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THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF  
WORLD COMMUNISM

PART I

COMMUNISM OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

SECTION D

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AROUND THE WORLD



MAY 29, 1956  
(Original Release Date)

MAY 29, 1956.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House  
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Prepared and released by the  
Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

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# Union Calendar No. 837

84TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT  
2d Session } { No. 2243

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THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY  
STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM  
PART 1  
COMMUNISM OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES  
SECTION D  
COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AROUND THE WORLD

MAY 29, 1956.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State  
of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Un-American  
Activities, submitted the following

## R E P O R T

[Pursuant to H. Res. 5, 84th Cong.]



# CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction.....	1
<b>EXHIBITS</b>	
<b>I. GENERAL TACTICS</b>	
1. J. Stalin, October and Comrade Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution, <i>Inprecorr</i> , January 23, 1925.....	2
2. Stalin Affirms Possibility of Socialist Victory in the Soviet Union Before Comintern, <i>Daily Worker</i> , December 13, 1926.....	12
3. Ten Years of "The Communist International," <i>The Communist International</i> , April 1929.....	17
4. D. Manuilski, Stalin as Leader of the Communist International, <i>Inprecorr</i> , December 31, 1929.....	20
5. Lenin as the Theoretician and Tactician of the Armed Uprising, <i>The Communist International</i> , March 1, 1931.....	22
6. Heinz Neumann, <i>Armed Insurrection</i> , 1931.....	28
7. Revolutionary Underground Work, <i>The Communist International</i> , July 1, 1932.....	38
8. Basic Principles of Illegal Work, <i>The Communist International</i> , December 1, 1933.....	44
9. O. Piatnitsky, <i>The Bolshevization of the Communist Parties by Eradicating the Social-Democratic Traditions</i> , 1932.....	46
10. Bela Kun, The International Importance of Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism," <i>Inprecorr</i> , December 22, 1934.....	80
11. Twentieth Anniversary of the Cheka-OGPU, <i>Inprecorr</i> , December 31, 1937.....	83
12. Dissolution of the Communist International, <i>World News and Views</i> , May 29, 1943.....	85
13. Resistance in the Occupied Countries, <i>World News and Views</i> , November 27, 1943.....	88
<b>II. MASS (FRONT) ORGANIZATIONS</b>	
<b>A. LABOR; RELIEF</b>	
14. <i>Resolutions and Decisions of the First International Congress of Revolutionary Trade and Industrial Unions</i> , July 1921.....	93
15. Scientific Study of Strike Strategy Plea to Workers by Red International of Unions, <i>Daily Worker</i> , May 26, 1924.....	96
16. Muenzenberg, Report on Workers Relief, <i>Inprecorr</i> , December 22, 1922.....	100
17. I. Amter, First World Conference of the International Red Relief, <i>Inprecorr</i> , July 31, 1924.....	110
18. Willi Muenzenberg, Before the World Congress of the Workers International Relief, <i>Inprecorr</i> , September 24, 1931.....	113
19. Conference of the IFTU in Oslo, <i>World News and Views</i> , May 28, 1938.....	114
20. Attitude of Certain Trade Union Leaders at Oslo, <i>World News and Views</i> , July 9, 1938.....	120
21. The IFTU and the War, <i>World News and Views</i> , October 28, 1939.....	123
22. The International Trade Union Conference, <i>World News and Views</i> , December 9, 1944.....	125
23. The World Trade Union Conference, <i>World News and Views</i> , February 24, 1945.....	127
<b>B. COOPERATIVES; WOMEN</b>	
24. Karl Bittel, Inadequate Relief for Russia by Cooperative International, <i>Inprecorr</i> , January 10, 1922.....	130
25. G. Kramarov, The Communist International and the Cooperatives, <i>Inprecorr</i> , January 17, 1922.....	133

	Page
26. The International Co-Operative Day, <i>Inprecorr</i> , July 2, 1925.....	134
27. Women in the Struggle Against Fascism and War, <i>The Communist International</i> , July 1937.....	149
28. Tamara Rust, Women's Rights, <i>World News and Views</i> , April 14, 1945..	155

## C. YOUTH; SPORTS

29. G. Zinoviev, The Tasks of the International Youth, <i>Inprecorr</i> , September 20, 1923.....	158
30. Theses on the Young Communist International, <i>The Communist International</i> , December 1924.....	160
31. Fritz Reussner, The Fight for the Unity of the International Workers' Movement for Gymnastics and Sport, <i>Inprecorr</i> , July 16, 1925.....	167
32. For the Formation of a Mighty Anti-Fascist Youth Movement, <i>Inprecorr</i> , October 5, 1935.....	169
33. Andre Victor, The Students in the Fighting Front for Peace, <i>Inprecorr</i> , November 2, 1935.....	176
34. The Founding of the United Students' International, <i>Inprecorr</i> , July 24, 1937.....	178
35. The Second World Youth Congress for Peace, <i>Inprecorr</i> , August 13, 1938.....	179

## D. PEACE; MISCELLANEOUS

36. L. Revo, The World Congress of Proletarian Esperantists, <i>Inprecorr</i> , September 17, 1925.....	183
37. W. Jopp, The World-Embracing International of Proletarian Free-thinkers, <i>Inprecorr</i> , May 13, 1931.....	185
38. Manifesto of the League Against Imperialism, <i>Inprecorr</i> , January 29, 1931.....	186
39. World Movement Against War, <i>Inprecorr</i> , November 2, 1935.....	189
40. Paris World Peace Conference, <i>World News and Views</i> , July , 1938..	191
41. World Conference on Bombardment of Open Towns and the Restoration of Peace, <i>World News and Views</i> , July 30, 1938.....	192

## III. WESTERN HEMISPHERE

## A. CANADA

42. B. Vassiliev, <i>How the Communist International Formulates at Present the Problem of Organization</i> , 1930.....	203
43. Sam Carr, Second Canadian Congress Against War and Fascism, <i>Inprecorr</i> , January 4, 1936.....	222
44. Dave Kashtan, Canadian Youth Movement, <i>World News and Views</i> , July 9, 1938.....	225
45. Sam Carr, How Canada's Ruling Class Fights for Democracy, <i>World News and Views</i> , November 23, 1940.....	227
46. <i>Report of the Royal Commission</i> , February 5, 1946.....	230

## B. MEXICO

47. <i>Strategy of the Communists: A Letter from the Communist International to the Mexican Communist Party</i> , 1923.....	242
48. Bertam O. Wolfe, Bolshevisation and Immediate Tasks of the Mexican Communist Party, <i>Inprecorr</i> , June 18, 1925.....	248
49. Dolores Ibarruri, <i>The Women Want a People's Peace</i> , February 1941..	251
50. <i>Address of Comrade LaFerte</i> , May 18, 1944.....	255

## C. BRAZIL

51. Keiros, The Eve of Revolution in Brazil, <i>The Communist International</i> , May 20, 1935.....	266
52. The National Revolutionary Uprising in Brazil, <i>Inprecorr</i> , December 21, 1935.....	277
53. The Intellectuals of Argentina Against Reaction in Brazil, <i>Inprecorr</i> , April 18, 1936.....	281

## D. CHILE; PERU

	Page
54. Horacio, Repressive Measures and Grotesque Falsehoods in Chile, <i>Inprecorr</i> , April 18, 1936-----	285
55. Octavio Brandao, The Situation in Peru, <i>Inprecorr</i> , March 13, 1937--	287
56. Hal Clark, People's Front in Chile, <i>Inprecorr</i> , May 1, 1937-----	298
57. R. A. Martinez, The Victory of the Chilean People's Front, <i>World News and Views</i> , November 10, 1938-----	290

## IV. EUROPE

## A. GERMANY

58. <i>The Communist International Between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses</i> , 1928-----	293
58A. Alfred Lange, <i>The Road to Victory</i> , 1927-----	300
59. Johannes Buchner, <i>The Agent Provocateur in the Labour Movement</i> , 1932-----	328
60. Albert Mueller, Organised Mass Fight Against Spies and Provocateurs, <i>Inprecorr</i> , September 28, 1934-----	335

