3) An order has been published restoring Chang Hsueh-lan (leader of the Manchurian Army) to his position of General and a readiness has been displayed to restore General Tsai Tin-kai to his position of command (Commander of the 19th Army). (4) Under pressure of a nation-wide protest headed by Tsin-lin, seven arrested leaders of the “Chinese Association of National Salvation” have been released. (5) Military defence works have been begun in the regions of Shanghai, Nanking, Wuhan,

etc. (6) The following commanders of the fronts have been appointed. Chiang Kai-shek, Commander-in-Chief of all the Nanking troops and Commander of the 1st Army on the front along the Peiping-Hankow Railway; Fyn Yun-San, Commander of the 2nd Army on the front along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway line; Yan sin-Shen, Commander of the 3rd Army of the Shansi-Suiyan front.

It must be admitted that although these measures of the Kuomintang and Nanking Government still fail to correspond to the demands of the situation or satisfy the needs of the country's defence, still, in comparison with the attitude and policy of the Kuomintang and Nanking Government in the recent past, these measures are a big step forward. It was only after the Japanese offensive in the Shanghai-Nanking region that the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government began to offer up more serious armed resistance to Japanese aggression.

Whether the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government will be able with the present leadership to organise this resistance consistently and to a victorious finish will be seen in the near future. We Communists ardently desire that the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government should overcome, once and for all, the resistance of the pro-Japanese elements, and together with us and the whole of the Chinese people wage the armed struggle against the Japanese plunderers to a victorious conclusion. The Communist Party of China for its part, deeply recognising its responsibility for the fate of the working class and the whole of the Chinese people, has persistently insisted upon the slogan it has advanced from the very outset of the Manchurian events in 1931, namely the slogan; "Drive Japanese imperialism out of China." Step by step, beginning with its August 1935 Manifesto and ending with its last declarations of the events in North China, the Communist Party has put forward concrete proposals, drawn up on the basis of the policy of establishing a single National anti-Japanese front, with the aid of which the Chinese people will be able not only to offer serious armed resistance to Japanese aggression, but also to win victory.

What are the concrete proposals and demands being put forward by the Communist Party of China in its declarations and manifestoes?

First, "Collaboration between all anti-Japanese Parties and groupings of China on the basis of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to resist Japan and save the fatherland." The establishment of collaboration between all Parties and groups in China on the basis of a political agreement regarding a common struggle against the common enemy presupposes the point that all those taking part in the agreement, namely the Kuomintang,

Communist Party and other political organisations, maintain their political and organisational independence. True, according to the latest news in the foreign press rapid progress is being made as regards collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party; if this is true, it is to be welcomed in every way.

But in the interests of the whole of the Chinese people, certain leaders of the Kuomintang should be frankly advised to break resolutely with their erroneous attempt to convert collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China into the political and organisational subordination of the Communist Party to the Kuomintang. They also need to give up their incorrect line of refusing to recognise anti-Japanese political groupings and organisations other than the Communist Party and the Nanking Government, and to end their refusal to recognise the need for establishing a United Front with these groupings and organisations. They need further to give up the attempt to reduce collaboration with them to forcible subordination to the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government. Such an attitude on the part of certain leaders of Nanking towards the solution of problems vital to the country and the people only complicates and postpones the establishment of a united anti-Japanese national front consisting of all the really popular forces in China. Thereby they willy-nilly constitute a hindrance to the work of organising real armed resistance to the Japanese aggressors, and play into their hands.

Secondly, "The creation of an all-Chinese Government of National Defence and a united Chinese Democratic Republic." There is news to hand that the Kuomintang intends in the near future to reorganise the Nanking Government in this direction. This is good and is to be welcomed. But if this is to be speeded up it is essential that various calumnious legends and wrong opinions be smashed once and for all. First of all it is an absolutely false and unfounded legend spread by pro-Japanese elements, that the slogan regarding the creation of an all-Chinese Government of National Defence means the overthrow of the existing Nanking Central Government and the establishment in its place of an entirely new government. It is slander! provocation! At the present time only the Japanese aggressors and their agents are interested in overthrowing the Nanking Government.

We Chinese Communists openly declare that we support the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government, and will fight shoulder to shoulder with them against Japanese imperialism.

It is an untrue and scholastic assertion for certain incorrigible chatterboxes to declare that the slogan of the establishment of an all-Chinese Government of

National Defence means the creation of such a government as must without fail call itself an all-Chinese Government of National Defence and that otherwise it will not really be such a government. Formalists! For it is not a question of names, but of substance! Incorrect also are the assertions of those that say the existing Nanking Government has long been an all-Chinese Government of National Defence. No! The Nanking Government has only now partially set about the fulfilment of the tasks of National Defence. But it has not yet become the real all-Chinese Government of National Defence required by the war situation and all supporters of the united anti-Japanese national front.

The Nanking Government should and can become a truly all-Chinese Government of National Defence on condition that it changes its policy in the direction of conducting a resolute struggle for national independence, of bringing about the democratisation of the régime, and of improving the material conditions of the masses. By removing pro-Japanese elements from the Government and including in the Government truly authoritative anti-Japanese militant figures from the respective parties, groupings and organisations, in accordance with expediency and the wishes of these bodies. Only such an authoritative and militant all-Chinese Government, convening an all-Chinese Parliament on the basis of universal suffrage, and providing the people with universal democratic liberties can fulfil the responsible, supremely difficult and complicated task of national defence entrusted to it by the 400 millions of the people of China. Only such an all-Chinese Government of National Defence can ensure the general mobilisation of all the military, human and economic forces of the whole country for the sacred armed struggle of the entire Chinese people against the Japanese aggressor.

There are several factors that will rapidly and effectively assist in the establishment of mutual confidence between the Government and the people, and thereby increase and strengthen manyfold the national defence of China. These are: the immediate release of all political prisoners, the abolition of all anti-democratic legislation directed against the people, the further revision of laws and conditions governing the convening of a National Assembly; a radical change in the Draft Constitution of the Chinese Republic; immediate introduction of far-reaching democratic liberties for all citizens, with the exception of national traitors and Japanese agents—in a word, the transformation of China into a really united all-Chinese Republic.

Thirdly, "General mobilisation of all military units and the establishment of an all-Chinese United anti-Japanese Army." If a successful armed struggle is to be waged against the Japanese aggressor, it requires

the general mobilisation of all military units in China, and this in its turn requires the establishment of an all-Chinese United Anti-Japanese Army by uniting all the armed forces of China, *i.e.*, all the central Nanking armies, all the provincial armies, the anti-Japanese People's Red Army, the Manchurian anti-Japanese people's armies, etc., under a united command, with a united discipline, united supplies and arms, and a single military plan for joint military operations against the common enemy. The Nanking Government and Chiang Kai-shek are, in a certain measure, setting about the creation of such an army. We, of course, only welcome this step. The Red Army, together with its command and political leaders under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, has repeatedly, not only in words but also in deeds, given sincere evidence of its readiness to transform itself into a component part of an all-Chinese united national revolutionary army. But the creation of a united all-Chinese army has long been delayed because certain of the leaders of the Nanking armies and certain Nanking political leaders have tried during the recent years, when the internecine struggle had already, in the main, come to a stop, to make use of the slogan of the establishment of a united national army to weaken and lessen the fighting power of the anti-Japanese People's Red Army. For example, demands were put forward that Comrades Chu De and Mao Tse tung the most prominent, talented leaders and creators of the Red Army should resign, that the strength of the anti-Japanese People's Red Army should be reduced and curtailed, that all the chiefs of divisional Red Army Headquarters' staffs be removed and replaced by others, etc. Does all this correspond to the common interests of the struggle against Japan and the work of creating a united national army?

According to the latest news, the Nanking Government and the Kuomintang have already given up some of their demands, while the Red Army with a view to speeding up the establishment of the United Chinese Army and the common struggle on the anti-Japanese fronts, has already officially accepted orders from Nanking regarding the appointment of its command and the re-naming of the Red Army as a unit of the national revolutionary army. This is a big advance towards the creation of a united all-Chinese army.

A further serious obstacle in the way of creating a united revolutionary people's army arises from the fact that a section of the Nanking leaders have, with a view to creating a national revolutionary army been trying to weaken the military strength of the troops in the localities. At the same time a section of the local army leaders in their old habitual way regard their troops as their "own capita" and are unwilling really to include their military forces in the united

all-Chinese anti-Japanese army. These military leaders nationally and locally must be told openly that an increasing consciousness is to be marked among all the soldiers of the Chinese Army who understand that their sacred duty is not by any means to remain the blind subjects of "their own generals," but consciously to fulfil the glorious task of defending their country and people. In this connection the behaviour of the 38th division of the 29th Army during the recent events is characteristic, for when its commander, Chang Tsy-chun a pro-Japanese agent, refused the request of the officers and soldiers of his division to issue an order calling for armed resistance to the Japanese troops, the 38th division against the will of its commander, and under the command of its best officers, went voluntarily as one man to the aid of the 37th division and took part in the defence of the Peiping-Tientsin region against the Japanese aggressor.

Now is the best time to test all the military leaders of China. Were anybody in the present conditions to reveal himself as a traitor, a coward, were he to oppose action against the Japanese, he would be surrounded with general contempt as an unworthy military leader, as an unworthy son of the fatherland.

Fourthly, "General Mobilisation of the whole of the Chinese people." For an effective, successful, armed struggle to be waged against Japanese imperialism, it is far from being enough merely to have military forces in China. It is necessary to undertake the general mobilisation of all Chinese people fit for work, men and women, great and small, for the joint struggle to reach the common goal. The guiding principle in mobilising the whole of our people must to-day be the line of our Party as expressed already in its August 1 appeal (1935): "If you have much money, hand it over; if you have quantities of arms, deliver them up; if you have bread and rice, hand them over; if you enjoy good health, do not spare your strength and energy; if you have any special knowledge, make use of it. Let all the people be mobilised on these lines!"

Fifthly, "General arming of the whole of the Chinese people." The military operations of the Japanese air, infantry and naval forces are already showing most clearly that in modern warfare the position behind the lines differs little from that at the front. And so we must arm our people with all the types of weapons at our disposal, so that at any time and at any point our people will be able, not only to defend themselves by force of arms against unexpected attacks of the Japanese and their agents, but also to afford the necessary aid to our troops at the front, and conduct guerilla warfare and diversionist work behind the enemy's lines, on his flanks, etc.

To-day, the Nanking Government and the local authorities must first and foremost arm the millions of

industrial workers and working people generally in Shanghai, Tientsin, Peiping, Hangchow, Wuchang, Tsin tao and other big towns of the country, and also the peasant masses of the north provinces of the Kiang-su-Cheking and Fukien-Kiangsi regions. Only by a combination of the auxiliary action of the armed masses of the people with that of regular troops on the basis of a general military plan, will the Japanese plunderers be successfully driven out of China.

Sixthly, "General mobilisation of the whole of the economic life of the country and the conduct of an economic policy of national defence." Everybody understands the enormous importance in modern warfare of the general mobilisation of all the country's resources, economic, financial, and raw materials. This task is particularly acute in China, an economically backward country, compelled to conduct a prolonged and extensive war against Japanese imperialism. In this respect the Chinese Communists will have to undertake much serious work along with our ally the Kuomintang, to mobilise and organise the entire economic life of the country to correspond with the demands and conditions of national defence.

Seventhly, "The safeguarding and improvement of the material conditions of the masses of the people." The masses of the people of China live in poverty, millions perish daily from hunger, drought, floods and other calamities. All chatter to the effect that in wartime there can be no question of at all safeguarding and improving the standard of living of the masses of the people must be refuted as harmful and useless theory. True it is difficult in wartime to safeguard and improve the material conditions of the masses; in a national war of defence people have to make big sacrifices. But it is not only possible, but also absolutely essential in the interests of the struggle, to safeguard the elementary conditions vitally necessary for the existence of the working people and to improve their totally unbearable conditions during the armed struggle on a national scale.

Hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers and office employees who formerly worked in Japanese enterprises, are to-day leaving their places of work as a protest and boycott against the enemy of the nation. But unemployment means hunger. Is it not possible to safeguard the existence of these hundreds of thousands of vanguard fighters? Of course it is.

In many parts of China the peasants are again suffering this year on account of drought and the bad harvest. Is it not possible to give elementary aid to the poor and starving peasants? Of course it is. Systematic aid must also be given to the many millions of unemployed, impoverished handicraftsmen, etc.

Eighthly, "Operation of a policy of national-defensive education and aid to the unemployed and illiterate youth." In China there are tens of millions

of illiterate workers and peasants, while the educational system far from satisfies the demands either of the students themselves or of the State. Therefore, a big mass movement of the youth has been developing in China during recent years, headed by the best and most prominent figures in science and education; this movement calls for the operation of a policy of national-defensive education and aid to the unemployed and illiterate youth. The main idea of this movement is as follows: (1) improvement of the educational system with a view to raising the national spirit of the youth and their determination to fight against the common enemy, for the salvation of the fatherland; (2) reorganisation of the educational system from the viewpoint of the requirements of national defence and the training of various types of specialists; (3) freedom of conscience and study, a struggle against the compulsory education of young people in the spirit of ideas hostile to the people and the nation; (4) military education of the youth and students, and (5) work to be provided to those who have finished their studies, and assistance given to students, etc.

The Communist Party of China wholeheartedly supports this movement of the youth and of the best of the intelligentsia in China, and has included these demands in its common programme of the united national front to resist Japan and save the fatherland.

Ninthly, "Confiscation of all the property of the Japanese aggressors and their agents, and the wiping out of the Japanese spies and national traitors." By confiscating all the property of the Japanese aggressors and their agents, our enemies are deprived of an economic base in China; the resources obtained by carrying through this confiscation will cover part of the military expenditure and go to afford assistance to anti-Japanese fighters and their families. It is a generally recognised fact that the State, military and party machine of the Kuomintang and other organisations, locally and nationally, is infested with Japanese agents. If the Kuomintang and Nanking Government have really decided to conduct an armed struggle against the Japanese aggressors, they must not tolerate a situation where their apparatus, especially its most important branches, is infested with Japanese agents. And if this is so, then why are the Trotskyists—those open, foul traitors to the Chinese people still allow to conduct with impunity, their foul, undermining, diversionist and espionage work at the orders of the Japanese secret service in Shanghai, Nanking, Sian, and other parts? Is it not a well-known and indisputable fact that the Chinese Trotskyists are on the pay-roll of the Japanese secret-service!

Is it not the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist slogan, that the chief enemy of China is not Japanese imperialism but the Communist Party of China and

the Association for National Salvation, dictated by the Japanese secret service? Is not the Trotskyist slogan of "Alliance with Japan to carry on the struggle against the Communist Party and Chiang Kai-shek" a direct challenge by the Japanese aggressor to destroy the Communist Party and the Kuomintang? Is not the Trotskyist line of the need for China to conduct a national-revolutionary war, not only against Japanese imperialism but against all the imperialist powers as well, directed towards isolating China from Europe and America in order to aid the Japanese plunderers in China? The Trotskyists spread about the notorious anti-Leninist theory of the impossibility of conducting national-revolutionary wars in the imperialist epoch. The Japano-Trotskyist agents direct furious attacks against the Chinese Communist Party's slogan of the need to conduct a national-revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism. Is this not all in direct fulfilment of Japan's task of preaching "the theory of non-resistance" in China? Are not the Trotskyist slogans of "the necessity of waging civil war simultaneously against the enemy at home and a national-revolutionary war against the enemy abroad" and of the impossibility and impermissibility "of any united front whatsoever between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang" the cynical fulfilment of the Japanese policy in China of "conquering China through the medium of the Chinese themselves," and on no account to permit the unification of the national forces of China for a common struggle against Japanese aggression? Lu Siun, the deceased popular writer was profoundly right when he declared that "the view of the Trotskyists in China are welcomed only by Japanese imperialism."

During the Siani events, the Japano-Trotskyist agents led by the bandit Chang Mu-Tao, tried their utmost to foment war between Nanking and Siani. These very same agents immediately afterwards killed General Van-Hi-Che, the famous national hero, the first of the higher officers of the Chinese army openly and honestly to establish the united anti-Japanese front with the Communist Party and the Red Army.

The Trotskyists, headed by the thrice contemptible renegade, Huan Pin and Chang Mu-tao, receive 50,000 dollars monthly from the Japanese secret service in North China, to cover the organisation of the so-called "New Party" and to conduct their wrecking work. Chang Mu-tao the representative of the Trotskyists was one of the so-called "delegation of friendship with Japan" and went with it to Tokio. The Trotskyists Hsui Lun-shan, Chen Sui-Tsia and the blood-stained assassin Chen Chuo-san, (or He-Chin use Japanese money to publish special newspapers and periodicals in Shanghai in which to spread all kinds of slander against the Communist Party, the Kuomintang and all the anti-Japanese mass organisa-

tions. Do not all these facts prove the absolute truth of the statement of our great writer Lu Sium, who said that "the behaviour of the Trotskyists renders them unworthy of being modern Chinese"? Do not all these facts go to prove that the Trotskyists are in agreement with the Japanese secret service to help Japanese imperialism to seize China! Do not all these facts go to prove that the Trotskyists are enemies, not only of the Communist Party, but also of the entire Chinese people! All these facts completely confirm the words of Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the whole of working mankind, when he says that "Trotskyism has become transformed into a wild and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and assassins acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign States." The Chinese people and world public opinion will judge of the degree of determination and readiness of the Kuomintang and Nanking Government, and also of the local, political and military authorities, to undertake the armed struggle against the Japanese aggressor, by their attitude to all Japanese agents and national traitors and, in particular, to these Japano-Trotskyist Fascist agents. The Government and people of the U.S.S.R. are setting us an example of how to fight against foreign secret services and to purge the State, military and Party apparatus of these vipers, thereby strengthening its defensive power and safeguarding the rear in the event of an attack by foreign aggressors.

Side by side with the nine slogans and demands above-mentioned concerning home policy, the Communist Party has also put forward a slogan regarding the "conduct of an anti-Japanese foreign policy." The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic in their August 1 Manifesto in 1935, advanced a special point on foreign policy which runs: "The establishment of contact with all people who are hostile towards Japanese imperialism, with the Japanese working people, Koreans, Formosans, etc., for the conduct of joint struggle against the common enemy; the establishment of an alliance with all nations and states supporting and sympathising with the national struggle of the Chinese people, and friendly relations with all powers and nations observing benevolent neutrality in the military operations between Japanese imperialism and the Chinese people." And in one of its latest declarations concerning the events in North China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China proposed that the Nanking Government should "immediately begin to pursue an active anti-Japanese foreign policy, to support the international front of peace and conclude with other countries all kinds of agreements beneficial to the cause of the anti-Japanese struggle."

The operation of the measures enumerated, both in the sphere of home affairs and in foreign policy, will

enable the Chinese people not only to organise effective armed resistance on a national scale, but also to achieve victory over the Japanese aggressor.

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA IN THE PRESENT SITUATION.

The struggle of the Chinese people is entering a new period, namely that of the immediate organisation of successful armed resistance on a national scale to Japanese aggression. Whereas in the preceding period the main task of the day consisted in putting a stop to the civil war raging in the country with a view to conducting a joint struggle against Japanese imperialism, now, on the other hand, when the armed struggle has begun against the Japanese aggressor, the task is to organise armed resistance by the entire people until the Japanese invaders are driven out of China to the last man.