## B. FRANCE

61. <i>The People's Front in France</i> , November 1935-----	339
62. 150th Anniversary of the French Revolution, <i>World News and Views</i> , July 15, 1939-----	348
63. Maurice Thorez, The Traitors in the Pillory, <i>The Communist International</i> , March 1940-----	351
64. Declaration of the Communist Party of France, <i>The Communist International</i> , July 1940-----	358
65. Pierre Cot, <i>Triumph of Treason</i> , 1944-----	361
66. Levét, <i>Communist Purge Directive</i> , August 1944-----	375

## C. ITALY

67. <i>The Communist International Between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses</i> , 1928-----	377
68. M. Ercoli, <i>Inside Italy</i> , May 1942-----	384

## D. SPAIN

69. M. Ercoli, <i>The Spanish Revolution</i> , December 1936-----	388
70. Georgi Dimitroff, <i>Two Years of Heroic Struggle of the Spanish People</i> , August 1938-----	394

## E. POLAND

71. The New Situation in Poland, <i>World News and Views</i> , April 7, 1945-----	400
---	-----

## V. AFRICA

72. George Padmore, <i>The Life and Struggle of Negro Toilers</i> , 1931-----	403
73. Towards Labour Unity in South Africa, <i>World News and Views</i> , September 18, 1943-----	412
74. Voice of South Africa, <i>World News and Views</i> , November 13, 1943-----	413
75. J. Shields, New Perspectives in Africa, <i>World News and Views</i> , September 30, 1944-----	414

## VI. MIDDLE EAST

76. The Present Struggle in Palestine, <i>World News and Views</i> , April 1, 1939-----	417
77. I. Rennap, The Revisionist Menace, <i>World News and Views</i> , August 5, 1939-----	420
78. The Situation in Palestine and the Near East, <i>World News and Views</i> , December 16, 1939-----	423

	Page
79. The War Drive in the Middle East, <i>World News and Views</i> , October 19, 1940.....	427
80. The Position in Palestine, <i>World News and Views</i> , June 14, 1941.....	429
81. A Real Egyptian Government, <i>World News and Views</i> , February 21, 1942.....	432
82. From Arab Countries, <i>World News and Views</i> , October 1, 1942.....	433
83. Anti-Fascist Unity in Palestine, <i>World News and Views</i> , October 17, 1942.....	434
84. N. Vasilyev, Turkish Neutrality, <i>World News and Views</i> , September 18, 1943.....	435

## VII. ASIA

## A. INDIA

85. Orgwald, <i>Tactical and Organizational Questions of the Communist Parties of India and Indo-China</i> , 1933.....	437
86. P. C. Joshi, <i>The Indian Communist Party</i> , September 1942.....	450
87. R. Palme Dutt, <i>Britain in the World Front</i> , 1943.....	459

## B. CHINA

88. A. Lozovsky, Hands Off China, <i>Daily Worker</i> , October 30, 1924.....	467
89. V. Lominadze, The Anniversary of the Canton Uprising, <i>The Communist International</i> , February 1, 1929.....	468
90. Chen Kwang, First Chinese Soviet Congress, <i>Daily Worker</i> , May 15, 1930.....	477
91. Proclamation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, <i>Daily Worker</i> , December 2, 1930.....	479
92. Revolutionary Mass Struggle Against Imperialist War Criminals, <i>Inprecorr</i> , February 11, 1932.....	481
93. Willi Muenzenberg, Five Years of Anti-Imperialist Struggle, <i>The Anti-Imperialist Review</i> , January 1932.....	483
94. Wang Ming, <i>The Revolutionary Movement in Colonial Countries</i> , December 1935.....	487
95. Mao Tse-tung, Wang Ming, Georgi Dimitroff, I. Jack, Edgar Snow, <i>China: The March Toward Unity</i> , March 1937.....	490
96. Wang Chia-hsiang, Chen Po-ta and Lo Fu, <i>Communists and the Three People's Principles</i> , August 1940.....	498
97. Mao Tse-tung, <i>China's New Democracy</i> , 1941.....	505
98. Mao Tse-tung, <i>Problems of Art and Literature</i> , May 1942.....	513
99. Mao Tse-tung, China Needs Democracy and Unity, <i>World News and Views</i> , November 18, 1944.....	519

## VIII. AUSTRALIA

100. Bill Keats, Australia—Solidarity with the Soviet Union, <i>World News and Views</i> , June 22, 1940.....	522
101. L. Sharkey, <i>Australia Marches On</i> , December 1942.....	523
102. J. B. Miles, <i>Jobs, Freedom, Progress</i> , 1945.....	531
103. L. H. Gould, <i>Arts, Science and Communism</i> , 1945.....	543

## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*  
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress the following standing committees:

(g) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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## SECTION D: COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AROUND THE WORLD

### INTRODUCTION

*Words must have no relation to action—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron.—Joseph Stalin.*

Throughout the 24 years of its acknowledged life span (1919–43), the Communist International held only 7 world congresses. Comintern activities during the intervening periods and for 8 years after the last congress were theoretically supervised by an executive committee, often referred to as ECCI (sec. C, exhibit No. 11). In practice Lenin ran the Comintern as long as his health permitted (sec. C, exhibit No. 8). Once Stalin acquired complete control of the machinery of the Soviet Government, no important decision was ever reached without his approval.<sup>1</sup>

The present section deals not only with Comintern, but also with direct Soviet activities around the world.<sup>2</sup> Stalin was far too distrustful to place his reliance in a single organization, especially when appearances demanded that some of its highest officers be foreigners. Consequent upon the alleged dissolution of the Comintern in May 1943, Soviet spy networks continued their activities without interruption. Acting under directives emanating from Soviet embassies, trade corporations and other "private" Soviet enterprises carried on their business pretty much as before.<sup>3</sup> Igor Gouzenko has testified that, in the early part of 1945, the Soviet Embassy in Canada sought help from the Comintern Centre in the U. S. S. R.<sup>4</sup>

After commenting upon the alleged reasons for the dissolution of the Comintern, the present national chairman of the CPUSA frankly continued his "history" of the three Internationals for an additional 114 pages.<sup>5</sup> Evidently Foster saw little value in denying a fact which every informed person knew—namely, that the Comintern had ceased to exist only in name. Its functions were taken over by Communist groups working within European resistance movements and by local Communist Parties acting under the direction of Soviet agents.<sup>6</sup>

The task of assembling a complete collection of documents dealing with Communist activities around the world is quite beyond the resources of this committee. Hence, only a few representative items have been selected. Attention is here called to a series of reports issued in 1948 by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.<sup>7</sup> Supplement III C, sections A and C, capably deal with Communist triumphs in Czechoslovakia (an advanced industrial European country) and China (a critical agrarian state in Asia).

### I. GENERAL TACTICS

After Lenin's death in January 1924 came the great struggle for power. Whoever achieved mastery over the Bolshevik Party would naturally control the Comintern. Exhibits No. 1 and 2 present Stalin's ideological bid for supreme authority. While Trotsky and other international-minded Bolsheviks argued that communism could never be successful in one isolated country, Stalin took a diametrically opposed position (sec. B, exhibit No. 22). He insisted that it was not only possible, but much more realistic to establish Soviet socialism first in the U. S. S. R. Needless to say, Stalin did not place his chief reliance in speeches and ideological discussions. On the other hand, he was quite willing to give them a try whenever they could be of some assistance.

<sup>1</sup> William Henry Chamberlin, *Blueprint for World Conquest*, Washington, Human Events, 1946, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> David J. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1955, outlines the activities of many important Soviet spy networks. See also Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, *Shanghai Conspiracy*, New York, Dutton, 1952.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Bentley, *Out of Bondage*, New York, Devin-Adair, 1951, pp. 190, 228, 290-293.

<sup>4</sup> *The Report of the Royal Commission Approved Under Order in Council, P. C. 411 of February 5, 1946*, Ottawa, Cloutier, 1946, p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> William Z. Foster, *History of the Three Internationals: The World Socialist and Communist Movements from 1848 to the Present*, N. Y., International Publishers, 1955.

<sup>6</sup> Stefan T. Possony (Georgetown University), *A Century of Conflict: Communist Techniques of World Revolution*, Chicago, Regnery, 1953, pp. 278-286. E. H. Cookridge, *Soviet Spy Net*, London, Muller, n. d. (1954-55).

<sup>7</sup> *The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism*, 80th Cong., 2d sess., Committee on Foreign Affairs, H. Doc. No. 169, Washington, 1948.

## EXHIBIT No. 1

[*Inprecorr*, January 23, 1925. Pp. 77-81]

## OCTOBER AND COMRADE TROTZKY'S THEORY OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION

By I. Stalin

There are two peculiarities of the October revolution which must be fully understood before the inner purport and historical significance of this revolution can be comprehended. What are these peculiarities? In the first place the fact that in Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat came into existence as a power based upon the alliance of the proletariat and the working peasantry, the proletariat leading the masses of working peasantry. In the second place the fact that in Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat has maintained its position as result of the victory of socialism in a country in which capitalism is but little developed, whilst capitalism continues to exist in other countries possessing a highly developed capitalist system. Naturally this does not mean that the October revolution had no other features peculiar to itself. But for us precisely these two peculiarities are important, not only because they strikingly illustrate the essentials of the October revolution, but because they simultaneously reveal the opportunist nature of the theory of "permanent revolution."

Let us cast a brief glance at these peculiarities.

The question of the working masses of town and country petty bourgeoisie, the question of winning over these masses for the proletariat is the most important question of proletarian revolution. The fate of the revolution and the security of the proletarian dictatorship depend upon the question of who receives the support of these masses of small workers in town and country, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, in the struggle for possession of power, and upon the question of whether they become the reserves of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat.

In France the revolutions in 1848 and 1871 failed chiefly for the reason that the peasant reserves were on the side of the bourgeoisie. The October revolution was victorious because it succeeded in depriving the bourgeoisie of its peasant reserves and in winning over these reserves for the proletariat, and because the proletariat proved itself in this revolution to be the sole force leading the millions of workers of town and country.

Those who have not grasped this fact cannot comprehend the character of the October revolution, nor the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor the peculiarities of the internal politics of our proletarian power.

The dictatorship of the proletariat does not merely consist of a ruling upper stratum, "skilfully selected" by the careful hand of an "experienced strategist", and receiving "reasonable support" from this or that stratum of the population. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a class alliance between the proletariat and the working masses of the peasantry, with the object of overthrowing capital, or bringing about the final victory of socialism under such conditions that the leading force within this alliance is the proletariat.

It is thus not a question of a "slight" underestimation or "slight" overestimation of the revolutionary possibilities of the peasants' movement, as the diplomatic defenders of "permanent revolution" like to express themselves. It is a question of the nature of the new proletarian state which has originated as result of the October revolution. It is a question of the character of the proletarian power, of the principles of the proletarian dictatorship.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat"—says Lenin—"is the basic form of the class alliance between the proletariat, as vanguard of the workers, and the numerous non-proletarian working strata (petty bourgeoisie, small holders, peasantry, intelligenzia, etc.) or their majority—an alliance against capital, an alliance for the complete overthrow of capital, the complete crushing of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and their attempts at restoration, an alliance for the object of the final establishment and consolidation of socialism." (Lenin, Compl. works Russ. ed. vol. XVII. p. 240).

And further:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat, if we translate this scientific Latin historical philosophical expression into a simpler language, has the following meaning: there is only one particular class, and that is the city workers, the workers in industrial undertakings, which are capable of leading the whole mass of workers and exploited, in the struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, both during the period in which capital is being overthrown and during the struggle for the maintenance and consolidation of the victory, during the struggle for the creation of a new socialist state of society, and during the whole struggle for the complete abolishment of classes." (Vol. XVI. p. 248).

This is the Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

One of the peculiarities of the October revolution consists in the fact that it is a classic example of the execution of the Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Many comrades are of the opinion that this theory is purely "Russian", applying to Russian actuality only. This is entirely wrong. When Lenin speaks of the working masses of non-proletarian classes which are to be led by the proletariat, he does not think of the Russian peasantry only, but at the same time of the working elements in the border districts of the Soviet Union, until recently colonies of Russia. Lenin emphasised unwearingly that the proletariat cannot be victorious without an alliance with the masses belonging to these various nationalities. In his article on the nationality question, and in his speeches of the Congresses of the Communist International, Lenin stated more than once that the victory of world revolution is impossible without a revolutionary alliance, without a revolutionary bloc of the proletariat of the more advanced countries and the oppressed peoples of the enslaved colonies. But what are the colonies other than equally oppressed masses of workers, mostly working peasantry? Who does not know that the question of the emancipation of the colonies is in all essentials nothing more nor less than the question of the emancipation of the working masses of the non-proletarian classes from the oppression and exploitation of financial capital?

But this means that the Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is no "Russian" theory, but a theory adaptable to every

country. Bolshevism is not a merely Russian phenomenon. "Bolshevism" says Lenin, "is a standard example of tactics for all."

These are the characteristic features of the first peculiarity of the October revolution.

What about comrade Trotzky's theory of "permanent revolution" as viewed from the standpoint of this peculiarity of the October revolution?

We shall not go back to the standpoint taken by comrade Trotzky in 1905, when he "simply" forgot the peasantry as revolutionary force, and issued the slogan "Away with the Czar and up with the workers' government", that is, the slogan of revolution without the peasantry. Even comrade Radek, diplomatic defender of "permanent revolution" as he is, is now obliged to admit that in the year 1905 "permanent revolution", was a leap into nonetily, [sic] away from reality.

We shall not even go back to comrade Trotzky's standpoint during the war, 1915 for instance, when he, in his article on the "Struggle for Power", first assumes that "we are living in the epoch of imperialism", that imperialism does "not oppose the bourgeois nation to the old regime, but the proletariat to the bourgeois "nation" and then comes to the conclusion that the revolutionary role played by the peasantry is bound to become of minor importance, and that the slogan of the confiscation of Russian land is no longer so important as it was. It will also be known to you that when Lenin replied to this article, he accused comrade Trotzky of the "negation" of the role played by the peasantry, and declared that "in reality Trotzky goes half way to meet the liberal labour politicians of Russia, who understand the "negation" of the role played by the peasantry the aversion to arouse the peasants to revolution." ("Against the Current" p. 297.)

We shall rather refer to comrade Trotzky's later works on this question, works written at the period in which the proletarian dictatorship has already proved capable of maintaining its position, and at a time when comrade Trotzky had the possibility of testing his theory of "permanent revolution" in actual practice, and to improve his errors. Let us take the preface written in 1922 to his book "1905". In this preface comrade Trotzky writes as follows on the "permanent revolution":

"It was just in the period between the 22. (9.) January and the October strike that the views of the present writer were formed on the character of the revolutionary development of Russia, views which have received the designation of "permanent revolution." This scientific designation expresses the idea that Russian revolution, confronted by immediate bourgeois aims, cannot be content after gaining these. The revolution cannot solve its first bourgeois tasks by any other means than the seizure of power by the proletariat. But after it has seized power, the proletariat cannot confine to the bourgeois framework of the revolution. On the contrary, the firm establishment of victory requires that the proletarian vanguard at once inaugurates its rule by energetic attacks upon not only feudal property, but bourgeois property as well. This means for the proletariat *hostile encounters* with every group of the bourgeoisie which has supported the proletariat at the beginning of its revolutionary struggle, and not only with these, but with the *broad masses*

*of the peasantry* as well, whose support has enabled them to attain power. The contradictions existing for a workers' government in a backward country, with an overwhelmingly peasant population, can be solved on an international scale *only*, in the arena of the proletarian world revolution". (The emphasis is mine. I. St.).