Whereas in the preceding period the Communist Party succeeded in laying down a certain basis for the establishment of a united national anti-Japanese front with the Kuomintang and other organisations, now, on the other hand, it is directly engaged in a struggle to secure that this united national anti-Japanese front rapidly and completely takes the shape of the establishment of collaboration between the political parties and organisations and the creation of a united all-Chinese democratic republic with an all-Chinese Government of national defence and an all-Chinese united anti-Japanese army. Whereas, formerly, the question of organising *successful* armed resistance to Japanese aggression on a national scale still faced the Communist Party of China in perspective, to-day it is already a direct and actual task. Hence it follows that whereas formerly the Communist Party of China concentrated its attention and work chiefly on the Red Army and the Soviet regions and relied first and foremost on their forces, now, on the other hand, our Communist Party must concern itself not only with consolidation and increasing the forces of the Red Army but also with preserving its best traditions and fighting qualities as the most advanced, disciplined, solid component part of the all-Chinese Army. The Communist Party of China will also concern itself not only with improving the work in the Soviet regions in order to convert them into a bulwark of anti-Japanese struggle, but relying on the growing revolutionary strength and might of millions of toiling people throughout the whole of China, will fight to transform the other regions of the country into a strong base of the all-Chinese democratic republic.

This means, first, that the C.P. of China has the task of making great effort to educate and organise millions of the working class who now again are beginning actively and openly to take part in the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle as the most advanced, most class-conscious, most consistent section of the

whole of the Chinese people. The Chinese Communists appreciate the fact that in the preceding period activity among the industrial workers and their trade union organisations in the big centres of the country was extremely weak, while in connection with the rising class-consciousness wider organisation and increased energy and initiative of the working class not only will the mass influence and basis of the Communist Party grow and gather strength, but the national struggle against the Japanese aggressor also will become more powerful.

Secondly, the Communist Party of China is confronted with the tasks of working to organise and draw the very wide masses of the peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, into the nation-wide and all-democratic struggle. The Chinese Communists appreciate the fact that in spite of their wealth of experience in working amongst the peasants, the Communists, apart from the districts where the Red Army has been, or is to be, found, have in general done extremely little to organise the peasantry. Yet the more extensively and better the peasant masses are organised, the more actively they are drawn into the revolutionary struggle, the stronger and more powerful will be the anti-Japanese national-liberation movement and the more surely and certainly will its outcome be successful.

Thirdly, the Communist Party of China has the task of intensifying and extending its work among the Chinese youth in general and among the student youth in particular. The Chinese Communists appreciate the fact that work among the youth is particularly weak. The Chinese youth are deeply imbued with the spirit of national-liberation; they are displaying heroism and self-sacrifice in entering the front ranks of the anti-Japanese struggle and are called upon to play an important rôle in the national-liberation struggle of the Chinese people.

Fourthly, the Communist Party has the task of organising its members and honest revolutionary elements in all units of the national-revolutionary armies, in the raising of the fighting spirit of the army, in strengthening revolutionary military discipline, in setting examples of heroism and self-sacrifice, and in ensuring mutual assistance between the army and the people. These difficulties, of course, are connected with the mortal enemy.

Fifthly, the Communist Party of China has the task of increasing its influence and work in Manchuria and Jehol. The Communist Party of China can be proud of the fact that up to now the Communists, regardless of the great difficulties and heavy sacrifices, have been working and fighting in Manchuria and Jehol.

On the road to its fulfilment of its great historic revolutionary tasks, our Chinese Communist Party is inevitably meeting with innumerable difficulties.

These difficulties, of course, are connected with the need for carrying on the struggle against "Japanese imperialism which is armed to the teeth—a perfidious enemy which cleverly atomises the forces of China and makes use of every internal struggle in the country of its own robber ends."* These difficulties are also connected with the fact that a certain section of the representatives of the propertied classes exist in China who, like the French bourgeois leader of the epoch of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870-71, place the egoistic interests of their own classes above their national duty and easily commit national treason, and, in certain circumstances, will help the enemy from without in his struggle against the Chinese working class, against the Chinese people. "Internal difficulties also face the Communist Party of China. It has to overcome the resistance of sectarian elements who fail to understand that in the present conditions the only way to emancipate the Chinese people is by establishing a united national front against the Japanese violators. It also has to fight against the opportunists, capitulators who are ready to sacrifice the political and organisational independence of the Party and Red Army and to dissolve them in other organisations.

The first difficulty of an inner Party character is connected with the fact that the Chinese Communist Party in recent years has been accomplishing a sharp political turn, such as has faced no other section of the Comintern. Instead of the former armed struggle against the Kuomintang the Communist Party is now fighting for collaboration with the Kuomintang and other organisations. Instead of the civil war which has been going on for nearly ten years between the Red Army and the Kuomintang and non-Kuomintang troops, the Communist Party is now fighting to unite the Red Army with all other Chinese troops in a Chinese united national-revolutionary army. Instead of the former armed struggle to overthrow the Nanking Government, the Communist Party is now fighting for the establishment, together with the Kuomintang and Nanking Government, of a United Chinese Government, for the creation of a Chinese united democratic republic with a Chinese Government of National Defence. Moreover, the Communist Party openly declares that it has withdrawn its slogan of the Sovietisation of China, during the given stage of struggle of the Chinese people. Although the Communist Party has till now in the main been comparatively successful in accomplishing this political turn, it can by no means be said that there are not still in its ranks a considerable number of people, who, faced with this sharp turn, will prove to be in a web of ideological confusion and practical error. It is

* G. Dimitrov. "The 15th Anniversary of the C.P. of China."

precisely now that the Communist Party has more than ever before to conduct a most serious ideological struggle and improve the Marxist-Leninist theoretical education of its cadres.

The Chinese Communists, true sons of their people, are in the front ranks in defence of the national existence and independence of China; but this by no means signifies either that the Chinese Communists have become bourgeois nationalists, or that they have become dissolved in the ranks of the latter. Between the bourgeois nationalists there is and always will be an impassable boundary. While acting most resolutely in defence of the national interests of the people, we remain true revolutionary internationalists and consistent proletarian fighters.

While, in spite of all the differences in principle that exist between Communism and Sun Yat-senism, we declare ourselves supporters of the fundamental revolutionary slogans of Sun-Yat-sen, of the best revolutionary traditions of the Chinese people, on no account do the Communists cease for a moment to be true followers of the Marxist-Leninist principles.

Under definite historical conditions we Communists stand for the creation, on the basis of a common platform, of a united national front with the Kuomintang and other organisations for the conduct of a joint struggle against the common enemy, but on no account do we permit for a moment the loss of the political and organisational independence of our own Party or that its own Communist colours be concealed. We should always remember Comrade Dimitrov's advice that "The Communist Party of China, while exactly and loyally fulfilling its obligations in accordance with the agreements it has undertaken, has no intention of taking the path of blind faith in its allies nor of capitulating.*"

While in the definite historical situation that has arisen of actively supporting the creation of a united Chinese Democratic Republic, and the convening of a Parliament for the whole of China, the Chinese Communists are on no account, not for a moment, converted into bourgeois democrats, nor cease to be consistent supporters of the Soviet Government and Socialism.

The second difficulty of an inner Party character is connected with the need for re-educating the old Party cadres in accordance with the new tasks of education and promoting new cadres from among the active members and leaders of the mass revolutionary movement, who have grown up during recent years. The majority of the present cadres of the Communist Party of China were trained and steeled in civil war. Many of them are of peasant origin. They have had

experience of armed struggle against the Kuomintang and its armies, but many of them have had no experience whatsoever of the struggle for the masses in circumstances where there is no Soviet Government or Red Army, nor even have they any idea of the working-class movement in the big towns. Therefore, the education of the old Party cadres to suit the new conditions and methods of work is by no means an easy job.

No less important is the task of educating and promoting new cadres, first and foremost from among the workers. In recent years many active members and leaders of the mass anti-Japanese movement and the strike struggle have grown up and are still developing. It is from among them that the Communist Party can and must draw fresh forces and new reserves, its new fighting cadres who are directly connected with very wide masses of the people and possess new experience of struggle and work. The Party has helped and will continue to help them, for Communists value every honest and capable son of our people. Many of the present active members and leaders of the anti-Japanese movement are, in the cause of the national-revolutionary struggle, and as they become acquainted with the theory and practice of Communism, coming ever closer to our Party, and in the not far distant future will become sons and daughters of the great Communist Party. Some of them have already joined the Communist Party of China. At the same time, however, it should also be borne in mind that not all these active in the anti-Japanese struggle can become Communists. The mere desire and determination to take part in the anti-Japanese struggle are still far from enough to enable one to become a member of the Communist Party. Communists are not only fighters for the emancipation of the working class and the whole of working mankind, i.e., for the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviet Power and Communism.

The third difficulty of an inner Party character lies in the fact that in the present conditions, when internecine warfare has ceased and a nation-wide armed defensive war has begun, the enemies of the Chinese Revolution, and first and foremost the Japanese Secret Service, will inevitably increase their efforts to instal in the ranks of the Communist Party their spies, provocateurs, diversionists, terrorists and wreckers; these will be recruited primarily from among convert Trotskyists like the Chen Du-suists, the Lo Chan-lunists, etc., in order from within to undermine the power and the strength of the most revolutionary, most militant Party in our country, the Party that strikes most fear in them, namely, the Communist Party of China. This circumstance is the most dangerous since in the ranks of our Party revolutionary vigilance and a systematic struggle against the provocation and espionage of the enemy are extremely

* G. Dimitrov. "The 15th Anniversary of the C.P. of China."

weak and not sufficiently realised. The verification of cadres by all, including the leading Party organisations, is very weakly operated.

Yes! China is passing through the most serious, most critical moment of its history. There are huge difficulties in the way of the great struggle to organise the nation-wide armed resistance of the entire people to the Japanese aggressor, the defence of the national existence of China, and the cause of universal peace. The whole of the Chinese people, every political party and grouping, every politician, military or public man of China to-day is faced with a world historical test.

DECLARATION OF THE C.C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

In connection with the new aggression of Japanese imperialism in China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has at various times in its declarations called on the Chinese people to offer armed resistance to the Japanese usurpers.

We print here one of these proclamations, issued on July 23, 1937, in connection with the agreement then signed between the Japanese invaders and Sun-Che-Yuan:

Citizens of all China!

It is now public knowledge that Sun-Che-Yuan, the Government representative in Hopei and Chahar, has accepted the following terms of the Japanese:

1. The Hopei-Chahar authorities proffer an apology to the Japanese Army.
2. The 29th Army withdraws from the Peiping-Tientsin region, Lyukoutsya and the region east of the river Yundinhe.
3. The mass anti-Japanese movement to be suppressed, and a joint campaign begun with the Japanese against the Reds.

These conditions are already being carried out. It is not excluded that a secret agreement also exists between the Japanese and Sun-Che-Yuan.

Citizens of China! These servile conditions, so humiliating to our country, fundamentally contradict the demands of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China, who wish to defend Northern China and to prevent even a single inch of our territory being surrendered to Japanese imperialism. These conditions are also in fundamental contradiction to the following principles which follow from the exceedingly moderate stand taken by Chiang Kai-shek in his speech on July 17 about the events in Lyukowtsao.

- (a) The settlement of the question, under no cir-

The Chinese Communists being true followers of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the great teachers of the working class and the whole of working mankind, and, being worthy sons and daughters of their people, do not fear these difficulties and will find ways to overcome them. Backed by the solidarity and support of the whole of the international proletariat and progressive mankind, the Chinese Communists, full of confidence and resolution, have joined the whole of the Chinese people, in the great historic battle against Japanese imperialism, for a new, independent, free and happy great Chinese Republic!

cumstances, to be such as will impair the territorial unity and sovereign rights of China.

- (b) No changes contrary to the law to be made in the administrative system of Hopei and Chahar.

- (c) No one can remove the officials appointed by the Central Government, as for instance the president of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, Sun Che-Yuan, etc.

- (d) The 29th Army is not to be restricted or interfered with in any way in the districts where it operates.

Our Government and people must absolutely refuse to agree to the capitulatory Japanese conditions, so humiliating to China. We strongly protest against Sun Che-Yuan's action in signing this agreement, which will lead the country to ruin and the nation to extinction. We wish to fight to the end to defend the Peiping-Tientsin region, to defend every inch of the ground in Hopei and Chahar.

Citizens of China! The situation is critical. Japan is attacking China with the aid of large naval, land and air forces. Peiping and Tientsin, and also the whole of Hopei and Chahar are in great danger. We must proclaim to the whole world that we will not make any concessions to or any agreement with the Japanese aggressor. Chiang Kai-shek was correct in saying that if Peiping shares the fate of Mukden, then Hopei and Chahar will share the fate of the four north-eastern provinces. And if it is true that Peiping may become another Mukden, then what guarantee is there that Nanking will not suffer the lot of Peiping. That is the root of the question. If to-day we give up Peiping and Tientsin, Lyukoutsao and the territory east of the river Yundinhe, it will be impossible to defend Hopei and Chahar, and these provinces will meet with the same fate as Manchuria.

- And if we do not defend Hopei and Chahar, if we

lose Northern China, the ruin of the country and the destruction of the nation will follow.

We must protest emphatically against the cap-in-hand policy and concessions to the Japanese usurpers, made by General Sun Che-Yuan, the chairman of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council.

Citizens of China! We must not under any circumstances remain passive and compliant in face of this shameful capitulation which has already become a fact, and in face of this attempt at so-called local settlement of the question between Japan and China, we call upon the Nanking Government to take concrete measures to satisfy the demands and aspirations of the Chinese people, and to carry out the line of the anti-Japanese struggle, proclaimed by Chiang Kai-shek on July 17 of this year. At the present time, ardent speeches and general statements and protests are not enough. The Japanese usurpers are not afraid of these. It is also useless at the present time to place any hopes on intervention by the States which once signed the Nine-Power Pact. The Japanese imperialist barbarians are indifferent to this as well. What we need is the most effective measures to be taken immediately to ensure that what the whole Chinese people want and demand will be carried out, that the line for an anti-Japanese struggle, as proclaimed by Chiang Kai-shek, will be carried into effect.

For this the following measures are essential:

(a) The Hopei-Chahar authorities, in the person of Sun-Che-Yuan, must be given immediate orders to refuse to fulfil the three conditions put forward by the Japanese, and to lead the whole of the 29th Army in armed resistance to the enemy. Should Sun-Che-Yuan refuse to submit to the orders of the Central Government he must be dismissed at once, and a worthy commander sent to lead the heroic 29th Army and other military units in Northern China.

(b) Strong forces to be sent immediately to the aid of the 29th Army, and all the naval, land and air forces of China to be mobilised in order to begin a war of defence. A congress of national salvation must be summoned immediately, the military leadership of the defence operations must be centralised, and a single leadership created on all fronts in order to reply to the attack of the Japanese aggressors by an active defensive struggle. A wide guerilla struggle must be developed in the territory seized by the Japanese, and help furnished to the anti-Japanese people's armies and irregulars, and also to the people of Manchuria and Jehol.

(c) A general mobilisation of the Chinese people must be carried out at once, the law banning the Parties rescinded, the patriotic movement permitted, the political prisoners released, and democratic liberties established, the urgent economic demands of

the people must be satisfied, mass work developed on a wide scale, and various organisations of the national anti-Japanese front formed among the civil and military population.

(d) A defensive war must be launched against Japan on all fronts, diplomatic relations and parleys with Japan to be ended, an energetic fight to be waged against Japanese contraband and a boycott of Japanese goods carried out; all banks, mines, factories and other property in China belonging to Japan to be confiscated; all political and economic privileges enjoyed by the Japanese imperialists in China to be withdrawn; the Japanese Consulate, offices and Embassy and also special Japanese missions to be closed; Japanese spies and Chinese traitors to the nation to be arrested; all military and civil organisations in China belonging to the Japanese and to Chinese traitors to the nation to be disbanded.

(e) All political barriers between the Central Government and the local authorities must be got rid of at once by democratising the regime and drawing in delegates from all parties and groups, and also all public organisations to participate in the work of the National Assembly and Government. The National Assembly will then really become an organ representing the will of the people, and the Government really become a government of national defence, leading the fight against Japan for the salvation of the country. There must be a clean-up in the Government bodies and all pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation driven out. All this must be done so that the Government and the people's organisations may, together and with one mind, carry on the struggle against Japan.

(f) The closest co-operation must be established between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, so that, on the basis of this collaboration between the two parties, all parties and groups eager to offer resistance to Japan and defend the fatherland may be rallied together, and a strong anti-Japanese national front formed with the purpose of rallying all forces to fight the calamity threatening the nation.

(g) A new policy must be initiated in all spheres, administrative, economic, and agrarian, in the sphere of labour, culture, public education, etc., in order to strengthen the defence of the country and ameliorate the conditions of the people.

(h) An active anti-Japanese foreign policy must be initiated, the international peace front supported, and agreements beneficial to the cause of the anti-Japanese struggle concluded with the U.S.A., England, France, the U.S.S.R. and other countries.

Citizens of China! If our Government and our people can resolutely carry out these measures we will be strong enough to overcome the Japanese aggressors, drive them out of China, and recover our lost territory. Only the great might of the Chinese

people will succeed in smashing the offensive of Japanese Imperialism and in creating a new, free, independent and happy China.

Sons and daughters of the Chinese nation, all citizens who are unwilling to be colonial slaves! A turning point in the life of our country has come, our national independence is at stake. Arise and unite as closely as possible. *At the cost of our lives let us achieve complete victory for the nation.* Down with all concessions and agreements with the Japanese

usurpers! We must fight resolutely and to the end! Only by a fight to the death shall we succeed in smashing the defensive of Japanese imperialism and defend the Peiping-Tientsin region.

Down with Japanese imperialism! Long live the freedom of the Chinese people!

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China.
July 23rd, 1937.

IN THE FAR WEST AND THE FAR EAST

(Introduction to the Letters Published below from Comrades Mao Tse tung and Chu De to the Spanish People).

IN the Far East of the Asiatic Continent, as well as in the Far West of the European Continent, war has begun without being declared, a war of a Fascist horde of brigands against the freedom of peoples and world peace. "The guns have the floor!" was the insolent announcement of the chief of the Italian Blackshirts. "For Germany, the Basque coal mines are more important than any talk about peace," declared the leader of the German Brownshirts at the same time with unconcealed cynicism. "There is no hope of any diplomatic solution of the Sino-Japanese problem," smirks the Japanese military-Fascist clique provokingly. German pilots raze Spanish towns to the ground, Italian divisions carry death to the Spanish provinces. Japanese regiments set fire to Chinese towns and villages, annihilating the sons and daughters of the Chinese people.

Fascism is setting the world alight in the Far West and the Far East. But the Governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries and their statesmen make diplomatic invocations, imagining thus to divert the flames from themselves. They refuse to shed the illusion that the conflagration has broken out "by accident." They refuse to admit that it was purposely set alight by criminal incendiaries, and that in other countries inflammable material is lying ready to be used at the first opportunity by the same forces as launched the war in Spain and China. They refuse to admit that the war in Spain and the war in China are most closely connected with each other, that really they constitute one war, which is flaring in the Far East and in the Far West, the war of the Fascist conspirators against the freedom of all peoples, against the justifiable pretensions of all working people to a worthy human existence.