Thus comrade Trotzky on his "permanent revolution".

Lenin speaks of the alliance between the proletariat and the working masses of the peasantry as the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotzki speaks of hostile encounters between the proletarian vanguard and "the broad masses of the peasantry".

Lenin speaks of the toiling and exploited masses being under the leadership of the proletariat. But Trotzky speaks of the "contradiction existing for a workers' government in a backward country with an overwhelmingly peasant population."

According to Lenin, the revolution finds its resources of power mainly in the masses of workers and peasants in Russia itself. But according to Trotzky the revolution can find its requisite forces only "in the arena of proletarian world revolution."

What is the dictatorship of the proletariat, according to Lenin?

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a power based upon the alliance of the proletariat and the working masses of the peasantry "for the purpose of the complete overthrow of capital, for the purpose of the final establishment and security of socialism."

What is the dictatorship of the proletariat, according to Trotzky?

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a power hampered by "hostile encounters with the broad masses of the peasantry", and seeking for a solution of the contradictions of its position only in "the arena of proletarian world revolution."

In what does this theory of "permanent revolution" differ from the well known Menshevist theory of disavowal of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Strictly speaking, in nothing!

There is no possibility of doubt. The "permanent revolution" is no mere underestimation of the revolutionary possibilities of the peasant movement; it is such a complete underestimation of the peasant movement that it is synonymous with the rejection of the Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "permanent revolution" represented by comrade Trotzky is a variety of Menshevism.

This is the case of the first peculiarity of the October revolution.

What are the characteristic features of the second peculiarity of the October revolution?

After studying imperialism, especially during the war period, Lenin arrived at the law of the irregular and spasmodic political and economic development of the capitalist countries. According to this law, the development of the various enterprises, trusts, branches of industry, and of the various countries, does not proceed regularly, not in any previously ordained order, not in such a manner that any one trust, branch of industry, or entire country, advances during the whole time; whilst the other trusts or countries remain behind at regular intervals. The development is spasmodic, with interruptions in the progress of individual countries, and sudden advances in that of others. The result is that the countries failing to keep up the pace of any period

endeavour, strictly in accordance with this law, to maintain their old positions, and the countries which have succeeded in getting a start of the others act equally in accordance with this law in seeking to conquer new positions, so that military conflicts become inevitable between the imperialist countries. This was for instance the case with Germany, which up to fifty years ago was backward in comparison with France or England. The same applies to Japan in comparison to Russia. And it is equally well known that at the beginning of the twentieth century Germany and Japan made such a mighty leap forwards that Germany succeeded in overtaking France, and could commence to supplant England in the markets of the world. The case was the same between Japan and Russia. There were the contradictions which led to the great war of 1914.

This law is based upon the following:

1. "Capitalism has developed into a world system of colonial oppression and financial throttling of the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe by a small number of "advanced" countries. (See preface to French edition of "Imperialism.")

2. "The division of this "spoil" takes place among two or three mighty international world robbers, armed to the teeth (America, England, Japan), who drag the whole world into their quarrels over the division of their loot." (Ibid.)

3. The growth of inconsistencies within the international system of financial oppression, and the inevitability of military encounter, have rendered the world front of imperialism easily vulnerable to revolution, and a breach of this front in some countries is probable.

4. This breach will most probably be made at those points and in those countries where the chain of the imperialist front is weakest, that is, where the foundations of imperialism are on the least secure basis, and revolution can best develop.

5. Thus the victory of socialism is perfectly possible and probable in a country, even when this country is not far advanced in capitalist development, and other countries possessing higher capitalist development continue to be capitalist.

This, in a few words, is the principle of the Leninist theory of proletarian revolution. And what is the second peculiarity of the October revolution?

The second peculiarity of the October revolution consists in the fact that this revolution is a model example of the practical application of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution.

Those who do not comprehend this peculiarity of the October revolution, will never grasp the international character of this revolution, nor its enormous international power, nor its peculiar foreign policy.

"The irregularity of economic and political development"—wrote Lenin—"is an undeniable law of capitalism. From this it follows that a victory for socialism is at first possible in a few countries only, possibly only in one. The victorious proletariat of this country, after expropriating the capitalists and organising its socialist production, would rise against the outside capitalist world, draw to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, bring about an insurrection in these countries against the capitalists, and, if necessary, even go to war against the exploiting classes and their states. . . .", since "a free union of the nations in socialism is impossible without a more or

less long and obstinate struggle between the socialist republics and the other states". ("Against the Current". p. 125.)

The opportunists of all countries maintain that the proletarian revolution can only begin in industrially highly developed countries—if their theories allow that it is to begin at all. They maintain that a country's prospects of socialism are greater in proportion to the degree of development of its industry, and exclude the possibility of a victory of socialism in a simple country, and more over in that of weak capitalist development, as something entirely impossible. Even during the war Lenin opposed this opportunist theory by his theory of proletarian revolution, based upon the law of the irregularity of development in imperialist states, and showing the victory of socialism to be possible in a country whose capitalist development is comparatively weak.

The October revolution completely confirms the correctness of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution.

And now to the theory of "permanent revolution" as viewed from the standpoint of the Leninist theory of proletarian revolution.

Let us take comrade Trotzky's pamphlet on "Our revolution" written in 1906.

Comrade Trotzky writes:

"Without the direct state support of the European proletariat the Russian working class cannot retain power, or transform its temporary rule into a permanent socialist dictatorship. No one can doubt this for a moment." (Trotzky: "Our revolution". Russian ed. p. 278.)

What does this quotation tell us? It tells us that it is impossible for socialism to be victorious in an individual country, in this case Russia, "without the direct state support of the European proletariat", that is, before the seizure of state power by the European proletariat.

What has this "theory" in common with Lenin's assertion on the possibility of victory for socialism "in an isolated capitalist country".

It is evident that the theories have nothing in common.

We admit that comrade Trotzky published this pamphlet in 1906, when it was still difficult to determine the character of our revolution, and thus contains involuntary errors not entirely corresponding to comrade Trotzky's later views. Let us examine another of comrade Trotzky's pamphlets, his "Peace Programme", published before the October revolution in 1917 and now reprinted (1924) in the book "1917". In this pamphlet comrade Trotzky criticises Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution and of the possibility of socialism being victorious in an isolated country, and opposes this by the slogan of the "United States of Europe". He maintains the victory of socialism in a single country to be impossible, and asserts that socialism can only be victorious when it gains the day in some of the chief European countries (England, Russia, Germany), which would then form the United States of Europe. Otherwise victory is totally impossible. He states openly that "a victorious revolution in Russia or in England without revolution in Germany, or the reverse, is unimaginable". (See "1917", vol III/1 of comrade Trotzky's works, Russian ed. p. 89.)

Comrade Trotzky wrote:

"The sole historical objection with any pretensions to concreteness, against the slogan of the United states, was formulated in the Swiss "Social Democrat" (the former central organ of the Bolsheviks).

I. St.) in the following sentence: "The irregularity of economic and political development is an undeniable law of capitalism." From this the "Social Democrat" concludes that the victory of socialism in one country is possible, and that there is therefore no reason to make the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in every individual country dependent on the creation of the United States of Europe. That capitalist development is unequal in various countries is entirely incontestable, but this inequality is in itself very unequal. The capitalist levels of England, Austria, Germany, or France are not equally high. But in comparison to Africa or Asia all these countries represent capitalist "Europe", ripe for social revolution. That no country should postpone its struggle whilst waiting for the issue of the struggle in other countries, — this is an elementary idea whose repetition is useful and necessary, and prevents the idea of parallel international action from being substituted by the idea of waiting and of international passivity. We are not to wait for others, but begin our fight, and continue to fight on national ground, fully confident that our initiative will give the impetus to fight in the other countries. But should this not be the case, then it would be hopeless to suppose — and here both the experience of history and theoretical consideration show it to be hopeless — that a revolutionary Russia for instance could hold its own against a conservative Europe, or a socialist Germany maintain itself if isolated in a capitalist world." (Ibid. p. 89/90.)