The heroic fighters in Spain have never seen either Peiping or Shanghai. They know little of the conditions in which the Chinese peasant, riksha or coolie,

the Chinese proletarians, are fighting for their existence. They are hardly able correctly to pronounce the names of Chinese people and of the Chinese towns which they read every day in the newspapers. But their instincts tell them with unquestionable clarity that they are conducting one and the same struggle, that they have risen up against one and the same enemy. Under the walls of Madrid, think the heroic fighters in Spain, we are also fighting for the liberty of Shanghai, and the struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressors is at the same time a struggle against the German and Italian Fascists who have invaded Spain. In the militant songs of the Chinese people there can be proudly heard the word "Madrid," and the names of Spanish fighters for liberty; while the Spanish army feels itself closely linked up with the anti-Japanese Red People's Army that is fighting under the leadership of the Chinese Communists. Every victory of the fighters for liberty on the Tagus and Manzanares strengthens the position of the fighters for freedom on the Hungkow and Yangtse-poo. On the threshold of Asia and Europe both these people are defending the peace of all continents.

Over lands and seas the Chinese people send greetings to the Spanish people. The President of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviets, Comrade Mao Tse tung, and the Commander-in-Chief of the anti-Japanese Red People's Army, Comrade Chu De, have sent fraternal letters to the Spanish people. Mao Tse tung writes:

"The cause for which you are fighting is also our cause. . . . Many comrades in the ranks of the Chinese Red Army who would also like to go to Spain, there to participate in your struggle. . . . Were we not now occupied with the Japanese invaders, we should certainly have joined you and taken our places in the ranks of your foremost fighters."

Chu De writes:

"Every Chinese worker and peasant, every Chinese Red Army man, understands full well that the war in Spain is a war of international importance. Your victory will

deliver a mortal blow to the fascist interventionists—the fomenters of world war.”

These letters were written before the Japanese seized Peiping and Tientsin and began open war in China.

In their fiery indignation against Japanese imperialism, the Chinese people have joined the front of liberty which stretches from Madrid to Peiping. The battle-cry of the heroic Chinese Communist Party, which is calling for national unity against the mortal enemy, is finding a tremendous echo. Millions of Chinese workers and peasants, of Chinese intellectuals, a definite section of the Chinese bourgeoisie, are coming together to save China. The Spanish workers, peasants and intellectuals are closing their ranks in order to save Spain. In the struggle against German and Italian Fascism there is being hammered out the Spanish People's Army; in the struggle against Japanese imperialism there will be hammered out the Chinese People's Army.

Against the “Berlin-Rome-Tokio” axis, against the military bloc of the Fascist brigands, there is rising up the front of those fighting for the liberty of the peoples.

“The cause for which you are fighting is also our cause!” These words of Mao Tse tung to the Spanish people are uttered as though from the bottom of the hearts of the working people of all countries. The Spanish and Chinese people are fighting for one cause, for the cause of all peoples, for the cause of the whole of progressive mankind. The sooner and the more profoundly this is understood by all working people, the sooner, the more thoroughly they organise joint international aid to the Spanish and Chinese peoples, the sooner will the possibility arise of overthrowing Fascism and saving mankind from a new imperialist war.

The Spanish people in the Far West, and the Chinese people in the Far East are equally close to the hearts of all progressive and liberty-loving people, for the struggle for both these peoples is a tremendous factor in achieving victory over Fascism.

LETTER OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE C.E.C. OF CHINESE SOVIETS, COMRADE MAO TSE-DUN, TO THE SPANISH PEOPLE

Spanish people and comrades in arms!

We, the Communist Party of China, the anti-Japanese People's Red Army and Soviets, regard the war being waged by the Spanish Republic Government as the most sacred war in the whole world.

This war is being waged not only for the national existence of Spain, but also in the interests of the oppressed peoples of the whole world, for the Spanish Government is fighting against the German and Italian Fascists, who, together with the Spanish rebels,

are destroying world culture and the foundations of humanity. The Spanish Government and the Spanish people are fighting against German and Italian Fascists who are in alliance with the Japanese Fascists who have invaded China.

The Japanese Fascists are striving their utmost to bring about aggression in China. Having seized the four provinces of North-East China, they have invaded North and Central China. Without the aid of the German and Italian Fascists, Japanese Fascism would never have dared to hurl itself with such fury against China.

The Communist Party of China sends its warmest sympathy to the political parties united in the Spanish People's Front, and now calls upon the various political parties in China to adhere to a united national front of struggle against Japanese Fascism. Our work is advancing rapidly and, in the event of success, China will deliver a blow against Japanese Fascism which will at the same time be a blow against Fascism in Spain.

We are convinced that the struggle of the Chinese people is inseparable from your struggle in Spain. The Communist Party of China in its struggle against Japanese Fascism desires to inspire and aid the Spanish people. The Communist Party of China, the anti-Japanese People's Red Army, the Soviets and the Chinese people and inspired by your defence of Madrid, by your struggle on the fronts. Our press in the Soviet regions daily publishes information and articles about your heroic struggle. We are firmly convinced that the unification of the various parties in your People's Front is the guarantee of your final victory. We have read and fully approve the ten points of the united front platform put forward by the Spanish Communist Party.

Your struggle calls to mind our struggle in the Far East. For, besides the common features already mentioned, traitors and Trotskyists have managed to penetrate into your ranks just as into ours. Only the most resolute struggle against these provocateurs will enable us to consolidate our fighting front. By fighting against the enemy in our own ranks in China, we are helping you in Spain.

Over a hundred newspapers and magazines are published in China which give regular information, print articles and photographs expressing sympathy with your heroic struggle for democracy and liberty. We know that your victory will be of direct support to our struggle against Japanese Fascism.

The cause for which you are fighting is also our cause. It was with enthusiasm that we heard of the creation of international brigades, and were overjoyed to learn that both Chinese and Japanese are to be found in them.

Many comrades who are in the ranks of the Chinese Red Army would also like to go to Spain,

there to participate in your struggle. Not a single day passes without us discussing questions of your struggle and the general situation in Spain. Were we not occupied now with the Japanese invaders, we would certainly have joined you and taken our place in the ranks of your foremost fighters.

Many of you know that the Chinese Red Army has traversed the difficult road of a ten years' struggle. We fought without any means, we suffered from hunger and cold, were without arms and ammunition; yet in the end we achieved the victory we have to-day.

Our ten years' struggle have shown us that if the revolutionary people and their army are not afraid of privation and carry on an untiring and heroic struggle against their enemies, they will be victorious without fail. We, the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Red Army, the Chinese Soviets and Chinese people, express our very profound comradesly solidarity with you, heroic men and women fighting for liberty and democracy in Spain.

In this struggle the oppressed peoples of the whole world express their solidarity and boundless friendship with you.

As hitherto we shall daily and hourly follow the progress of your struggle with keen interest. We are glad of every one of your victories. We are convinced that yours will be the final victory.

MAO TSE TUNG.

Yan-an (Shensi province),

May 15, 1937.

LETTER OF COMRADE CHU DE, TO THE SPANISH PEOPLE

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the anti-Japanese People's Chinese Red Army fighting against the enemies of the people for the last ten years, I send to the heroic Spanish people and their Army the most hearty and ardent revolutionary greetings!

Comrades, although we are in the Far East, at a distance from you, we are stirred every day when we read the news of the heroic struggle of our Spanish comrades against the Italo-German Fascists and rebels.

Your heroic struggle has already grown from an internal struggle against traitor-generals into a war against the Fascist interventionists. You are the fighting vanguard of the working people of the whole world in the struggle against Fascism. You are fighting not only for the liberation of the Spanish people, but also for peace throughout the world. Your victory is at the same time our victory, because we have a common enemy in barbarian Fascism.

Comrades, we experienced tremendous joy when

we read the news of your victory on the Guadalajara front where three Italian divisions were routed. Your brilliant victories firmly strengthen our determination as well in the fight for national emancipation, and inspire us to conduct a still more determined struggle against the chief enemy of the Chinese people—Japanese imperialism. It is with enthusiasm that we welcome your great victory.

At first, comrades, you were in a very difficult position, but under the guidance of the Government of the People's Front, and especially with the aid of the Communist Party, you have overcome tremendous difficulties. You have been able to win tens and hundreds of thousands of people to take part in the anti-Fascist war. You have been able to bring about sincere collaboration between the various parties and political groups; you have created an heroic, fighting People's Army where iron discipline exists under a united leadership.

Comrades, all this is a great achievement in your struggle against Fascism and is an essential condition for your final victory over Fascism. At the same time all your achievements are a most valuable source of experience and a splendid example for the masses of the people of all countries in the struggle against Fascism.

Our Red Army, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, has already been fighting for ten years against international imperialism and counter-revolutionary forces inside the country.

With a view to carrying on the struggle against the Japanese aggressors, we made a long trek, covering about 25,000 li (about 13,000 kilometres), crossing from South to North China. We proclaimed and are conducting a new policy of a united national front such as unites all parties, all political groups, all who have no desire to become slaves in a subjugated State, to fight against Japanese imperialism.

In the name of this new policy, the civil war which had been going on for over 20 years has ceased, and a struggle is going on to secure peace at home and the unification of the country.

The Communist Party of China and the Red Army, which stand at the head of the masses of the people in the struggle for democratic liberties, are now striving to develop the struggle against Japanese imperialism rapidly and resolutely.

We are firmly convinced that, thanks to the new policy of the Communist Party of China, we shall overcome all difficulties whatsoever, that we shall drive the Japanese imperialists out of China and win final national emancipation for the Chinese people.

Among the Red Army men, commanders and wide masses of the people we are conducting agitation regarding the heroic struggle and victories of our Spanish brothers, especially regarding the glorious

victories of your international brigades, which are a strong inspiration to us.

Every Chinese worker and peasant, every Chinese Red Army man, is possessed of a profound understanding that the war in Spain is a war of international importance. Your victory will deal a mortal blow at the Fascist interventionists, the fomentors of world war.

Comrades, you are far away from us, but we are on the same sector of the struggle as you, we have one common enemy; you in the West are fighting against German and Italian Fascism, while we in the East are conducting a struggle against Japanese Fascist militarism.

Both your victory and ours will mean death to international Fascism.

Comrades, in close unison, forward to great victory!

Long live the victory of the Spanish people!

Down with German-Italian Fascism!

Down with Japanese imperialism! Long live the national liberation of China!

CHU DE,

Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese
Anti-Japanese People's Army.

May 13, 1937.

IMPROVE THE POLITICAL EDUCATION OF PARTY PERSONNEL AND MASTER BOLSHEVISM

(Regarding the condition of Party schools in the section of
the Comintern)

By S. GOPNER.

ONE of the most important results of the correct conduct of the tactical line of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern is the almost universal *growth of the Communist Parties*. The increase in the membership of the Communist Parties of France and Spain, where the United and People's Fronts have been realised, has been particularly rapid.

The C.P. of France which had a membership of not more than 50,000 during the struggles of February 1934 reached a membership of 332,000 in July 1937, while the C.P. of Spain which in February 1936 had a membership throughout Spain of 35,000 had 301,500 members in June 1937 in just the provinces ruled by the Republican Government—not counting the 64,000 members of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia.

This increase in the membership of the Communist Parties is taking place chiefly among the wide masses of workers, although intellectuals and peasants are also joining. The Communist Parties are also being joined by members of the Social Democratic parties and, in a number of countries, of the anarchist organisations. These new members have not only not mastered Bolshevism yet, but, in the majority of cases, bring into the Communist Parties considerable relics of Social-Democratic, anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist or nationalist ideas. To overcome this

requires *that the new members be educated in Bolshevik fashion*.

In all Communist Parties, including the C.P.S.U., the leading section of the Communist International, the problem of promoting and educating cadres has been placed in the forefront. The February-March Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., the report and concluding speech delivered by Comrade Stalin, emphasised all the importance and urgency of this problem. Can there be any doubt that the slogan of this Plenum, namely "to master Bolshevism," is not of lesser, but of greater importance for the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries than for the C.P.S.U.? At that Plenum Comrade Stalin said:

"I think that if we were able, if we succeeded in giving our Party cadres, from top to bottom, ideological training and in hardening them politically so that they could easily find their bearings in the internal and international situation, if we succeeded in making of them fully mature Leninists, Marxists, capable of solving the problems of leading the country without serious error, we would thereby solve nine-tenths of our problems."

These words of Comrade Stalin refer in their entirety to the Communists of the capitalist countries as well. For Communist Parties which were but recently weak have now, in a number of countries, become tremendous factors in the political life there,

and are conducting complicated, many-sided work, rich both in form and essence. The struggle for the People's Front, the struggle to rally together against war and Fascism, elements differing in the most varying degrees as regards their class position, their interests, their level, and political convictions, requires of Communists the maintenance of a Bolshevik adherence to principle, steadfastness and at the same time great political tact and the maximum degree of flexibility. This struggle demands that the *foremost Party members be armed with Marxist-Leninist principles and that the Party members at large be imbued with a high degree of class-consciousness.*

An especially urgent task is for the rank and file Party members to master Bolshevism for the struggle against the ideology of Fascism and of its agency, Trotskyism. In the capitalist countries not all Socialist workers by a long way, or even all Communists understand that Trotskyism has long ceased to be a political current in the working class, and that the Trotskyists have become a band of spies and assassins. The fact that the roads taken by Fascism and Trotskyism coincide is rendered absolutely obvious by the equally furious struggle they wage against the U.S.S.R. and the leadership of the C.P.S.U., and against the United proletarian and People's Fronts. However, the "Left" demagoguery of Trotskyism continues to mislead those workers who are insufficiently steered ideologically. The danger of Trotskyism in the capitalist countries is the sharper in that "the working-class movement in the capitalist countries does not possess the means of defence against Trotskyist spies and provocateurs such as are in the hands of the proletarian State." (From the decisions of the E.C.C.I. Presidium.) The fighting task of driving the Trotskyists out of the Communist organisations, the Labour movement and the organisations of the People's Front, can only be successfully fulfilled if the *ideological level of the Communists is raised higher.*

How is the Party educational work carried on in the Communist Parties?

The Parties which are fighting in severely *illegal* conditions organise propagandist circles in their respective countries; only when in emigration can they develop on an extensive scale Party schools which cover large numbers and extend over long terms. However, it is essential to note the insufficient use made by the illegal Parties of all legal possibilities of carrying on Marxist propaganda and study in a number of countries.

But even in the majority of the legal Parties, after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern the question was not immediately raised in all its magnitude of organising a *system* of Party education, a wide-spread network of Party schools to cover, not only the foremost Party members but also the rank and file members of the Party and the Young Com-

munist League, and first and foremost all *the new Party members*—schools functioning not merely from time to time, but permanently.

In the year 1936 and the first months of 1937 a wide network of short-term courses for Party members and members of the Y.C.L. was organised in France, covering a large circle of Party members. In the largest districts, and also in the provincial organisations, 12 and 15-day courses were organised. In the centre one-month Party schools for leaders of big organisations; one-month schools for the youth, and 15-day courses for Party members working among the peasantry were established. But the development of this network of schools lags very much behind the tremendous demand, behind the general growth of the Party. All the courses mentioned, although short term, constitute a step forward. But they cannot be considered as Marxist-Leninist Party schools in the true sense of the word. In a situation where the unity movement is growing rapidly and there is a sharp increase in the Party membership, short-term schools are quite expedient. Judging, however, their programmes, these courses in the year 1936, while giving the students knowledge and skill, chiefly for the conduct of the Party's political campaigns, gave them very little knowledge of theory and the history of Marxism-Leninism. Only towards the end of the year were general questions included in the programme of some of these courses. The French Communist Party is sufficiently strong to give the Party education of its cadres a firmer basis. The necessary turning point began with the work of the six-months *central* Party school, which was finished by over 40 students in July, 1937.

The Communist Party of Spain is conducting a great deal of ideological and political work; it has a network of Party schools in the rear, but devotes its chief attention to the political education of the men in the Republican Army.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. is organising a differentiated network of mass Party education. The variety of forms serves the strictly defined tasks of each type of course. The circles and unit schools are the basis of the work in factories. Courses for *new* Party members, which acquaint them with actual problems and the structure of the Party, are to be found in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. Evening schools on a district scale in a number of big towns study the decisions of the Seventh Congress and the tasks of the United Front in the U.S.A. The same ends are served by the week-end schools. The Communist Party of the U.S.A. was ahead of the other sections of the Comintern to undertake the organisation of schools lasting for two to three weeks, the students being *temporarily withdrawn from industry* for this purpose.

The attention of the Party to the national minorities, in particular to the work of training Negro cadres

is to be specially welcomed. In Harlem a Negro school has been organised, and in New York a school for Spanish-speaking Communists. In both schools the students are temporarily withdrawn from industry.

The entire network of Party education, from the unit circles to the regional schools, is crowned with the *Central Party School* which can take 60 students for a period of 6 months (instead of 11 weeks as hitherto).

Short-term courses have also been developed in other legal parties as well. The Communist Party of Great Britain has organised special lessons for new Party members. In the year 1937 the network of study courses has been considerably extended in Switzerland and Belgium. With a few exceptions, however, this work has nowhere been placed on a firm foundation or become systematic.

During recent years the "workers' university" type of school has played a big role in a number of countries where the movement is legal. The "Workers' Marxist School" in France through which several thousand people pass annually, the "Workers' School" evening classes, in the U.S.A. covering 4 to 5,000 students annually in New York alone, the German workers' university in Paris, the "Marx School" in London and its branches in Manchester and Glasgow, the "Socialist Academy" in Prague and its branches in other towns, the same type of school in Amsterdam and its branch in Rotterdam, the "Workers' Marxist School" in Zurich, Basle and Winterthur. Apart from the fact that they are centres of Marxist education among the masses, their outstanding importance lies in the fact that they accept as students workers of all political shades including non-Party workers, and thereby encourage *the growth of the united front movement*.

An essential link and decisive stage along the road towards the establishment of a well-planned system of Party education is the organisation of a *central Party school*, under the auspices of the Central Committee of each legal Party. The basis for these schools was laid recently in France and England, and somewhat earlier in the U.S.A. The Communist Parties in the Scandinavian countries, and in Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, have not yet emerged from the stage of preparing to open schools.

If these still young central Party schools are to become places where truly Bolsheviki cadres are hammered out, they must take into account the successes and shortcomings and in general the whole experience of Leninist schools of the advanced type.

The positive experience of the Leninist schools is that from them there have emerged comrades with quite a good Marxist training, armed with theoretical knowledge in the sphere of political economy, the International Labour Movement, the historical ex-

perience of the C.P.S.U. and the fundamentals of Leninism. Tens and hundreds of young Communist cadres who have passed through these schools, have afterwards played no small role in Bolshevising their Parties. These schools, however, were not without big shortcomings, which affected the practical activity of the students trained.

What has been the chief shortcoming in the arrangement of the work of the Leninist Party schools? First and foremost, that same sin of sectarianism against which the fire was chiefly directed at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International—the sectarianism which hindered a number of Communist parties from taking the high road of the united proletarian and people's fronts, and laid its impress upon the work of the Party schools as well. This sectarianism expressed itself in the most varied forms: in the study plans, programmes and methods of teaching. Marxist-Leninist theory was brought to the students in a fashion which hardly at all linked it up, or failed entirely to link it up with the actual tasks of the Parties. Here there was marked the ignoring of the truth that Marxism "is not a dogma but a guide to action." This made the studies abstract and bookish.

There were quite a few students of these schools who had a fair knowledge of the international labour movement, but knew nothing of the history of their own country, its working class movement, the history of their party, its current tasks.

"The main task of our Party schools, it seems to me, is to teach the Party members and young Communists in them to adapt the Marxist-Leninist method to the concrete situation of the given country, to the given conditions, to the struggle not against the enemy 'in general,' but against the given, concrete enemy." (Dimitrov.)

This shortcoming was always fraught with great danger, and is especially so at the present stage, when fascism makes use for its own criminal ends of the historical past of each people, and not only of its prejudices, but also its best traditions. The Communist of any country must know the past history of his own country and people, and make it the business of his Party to defend the best traditions and heritage of its past. Lenin's well-known article written during the war called "On the National Pride of the Great Russians," is a brilliant example of this line. The Russian Bolsheviks would never have been Bolsheviks had they not first and foremost made a good study of the past and present of their own country; had they not been the bearers of the best traditions of the past of their country and their people. That part of the historic speech of Comrade Dimitrov at the Leipzig Trial where he talked about Bulgaria was one of the best aimed shots at the Fascist speculation on national traditions and sentiments.

The shortcomings in the study of history which were pointed out by Comrades Stalin, Kirov and Zhdanov in their well-known "Remarks regarding the Plan for a textbook on the 'History of the U.S.S.R.," left their impress to a considerable degree on the programmes and textbooks dealing with the history of the C.P.S.U. now in use in the sections of the Communist International.

These "Remarks" and the Letter of Comrade Stalin about the study of the history of the C.P.S.U., which were recently published, have been of tremendous assistance to all sections of the Communist International in the work of improving the study of the history of the C.P.S.U., while a study of the historical experience of the C.P.S.U. is now more than ever before a most important task for each section of the Communist International. The recent decision of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. concerning the struggle against Trotskyist agents of Fascism once more emphasises the importance of this task.

A further big shortcoming in the education given was that the historic experience of the C.P.S.U. was incorrectly, mechanically passed on to Communists of all countries. In studying the history of the C.P.S.U., the whole history of Bolshevism was at times reduced exclusively to the struggle against Menshevism. The attention paid to the general situation and the struggle against Tsarism and the counter-revolutionary parties of the landowners and the bourgeoisie was negligible and occasionally non-existent. Insufficient attention was paid to the lessons of the struggle of the Bolsheviks against Trotskyism. Absolutely insufficient attention was paid to the experience of the struggle of the Bolsheviks for the revolutionary unity of the working class and of their struggle to win allies in the shape of the wide masses of non-proletarians. Is it necessary to state how important is the use precisely of this experience of the Bolsheviks in the struggle for the united proletarian and people's fronts?

Much work was done in 1936 by the tutors in the Party schools to alter the programmes in the direction of linking them up more with actual life, as well as eliminating a number of mistakes. However, it must be said that one frequently meets with offshoots of sectarianism, as yet not outlived in the revised programmes as well. This is particularly clearly expressed in the sectarian *treatment of the tactical turn of the Communist International as indicated at the Seventh Congress.*

The new line of tactics is frequently glossed over in the programmes. Firstly, an insufficiently precise analysis is given of the big changes in the world situation which pre-determined that change of tactics (the new relation of forces on the world arena in connec-

tion with the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and its increased weight in world affairs, the sharpening of the crisis of capitalism, the offensive of Fascism, the turn of the working-class movement towards unity, the changes in social democracy, the growth of the Communist Parties). Secondly, the new line of tactics is glossed over by the *one-sided* treatment of the united proletarian and people's fronts *exclusively* from the viewpoint of leading the masses to the proletarian revolution, and by belittling the importance of such tremendous historic tasks as the averting of war, the crushing of Fascism and the defence of democracy; as the outliving by the parties of their isolation from the masses and their transformation into really mass parties and serious political factors in the life of their respective countries. Thirdly, the new line of tactics is depicted as a mere continuation of the old line without taking account of the new content and the new forms. In particular, in one of the programmes used, the new line of tactics was made to appear as a simple continuation of the "class against class" tactics, instead of showing that the Seventh Congress, while maintaining the continuity of the whole experience of the Comintern, introduced into the United Front tactics a new content in connection with the experience of the battles of 1934 and the new world situation.

It is just as wrong to gloss over what is *new* in the content and forms of the united front as it is to deny the *continuity* that exists between the new line of tactics of the Communists International and the fundamental strategic and tactical lines of the Comintern.

Both one and the other mistake are connected with "indolence of thought," with stagnant schematics and sometimes also with conscious resistance to the change in tactics which has already brilliantly stood the test in the fire of the struggle, but the meaning of which has still not been grasped by many people.

Although the revised programmes still contain not a few shortcomings, their main trend clearly reflected the actual tasks facing the world Communist movement and each individual Communist Party. The programmes of the central Party schools are now being drawn up on the basis of the work accomplished. The growing attention to this urgent question on the part of the leaders of the Communist Parties is an undoubted step forward in the work of correctly organising these schools.

Progress will be assured if Marxist-Leninist thought spreads in each Communist Party, if each country becomes a source enriching the great principles of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. "The role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a Party that is guided by a vanguard theory." (Lenin.)

THE PLENUM OF THE C.C. OF THE C.P. OF FRANCE

ON July 22-23 there took place an enlarged plenary session of the C.C. of the C.P. of France. The plenum was devoted to the immediate tasks of the Communist Party in the struggle to fulfil the programme of the People's Front and to the creation of a united party of the proletariat.

Besides 46 members of the C.C., 70 representatives of regional Party committees, Communist members of the Chamber of Deputies, Communist mayors of a number of municipalities took part in the work of the plenum. The sessions of the plenum were open. Among the visitors who attended the plenum were: Aragon, Jean Richard Bloch, Nizan, Moussinac, Rene Blech, Francis Jourdain, the architect, the scientists Wallon, Politzer and others.

A large number of press representatives also attended the sessions of the plenum. These included the correspondents of the Havas, Fournier, Radio and United Press agencies; representatives of the *Temps*, *l'Ordre*, *News Chronicle*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Populaire*, and others.

Jacques Duclos, reporting on the chief question on the plenum agenda, dwelt in detail on the cause of the present Government crisis and pointed to a number of specific examples of how the forces of reaction were doing their utmost to prevent the operation of the programme of the People's Front.

"If," said Duclos, "the French people, thanks to their unity within the framework of the People's Front, have been able to improve their lot, they cannot, nevertheless, forget that the programme endorsed by the people through the ballot-box in the year 1936, is far from being fully realised."

The reporter enumerated the measures indicated in the programme of the People's Front which were not fulfilled by the Blum Government. These include: The actual disarmament and dissolution of the Fascist organisations; the democratic reform of the taxation policy; the satisfaction of a number of the demands put forward by the peasantry; the control over the flight abroad of capital; the provision of pensions to the aged, etc.

Even the measures provided for in the People's Front programme, which were operated by the Blum Government, were in actual fact sabotaged to the utmost by big capital.

"For example, instead of providing the workers with holidays, between May and September, at the expense of the factories, the capitalists are closing down the big factories without in the slightest degree reckoning with the requirements of the national economy, but only in order to have a pretext for encroaching upon paid holidays."

Referring to the position of the Communist Party of France in relation to the Chautemps Government, Comrade Duclos said:

"Perhaps the moment has already arrived to take measures which will make it possible in the future to avoid new frictions that are to be deplored? As for the Communist Party, it is prepared to adopt the measures calculated to ensure the best functioning of democratic institutions. But it should not be overlooked that the menace to democratic institutions of France comes from the money magnates who constitute a secret force more powerful than the forces of law."

A considerable part of Duclos' report was devoted to unmasking the criminal intrigues against the people, of these money magnates.

"These are the people who, by bringing about the high cost of living and disorganising production, want to reduce to nought the social gains won by the People's Front. These are the people who, out of hatred for the People's Front, sabotage the economic revival and doom the State to difficulties in order to draw benefits therefrom. These are the people who cheat the Treasury, who counteract every real measure undertaken to prevent the robbery of the State. These are the people who speculate first on the rise then on the fall of the exchange, regulating the rate of exchange to suit themselves; they are the people who are ruining the small bondholders and are constantly conspiring against the franc. . . . These are the people who, basing themselves on their international interests, undertake deals with the enemies of France. These people have nothing in common with creative labour, integrity, nor with the technique of production; they are only stock exchange parasites, speculators, knights of the money-bags. They do not, of course, represent the French nation. We sons of the French people deny the right of the Rothschilds, De Wendels, Schneiders and other representatives of international capital to speak and act on behalf of our country."

Duclos pointed to a number of financial measures whereby the arbitrary behaviour of the big parasite speculators would be curbed. He declared that an end must be put to the criminal flight of capital abroad: over 100,000 million francs have left France in this way, so that the national economy cannot but suffer therefrom. Duclos demanded the application of that article in the People's Front programme which provides for "control over the export of capital and also the suppression of the flight of capital by means of severe measures, including even the confiscation of property concealed abroad or of its equivalent in France."

The Communist Party, Duclos declared, has on more than one occasion pointed to the chronic disorder in the financial system and exposed the cause of it. He recalled the fact that the Communist Party, besides presenting a draft plan of general financial

reform, had also introduced a Bill for a levy on large fortunes that would give the country an immediate income of 7,000 million francs. But the proposed Bill was not put into operation.

Turning to the question of foreign policy, Duclos declared:

"Perpetual retreat before the war-mongers, before world Fascism, has led, in the sphere of foreign policy, to the same results as the repeated retreat before the financial oligarchy in the sphere of financial policy. While talking about the defence of peace, they let loose the forces of war, just as, while talking about the situation of the national finances, they helped the financial magnates to weave a monstrous plot against the nation. The French people are naturally alarmed at the turn events are taking. . . .

"France must take up a position which coincides with the interests of peace. Down with the blockade of Republican Spain which must be given the right to purchase arms and ammunition! In proclaiming this we are only insisting upon the operation of the People's Front programme, which demands the defence of peace through collective security, the determination of the aggressor, and the automatic and common application of sanctions in the event of aggression."

Further, Duclos called to mind that the French people have done much to help Republican Spain.

"Our Communist Party," said he, "is proud of being the initiator of the Bilbao Aid Committee, which went to the assistance of the Basque people when the latter were unable to hold out against the forces of the enemy. In displaying our solidarity with the Basque people, the huge majority of whom are Catholics, we showed what human solidarity means to us; we showed what our slogan of friendship with the Catholics really meant in practice; we hurried to the aid of the Basque Catholics at a time when Fascist vandalism was wreaking its vengeance on them. The Basque people saw how aeroplanes marked with the swastika sowed destruction and grief, how they killed women and children en masse.

"We Communists, along with all people devoted to progress, are proud that we were able to counter the bloody barbarity of Fascism with the glorious, heroic feats of the Soviet pilots, who successively conquered the North Pole, linked up Moscow and the United States by flying over the North Pole, and established a world long-distance record by their non-stop flight to the Mexican border. There has been a complete collapse of the spying and diversionist plans of the Gestapo, against which the Soviet Union is energetically defending itself by democratically applying the law in all its severity against all those who are guilty, regardless of the posts they occupy."

The words of Comrade Duclos about Spain and more so about the Soviet Union were constantly interrupted by applause throughout the hall.

The concluding part of Duclos' report was devoted to the questions of unity of the Labour movement, nationally and internationally, and to the immediate tasks of the People's Front.

Duclos said:

"We Communists are prepared to undertake full responsibility in a government formed on the lines of the People's Front. We are prepared to do so, but not at any price. We are prepared to take part in a government of the People's Front, in order to carry through the programme

approved by the whole country; to give pensions to the aged workers; to set up an insurance fund against bad harvests; to fulfil the demands of the workers who are unwilling to give up their wage increases and social legislation; to give the peasants and traders what they have been awaiting many months, and to modify financial policy in the spirit of the joint programme. We shall not allow the flight of gold from the Banque de France without announcing to the whole country the names of the guilty individuals. We shall assist in making known to the people the names of those who export capital, thereby creating a menace to the economic life of the country. We shall occupy ourselves with the real dissolution of the Fascist leagues. In a word, we shall act in the Government in accordance with the demands of the People's Front programme, as confirmed by the votes of the people."

Comrade Duclos concluded his report with the slogan: "For a strong, free and happy France!"

A number of secretaries of the regional Party organisations and leading Party workers took part in the discussion. Gabriel Péri and Berlioz, Communist Deputies developed certain points in Duclos' report, using additional material to strengthen them. Péri dealt with foreign policy, and Berlioz with the financial policy of the Government. Raymond Guyot, secretary of the E.C. of the Young Communist International and of the C.C. of the Y.C.L. of France, told the plenum of the results of the recent Y.C.L. Congress in France, of the growth of the Y.C.L., which now has over 100,000 members, of its successes in the field of mass work among the youth. Bernadotte Cattaneo dealt with the work of women Communists. Renaud Jean dealt in detail with the struggle of the Party to defend the interests of the working peasantry. Pierre Semard dealt with the work of the Communists in the General Council of the Seine (Paris municipality), and Cogniot with the work among the intelligentsia.

Vaillant-Couturier, the editor of *l'Humanité*, devoted a considerable part of his speech to the work of the Communist Party in the sphere of defending culture. He noted that, thanks to the policy of the People's Front, the Communist Party now stands at the head of all the truly progressive forces in the country. In defending bread, liberty and peace, said Couturier, we are at the same time working to provide the best conditions for the development of writers, artists and other men of science and art.

"We Communists," said he, "are striving to bring about the emancipation of the individual from capitalist oppression. We are fighting for human dignity, for the development of man at his true worth."

The plenum unanimously adopted a telegram of greetings to the C.P.S.U. and Comrade Stalin, and a telegram of greetings to the Spanish people. The speech of Alvarez del Vayo, who was present at the plenum as a visitor, was warmly greeted.

Expressive of the ever-growing contact between the

Communist Party of France and the masses were the numerous delegations from various organisations and bodies of working people who came to greet the plenum. The plenum listened with great attention to the speech of the representative of the 7,000 Communists employed in the "Renault" works and of the delegation of prominent representatives of the French intelligentsia.

In conclusion, Comrade Thorez made a big speech to the plenum, which is included in the present number of this journal.

The plenum unanimously adopted a short resolution instructing the Political Bureau to take measures to ensure the immediate operation of the line contained in the main report of Duclos and the speech of Thorez.

IN MEMORY OF THE FALLEN FIGHTERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE IN SPAIN —GEORGE BROWN AND NINO NANETTI

ON July 8, George Brown, for two years member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain and one of the leaders of the Manchester Party organisation, was killed in battle against the Fascist interventionists, while fighting in the ranks of the International Brigade. Brown was only thirty years old. He was the son of a worker and from his earliest years worked actively in the trade union and labour movements, often taking part in strikes. After the 1926 General Strike, which was betrayed by the Labour leaders, he joined the Communist Party and soon became one of the most prominent Communist leaders in his native town of Manchester.

Comrade Brown was a good worker and a splendid comrade, whose every word and action strengthened the prestige of the Communist Party among the masses.

Comrade Brown was well known not only to Communists, but to thousands of other workers of Manchester and Salford. Many rank and file trade union organisations constantly received valuable counsel, advice and help from Comrade Brown; many workers have not to this day forgotten how Brown never spared his efforts in rallying aid for those on strike. The strong, courageous figure of Comrade Brown, his crystal honesty, unswerving firmness earned the respect of even the most sworn enemies of Communism and the Communist Party of Great Britain.

For many years Brown was a delegate to the Trades Council from his trade union branch, and in spite of differences and conflicts with individual members of the Council and even at times with the official policy of the Council, he had no personal enemies.

The name of Brown is linked up with the successes in the growth and strengthening of the Party organisa-

tions of Manchester and Salford. Many of the present leaders of the Party organisations obtained their first knowledge and their first practical training in the working-class movement and party work from Comrade Brown. The Party organisation in Manchester and Salford which only a few years ago was extremely weak and isolated from the masses, became a strong and healthy organisation under Comrade Brown's leadership.

It was under the guidance of and with the help of Comrade Brown that the Communist municipal programme for Manchester was drawn up and issued in a separate pamphlet called "This Our City."

For all who knew Comrade Brown personally, his death is a heavy loss, extremely difficult to replace.

George Brown lived for the working-class movement, for the Party. All his private life was closely linked up with the life of the Party. He was ready to give his all to the Party and the working class, and now he has given his life in Spain on the fighting front against barbarian Fascism.

Comrade Brown was a Communist in the full sense of the word. He was a true son the the working class. His death in battle is an example of the heroic struggle of the British proletariat.

The General Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Upholsterers wrote of him as follows in the *Daily Worker*:

"From personal experience of Comrade Brown I can only say that his life and work in Manchester was a living reputation of the statement that the activities of the Communists split the trade-union movement. There are hundreds of workers in Manchester who are members of the trade union because of Comrade Brown's activities and example."

Even the bourgeois press of Manchester remarked on the outstanding heroism of this Communist leader. And his working-class mother wrote:

"In my grief the only thing which is consoling to me is that George died as he lived—fighting for the cause which inspired him to go to Spain."

The life and struggle of George Brown will serve as an example not only for all Communists, but also for all those who are ready to fight against Fascism, for the liberty and happiness of mankind.

* * *

NINO NANETTI (Bassi), an Italian worker and Communist, was in the flower of his strength, being just over thirty, when he met a hero's death while fighting for liberty on the front of anti-Fascist struggle in Spain. When at the end of July 1936 Nanetti set out from Barcelona to the Aragon front, he was a rank and file fighter in the militia; when he died on July 19, 1937, from severe wounds received, he was a commander of the Second Division of the Basque People's Army. Only now in our epoch do the people promote from their ranks such heroes who, inspired with the great ideal of liberating mankind from Fascist barbarism, pass from the bench and the plough to the command of thousands of armed men in one of the most complicated and difficult wars.

Nino Nanetti was a worthy son of the Italian people. While still an apprenticed metal-worker, he joined the Socialist Youth League in 1923 in his native town of Bologna, and took part in the fight against Fascism. At that time this struggle took on the nature of real civil war. In conflicts with Fascists, Nanetti was twice severely wounded. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the young Communists, Nanetti enthusiastically accepted the Communist idea of a united front against Fascism, and became a supporter of militant united action between the Young Communist and Young Socialist Leagues in Bologna, united action in which young Catholics, Republicans, Anarchists and non-party people later took part.

In the year 1926 he was elected by the working youth of his town as a member of the delegation of young Italian anti-Fascists who visited the Soviet Union. His journey to the land of Socialism created an indelible impression upon him and taught him a great deal. On returning to Italy, after the publication of the Fascist emergency decrees of 1926, he joined the Young Communist League and fought with all his might for the fusion of the Young Socialist organisations and the Y.C.L. Hunted by the police of Bologna, Nanetti left the town and in 1928 secured a job in a factory in Genoa, where he participated in the organisation of resistance to the wave of Fascist terror. But he was soon discovered by the police and exiled for three years to the Lipari Isles. While in exile, Nanetti studied assiduously and improved his knowledge in the sphere of ideology and culture. In 1930, on release

from exile, Nanetti returned again to his native town, where without losing any time, and despite police surveillance he carried on leading Party work, full of initiative and revolutionary ardour. A few months passed and the Fascists made a second attempt to arrest Nanetti. But they were unsuccessful, for he slipped through the fingers of the police and fled abroad, only to return to Italy a short time later and continue the struggle against Fascism.