Thus we here again see this same theory of the simultaneous victory of socialism in the chief countries of Europe, put forth as a rule opposing Lenin's revolutionary theory of the victory of socialism in a single country.

No-one denies that common endeavours of the proletariats or several countries are necessary in the interests of the complete safe guarding of the revolution from the danger of the restoration of the old order of things. No-one denies that the proletariat of Russia, without the support of the European proletariat, could not withstand a general attack upon the revolution, just as the revolutionary movement in the west could not have developed us rapidly as it has without the support which it has received from Russia since the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. No-one denies that we need aid. But what are we to understand under the support of our revolution by the West European proletariat? Is the sympathy felt by the European workers for our revolution, their readiness to frustrate the intervention plans of the imperialists, not to be counted as a support, as a very great help? There is no doubt it is a great help. Without this aid, given not only by the European workers, but also by the colonial and dependent countries, it would have been much more difficult for the Russian proletariat to maintain its dictatorship. Have this sympathy and aid, combined with the power of our Red Army, and with the readiness of the workers and peasants of Russia to protect the socialist Fatherland with their bodies, proved strong enough to ward off the attacks of the imperialists, and to create the necessary prerequisites for serious constructive works? Yes, they have proved strong enough. Is this sympathy growing or waning? Without doubt it is growing. Are our conditions sufficiently favourable to enable us not alone to promote the organisation of socialist organisation at home, but at the

same time to lend aid to the workers of Western Europe and to the oppressed peoples of the East? Yes. The seven years of the history of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia demonstrate this most clearly. Can it be denied that there is now to be perceived an increase in the efficiency of Labour in Russia? No, this cannot be denied. What can then be the actual meaning of comrade Trotzky's declaration that a revolutionary Russia cannot maintain its position in face of a conservative Europe?

It can only mean one thing. Firstly, comrade Trotzky does not feel the inner power of our revolution; secondly, comrade Trotzky does not grasp the significance of that moral support afforded to our revolution by the workers of the West and the peasants of the East; and thirdly, comrade Trotzky does not realise the internal weakness now disintegrating imperialism.

Carried away by the criticism of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution, comrade Trotzky dealt himself an involuntary blow in his pamphlet on the "Peace Programme", published in 1917 and reprinted in 1924.

But perhaps this pamphlet is again out of date, perhaps its contents are no longer in accordance with comrade Trotzky's present views. Let us take comrade Trotzky's latest work, written after the victory of proletarian revolution in an isolated country, in Russia. Let us take for instance the epilogue written by comrade Trotzky in 1922 to the new edition of the "Peace Programme". Here we read:

"The assertion, repeated several times in the "Peace Programme", that the proletarian revolution cannot be completely victorious within national limits, will appear to many readers to be confuted by the almost 5 years of existence of our Soviet republic. The drawing of this conclusion is however not justified. The fact that this worker's state, in an isolated and backward country, has been able to maintain its position, demonstrates the mighty power of the proletariat, and shows us that the proletariat will be able to accomplish real miracles in countries more advanced, and possessing a higher degree of civilisation. But though we have maintained our position in a political and military sense, we have not succeeded in creating a socialist state of society. We have not even begun to do so.

So long as the bourgeoisie retains power in the other European states, we shall be forced to struggle against economic isolation by means of agreements with the capitalist world. But we may be fully convinced that at best these agreements may help us to heal, this or that economic wound, or to take this or that step forwards, but that a real advance of socialist economics in Russia will only be possible *after the victory* (the emphasis is mine. I. St.) of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe." (Trotzky's works. Russian ed. Vol. III/1. pp. 92/93.)

Thus comrade Trotzky, obviously sinning against reality in his obstinate attempt to save "permanent revolution" from final collapse. It appears that, however we may turn and twist, we have not only "not succeeded" in creating a socialist state of society, but have "not even begun to do so." It appears that many people set their hopes upon "agreements with the capitalist world", but that nothing good is likely to come of these agreements, since we, however we may twist and turn, cannot attain "a real advance of socialist economics"

until the proletariat "in the most important countries of Europe" has been victorious.

Since the proletarian revolution has not yet been victorious in the West, the Russian revolution has thus only the "choice" between decay or degeneration into a bourgeois state.

It is not for nothing that comrade Trotzky has been speaking for two years of a "degeration" of our Party.

It is not for nothing that comrade Trotzky last year prophesied the "ruin" of our country.

How can this strange "theory" be made to harmonise with Lenin's theory of "the victory of socialism in an isolated country?"

How can these strange "views" be made to harmonise with Lenin's views, his teaching that the new economic policy rendered it possible for us to "lay the foundation of socialist economics"?

How can this "permanent" hopelessness be for instance made to harmonise with the following words of Lenin's:

Socialism is no longer a question of the remote future, or of some abstract representation, or of an ikon. We have retained our old bad opinion of the ikon. We have carried socialism into daily life, and here we must know our way thoroughly. This is our immediate task, the work set us during this epoch. Permit me in conclusion to express my conviction that, however difficult this task may be, and however new it may be in comparison with former tasks, our mutual work will enable us to solve this problem—not to-morrow, but within a few years—that the Russia of the "Nep" will be transformed into a socialist Russia. (Lenin's compl. works. Vol. XVIII/2. p. 108. Russ. ed.)

How can the "permanent" depression shown by comrade Trotzky be made to harmonise with the following words of Lenin's:

"Is the power of the state over the whole of the large means of production, the state power in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with many millions of the poorer peasantry, the guarantee that the leadership of the peasantry is in the hands of the proletariat—is all this not truly all that is necessary for developing the cooperative, and the cooperative alone, which we have hitherto treated as something of the petty trading nature, and which we are still justified to a certain extent in treating thus under the conditions of the new economic policy, into an entirely socialist state of society? This is not yet the socialist state of society itself, but it is everything which we require for the construction of that state of society". (Lenin: On "Cooperation".)

It is clear that there is no possibility of harmony here. The "permanent revolution" of comrade Trotzky is the negation of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution and vice versa—Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution is the negation of the theory of "permanent revolution."

Lack of faith in the power and vitality of our revolution, lack of faith in the power and creative faculties of the Russian proletariat—this is the foundation of the theory of "permanent revolution."

In what does comrade Trotsky's theory differ from the ordinary Menshevist theory that the victory of socialism is impossible in a single country, especially a "backward" country, unless accompanied by the victory of proletarian revolution in the most important countries of Europe?

Strictly speaking, in nothing!

Doubt is impossible. Comrade Trotzky's theory of "permanent revolution" is a variation of Menshevism.

Our press has of late published some futile diplomatic attempts at showing the theory of "permanent revolution" to be compatible with Leninism. These diplomatists point out that this theory of course proved to be wrong in 1905. Comrade Trotzky's error lay in venturing too far, and in attempting to apply something which was not applicable to the conditions obtaining in 1905. But in October 1917, when the revolution was fully ripe, comrade Trotzky's theory—so say these diplomatists—was eminently suitable for application. It is not difficult to guess that the greatest of these diplomatists is comrade Radek. It is not agreeable for the ear to hear:

"The war created a chasm between the peasantry, striving for land and for peace, and the petty bourgeois parties. The war placed the peasantry under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Bolshevik Party. What has become possible is not a dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry, but the dictatorship of the working class, leaning upon the peasantry. That which was brought forward against Lenin in 1905 by Trotzky and Rosa Luxemburg (that is, the "permanent revolution" I. St.) proved in actual fact to be a second stage of historical development". (Pravda. No. 42. 21. Feb. 1924.)

Every word of this is wrong.