Nanetti was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Italian Young Communist League. He helped the organisation throughout the country of the rice-gatherers' strike and other mass movements; he organised the publication and distribution of thousands of copies of newspapers and illegal leaflets; and he furthered the development of various organisations of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party.

In the last years of his life Nanetti worked in Toulouse, devoting all his leisure hours to organisational and mass work among the Italian workers and peasants who had emigrated to that region.

Nino Nanetti was the first Italian anti-Fascist volunteer to fight in defence of Republican Spain. On the evening of July 20, 1936, Nino was already in Barcelona. One little detail is typical of all his revolutionary passion and resolution. He set off for the fighting front in such a hurry that he hardly succeeded in notifying the Party organisation of his departure; he was not able to bid farewell to his wife, who was at work.

What did Nanetti do on his arrival in Spain? He told the story of himself to the correspondent of the *La Voce degli italiani*:

"There was not as yet," said Nanetti, "a single Italian volunteer in Barcelona. What could I do? I had come to fight, I wanted to go to the front. And so a Catalonian, Comrade Treube, decided to take me to the front as a chauffeur. I immediately set off for the firing line in Tardiente. I was a rank and file fighter, a militiaman. Then in Huesca I took part in the first attack, which lasted two days, and I organised a phantom battery between Tardiente and Huesca."

"What?" asked the correspondent.

"A phantom battery. The enemy called it that, in the belief that they really had to do with a battery. But it was only an ordinary gun, fixed on a lorry, and there were only two of us who took it in turns to drive the lorry and work the gun. There was no army at that time, everything was in chaos: nobody knew what to do, how to fight. And so I and a comrade decided to set out, together with our gun, and bombard Tardiente. And we did! True, it might have cost us dearly: all the Fascist batteries poured out fire on us, while we, on our lorry drove about full speed with our little 75-millimetre gun, firing all the time. It was precisely because we kept up the shooting while the lorry moved about that the enemy got the impression that they were up against a whole battery. We repeated the attempt several times more, and so created the legend of the phantom battery."

"After the attack on Huesca, the united Socialist Youth

of Catalonia instructed me to organise a youth battalion. I organised and trained it. There were 500 in the battalion. They are still with me, those of them who have escaped death. On September 18 I arrived in Madrid with the youth battalion, I myself being appointed its commissar. With my courageous lads—all Spaniards—we took part in the fighting on the outskirts of Madrid, in offensive and defensive operations. At the end of November I was appointed commander of a brigade after the battle near Valdemorillo; and when the enemy broke through the front near Guadalajara, I was sent there to resist the offensive and was given the command of a division.

“The division was not, however, actually in existence. It had to be organised. We took part from beginning to end in the victorious Guadalajara counter-offensive; my division won back five villages. . . . And you know the conditions under which we fought. One battle lasted for two days and two nights, without a break, in the snow and rain. . . . But the Italian Fascists were defeated!

“We even organised an officers’ training school in the unit. Every fortnight 100 to 200 commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the division perfect their knowledge in the school. I now have under my command three brigades with 12 battalions, a cavalry regiment, two armoured trains and other auxiliary services—in all over 10,000 men.”

The correspondent of the *Voce degli italiani* relates with emotion how Nino Nanetti, despite the constant fighting and the tremendous work he did as divisional commander, studied the military art with great energy and assiduity, in order to lead his men to victory with the minimum of losses. The men he led, whom he tempered in so many battles, loved him as a brother and commander whom they obeyed and followed through fire and water.

And when Bilbao was in danger being hard pressed by the interventionist armies, when it was urgently necessary to come to the aid of the Basque people, the Spanish Government sent Nino Nanetti to Bilbao. At the head of the Second Division of the Basque People’s Army, Nanetti heroically defended the independence of the Basque people. In the fighting near Bilbao he was severely wounded and soon died. So perished the young revolutionary, friend of the Spanish people, anti-Fascist fighter—the hero Nanetti.

GRAMSCI AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY

By M. ERCOLI

WHEN Antonio Gramsci, member of the Italian Parliament, was accused of things he had never done, and, in spite of his right to Parliamentary immunity, was committed for trial by a special tribunal in Rome, the Fascist State Prosecutor did not bother to substantiate the accusation with factual proofs. The indictment was based exclusively on the evidence that Gramsci was the recognised leader of the Communist Party of Italy, even though it was a legal party at the time of his arrest.

But the State Prosecutor showed even more brazen cynicism when he declared: “We have to prohibit the functioning of this brain for twenty years.” All this Fascist executioner in judge’s robes really did was to read out the *order* he had received from the Fascist authorities and from Mussolini himself.

So by order of the Italian reactionary bourgeoisie and Mussolini, Gramsci was put in solitary confinement. Gramsci, who had always lived in close touch with the people, with the workers who loved him, and whose needs and psychology he understood to the full, Gramsci was cut off from the whole world.

By order of the reactionary bourgeoisie and Mussolini he was endlessly dragged about in gloomy prison-vans from prison to prison, his hands and feet in fetters.

By Mussolini’s orders, for many long years the

prison warders noisily entered Gramsci’s cell two or three times every night in order to deprive him of sleep and reduce him to physical and nervous exhaustion. By order of Mussolini, he was denied medical assistance, sick though he was, and was not allowed to have regular food. For weeks on end he was bedridden. The “doctor” who was ordered to visit him used to say: “Consider yourself lucky that they haven’t finished you off yet,” and told him he didn’t think it necessary to give him any treatment, and he only hoped he would die.

When the struggle of the international proletariat and the indignation of some of the best of mankind forced Mussolini to release Gramsci from his prison-cell, where he was rotting alive, and to give him proper medical assistance, a guard of 18 gendarmes and two policemen took charge of him. This detachment was to keep guard over a man who had been lying for days on end unconscious and senseless behind thick iron bars, a man who was already unable to raise himself from his bed without assistance.

THEY MURDERED HIM BECAUSE THEY FEARED HIM

During the last few months of his life it became clear that Gramsci, exhausted by ten years of im-

prisonment and sickness, needed special treatment if he was to be kept alive. The Fascists watched with joy the agony of our unforgettable comrade. And for us who knew that all the time he was in prison Gramsci had fought his hardest for his life, as every revolutionary should fight (for he knew that his life was needed by the working class and his Party), for us his death remains a mystery. Was he murdered? All who know Mussolini and Fascism know that such a suggestion is highly probable. Gramsci's death is unexplained to this day, and it is very suspicious that he died three days after the expiration of his sentence, which had been reduced by the general and special amnesties, and he had the right to go free, to get help from trusted friends, to get doctors and medical treatment, and to receive assistance.

In the year 1924 Mussolini ordered his hired bandits to murder Mateotti because his active struggle in Parliament was rousing the sense of justice and the thirst for liberty of the masses of the people, and was a danger to the Fascist regime at a particularly difficult moment in its history. In precisely the same way he ordered the assassination of Amendolu and Hobetti. In the same way, by his orders, Gaston Soggi was murdered in prison. In the same way he cynically gave orders for the murder of hundreds of others of the best sons of the Italian people. Murder is the normal method of rule adopted by the Fascist dictatorship.

In murdering Gramsci, after torturing him with the most inhuman and refined cruelty, Mussolini and Fascism knew whom they were murdering and why. In Antonio Gramsci the Italian people found not only a man who had a thorough knowledge of history and the living conditions of the people, who expressed the aspirations of the popular masses and the striving of the oppressed after liberty, justice and social emancipation. Antonio Gramsci was able to distinguish the class forces in present-day Italy to which belongs the historic task of liberating the whole of society from all oppression and exploitation.

Antonio Gramsci not only excelled all contemporary Italians by the acuteness of his brain, by his clarity and by the profundity of his political and social thinking, but he was a revolutionary who had profoundly mastered the most revolutionary of social and political principles, those of Marxism-Leninism. He was closely connected with the working class; he was an indefatigable fighter for the establishment of a revolutionary class party of the proletariat. He was a Marxist, a Leninist and a Bolshevik.

To the reactionary bourgeoisie and Mussolini, therefore, he was a most dangerous and terrible enemy. They could have no peace as long as Gramsci lived. His murder was committed for the definite purpose of depriving the Communist Party, the pro-

letariat, the people of our country of a well-educated, energetic and reliable leader.

ITALY'S FIRST MARXIST

Antonio Gramsci was the first real, all-round, consistent Marxist in the history of the Italian working-class movement, in the history of Italian culture and Italian thought. He was the first to thoroughly grasp the revolutionary principles of the founders of scientific Socialism, the first to master the further development of Marxism by Lenin and Stalin. He was the first to determine the historic task of the Italian proletariat on the basis of these principles. Gramsci was Italy's first Marxist, for in him theory was indissolubly bound up with revolutionary practice, and the study and interpretation of social facts linked up with connection with the masses and everyday political and organisational work; for he it was who created the Italian Communist Party and led it; for he was an internationalist. He fell, firmly holding high the banner of our Party and of the Communist International.

Now, after his death, many of those who during his life fought violently against him and against whom he fought violently, are writing about him and praising him. We have no grounds for rejecting tributes rendered to the greatness of our comrade's heart and mind. However, it is our duty to state plainly that Gramsci was no "intellectual" in the sense in which some of those who praise him now that he is dead would like to convey. Antonio Gramsci was and remained first and foremost a *Party member*. The Party and the question of the creation of a revolutionary organisation of the working class capable of leading the struggle for their emancipation of the whole of the proletariat and working people, this question was the central point of all the activities, the whole life, and all the thoughts of Antonio Gramsci.

GROWTH OF THE ITALIAN WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

He entered the working-class movement while still quite a young man, in about 1910, at a time when the elements of a profound political crisis were maturing in Italy. From 1900, onwards, the industrial development of Italy had proceeded at a rapid pace, while in the plains of the Po valley the progress of capitalist intensive agriculture was changing the appearance of entire regions. In the big industrial centres of Northern Italy, out of the masses of lowly artisans and small shopkeepers, there grew up a proletariat, strong in numbers with its ranks united, which set up a close network of working-class political and trade union organisations and learned to wield the weapon of the strike against the bourgeoisie.

At the same time, the formation of an imposing mass of agricultural proletarians in the valley of the Po upset the traditional social and political basis of Italy. With the development of big agricultural enterprises of the capitalist type, the peasants of Northern Italy became transformed into an army of workers, and a close network of working-class organisations spread a new revolutionary spirit right out to the most backward provinces. The mass of agricultural workers became the chief forces operating in a whole number of large-scale strikes.

The State apparatus quivered under this pressure of these organised masses.

Gramsci was born on the island of Sardinia in a region where social and economic relations were typically backward. A son of poor peasants, he was able to observe the horrible poverty of the semi-proletarian agriculturists and shepherds of the island. The poverty of the peasants of Sardinia and of the South of Italy was one of the conditions requisite for the industrial development of the North. The resources and natural wealth of the island were plundered by the capitalists of the mainland, and the spontaneous uprisings which broke out from time to time among the starving peasants were put down by force of arms.

With a view to entrenching their power, the capitalist bourgeoisie entered into an alliance with the big landowners and the parasitical rural bourgeoisie, which had grown up under the wing of the big feudal type of landowners. This special form of class alliance between the industrial bourgeoisie of Upper Italy and the reactionary caste of the South left a specifically reactionary imprint on Italian political life even at the time when the ruling classes were compelled, under pressure from the masses, to recognise freedom of organisation for the working people, freedom of labour and of strikes; and when, on the eve of the world war, they were forced to introduce universal suffrage.

GRAMSCI'S STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL REFORMISM

The Socialist Movement grew up and developed in Italy as a powerful protest against the regime of reaction, arbitrary government and complete disenfranchisement of the working people. It was, therefore, of a broad people's character and was supported by intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin and even by the radical elements of the bourgeoisie who were suffering from the backwardness of the economic and political life of the country. It should have been the task of the Socialist leaders to ensure that the working class led this broad popular movement, and, in the process of consistent struggle against reaction and for democratic liberties, to enable it to become the leading political force, the

leader of the oppressed and exploited masses. The Socialist leaders failed to fulfil this task. Even the best of them, those who were in contact with the masses, who felt their sufferings and aspirations and hated the bourgeoisie, even they failed. By reason of their failure to understand the essence of the principles of Marxism they were never able to get beyond impotent, sentimental revolutionary phrase-mongering. While as for leaders of the Turati type, who had broken with Marxism, got caught in the mire of petty-bourgeois revisionism, and who had apprenticed the working class to the Liberals and Democrats, they strove to harness the working-class movement to the chariot of the capitalist State.

In his polemics against Turati, Treves and other pillars of social reformism, Gramsci repeatedly expressed his deep indignation at the manner in which these leaders ideologically perverted the masses.

Gramsci was able to begin and to accomplish the necessary work of introducing Marxism to the Italian working class, mainly thanks to the close and indissoluble connection which he established with the workers when he arrived in Turin from Sardinia in the year 1911. There the young Sardinian revolutionary served his apprenticeship with the young, well-developed, united proletariat of Turin, who, even before the war during the big metal workers' strikes, displayed astonishing examples of organisation, militancy and discipline, and stood out as the most advanced and class-conscious section of the working class in the whole country.

"It can be said that Italy has three capitals: Rome—the administrative centre of the bourgeois State; Milan (all the banks, and all the offices and organs of finance are concentrated in Milan), the nerve centre of the commercial and financial life of the country, and, finally, Turin—the centre where industrial production is most highly developed. The proletariat of Turin headed . . . the spiritual life of the Italian working masses who are linked up with the town by all kinds of ties: ties of origin, family, tradition, history, and even spiritual ties (every Italian worker would like to work in Turin)."

Antonio Gramsci's ties with the workers of Turin were not only political, but personal, physical, direct and varied. Gramsci joined the left wing of the Socialist movement a few months after Italy entered the war in 1915. Placed at the head of the editorial board of the newspaper of the Turin section of the Socialist Party, Gramsci soon occupied a special place in the revolutionary movement of Turin. For the reformists, who in Turin also controlled a considerable number of the leading posts in the proletarian organisations, the working masses only served as a foothold for their policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a policy which they pursued during the war. True, the revolutionaries who were in the

majority in Turin fought against the reformists. But they failed to strike at a line which differed from the centrist policy of the party leadership, expressed in the notorious formula: "don't join in the war and don't sabotage it,"—a formula which observed an outward show of decency before the masses and at the same time made it possible for the reformists to do all kinds of social-patriotic damage.

Gramsci tried to learn from the masses. He regarded the worker in modern, concentrated, large-scale industry as a force capable of solving all the problems of Italian society, as the "Hero of modern Italian history."

How will the working class be able to carry out its historic mission? Gramsci devoted his thought to this question before and during the war. He realised that wide masses of workers roused to activity as a result of the war and making a stormy entry into the arena of political life, would imperatively demand the satisfaction of their needs and that the traditional apparatus of bourgeois power would not withstand this onslaught. The proletariat must know how to create a new apparatus of public power, and this apparatus could not be either the trade unions or the other already existing working-class organisations. A new organisation was necessary which would embody the will and ability of the proletariat to seize power and organise a new State, a new society. This is how Gramsci came to raise in a concrete fashion "the question of the hegemony of the proletariat, i.e., of the social basis of the proletarian dictatorship and the working-class State."

THE WORKERS RISE IN TURIN

It was then that he concentrated his attention on the factories and works, on the forms of the class struggle and on the new organisations established by the workers in the factories during the war, which differ from the trade unions in their ability to conduct a wider struggle. Gramsci became the most popular and most beloved of the Socialist leaders in Turin. Around him there gathered the youth, there gathered the most developed and active workers not only among the Socialists, but also among the Anarchists and Catholics. The room in the premises of the city's working-class organisation where he worked, the garret where he lived, soon became thronged with visitors. He was talked about in the factories as a new leader. And indeed, a *new* type of leader made his appearance in the Italian working class movement at that time—a leader who knew how to learn from the masses, who worked out the revolutionary policy of the working class in direct contact with the masses.

A decisive stimulus to the shaping of Gramsci's thoughts and the development of his revolutionary

activities was given at that time by the Russian revolution, Bolshevism and Lenin.

"The news regarding the Russian March (February) revolution was received in Turin with indescribable joy," wrote Gramsci: "The workers wept with emotion when they learned that the Tsarist regime had been overthrown by the workers of Petrograd. But they did not allow themselves to be lulled by the demagogic phraseology of Kerensky and the Mensheviks. When in July, 1917, a delegation arrived in Turin, sent to Western Europe by the Petrograd Soviet which at that time was under the leadership of the Mensheviks and S.R.s to agitate in favour of the war, the members of the delegation, Smirnov and Goldenberg, as they spoke to a crowd 25,000 strong, were greeted with deafening cries: "Long live Comrade Lenin! Long live the Bolsheviks. . . !"

It should not be forgotten that this demonstration took place after the suppression of the July demonstration in Petrograd, when the capitalist press was inundated with articles full of outrageous slander against Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

" . . . From the day when Italy first entered the war (May 24, 1915) until the above-mentioned demonstration, the proletariat of Turin did not arrange any mass meetings. . . . Hardly had a month passed when the Turin workers rose up in arms against Italian imperialism and militarism. The uprising began on August 23, 1917. For five days the workers fought in the streets and city squares. The insurgents, armed with rifles, hand-bombs and machine-guns managed to occupy several districts of the town. Three or four times they tried to gain possession of the centre of the town where the civil institutions and military headquarters were situated. . . . But they hoped in vain for the support of the soldiers who had let themselves be fooled by the lies that the uprising was instigated by the Germans.

The workers threw up great barricades, dug pits, surrounded the district which they had occupied with electrically charged wire entanglements, and for five days beat off the attacks of the troops and police. Over 500 workers fell in battle. Over 2,000 were severely wounded. After the defeat the best proletarian elements were arrested and sent out of Turin. When the uprising ended the revolutionary intensity of the movement waned, but the sympathies of the masses belonged as before to Communism."

Immediately after the August events, Gramsci was elected secretary of the Turin branch of the Socialist Party. He was openly recognised as the proletarian leader of the reddest town in Italy. This was an acknowledgment of the outstanding role he had played in the revolutionary education of the Turin workers.

GRAMSCI'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

After the time of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences Gramsci took particular care to acquaint himself and secure contact with the revolutionary elements of the international working-class movement and first and foremost with the Russian Bolsheviks. It was not easy to carry out this task in Europe of the war period, when frontiers had been made into almost impassable barriers, but Gramsci's table was loaded with illegal revolutionary publications which arrived from all countries, and in all languages of the world. The works of Lenin and the manifestoes of the Bolshevik Party were in great demand and people waited for them with passionate impatience; they were translated, read and discussed collectively; they were explained and distributed round the factories. And the heart and soul of this work was Gramsci. From the works of Lenin there came a new word, a word which the Italian workers had been waiting for and which inspired them in their tremendous struggles during the post-war period.

Marxist principles, free from opportunist distortions once again stood out in their true light as the principles of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin's tactics, the experience of Bolshevism and the great Socialist revolution in Russia, opened up concrete prospects before the Italian workers of the solution of the problems which confronted them at the end of the war.

Gramsci was the first in Italy to understand the international significance of Bolshevism and the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"The Bolsheviks," he wrote in the year 1919, "have endowed with a state form the historical and social experience of the Russian proletariat, which is the experience of the international . . . working class. . . . The Soviet State has become the State of the whole of the Russian people, and this has been achieved thanks to the doggedness and persistence of the Communist Party, to the ardent faith and loyalty of the workers, thanks to the zealous, incessant propaganda work of enlightenment and education performed by the Russian Communists under the leadership of the clear and straightforward will of our common teacher—Lenin."

Using the great experience of the October Revolution, Antonio Gramsci raised in all its magnitude before the Italian workers the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the main content of Marxism.

The words "dictatorship of the proletariat" had even disappeared in the first Italian edition of the works of Karl Marx. In the "Criticism of the Gotha Programme," the reformist translators had taken care to replace these words by the innocent

expression "class war of the proletariat." Antonio Labriola, who popularised the ideas of Marx, talked of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an "educative government of society" after power had been won by the working class. But Antonio Labriola was incapable of understanding and explaining what exactly was the meaning of this expression either in the general sense or as applied to Italian society and the Italian workers. For him the expression "dictatorship of the proletariat" remained a nebulous conception "of political philosophy." Later the "theoreticians" of syndicalism gave the title "dictatorship of the proletariat" to their raids on the premises of the reformist trade unions, raids which they carried out with a view to forcing the trade union organisations to engage in "strike gymnastics" without any preparations or prospects of victory. After the victory of the October Revolution, the Socialist Party introduced the thesis of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" into its programme. But while Turati declared that the Soviets as compared with the parliamentary republic were as a crowd of people compared with a town, while people in the Socialist Party who called themselves revolutionaries were incapable of understanding how the task of carrying on a concrete struggle to establish the proletarian dictatorship should express itself, Gramsci wrote:

"While the formula 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' is directed against opportunists like Turati, as well as against the revolutionary phrasemongering of centrists like Serrati and gibbering monkeys like Bombacci, it must cease to be a mere formula, a mere pretext for uttering revolutionary phrases. He who accepts the end, has also to use the means. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the establishment of a new state, the state of the proletariat. . . . Such a state is not improvised: the Russian Communists, the Bolsheviks, worked for eight months to spread the slogan of "All power to the Soviets," while the Russian workers knew of the Soviets as far back as in 1905. The Italian Communists must utilise the Russian experience and save time and labour."

Thanks to the fact that Gramsci had previously studied the forms of organisation of the working class and the class struggle in the factories, he directly linked up the question of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat with the question of the creation of a new type of organisation which should embody the struggle of the workers for power and become the basis of the proletarian state.

The works' committees arose during the war at the initiative of the trade unions, their purpose being to defend the workers against the employers. Breaking away from the direct control of the trade unions, the works' committees developed into independent

organisations elected by and representing all the workers. This transformation was accelerated in connection with the general conditions in which the post-war crisis placed the working class, stimulating in them the consciousness of the need to fight for power.

Gramsci was at the head of the movement of the works councils, the newspaper "Ordine Nuovo" (The New Order) founded by him on May 1, 1919, being the organ of this movement.

Few of the old Socialist leaders understood the significance of the movement of the works' councils, and accused Gramsci of converting the works' councils into the hub of the struggle for power and of avoiding the question of the party and its leading role. Actually Gramsci was fully aware, even in 1917, that the Italian Socialist Party, in which reformists, centrists and impotent demagogues ruled the roost, was incapable of leading the struggle of the Italian proletariat for power. At the same time he understood that in the post-war situation in Italy, the struggle for power must not be put off, otherwise the road would be open for the blackest reaction.

"The present phase of the class struggle in Italy," he wrote, "represents a phase which precedes either the conquest of political power by the revolutionary proletariat for the purpose of making a transition to new methods of production and distribution, or else terrible reaction on the part of the propertied classes and ruling castes."

What was needed was rapid action. For Gramsci the burning question was haste. Rapid action, however, required that the struggle for power should not be "put off" until the next phase, while for the time being engaging in the organisation of a new revolutionary party. What was needed was the solution at one and the same time of the question of the party, i.e., the question of the political leadership of the whole movement by the vanguard of the proletariat and the question of organising wider masses of industrial workers and working people generally in the forms necessary for the struggle for power.

The revolutionary energy which filled the masses during the post-war crisis was so great that Gramsci was convinced that it permitted the solution of both these questions at one and the same time. Gramsci himself admitted afterwards that certain formulations in which he expressed his thoughts in the years 1919-20 were not sufficiently precise. The creation and development of the works' councils were connected in his mind with the creation and development of a network of political organisations, i.e., "Communist groups" capable both of leading the works' council movement and of radically renewing the Socialist Party, by revolutionising its structure, its methods of work, its everyday activities and its

political line. The development of the works' councils was thus to have led at one and the same time to the hegemony of the working class in the country and to the supremacy of the proletariat and revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party. This took place only in Turin.

TREACHERY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

In Turin and those parts where Gramsci's influence extended the works' council movement took on a general and forward character. The reformists were driven out of the trade union leadership, the centrists from the leadership of party branches. A life and death struggle broke out between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and in that struggle the workers reached the threshold of rebellion. In April, 1920, on the basis of the struggle against attempts by the employers to crush the works' council movement, there developed under the direct leadership of Gramsci, the most tremendous movement seen in post-war Italy, namely, the general political strike of the city proletariat which lasted for eleven days. This strike rapidly merged with a strike of the agricultural workers in the adjacent provinces and with a solidarity movement which spread and assumed an increasingly menacing character. That movement was crushed (by agreement with the Government) by the reformist bosses of the General Confederation of Labour, supported by the leaders of the Socialist Party who called themselves revolutionaries.

The Left elements of the Socialist Party rejected Gramsci's proposal for the conclusion of an agreement to undertake joint action and give leadership to the revolutionary movement throughout the country over the heads of the party leaders who had wavered and were ever ready to capitulate to the reformists. This proposal was also rejected by Bordiga on the pretext that they ought to wait for an authoritative congress of the party before settling accounts with the reformists and centrists. Bordiga, who stood at the head of the "abstentionist" faction (i.e., who favoured the boycott of parliament), gave himself the airs of a "super-revolutionary," but actually approached the problems of the revolution with the attitude of a pedant, hiding his opportunism behind a left doctrinaire mask. It was no accident that this "super-revolutionary" became the friend of the Fascist Trotsky and openly capitulated to the Fascist Mussolini.

The movement of the workers' councils has gone down in the history of the Italian working-class movement as the greatest attempt of the proletariat to establish their supremacy in the struggle of the masses of the people against the power of the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

“ After establishing the workers’ dictatorship, and taking possession of the industrial enterprises and banks, the proletariat will use the enormous power of state organisation to support the peasants in their struggle against the landlords against poverty. They will provide the peasants with credits, establish co-operatives, ensure the safety of persons and property against robbers, and undertake expenditure on public health and irrigation works at the expense of the State. The proletariat will do all this because they are interested in the increase of agricultural production; because they are interested in winning and maintaining the solidarity of the peasantry; because they are interested in industry working on behalf of peace and fraternity between town and country, between the North and South.”

In this tremendous plan to reorganise the economy of Italy, the working class of our country assume the role of the first and only class to solve all the problems left unsolved by the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois revolution, by destroying all forms of exploitation, poverty and oppression.

That is why in his speech at the Second Congress of the Comintern on the conditions of acceptance into the Communist International, Lenin said :

“ We simply have to tell the Italian comrades that the direction of the members of the ‘Ordine Nuovo’, and not of the present majority of the leaders of the Socialist Party and their parliamentary group, corresponds to the direction of the Communist International.” (Vol. XXV, p. 360. Russ. Ed.)

In the theses of the congress, the political platform entitled “ For the renewal of the Socialist Party ” written by Gramsci and approved by the Turin branch of the Socialist Party, was regarded as a document which should be made the basis of the forthcoming congress of the Communist Party of Italy.

But the “ Ordine Nuovo ” movement was not represented at the congress, and this fact alone shows that there was a substantial shortcoming in the methods of struggle used by it to create a party.

The essence of the mistake consisted in the fact that the “ Ordine Nuovo ” did not openly set itself the task of creating a faction in the Socialist Party on a national scale. In Turin it had the backing of a big mass movement, whereas in the remaining centres of the country it was limited to personal contacts. The reformists had control of the central apparatus of the Confederation of Labour and the trade union federations, co-operatives, a large part of the municipalities, and their own parliamentary group; the centrists had the apparatus of the party and their big daily newspaper “ Avanti,” while the “ abstentionists ” created a network of factional groups which covered almost the whole of Italy and had strong support in the leadership of the youth

federation. Gramsci, on the other hand, had a daily newspaper at his full disposal for only a few months before the split.

Lenin pointed out that in Italy it was essential to concentrate the line of fire against the centrists, who were intoxicated by “ revolutionary ” phrases and at the same time took the reformists under their protection and paralysed the movement of the masses, actually placing the party at the service of the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The split, as a result of which the Italian Communist Party came into being in Leghorn in 1921, was the result of a particularly sharp struggle against the centrists. This struggle required unity between all the left wing groups, and Gramsci acted correctly in helping to bring about this unity. However, already at the Second Congress of the Comintern, Lenin sharply criticised Bordiga who threatened to transform the new party into a sect divorced from the masses. Although Bordiga joined the Third International it was part of his intention as far back as 1920 to establish a faction in the Comintern together with the Dutch, German and other “ leftists,” in order to conduct a struggle against Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

From the very beginning deep differences existed between Gramsci and Bordiga. But out of a fear of getting mixed up with the Right elements, Gramsci made the mistake of taking no measures publicly to dissociate himself from Bordiga while acting together with him against the reformists and centrists. He was unable, at that time and during the early days of the existence of the Communist Party, to conduct a *struggle on two fronts*.

This mistake cost our Party very dearly; for it gave Bordiga an opportunity of using the disappointment and pessimism which took hold of a section of the proletarian vanguard after the seizure of the factories in September, 1920, had ended in failure as a result of the treachery of the reformists, to inflict upon the Communist Party a sectarian, anti-Leninist policy which reduced its ability to undertake political action and facilitated the progress of Fascism.

Gramsci’s stay of a year (1922-23) in the Soviet Union gave him an opportunity of deepening his knowledge of Bolshevism. He then made a thorough-going study of the history of the Russian revolution, learned to understand Lenin and became steeled as *leader of the Party*.

GRAMSCI’S RE-EDUCATION OF THE ITALIAN C.P.

The working class of Italy have to thank Gramsci for the creation of their Party, the Communist Party, not as a sect of petty-bourgeois doctrinaires, but as the organised vanguard of the working class, as a mass party closely connected with its class, capable

of leading it in the most complicated political situation.

It was an easy task for Gramsci to achieve the purging of the ranks of the Party from that special form of opportunism which Bordiga hid behind his pseudo-left phrases. It was necessary to begin with the patient work of re-educating individually the Party members who had fallen victims to sectarianism, to form new Bolshevik cadres, to convince people, to overcome resistance, vacillation and lack of confidence. This was all the more difficult since a struggle had to be conducted against such a type as Bordiga, who never hesitated to resort to the most filthy intrigues and demagoguery, and who, subsequently, stooped to the role of Trotskyist traitor of the foulest kind, and lackey of Mussolini.

In the struggle to root Bordigism out of the Party Gramsci displayed exceptional activity. One might say that he won the Party cadres back again one at a time. And the whole Party which, after the advent of Fascism, fell into a state of dangerous stupor, was aroused and re-educated by means of systematic work to make it Bolshevik.

This is the period of the works of Gramsci devoted, in the main, to an explanation of theoretical questions regarding the nature of the party, its strategy, tactics, and organisation, in which there is most strongly to be felt the profound influence exerted on him by Stalin's works. In particular Gramsci smashed the counter-revolutionary Bordigan "theory" which considered that all work to give the party members an ideological and political education was futile because, as he asserted, in such a "centralised" party as the Communist Party it is important only to take orders from above; and so Gramsci began stubborn work to create cadres.

"If our Party is to live with the masses and maintain contact with them," he wrote, "it is essential for every Party member to be an active political element, a leader. It is precisely because the Party is strictly centralised that agitational and propagandist work on a broad scale is necessary in its ranks. It is necessary for the Party to educate its members and raise their ideological level in an organised fashion. Centralisation means, in particular, that in any situation, even under conditions of severe martial law, even when the leading committees cannot function for a definite period of time, or find themselves unable to maintain contacts with the local Party organisations, all the Party members, each in his own sphere, should be able to find their bearings . . . so that the working class will not be discouraged, but will feel that it is being guided and that it can still carry on the struggle. Consequently, ideological training of the masses is an essential requirement of revolutionary struggle. It is one of the conditions essential for victory."

The best cadres of the Italian Communist Party, the heroic fighters whom Fascism has thrown into penal settlements in thousands, those iron men who have never flinched in the face of threats, persecution,

torture and death, were educated in the Bolshevik spirit by Antonio Gramsci.

THE MATTEOTTI CRISIS AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM.

But what not only convinced the whole Party, aroused its enthusiasm and brought it to rally to him and deliver a mortal blow against counter-revolutionary Bordigism, was the political activity developed by Gramsci as the leader of the Party after his return to Italy during the Matteotti crisis.

The conditions of the struggle were very hard; for the party, which Bordiga had persuaded to believe that the victory of Fascism was impossible and that Fascism "is in no way different from bourgeois democracy," was demoralised and weary after enduring the cruel blows of living realities. On the other hand, Fascism was undergoing great difficulties. It had not yet managed to secure complete control of the state apparatus, while the petty-bourgeois masses, whose interests were affected and were disillusioned by the policy pursued by Mussolini in favour of the big *industrial bourgeoisie*, were dissatisfied, grumbled and more and more openly opposed him.

The wise and bold tactics pursued by the Communist Party after the murder of Matteotti were drawn up by Gramsci down to the last detail: the exit from Parliament together with the democratic opposition groups immediately after the crime; the proposal made at the general meeting of the opposition to declare a general strike (a proposal rejected with horror by the democratic leaders who wanted to overthrow Fascism by refusing to take part in parliamentary work and by conducting a campaign in the press!) the proposal which followed to organise an "anti-parliament" of opposition groups and a "taxation-strike by the peasantry" finally, the return of the Communists to Parliament for the purpose of using the tribune of Parliament to unmask the crimes of Fascism and prove the impotence of the democratic and liberal anti-Fascists.

These tactics, based upon the principles of Lenin and Stalin, according to which the masses must be given leadership, on the basis of their own experience, placed the Communists in the vanguard of the struggle to overthrow the Fascist dictatorship and made it easier for the Party to win over to its side broad sections of the working people who had supported the democratic parties and social-democracy; they laid the foundations for an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry; they brought the Party out of its state of isolation, and advanced it along the road of transformation into a mass Party.

This energetic political action stirred up the whole Party and the working class. A new period of Gramsci's activities began, a short but extremely

important period, which characterises the growing influence of the Communists despite the ferocious struggle conducted against them by the social-democrats, despite cruel persecution at the hands of the Fascists.

The source of the prestige which our Party enjoys among the Italian masses should be sought for in this period. Taught by the experience of the years 1917-1920, when the correct political treatment by the Turin Communists of the problems of the proletarian revolution proved to be insufficient in itself to transfer the leadership of the revolutionary movement to them, Gramsci took care to organise the influence of the Party. He did this not only by formulating correct slogans which coincided with the demands of the masses, but also by pursuing a corresponding policy towards the various political groupings with a basis among the working people (especially in the villages), and by encouraging the development in their midst of opposition currents which aimed at an alliance with the working class.

This is also the period of the successful work directed towards bringing the Catholic trade unions closer to the unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour, and towards winning over left elements in the Catholic peasant organisations to the side of the revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants. Thus it was that the reactionary influence of the Vatican was dealt its first serious blow

During this period the Party, at Gramsci's initiative, adopted one of the basic demands of the peasantry of the South, by recognising as justified the struggle of the southern population for autonomy which should break the chains imposed upon them by the bourgeois state. The problem of the rights of oppressed nationalities to self-determination and the problem of Sardinia were raised in the Communist Party's agitational work. All the burning questions of life in our country found an answer in Gramsci's propaganda and political agitation.

The struggle against Fascism passed beyond the bounds of verbal protests and demonstrations. Its aim was to rally together all sections of the working population against the most reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie, while at the same time not letting them fall under the influence of the bourgeois liberals and democrats, and freeing them from the influence of the reactionary leaders of social-democracy. Gramsci's central slogan of action became that of "unity"; unity of the working class, unity of the peasants and workers, unity of the North and South, unity of the whole people against Fascism.

Gramsci became the man towards whom the eyes of the masses and all progressive elements in the country were now turned. The old liberal politicians whispered "Go easy with Gramsci—he is Italy's greatest revolutionary." Mussolini, however, replied

to the activities of the Communist Party and the masses by intensifying the terror and preparing to abolish the last remains of democratic liberties.

During the last few months before his arrest, and even before then, before the Lyons Congress of the Communist Party of Italy at which Bordiga was politically defeated and the overwhelming majority of the Party rallied to Gramsci, as to their own leader, Gramsci pointed out to us the need for joining the Fascist mass organisations in order to make use of all the possibilities for legal work and struggle, in order to maintain contact with the masses and organise the struggle of the workers and peasants. Our mistake was that we did not give enough value to the proposals he put forward at that time. This hampered the development of our work and our influence after the complete transition of the Party to illegal conditions.

Gramsci was arrested at the height of his political activity. The Party suffered an irretrievable loss.

With Gramsci's death there has vanished the first Bolshevik of the Italian working-class movement.

Physically weak, possessed of an organism terribly deformed by nature, he was a man of an incomparable fighting mould. He radiated revolutionary energy, spiritual clarity, and optimism.

But though divorced from active revolutionary work when thrown into gaol, he carried on the fight. Even in prison, his existence over a period of ten years was one of uninterrupted struggle not only against his hated gaolers in defence of his own existence, but also a struggle to be able to direct those comrades with whom he was able to have some sort of contact, a struggle to conduct educational work with them, to help even from prison in the creation of Party cadres and in the solution of new problems advanced by the situation in Italy.

Even when his strength was exhausted and the Fascist butchers raged against him in their endeavour to weaken not only his body, but his spirit, he never lost the serenity and worthiness of a revolutionary and served as an example to all comrades. At a time when his physical condition was particularly serious, he was told that he would be released if he would apply personally to Mussolini with a request to be pardoned. Gramsci replied:

"The proposal made to me means suicide. I have not the slightest desire to commit suicide."

The proud words of the dying leader of the Communist Party were passed from mouth to mouth throughout the prisons, raising the spirits of the prisoners and filling them with hatred against the Fascist gaolers.

As long as he was given an opportunity of meeting with his comrades during "exercises," he devoted these hours to collective studies and the prison

became a Party school where the Communists studied the principles of Leninism, learned to analyse the forces and conditions of the proletarian revolution in Italy and to solve the political and organisational problems of the Party.

When the barriers raised around him became more and more impenetrable, he sent his comrades short, energetic and concisely expressed messages. These messages gave his comrades their direction and were to help the whole Party to find its bearings.

In the year 1929 he gave instructions for us to be told the following: "Pay attention to the movement of the workers' stewards in the Fascist trade unions," thereby desiring once again to turn our attention to the importance of work inside the mass Fascist organisations.

In the year 1930, when he learnt that a number of the imprisoned comrades were in danger of falling under the influence of Trotskyism, not being in a condition to hold long discussions he spread throughout the prisons a short but expressive slogan: "Trotsky is the 'puttana' (a popular word meaning 'prostitute') of Fascism."