It is wrong that what has become possible since the war is "not a dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry, but the dictatorship of the working class, leaning upon the peasantry." In reality the February revolution of the year 1917 was the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, in a peculiar connection with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

It is wrong that the theory of "permanent revolution", which comrade Radek bashfully omits to mention, was brought forward in 1905 by Rosa Luxemburg and Trotzky. In reality this theory was brought forward by Parvus and Trotzky. Now, ten months later, comrade Radek considers it necessary to rail against Parvus on account of the "permanent revolution" (see his article on Parvus in the "Pravda").

But justice demands that comrade Radek should protest equally against Parvus' companion, comrade Trotzky.

It is wrong that the "permanent revolution", thrust aside by the revolution of 1905, proved right in the "second stage of historical development", that is, during the October revolution. The whole course of the October revolution, its whole development, demonstrated and proved the complete bankruptcy of the theory of "permanent revolution", its complete incompatibility with the principles of Leninism.

The gaping chasm between the theory of "permanent revolution" and Leninism cannot be bridged over by fine speeches or weak diplomacy.

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## EXHIBIT No. 2

[*Daily Worker*, December 13, 1926. Pp. 1, 2, 6]

## STALIN AFFIRMS POSSIBILITY OF SOCIALIST VICTORY IN THE SOVIET UNION BEFORE COMINTERN

The following is a cabled report of the seventeenth session of the plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International meeting in Moscow with delegates present from nearly all of the 58 parties throuot the world affiliated. Previous special cable dispatches to The DAILY WORKER have reported speeches and reports on the following important questions: The international situation of capitalism and the tasks of the Communist Parties; the lessons of the British general strike; the significance of the events in China and the Far East. The present report, giving Stalin's speech and Zinoviev's remarks on the situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, throws a vivid light on the controversy just completed between the opposition, led by Trotzky, Kamenev and Zinoviev and the Central Committee of the Communist Party under the leadership of Stalin, Bucharin, Tomsky and others.

### *Report of Stalin's Speech*

(Special Cable to The Daily Worker)

Moscow, U. S. S. R., Dec. 11. (Delayed.)—The seventeenth session of the plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on Dec. 7 heard Joseph Stalin, secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, report on the Russian question. In his preliminary remarks he made the following points:

The struggle within the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. dates from long ago; the history of the party is a history of inner contradictions, the overcoming of these contradictions, and the gradual consolidation of the party on the basis of victory over fundamental contradictions arising during the development of the party and the proletarian struggle. Inasmuch as the contradictions are fundamental and not tactical, no middle line, no compromise is possible. Concealing the fact of the existence of contradictions would mean the party's ideological death. It is absolutely necessary to fight out the divergencies of principle.

### REVIEWS THE PARTY'S HISTORY

The speaker then reviewed the successive periods of the party history beginning with the second congress when the formal split between the Bolsheviks and mensheviks occurred until the present stage. All stages of the party's history abound in fights against fundamental divergencies. The party's history has proved the triumph of quality over quantity. Lenin, originally standing alone, finally carried the day. The same applies to parties in other countries.

Social-democracy, Stalin said, is decaying and degenerating because of its attempts to hide fundamental, internal contradictions. There are two sources of contradictions within proletarian parties: first, the pressure of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology on the proletariat and consequently on its party because the proletariat is itself part of general society while the party is part of the proletariat; second, the existence of various layers within the working class—the mass of the

true proletariat which best support Marxism; people recently come from non-proletarian classes such as the peasantry, petty bourgeois, and intelligentsia who are the fittest ground for all kinds of anarchist and semi-anarchist doctrines and "ultra-left" groupings; and, lastly, the labor aristocracy, always willing to compromise with the bourgeoisie on the most favorable terms and are always open to reformism and opportunism.

#### URGES FIGHT FOR BASIC PRINCIPLES

The last two layers, Stalin went on, in spite of the external differences between them, constitute a common ground for opportunism, either open and patent if the sentiments of the labor aristocracy are preponderant, or hidden under "left" phraseology if petty-bourgeoisie sentiment prevails. Quoting Engels as authority, Stalin emphasized that the proletarian party must not become a debating club, it can withstand the pressure of bourgeoisie influence only thru a hard fight for basic principles and a correct line.

Passing to the question of the opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Stalin pointed out three peculiar features: First, the opposition is not simply an opposition but a united opposition; second, the opposition seeks to conceal its opportunism under "left revolutionary" phrases; third, the opposition complains that it is essentially misunderstood.

#### DISSECTS THE OPPOSITION

The opposition, with Trotskyism at its head, includes all the more or less opportunistic tendencies which are against Leninism, either at the beginning or lately; Trotskyism's "new opposition," remnants of "democratic centralism" and remnants of the so-called labor opposition. Apart from ideological reasons, the opposition is united because this is the only opportunity to ever so lightly increase its chances in the anti-party struggle.

The fact, Stalin continued, that Trotskyism is leading the opposition is not casual and has repeatedly recurred in the party's history. Trotskyism is the ablest representative of the petty-bourgeois drift, cleverly concealing its opportunism under "left revolutionary" phraseology. A series of examples from the party history since the seizure of power in October 1917 show how all oppositional tendencies under "revolutionary" slogans advocated measures which, practically, could only hamper the work of the Communist Party.

Such a mask is necessary because the very revolutionary traditions of the Soviet Union proletariat will not countenance frank opportunists as for instance in England. As for the opposition's complaint that they are "misunderstood," Stalin observed that this always was the lot of opportunists as for example the Bernstein, Bauer and Volmar factions at the end of the last century.

The fundamental differences of views, Stalin said, within the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. are revolving around several main questions.

First, the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, namely the U. S. S. R., whether the proletariat of the Soviet Union can with its own forces subdue the bourgeoisie and create the economic as well as the political basis for the construction of socialism. The

Communist Party's answer is in the affirmative—the opposition's, in the negative. The figures prove the correctness of the party's view.

The second question refers to the international situation of the U. S. S. R., affording us a breathing space for the development of socialism. Four main facts assure a period for a breathing spell: the conflicting interests among the imperialists; the conflicting interests between imperialist countries on one side and colonial and semi-colonial countries on the other; the growing revolutionary movement in capitalist countries and the growing sympathy of the workers of all countries for the Soviet Republic; the strength and power developed by the Soviet Union proletariat's progress in socialist construction and the strength and good organization of the red army.

The third question is the problem of "national" and international tasks of the proletarian revolution in one country or another. The party holds the view that the task of the Soviet Union proletariat are one with the common task of the liberation of the workers of all countries from capitalism, that the interests of socialist construction in our country are entirely merged with the interests of the revolutionary movement in all countries because the revolution in the Soviet Union is partly a beginning for the basis of developing the world revolution. Consequently the opposition makes the greatest political mistake when it sets the "national" tasks of the proletariat of one country over against its international tasks.

#### TROTSKY OPPOSED LENINISM

The fourth question, Stalin went on, refers to the history of the above mentioned questions. Producing a large number of quotations from the writings of Lenin and Trotsky, Stalin demonstrated that Trotsky told an untruth when he declared that the question of socialist construction arose for the first time in 1925. As a matter of fact, Lenin put this question on the order of the day as early as 1915 and Trotsky himself, then and since, has continually opposed Lenin and Leninism in substance on this question. Lenin affirmed that the U. S. S. R. proletariat in the period of its dictatorship has all the necessary and adequate conditions for the construction of a full socialist society while Trotsky advances the impossibility of socialist construction within national state frames.

The fifth question upon which there is a divergence of views in the Soviet Union Communist Party concerns the problem of actually building socialism at this time. The opposition is greatly mistaken in believing that the question of socialist construction has only a theoretical interest. The question has the greatest practical importance: whether or not it is possible, today, under the new system and during the partial stabilization of capitalism to build the socialist economy.

#### CHARGES TROTSKY DISTORTS

Lenin, Stalin declared, and the party (Fourteenth Congress) replied in the affirmative, the opposition replies in the negative. Trotsky repeats his own social-democratic views which he held in 1915 in this respect.