Recently, when he heard of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, he exerted all his thoughts to the discovery of forms of bringing about the anti-Fascist people's front in Italy. He warned us not to get divorced from the

people and from the masses, but to make a deep study of the consequences of the policy of Fascism for the different sections of the population and in different parts of the country, so as to be able to find and apply slogans which would give us an opportunity of getting into touch with the masses of our country.

During the last weeks of his life he must certainly have had news of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against Fascism. Perhaps he learned that in Spain, the fighters of the battalion which bears the name of Guiseppe Garibaldi, the best sons of the Italian people—Communists, Socialists, democrats, and anarchists—united in the ranks of the People's Army of Republican Spain, had inflicted the first serious defeat on Italian Fascism and Mussolini at Guadalajara. If this information reached him, he most certainly smiled and his agony was illumined by a ray of hope.

The vanguard of the Italian people, the Communist Party which he created and which he led in the struggle, will march forward along the road he mapped out, under the banner he held in his hands till the last moment—under the invincible banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, and will do so never wavering, carrying out his behests, until the final victory has been won for the cause of liberty and peace, the cause of the political and social emancipation of the toilers, the cause of **Socialism**.

IN MEMORY OF M. I. ULIANOVA

From the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

THE Executive Committee of the Communist International expresses its profound sorrow on the occasion of the death of Comrade Maria Ilyinichna Ulianova who, during her whole life fought in the ranks of the glorious Party of Lenin and Stalin for the emancipation of toiling humanity from the yoke of capitalism. Her long years of work are a shining example of service in the cause of Socialism, of the care of the Bolshevik Party for the demands and interests of the proletariat and all toilers, an example of living, uninterrupted connection of the Party with the working class and the broad masses of the people. The life of this old Bolshevik, the faithful assistant of the great Lenin, who up to the last day of her life enthusiastically worked for the consolidation of Socialist construction, will be an example for the champions of the army of Communism throughout the world.

*Executive Committee of the
Communist International.*

On June 12 Maria Ilyinichna Ulianova, youngest sister of our great Lenin, an old fighter of the Bolshevik Party, member of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R., member of the Bureau of the Commission of Soviet Control of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and head of the Complaints Bureau, breathed her last. On June 14, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government, headed by Comrade Stalin, carried the urn containing her ashes to the Kremlin Wall, where she was interred close to the Lenin Mausoleum.

M. Ulianova grew up under the strong influence of her great brother. She was one of the best representatives of the old Lenin guard. Of the 59 years of her life, she devoted 40 years to the cause of the proletarian revolution. She suffered prison and exile. She trod the hard and difficult path from the old underground study circles of the revolutionary working class movement in Russia to the great Stalin epoch of the victory of Socialism.

The biography of Lenin has made known to wide circles the exclusive circumstances, both social

and family, in which there took shape and developed the gigantic figure of the genius and leader of the working people. The working-class movement of Tsarist Russia was a school for hundreds of iron revolutionaries, of Bolsheviks firm and possessing unbounded loyalty to the cause of the working class. But in this general situation, the Ulianov family occupied a special place. It was in truth a splendid family. There lies the stamp of high culture, of revolutionary, Communist culture on them throughout, on the relation existing between parents and children, the relations between the brothers and sisters, on their attitude to their comrades and, most of all, to the working people. Collective collaboration based on deep mutual respect, community of views and revolutionary convictions, endowed the family with the character of an ideal Communist nucleus. As a child of 9, Maria Ulianova experienced with the rest of the family the tragic end of her eldest brother, Alexander, who was executed by the tsarist butchers. The second brother, Vladimir (Lenin), from his very earliest youth won tremendous influence for himself in the family. His splendid abilities, inexhaustible love of life and stormy activity inexpressibly affected all those around him. Maria Ilyinichna, when, immediately after Lenin's death when relating reminiscences of him, drew a picture of the childhood and youth of Lenin and his brothers and sisters, and emphasised the tremendous power of the personal charm of young Vladimir Ilyich. She told how being with him involuntarily called forth an inexpressible desire to help him in everything, "to do everything for him as well as possible." "Work well" became one of the watchwords of Maria Ilyinichna's life. From her early years she became an ideal assistant to her brother. She loved him deeply and was his close friend and comrade, who understood his every wish. But while admiring his genius, she showed herself to be much more, and stood out far more clearly than a mere executor. She became an ardent Marxist, and from the first movement of the birth of Bolshevism, a convinced Bolshevik, and developed into a splendid underground worker and organiser, a professional revolutionary.

The features which distinguish the best representatives of the Bolshevik guard were inherent in her to a tremendous extent. First of all there was the constant necessity and exceptional ability to *heed the voice of the masses and learn from them*—which arises out of the belief in the Communist ideal and loyalty to the toiling masses. In the real Bolshevik, this quality has nothing in common with sentimentality. On the contrary, it is a conscious and active desire always to support and ease the lives of the working people in general, and individuals in particular. It is a passionate desire to raise life as a whole on to a higher level through the relentless destruction of all the remains of the heritage of the accursed past. This determination and courage of the revolutionary who mercilessly drags out evil by the roots, was combined in her, in a

rare fashion, with a tactful and fine approach to the individual.

M. Ulianova developed her creative powers in spheres of mass work such as require special powers of observation, a knowledge of the interests of the masses, and an understanding of the individual longings of each person individually. For twelve years during which she worked in the "Pravda," the central organ of the C.P.S.U., she played a big rôle in the development of the workers' correspondent movement, which covered hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants. During the last years of her life she developed mass organisational and educational work around the Complaints Bureau of the Commission of Soviet Control. The great slogan of Lenin and Stalin—care of the people—was operated to the full by Maria Ilyinichna.

Another feature which so distinguishes the true Bolshevik, a feature which was especially inherent in Lenin and in the spirit of which Lenin and Stalin have trained the party, was that of a *deep attitude of principle*. The bolshevik attitude of principle will not be reconciled with solving this or that problem from the viewpoint of accidental or personal feelings, tastes and interests, from the viewpoint of the interests of a narrow circle of personal friends or close comrades. All her life Maria Ilyinichna showed that the general interests of the movement were dearer and weightier to her than all else.

Her supreme love for her brother—our great Lenin—arose out of the fact that Lenin was inseparable from the party, from the proletarian revolution which she faithfully served. For her, Stalin was above all the great individual who continued the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the great leader in the struggle for the victory of Communism. On more than one occasion she set an example of iron steadfastness, of a readiness and ability to break with any one of her friends and comrades for the sake of the party, for the sake of its great banner.

She was possessed of an unusual modesty, she had the gift of making close acquaintance with the most varied people from the camp of the working people and of helping them in the best sense of the word; yet she was merciless to those who retreated, to enemies of the party and the working class. This feature, combined with great powers of observation, protected her against blindness and criminal negligence towards masked enemies, against the idiotic sickness, carelessness, which the party must pull up by the roots once and for all.

Maria Ilyinichna was a highly cultured person. In a country where only two or three decades ago, the mass of working people, one hundred million in number, were doomed to physical starvation and slavery, to spiritual darkness, people like Maria Ilyinichna were of tremendous value. In a country where, in the splendid Stalin epoch there are gigantic historic achievements to be seen in the sphere of new Socialist culture, Maria Ilyinichna was a splendid example for the youth who are

marching towards the heights of Communism. Not only the workers and collective farmers of the Soviet Union, but the foremost workers of other countries as well, will in the struggle to master Bolshevism, remember with gratitude and respect one of its best representatives, Maria Ilyinichna Ulianova. Her person will always serve as an example of unbounding loyalty to the great cause of Lenin and Stalin, of the self-sacrificing struggle for the victory of Communism throughout the world.

* * *

HER LIFE'S JOURNEY

(a brief biography)

Maria Ilyinichna Ulianova, sister of Lenin, was born in 1878 in Simbirsk (now Ulianovsk). From early childhood she was under the influence of her brother, Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov (Lenin). When still a young girl she joined the revolutionary movement. After finishing high school in 1896 she became a student at the Moscow Women's College and took an active part in the illegal students' meetings.

From autumn, 1898, Ulianova attended lectures at Brussels University and at the same time she carried on work given her by the social-democratic organisation. She was arrested in 1899 in Moscow. After two weeks she was released and exiled in Nizhni Novgorod.

From this moment Ulianova had no peace from the Tsarist police, for her began the life of a professional revolutionary, a life of ceaseless self-sacrificing struggle for the cause of the Party of the working class.

Ulyanova returned to Moscow at the end of 1899; later she started taking an active part on the "Iskra," sending correspondence and information to the paper.

After the split at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party into the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions, she stood firm in the Bolshevik ranks and continued so to the very last days of her life, serving the great cause of the Bolshevik Party.

From autumn, 1903, Ulyanova worked in the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party, carried on correspondence with local committees and the Bolshevik Centre abroad.

In January, 1904, she was arrested together with a group of active members of the Party organisation. At the end of 1904 Ulyanova went to Geneva, where Lenin then lived, and in 1905 returned for Party work to Petersburg. During the years of revolution and the period of reaction, Ulyanova stood staunchly at her fighting post.

From 1908 to 1909 she was in Paris studying at the Sorbonne. In 1910 she returned again to Moscow, where she was arrested by the police. In May 1911, Ulyanova was arrested and exiled to the Vologda Province for three years. Here she made contacts with the railway workers and carried on correspondence with the Bolshevik Centre abroad.

In autumn, 1914, she served one month in prison, later working in the Moscow Bolshevik organisation.

When the February Revolution broke out, it was with extreme energy that Ulyanova took up work on the Bolshevik "Pravda" and remained at this work from March, 1917, to the spring of 1929.

At the Fourteenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party Ulyanova was elected a member of the Central Control Commission. From this period she worked continually on the Central Control Commission and was elected to its Presidium in 1932.

Since the Seventeenth Party Congress Ulyanova was a member of the Commission of the Soviet Control and member of the Bureau of this Commission. She was appointed head of the Bureau for Complaints. Here again she showed inexhaustible energy, tact, thoughtfulness and attention to people. Thousands of people approached the Bureau for Complaints, finding there consideration and thoughtful attention.

Maria Ulyanova did very much for the political development of the women liberated by revolution.

The Government valued her services and her unselfish work of Communist education of the working and peasant women, and decorated her with the *Order of Lenin*.

IN MEMORY OF ALEXANDER POLL

THE Executive Committee of the Communist International is profoundly grieved to announce the death, after a severe and prolonged illness, of Comrade *Alexander Poll*, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary, and representative of the Party on the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

In Comrade Poll, the working class of Hungary and the Communist International have lost one of their steeded fighters, tried in class battles for the

emancipation of the working class and the Hungarian people from the Fascist yoke.

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

HIS LIFE'S JOURNEY

Alexander Poll (known in the Party as Farkash) was born in Budapest on August 12, 1898, in the family of an office employee. After his father's death, being left penniless, the young Poll gave up

his studies and got a job in a factory as an apprentice fitter.

Later, he worked as an assistant in a bookshop. At the age of 15, Alexander Poll had already made his way to the working-class movement. He fought to improve the conditions of apprentices, and in the factories organised strikes of apprentices. In 1914, while still employed in the bookstore, Alexander Poll joined a "Left" Socialist student circle where, during the war when the circle led an illegal existence, the young revolutionary fighter obtained his first training as an underground fighter.

In the year of 1917 Poll began to supplement his illegal work with legal activities in the printing workers' trade union. During the existence of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Poll played an active part in the Young Communist League. At that time he also worked in the People's Commissariat for Education.

After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Government, Alexander Poll was hunted by reaction and forced to emigrate like thousands of other revolutionaries. He worked in Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig and Dortmund, but never lost contact with the working-class movement in his fatherland. While working in the coal mines of the Ruhr, he made an assiduous study of Marxism-Leninism. So it was that he prepared himself to fulfil more serious tasks.

Between 1921 and 1923, Alexander Poll fulfilled responsible Party work at times in Hungary and at times abroad. In 1923 the Party sent him to a most responsible fighting post in Hungary, where he worked illegally until the year 1927. He personally organised the transport of illegal revolutionary literature into Hungary, and distributed among the masses the central organ of the Party which at that time was printed abroad. He played a prominent rôle in reorganising the trade-union movement. Fascist police agents discovered him and arrested him. For about four years Poll was in a Fascist prison.

Hardly had he been released than Poll immediately plunged into Party work. He led an active struggle against the traitors who, as a result of the factional struggle, made their way into the Party leadership and subsequently turned out to be provocateurs. Alexander Poll conducted an irreconcilable struggle against the deviationists and faction-mongers who were undermining the strength of the Communist Party of Hungary.

Between April and December, 1931, Poll worked in the Communist International as a representative of the Communist Party of Hungary, after which he again returned to the country on leading Party work. In Hungary at that time the courts-martial were carrying on their furious work. But this did not hinder the fearless Poll who plunged wholeheartedly into his work. Soon he was arrested again and sen-

tenced to fifty months' hard labour. It was only in the year 1936 that our valiant comrade finished his term of punishment, and was released. And, immediately this untiring fighter sought contacts with the Party and set to work. He began forthwith to make a study of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Poll rapidly understood all the tremendous importance of these decisions, which he welcomed. He knew how to give shape to the decisions for the proletariat of his country and displayed great initiative in putting them into practice. Poll fought consistently against sectarian politics and against the disorganising activities of Bela Kun, who under the banner of pseudo-radical slogans sabotaged the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and hindered the struggle to set up the anti-Fascist front.

His many years in Fascist prisons, his strenuous work in underground conditions, so weakened his organism that he was unable to overcome the sickness which suddenly attacked him. On August 6, this militant, developing Party leader breathed his last. Alexander Poll died young, having honorably devoted his life to the cause of his class.

Alexander Poll was a heroic son of the Hungarian people. He was never low-spirited; he encouraged his friends in moments of weakness and trained them in strength of will. Many leaders of the Hungarian working-class movement owe their first knowledge of Marxism to Poll, who in the difficult conditions of the bloody Fascist terror taught his prison-mates.

Poll was steadfast in all his speeches which were, politically, well thought out, and precisely for this reason were distinguished for the assurance with which they were made. By his whole behaviour he trained the comrades who surrounded him in the Bolshevik spirit. Alexander Poll never wavered on political questions, and was always bold in exposing and criticising the actions of enemies and mistakes of friends. That is why the Fascists persecuted him with such deadly hatred.

To his last breath Alexander Poll was a true Bolshevik who never forgot his obligations towards his Party and the working class. In the last moments of his life, straining his last efforts, Comrade Alexander Poll tried to rally his comrades and friends to undertake more intensive work for the cause of the Hungarian working class and Hungarian people. In his last article, which is published in the present number of our journal, written not long before his death, Poll calls for steps to be taken to overcome as rapidly as possible the consequences of the harmful policy of the old leadership, for the establishment of the People's Front against Fascism, against the Fascist policy of war, for a democratic Hungary.

The working class and Communist Party of Hun-

gary have suffered a heavy loss. The Communist International loses in Alexander Poll an ardent internationalist and fighter, loyal to the cause of Lenin-Stalin.

Hungarian revolutionaries will follow in the footsteps of Alexander Poll and rally close around the Communist Party; they will love the Party as did Alexander Poll, for whom the Communist Party—the representative of the interests of the working class

and all working people—always stood above personal considerations, above personal interests.

Comrade Alexander Poll died at a moment when all the preconditions had been created for an advance by the Communist Party of Hungary—in part as a result of his own bold and persistent work. The memory of him will live for ever in the hearts of the working people of Hungary, in the heart of the international proletariat.

PROBLEMS OF THE SPORTS MOVEMENT

THE SPORTS MOVEMENT AND THE UNITED FRONT

IN many countries sport is enjoyed by large sections of the population. Millions of working people go in for games and gymnastics. There are still more friends of sport who follow with tense interest the results of games played in the stadiums, and take a lively interest in the more important sporting events. In a number of countries the sports movement covers wider sections of working people than any other movement of the people. It is difficult to give even an approximate estimate of the number of active sportsmen who engage systematically in physical exercises. In the chief capitalist countries alone, according to extremely approximate data published in the sporting newspapers, the sports organisations cover over 50 million active members. In the capitalist countries, only an extremely small section of the factory workers and working people in general who go in for sport are to be found in the working-class sports organisations affiliated to the Red Sports International or the Socialist Workers' Sports International. An absolute majority of worker sportsmen belong to mass organisations which are still under the influence of the bourgeoisie. If we exclude the many millions in the sports movement of the Soviet Union, there are some half million members in the working-class sports organisations of all the remaining countries.

The sports movement affords tremendous possibilities for rallying and organising the masses for the anti-Fascist struggle. However, in some cases the attitude of Socialists and Communists towards sports work has been one of neglect; they have regarded it as something which only served to turn the attention of the workers away from politics. And wherever they did pay any attention at all to sport they did so only in regard to working-class sports organisations. The bigger mass sports organisations still under the influence of the bourgeoisie were left without adequate attention from the active anti-Fascists.

Important progressive forces are active inside the mass sports movement. Masses of sportsmen are interested in the free development of sport, in improving the conditions necessary for its development, and first and foremost for the working people. Making their starting point their specific interests and demands, they are in some parts already engaged in the struggle against Fascism and reaction in their own field, and are thus joining in the common cause of anti-Fascism.

In the interests of the struggle against Fascism and reaction, it has become essential for all anti-Fascists and in particular for Communists radically to review their attitude towards the sports movement. They must now make close contact with millions of sportsmen and actively defend their interests, so as to develop a broad progressive sports movement on this basis. The attempts mechanically to set up a sports movement on this basis. The attempts mechanically to set up a sports movement on the basis of Party politics have actually narrowed its basis and led to sectarian aloofness. The fundamental flaw in this policy is that it is not the outcome of specific sporting interests and the demands of sportsmen in the mass. Yet it is precisely these specific interests of the sportsmen that constitute the link which, if seized upon, will make it possible to draw masses of sportsmen into the active struggle against reaction and Fascism, for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of the ties of friendship between the peoples.

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THE EXAMPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Certain successes are to be observed in Czechoslovakia in the achievement of united action in the sports' movement. In 1936, various sports organisations decided to boycott the Fascist sports Olympiade in Berlin and organised a people's sports festival in Prague. A joint committee which included represen-

tatives of 28 sports organisations was set up to make preparations for this festival. For the first time the Prague Stadium saw the meeting of members of the Red sports unions and social-democratic and bourgeois sportsmen, for the first time amateur sportsmen played against professionals. The sports festival turned into a political demonstration of the supporters of peace; speeches were delivered there in defence of the system of collective security, and at the conclusion of the games, the sportsmen formed the word "Peace" on the green field of the stadium.

The joint committee of people's sport continued its work after the festival as well, and took the initiative on a number of questions of interest to sportsmen. It proposed, for example, that light athletic sports which are still at a low level in Czechoslovakia, be widely developed. Further, the committee took up the defence of the "Sokol" Society gymnasts, whose performances at the Berlin Olympiade were given an openly biased and far too low estimation by the Fascist judges. The anti-Fascist sportsmen made known the truth to the whole of public opinion in Czechoslovakia concerning the attitude of the Fascists in Berlin to the "Sokol," and thus for the first time came into close contact with this powerful gymnastic society.

October 28 is a national holiday in Czechoslovakia; it is the anniversary of the declaration of the independence of the Czech republic in 1918. On that date in 1936 the People's Sports Committee, together with the Czech Peace Committee (set up in connection with the Brussels Peace Congress) organised a mass cross-country run to the castle of President Benes. The runners handed Benes a collective letter which contained the sportsmen's demands, and stated that in the interests of the best defence of peace, in the interests of improving the defence of Czechoslovakia, mass sports must be given encouragement, stadiums built, etc.

As the example of Czechoslovakia shows, it is possible for working-class organisations to make close contact with other sporting organisations, to find a common language with their members, to take the initiative in rallying the progressive forces of the sports movement. Such an approach will help the working-class sports organisations not only to draw masses of sportsmen into the anti-Fascist struggle, but also to gather strength themselves, to increase in numbers and improve the quality of their work. Unfortunately, the Social-Democratic sports organisations in Czechoslovakia still do not want a united working-class sports movement. Yet unity of this kind would greatly help to rally the Czech sportsmen against Henlein and the other Fascists who are trying to strengthen their positions in the sports movement.

FINLAND

In *Finland* also, a country where almost the whole of the people are interested and participate in sports, the question of joint work between the working class and bourgeois sports organisations is being raised in a new fashion.

The working-class sports union of Finland is a mass organisation with profound traditions of the class struggle, working-class sportsmen having taken an active part in the revolutionary battles in 1918. During the years of the Fascist offensive in Finland, the workers' sports union was menaced with forcible "unification." Recently, however, thanks to the increasing activity of the democratic forces in the country, the position of the workers' sports union has improved: it is once more in receipt of a state grant, and has obtained the right to maintain its organisational independence.

This being the case, the workers' sports league has been afforded an opportunity of making close contacts with the mass sports organisations which are under bourgeois leadership. Many workers and peasants who are naturally inclined towards the struggle for democracy belong to these sports organisations. An illustration of the feeling among Finnish sportsmen may be seen, for example, in the fact that their delegation to the Berlin Olympiade refused to greet Hitler in Fascist style, by raising the arm. The Finnish sportsmen returned from the Olympiade in a state of indignation at the way the German Fascists behaved towards them. Even certain conservative newspapers in Finland wrote afterwards that the Berlin Olympiade was not a sports competition but a piece of advertisement for Hitler.

Recently Finnish working-class sportsmen have begun to compete against members of other sports organisations, something they have hitherto refrained from doing. These competitions cover individual enterprises, while frequently the workers who take part in them form the majority in the given enterprise.

There are many first-class sportsmen in the Finnish working-class sports League. Until quite recently they refused to participate in international competitions together with bourgeois sportsmen from their country. Bourgeois sporting organisations, on the other hand, defend the view (especially following certain defeats of Finnish sportsmen at the Berlin Olympiade) that Finland should rally together all its forces in the sphere of sport so as to appear on the international arena. It is to be expected that participation in international contests will give working-class sportsmen a chance of increasing their influence over sportsmen in bourgeoisie organisations. Joint appearances on the sports field will naturally be followed by a joint movement in defence of the demands of sportsmen—for better stadiums, premises, etc. This will help to eradicate the harmful method practised in the sport-

ing world of enticing the best sportsmen from the working-class organisations into bourgeois organisations. United action in the sphere of sport will create the necessary conditions for a joint movement in Finland against Fascism and war and for democracy and peace.

SWEDEN

The overwhelming majority of the workers of Sweden belong to a general sports league under bourgeois leadership; there are very few working-class sports leagues. Recently the working-class sportsmen themselves felt the need for re-arranging the sports movement so that the more progressive of the sportsmen should not be isolated from the masses. The Congress of the Workers' Sports Federation which took place in 1936, took a decision that working-class sports leagues fuse with the general sports league. This has already been brought about in part. And those working-class sports leagues which still preserve their organisational independence are collaborating with the general sports organisations and meeting them in competition. Working-class sportsmen together with a section of the bourgeois sportsmen successfully conducted a boycott campaign against the Berlin Fascist Olympiade (linking it up with a demand for the release of Jansen and Mino, two Swedish sailors, arrested by the Gestapo in Germany.) Prominent sportsmen in a big centre like Goteboerg refused to go to the Olympiade.

In the leadership of the Swedish sports league there are certainly reactionary elements, officers; but there are also democratic elements. It is quite possible for the workers who have joined these leagues to establish a broad front of all the progressive forces of the sports movement inside them.

NORWAY

In the year 1935, in Norway, unity was finally reached in the formerly split working-class sports movement, while after the achievement of this unity the membership of the working-class sports leagues doubled in a short period of time. To-day the Workers' Sports Federation has 65,000 members (and all the other sports unions about 130,000). This united League has obtained from the Government full and equal rights with the united sports leagues under bourgeois leadership. This equality of rights concerns the use of stadiums, Government subsidies, and so on. True, the Government set one condition, namely, that the workers' sports League "should refrain from political activity." Sportsmen belonging to various sports leagues but to the same trade union and often even working in the same factory, have begun to meet at competitions for the first time. The Norwegian trade union leadership recently issued a letter to all its organisations proposing that sports

committees be set up in the trade unions to draw members of the trade unions into sports. Thus, all the necessary conditions exist in Norway for strengthening the working-class sports movement with the aid of the trade unions and for establishing permanent collaboration between the working-class and non-working class sports organisations.

FRANCE

In France the year 1935 saw the fusion of the working-class sports organisations. The Workers' Sports and Gymnastics Federation which, at the time when unity was arrived at had only 30,000 members, to-day has 80,000 members and plays a prominent rôle in the general sporting life of the country.

The development of sport in France is delayed because of the absence of a sufficient number of sports fields, swimming pools and other sports premises. The buildings and stadiums in existence are in the hands of capitalist owners, who use them for purely commercial purposes. This deprives many working people of sports facilities.

The united Working-class Sports and Gymnastics Federation is energetically striving to improve conditions for the development of sport in France. On the basis of the slogan issued by the Communist Party demanding a "strong, free and happy France," working-class sportsmen are demanding that the People's Front government encourage the development of mass sport so as to improve the health of the whole of the French population. Working class sportsmen are supporting the demand of the Communist Party that 1,000 million francs be assigned for the requirements of sport.

The programme of measures requiring to be adopted in order to develop sport in France (the building of stadiums, introduction of physical culture and sports in the schools, etc.) and drawn up with the close co-operation of the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics Federation has in the main been accepted by the government which has already begun to put it into practice. This programme of sportsmen's demands has met with a hearty response among the members of non-working class sports organisations and facilitated an increase in the prestige of the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics Federation.

The most progressive of the French working class sportsmen are striving to obtain a rapprochement between their own Federation and other sports organisations, and its entry into the National Sports Committee, which covers almost the whole of the French sports movement. At the last Congress of the Federation held in December, 1936, a decision was arrived at, despite the sectarian resistance of a section of the leadership, to join the National Sports Committee and thus get into contact with other sports leagues. Inside the National Sports Committee it will parti-

cularly be possible for the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics Federation to get the democratic elements who support the People's Front to participate in the National Olympiade Committee, which governs the participation of France in international olympiades. Through their collaboration with other sports organisations, the French working class sportsmen will be able to effect a change in the whole sports movement of France in the direction of more energetic support of the People's Front; they will be able to achieve the rallying together of all progressive, democratic forces in the French sports movement, despite all the efforts of the reactionary upper strata of the various sports organisations.

However, irrespective of all its successes, the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics Federation is still far from covering all the workers who engage in sport. Great possibilities for mass sports work also exist among the united trade unions. Of late the trade unions have begun to set up sports and tourist circles and clubs for workers.

U.S.A.

No special working class sports organisation exists in the *United States of America*. But there are sports leagues covering many millions of sportsmen and under bourgeois leadership, which have many progressive, democratic elements among their members.

One of the largest and most influential sports organisations in the U.S.A. is the Amateur Athletic League with six million members. In 1936 this League was the initiator of the boycott of the Fascist Olympiade. The "Fair Play" Committee, the organisational centre of the movement to boycott the Berlin Olympiade, embraced all anti-fascist sportsmen. At the head of the committee was the Catholic democrat, Mahoney, president of the Amateur Athletic League. The movement to boycott the Olympiade assumed wide dimensions in the U.S.A., and after the Olympiade, the Amateur Athletic League did not cease its connections with the anti-fascist sportsmen. When the C.I.O. began to set up a network of sports clubs in all the main branches of industry, the Amateur Athletic League agreed to help organise these clubs on condition that they work as its sections. Up to now factory sports clubs and circles have been wholly in the hands of the employers and used in their interests. The creation of trade union sports clubs will deprive the employers of an important weapon for influencing the workers and help to unite the forces fighting for the People's Front in the U.S.A.

ENGLAND

In *England* the overwhelming majority of the population are interested in sport. There are over six million members of the mass sports leagues; in

addition there are many amateur clubs and teams which belong to no league at all. Yet in spite of the fact that the sports movement of England appears to be decentralised, the majority of the different sports unions and clubs are under the direct or indirect influence of the conservative or reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie. The playing fields and stadiums are controlled by owners' associations; the largest sports leagues are under the patronage of prominent aristocrats.

The bourgeoisie of Great Britain strongly cultivate the idea of sport as something neutral, independent of politics. Such viewpoints are also current among the leaders of the Labour Party and trade unions. There are therefore no mass working class sports organisations in Great Britain. There are in all only 12,000 members in the British Workers Sports Federation, approximately one-thousandth part of the total number of people who engage in sport in England.

A sectarian line has up to the present hindered the more revolutionary section of the British worker sportsmen from getting into closer contact with the masses engaging in sport in the so-called bourgeois organisations.

In 1935 an Italian football team which, on leaving Italy was given instructions to win at all costs, visited England. It was a question of the prestige of Italian fascism in England. Following these instructions, the Italian team time and again broke the rules of the game in order to beat the British team by foul means. These methods of the Italian footballers aroused great indignation among British sportsmen. In this particular case as in many others, the sportsmen who stand for fair play, by the force of events became opponents of fascism. Similar examples can be made good use of to educate sportsmen in the anti-fascist spirit.

SPORT UNDER FASCISM

In the *fascist countries* sport is chiefly made use of to draw the working people of various ages, and more particularly the young people, into the preparations for war. The fascists completely subordinate sport to their imperialist, reactionary and aggressive policy.

In *Germany* the fascists, immediately upon their advent to power, crushed the working class sports movement, then gradually abolished the bourgeois-democratic, Catholic and other sports leagues. The old mass sports organisations with their democratic structure proved to be unsuitable for the military aims of fascism. The Hitlerites have preserved only narrow leagues of professional sportsmen out of their own sports organisations, forming teams from among them which they use to send abroad to ad-

vertise the sports "achievements" of the Third Empire.

The fascists are finding new forms of drawing the masses into sport directly connected with military training. They carry on sports work in the storm detachments, among the "Hitler Youth," in the mass "Strength in Joy" recreation organisation. This organisation has considerable means at its disposal; and it attracts the workers by, for example, providing them with the opportunity to engage in types of sport which were not open to them previously (tennis and so on); at the same time it trains them for the coming war. Recently the "Strength through Joy" organisation has begun organising sports of a semi-military character for farm labourers as well.

In Germany, where anti-fascists take the step of working in the sports organisations they obtain good results. The anti-fascist sportsmen who take part in contests have on several occasions won German national prizes; and then, as recognised champions have been drawn into the big sports leagues thus obtaining an opportunity of making contacts and influencing the rank and file membership of these leagues. There is a big field of work for anti-fascists in the sports organisations: the working people are dissatisfied because of the brusque interference of the fascists in the internal affairs of the sports organisations. Up to now factory sports clubs and circles charged for seats at the stadiums, etc. During a certain football match the public howled down the storm-troopers who had been given the best seats. This little example shows how much latent anti-fascist energy is to be found among the working people who go in for sport.

A problem under discussion among the anti-fascist-minded sportsmen of different European countries is whether they should take part in matches and contests against German sportsmen. This question is decided on the merits of each particular case. In some countries sportsmen who were to have met German teams put forward demands that the German team while abroad, should refrain from all political demonstrations such as the "Heil Hitler" greeting and the singing of fascist songs; in other cases the sportsmen of non-fascist countries, when they met the Germans, distributed anti-fascist literature among them, informed them of the most important facts of international political life which are concealed from them by the Hitler press. For instance, the sportsmen of Iceland prepared a leaflet describing Iceland for the arrival of a German team and skilfully touched upon several political questions in it. Needless to say, the German guests read this leaflet with the greatest interest!

IN BOURGEOIS COUNTRIES

The tendency displayed by bourgeois governments and government parties to centralise the sports movement, to subordinate it to state control, is to be observed not only in fascist, but also in democratic countries. In *England* for example, at the last conference of the Conservative Party the question was raised of organising physical training for the youth with a view to improving their health. The British Government intends to assign considerable sums of money for physical culture measures among the youth, while the capitalist press emphasises that it is a question of voluntary measures and that there will be no violation of the neutrality of sports in relation to politics.

The question has not yet been decided as to the forms these sports measures will take. However that may be, the anti-fascist sportsmen have big opportunities open before them for mass work. The young people can see to it that their sport is organised on a democratic basis, that they themselves decide the question as to the sort of sport they will engage in, the selection of trainers, etc. Then the necessary conditions will be created for the development of a progressive sports movement in England.

A serious reorganisation of the whole of the sports movement is planned in *Switzerland*. The government is striving to centralise the sports movement for war purposes, and, in particular, to cover the whole of the youth in compulsory physical culture training. Bourgeois sports circles are also desirous of uniting the different sports leagues, in order to raise the prestige of Swiss sport on the international arena.

There is a workers' sports and gymnastics league in Switzerland under social-democratic influence, which has a membership of 27,000, including former members of the Red sports leagues, both football and gymnastic, which have fused with this social-democratic organisation. Hitherto the workers' sports and gymnastics league has been very much isolated from all the other sports organisations which together have about 400,000 members. The attitude adopted by the leaders of this league in compelling all its members to belong to a trade union and vote for the Social-Democrats at elections, narrowed the base of the workers' sports movement. Now the leaders of this league have introduced a proposal to its congress that the League join the National Physical Training Association, i.e., the organisation which is to become the centre of the sports movement for the whole of Switzerland.

What should be the attitude of the anti-fascist minded sportsmen on this question? Should they agree to their league joining the central sports or-

ganisation which is under state control, is in receipt of a government grant, and makes it an obligation on all its members to take part in the defence of the country? There are various opinions on this point among the anti-fascist sportsmen. But the opinion has begun to predominate of late that agreement should be given to joining this central organisation. And indeed, among the masses of the members of the sports organisations under bourgeois leadership there are very strong anti-fascist sentiments, many bourgeois sportsmen in Switzerland were highly indignant at the way sport was used for the propaganda of fascism during the Berlin Olympiade. If the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics League joins the Physical Training Association, this will rally the democratic, progressive forces in the Swiss sports movement, bring the working class sportsmen out of the isolation they have been in hitherto, and create extensive opportunities for the propaganda of anti-fascist ideas among sportsmen.

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A strong desire for international unity exists among working class sportsmen in all countries. In a number of countries like Spain, France, Norway, England, Belgium, Denmark, Finland and Switzerland, the working class sports movement has already been united on a national scale, and in the majority of these countries the members of the former Red sports unions have agreed, in the interests of unity, to join the leagues affiliated to the Socialist Workers' Sports International (S.A.S.I.). In two countries, France and Norway, the united organisations decided not to affiliate either to the S.A.S.I. or to the Red Sports International (R.S.I.), until both internationals have united. In Czechoslovakia unity has not yet been arrived at on a national scale.

At the initiative of the Red Sports International negotiations have frequently taken place with the leadership of the S.A.S.I. during which proposals for unity have also been made. The leadership of the S.A.S.I., the majority of which consists of Czech Social-Democrats, have agreed to joint action only on individual issues; for example, they agreed to a joint boycott of the fascist Olympiade. In August of last year, they agreed to set up a Contact Commission together with representatives of the united sports organisations of France and Norway. But actually this Contact Commission has done no work up to the present, neither has it led to any progress in achieving international unity.

A Workers' Sports Olympiade is to take place in Antwerp in July, 1937. All working class sports organisations are preparing to take part in it.

But even when unity of the working class sports

movement has been achieved all round, the workers' sports organisations will be far from covering all the workers engaged in the various forms of sport. In a number of countries there are good possibilities for developing sport on a mass scale with the aid of the trade unions. In France and the U.S.A. the first successful attempts are being undertaken in this direction.

A big role in establishing international unity in the working class and progressive sports movement is being played by Soviet sport. Every time Soviet sportsmen go abroad, each game or contest they undertake against the sportsmen of capitalist countries arouses tremendous interest among all the working people interested in sport, quite irrespective of their political convictions. After their return home, on the other hand, the Prague footballers who visited the U.S.S.R. began to collaborate actively with the anti-fascist sportsmen, and are now in favour of strengthening the links between Czech and Soviet sport. The sportsmen of all countries are impatiently awaiting the performances of Soviet sportsmen at the Antwerp Olympiade; and it can be said in advance that the success of this Olympiade will be assured by the presence of the Soviet sportsmen.

ANTI-FASCISTS SHOULD WORK INSIDE THE SPORTS ORGANISATIONS

The many millions of sportsmen in the various countries want peace and hate fascism; they follow with affection and joy all the victories of the Soviet Union in all walks of life, economic, cultural, sports. Masses of sportsmen are being drawn into the struggle for the People's Front. This urge will become still stronger if all anti-fascists, and primarily Communists, completely rid themselves of all the remains of their sectarian traditions in relation to sport and, in all their daily work, devote the attention they deserve to sports questions.

The successes achieved by the working class sports movement in France and Czechoslovakia have been possible thanks only to the fact that the Communist Parties of these countries have paid great attention to sports questions. In France the problems of the sports movement were specially discussed at the last plenary session of the C.C. of the Communist Party.

In the Communist press of a number of countries there are special sports pages. For example, the sports pages in the English and the American "Daily Worker" are a great success. The "L'Humanite" of Paris, the "Rude Pravo" of Prague, also carry sports columns, but questions of sport are very little dealt with in the Prague "Rote Fahne" and a number of other Communist papers.

Working sportsmen have a right to expect much from Communist and Social Democratic deputies and local authorities. In countries where the Communists are able to secure the satisfaction of the demands of sportsmen (the building of stadiums, swimming pools, reduction in entrance fees to stadiums, etc.) through the local authorities and parliaments, considerable encouragement is given to the growth of their influence among the masses and the growth of the anti-fascist movement. This is how masses of sportsmen are drawn into the anti-fascist movement on the basis of their own sports interests.

Communists and all anti-fascists must work inside *all* the sports organisations. In the general mass sports organisations the anti-fascists should demand the operation of democratic principles, that the sportsmen themselves really manage the sports organisations. In strengthening the workers' sports leagues and striving to bring them close to the mass,

so-called bourgeois sports leagues, the anti-fascists should remember that the workers' sports leagues are by no means the only form through which the workers can be drawn into sport. The workers' sports movement can develop quite well in other forms as well, as the experiment of setting up trade union sports clubs in the U.S.A. has shown. In general the specific conditions, habits and traditions of the sports movement of each individual country should be taken as the starting point.

The state of the sports movement and the tasks connected therewith differ in the various countries. But in all countries, work in the ranks of the sports movement, the task of extending and strengthening it, the struggle for the interests of sportsmen and the ideological struggle to secure that the sports movement is of a democratic and anti-fascist character is an important branch of the mass work of the Communist Parties.

IT CAN BE DONE



Speeches and
Resolutions of the
Fourteenth Congress
of the C. P. G. B.

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