The sixth question refers to the problem of the prospects of the proletarian revolution. Quoting from Trotsky's speech to the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R., Stalin pointed out that Trotsky had misquoted and distorted Lenin's words when he alleged that Lenin estimated from thirty to forty years as the period necessary for the building of socialism. What Lenin actually said was that for the next ten or twenty years the correct relations must be maintained with the peasantry in order that victory be assured of world-wide importance, otherwise there is a possibility of failure in twenty or forty years.

The seventh question is, with whom can a more profitable alliance be made, with the world proletariat or the peasantry of the U. S. S. R. This is put by the opposition in a childish, literal way, as if both the world proletariat and the peasantry were eagerly competing to offer themselves as allies. The actual position is that the U. S. S. R. proletariat is yearly consolidating its power, rallying the peasantry, scoring successes in socialist construction and strengthening the bonds of friendship with the world's workers and the oppressed nations. Under such conditions there is no reason to deny that the U. S. S. R. proletariat has all chances to conquer its own bourgeoisie and continue successfully to build socialism in their own country despite the capitalist encirclement.

Contrary to the opinion of the party, Stalin said, Trotsky asserts that without preliminary victory by the western proletariat and their support to the workers of the Soviet Union, the latter cannot conquer its own bourgeoisie, build socialism or even maintain power. This difference of views is most essential.

The eighth question is regarding the chances of victory, Stalin said. Who will win first: the workers of the Soviet Union, or the world proletariat? Trotsky's affirmation that the European proletariat will achieve victory over the bourgeoisie earlier than the U. S. S. R. proletariat will conquer its own bourgeoisie and build socialism in their own country, is unwarranted. The issue entirely depends upon the real conditions on the battle front between capitalism and socialism.

The ninth point of divergence consists in the difference of views concerning the practical nature of the sphere of internal and external party policies following upon the foregoing differences. The party, recognizing the fact of the partial stabilization of capitalism, holds the view during the actual period between the two revolutionary tides when the revolution in capitalist countries is approaching, the main task of the Communist parties is to penetrate the masses, consolidate their ties with the masses and gain the leadership of the proletarian mass organizations. However, the opposition, lacking faith in the inner forces of the revolution, disbelieving and fearing the partial stabilization, ignores the facts and embarks on an adventuresome policy.

The party, recognizing the industrialization basis of socialist construction, considers an alliance between the workers and peasants most necessary because the peasant masses constitute the best market for industry. The opposition holds a skeptical view with regard to the participation of the peasants in the socialist construction and advocates the exploitation of the peasantry, thus jeopardizing the workers' and peasants' alliance.

The party insists upon absolute inner unity because only an undivided party can head the dictatorship of the proletariat, while the opposition advocates factionalism and undermines the party unity.

The opposition's views, Stalin asserted, have materialized not only within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but also within other parties in the Communist International. The opposition and its followers have made the gravest charges against the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R., alleging the party is degenerating and drifting towards opportunism, that the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is an unproletarian state and practically advocated the destruction of the party leadership and the creation of a new party.

Korsch, the leader of the ultra-lefts in the German Party, Stalin accused, demanded a "new revolution" against the existing power in the Soviet Union and was supported by the opposition in the Soviet Union Communist Party. The same applies to Souvarine who is heading the opposition in the French Party, advocating the overthrow of the leadership of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. and the creation of a new party.

Stalin further dwelt on the question of how the enemies of Communism abroad have responded to the opposition's activities and quoted numerous statements of social-democrats (Levy, Germany; leaders of the Russian mensheviks, Milioukov, notorious leader of the cadets) highly praising and encouraging the opposition within the Communist Party.

Thus, Stalin declared, the opposition has practically severed themselves from Leninism and reflect the sentiments of unproletarian elements expressing dissatisfaction with the proletarian dictatorship and hoping for its dissolution and overthrow. This quite conforms with the logic of events. Today it is only possible to follow the policy of Communism or the policy of social-democracy—a middle line is objectively impossible.

Stalin emphasized that the campaign of the opposition lasted only a few months from the beginning of October, and analyzed the reasons for its crushing defeat. First, the opposition was left armyless; second, various doubtful elements joined the opposition while the social-democrats and the cadets praised it—consequently the opposition had the choice of either accepting the treacherous praises or retreating. The situation in the U. S. S. R. proved the party masses stronger, more conscious and united than the opposition had hoped for or expected.

There were three stages in the opposition's defeat: First, the declaration of the 16th of October when the opposition theoretically and practically surrendered the principle of freedom of fractions and fractional methods of struggle and openly recognized their own mistakes; second, when they practically withdrew their charges against the party; third, their full isolation at the Fifteenth Congress when the opposition failed to receive a single vote. The opposition then realized the necessity of full retreat, climbing down from and surrendering its ideological positions which were leading the opposition to decay and ruin.

In conclusion, Stalin, dwelling upon the results and importance of the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R., declared:

First, the congress ended the internal strife and consolidated the full victory over the opposition; second, it rallied the party stronger than ever upon the basis of the prospects of the socialist construction which was the most important question; third, it defeated all waverings and thus secured the complete victory of Leninism within the party; fourth, the congress provided the basis for the triumph of Leninism within all parties of the Comintern and among the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

Stalin's speech ended amidst a stormy ovation.

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The following exhibit outlines the history of the first 10 years of the Comintern's first official publication. Although it refers to the fact that the earliest issue (May 1919) carried the *Manifesto of the First World Congress*, it prudently neglects to give credit to its author, Trotsky (sec. C, exhibit No. 2). In the United States, *The Communist International* remained an official organ of ECCI until the end of 1939. Throughout 1940, all official references to ECCI were omitted and full editorial responsibility was vested in Earl Browder. At that time, the CPUSA feared that it might be forced to register as an agent of a foreign power.<sup>1</sup> After December 1940, publication of *The Communist International* was suspended in the United States.

A second official Comintern periodical was authorized by the Third World Congress (June-July 1921). *International Press Correspondence*, more frequently referred to by its shorter title of *Inprecorr*, continued to appear until the middle of 1938. On July 2 of that year, it became *World News and Views*. At the beginning of 1954, the title was shortened to *World Views*, with publication continuing in London. While *The Communist International* dealt mainly with larger questions of theory and general propaganda, *Inprecorr* concentrated upon tactical details.

### EXHIBIT No. 3

[*The Communist International*, April 1929. Pp. 446-447]

## TEN YEARS OF THE "COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL"

The celebration of the Comintern is also the celebration of our journal. In March, 1919, the Communist International was founded, and on May 1st of the same year the first number of the "Communist International," the organ of the E. C. C. I. appeared. The editorial and publishing offices were in Smolny, Petrograd, in the one-time centre of the October, the world revolution. At the top of our first number there was printed the manifesto of the inaugural congress of the Comintern "To the proletariat of the whole world," followed by the Executive's manifesto on May Day. For this number Lenin wrote his article, "The Third International; its place in history," in which he proclaimed to the workers of the world, who with hope and anxiety were watching the Russian revolution, threatened on all sides by enemies; "as a new type of State, the Soviet Republic cannot disappear." Zinoviev wrote on the "Prospects of the Proletarian Revolution"; Maxim Gorki wrote an enthusiastic article, "Yesterday and to-day"; Rudas on "The Proletarian Revolution in Hungary." Besides many other articles, the first number also contained most important material on the inaugural congress and the early activity of the C. I., including an appeal to the workers and

<sup>1</sup> William Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, New York, International Publishers, 1952, pp. 392-393. Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 439.

soldiers of all countries on the Hungarian revolution, greetings to the workers of the Bavarian republic and letters to the Hungarian and Bavarian Communists.

In the first years of the Comintern, the "C. I." was its only regular publication, and had therefore to be its theoretical organ and its vehicle for the publication of Comintern documents. Until the end of 1924, it appeared very irregularly. Up to the end of 1923 only 29 numbers had appeared, containing altogether 7,955 pages. During 1924 it was also found impossible to issue the journal regularly. This began on January 1st, 1925, and from then the paper appeared regularly every month, as had been announced in 1921. after the Third World Congress. The same number which made this announcement also stated that, since the world congress had decided upon a special publication, "International Press Correspondence," the "C. I." would in future be devoted only to questions of theory, tactics, and organisation. The promise made of the regular publication of the "C. I." was not then kept, and this was partly due to the fact that after the appearance of "Imprecorr" the "C. I." was, for a time, pushed rather into the background. The jubilee number which appeared on the fifth anniversary of the Comintern (the double number 31-32 of 1-3-24) and which was partly devoted to Lenin's death, contained a number of contributions concerned with the Comintern celebration (including Zinoviev: The first five years of the Communist International, Klara Zetkin: From the International of words to the International of deeds; Sen Katayama: The Comintern and the Far East, Kuusinen: Under Russia's Leadership) but nothing, not even a notice, on the five years existence of the journal, on its work and tasks.

It was only during the course of the year 1924, so important in the development of the Communist movement, and in connection with the first Trotskyist crisis and the first right danger in the whole Comintern, which aroused the first great and lively discussion on an international scale and indicated the urgency of the need for firm ideological leadership, that the necessity for the regular publication of the "C. I." was apparent. And so from 1st January, 1925, it appeared regularly every month. Apart from the twelve monthly numbers, there was also during that year a special number "Problems of the East."

But it soon became evident that even regular monthly publication was not enough to make the "C. I." a really guiding organ of the C. I. The number of problems, the rapidity of development, and the necessity for fruitful and quick discussion and enlightenment was too great to be met by a monthly journal, and it was decided to make it a weekly publication. This was done in the autumn of 1926. Since September, 1926, our journal has appeared weekly in the Russian and German languages, and fortnightly in English and French. Weekly publication in the latter two languages is at present impossible because of the small circulations.

#### THE GREAT INCREASE IN COMINTERN PUBLICATIONS

During the ten years' existence of the Comintern and the "C. I.," the Communist movement and the extent of its propaganda have grown tremendously. To-day the "C. I." is by no means the one theoretical organ of the Communist movement. A number of the

Comintern sections—apart, of course, from the C. P. S. U.—have their own theoretical organs, and there are a great many “Communist Reviews” in many countries and tongues. The “Unter dem Banner des Marxismus” (“Under the banner of Marxism”) also exists, devoted particularly to theoretical scientific work. But, overlooking this, the development of our journal from irregularity to regular weekly publication shows that, although there has been such growth in the publications of the Comintern, our “C. I.” has lost none of its importance. On the contrary, the more the Communist movement progresses, the more varied and urgent its problems, and the greater the amount of periodic and nonperiodic literature, the more necessary grows the publication of a central organ for the Comintern, whose task it is to sum up the experiences of the world Communist movement, to review all its work and to direct it, on an international scale, along the lines laid down by the E. C. C. I. In addition, the Russian edition of our journal has to establish contact between the Comintern and the organisations and membership of the C. P. S. U. The leading role of the Party in the country of proletarian dictatorship and in the world party of Communism gives special importance to this aspect of our journal.

After the Russian, the German edition of our “C. I.” has the largest circulation. Then, with a big drop come the French and English editions. Considering the huge area to be covered by the English edition, the English “C. I.” should have a much larger circulation. The French edition, too, is used for countries where French, while not being the national language, is the one used in connection with the rest of the world. Greater circulation of the French, but more particularly of the English edition, is of the greatest importance from the standpoint of the Comintern’s work in countries outside Europe. Our circulation is still far too “European.” The development of the Communist movement in Latin America will, within a fairly short time, make a Spanish edition necessary, which will be particularly useful as no theoretical Communist paper is published in the Spanish language.

#### THE URGENT NEED FOR SYSTEMATIC CO-OPERATION

Obviously the publication of a journal such as ours in more languages, and, so to speak, for the whole world, presents many difficulties. If it is to be the real organ of the E. C. C. I. the editors must be the same for all editions, and must work at the offices of the E. C. C. I. But editing and printing are done in Moscow, Berlin, Paris and London. This, in addition to the long distances to which the “C. I.” has to be sent, particularly the English edition, gives rise to many great difficulties of a purely technical nature, which can never be entirely overcome. This only makes still more necessary the utmost possible support of the Comintern sections, not merely by organising an effective system of circulation, but also by providing regular, reliable and prompt co-operation. It is the duty of all Comintern sections and Party writers to see that the “C. I.” becomes more international than it is at present. How useful and necessary it is was shown last year on the occasion of the Fourth World Congress. Both in theoretical preparation for the Congress, and in working out its results, our journal did great work, and supplied extremely useful material

on all questions dealt with at the Congress. All its work and services in the past prove that, if all Comintern sections and all the comrades concerned were to carry out their duty to our journal properly, it will remain and improve, as the central organ of the Comintern, the leading fighting Leninist journal of the Communist World Party.

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When by the end of 1929 Stalin had established monolithic unity within the Bolshevik Party, it became appropriate that two of his most trusted lieutenants should sing his praises.<sup>1</sup> With Lenin gone, who else but Stalin could direct the U. S. S. R. and the Communist International along the correct road to the dictatorship of the proletariat?

The following excerpts were translated from the German for a Special Committee To Investigate Communist Activities in the United States.<sup>2</sup> The German edition of *Inprecorr* was usually more complete than that of the English edition.

#### EXHIBIT No. 4

[*Inprecorr*, December 31, 1929. Pp. 2793-2795]

### STALIN AS LEADER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(By D. Manuilski)

The time is not yet ripe for a detailed account of how Stalin's leadership preserved numerous Communist parties from gross political mistakes. The archives of the Comintern contain the history of Stalin's activity in this field. None of the more important documents of great historical significance left the Comintern without Stalin's taking the most active share in its drafting. His marginal notes on these documents show how he seized upon the weak points of any position taken up, and how he understood the way of concentrating attention upon what was fundamental and decisive in every question, how he taught us not to lose ourselves in details, but to formulate propositions clearly and exactly. All this displayed itself in every little daily task, which one can not treat comprehensively in a newspaper article. We shall enter here into the role of Comrade Stalin in decisive questions of revolutionary theory and tactics, which belong to the iron stability of the bolchevisation of the sections of the Communist International \* \* \*.

The Leninist and Stalinist handling of national questions worked like a breath of fresh air, overthrew old ideas, and dealt a deadly blow to all survivals of the Second International in the ranks of the Comintern. Experience in the solution of national questions through the dictatorship of the proletariat under the immediate leadership of Stalin became a mighty means of agitation by the Communist parties among the working masses oppressed by imperialism in national States and colonies.

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The fall of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not mean the completely assured victory of socialism. After solidifying its power and winning over

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> *Investigation of Communist Propaganda*, hearings before a Special Committee To Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, House of Representatives, 71st Cong., 2d sess., pt. II, vol. 3, June 11, 1930, pp. 27-28.

the peasants the proletariat in the victorious country can and must build up the socialist society. But does this mean that it has then attained the complete and final victory of socialism, i. e., that the proletariat can, with the forces of only one country, finally fasten firmly on to socialism and safeguard the country from an intervention and, consequent upon that, a restoration? No. The victory of the revolution in several countries at least is therefore necessary. Accordingly, the development and support of revolution in other countries is an immediate task of victorious revolution. Revolution in the victorious country must therefore not look upon itself as a self-sufficing whole, but as a support and a means to the acceleration of the victory of the proletariat in other countries.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Stalinist standpoint in the question of the building up of socialism in one country was an appeal to battle, which directed itself first to the proletariat of capitalist countries with the cry: "Overthrow your bourgeoisie and so serve the cause of world revolution" and secondly turned itself to the proletariat of the Soviet Union with the call: "Strengthen the proletarian dictatorship, build up socialism with unshakable faith and enthusiasm, and so serve the interests of the proletarian revolution in the whole world."

\* \* \* \* \*

The fourth question is the struggle against right deviations in the Comintern. Whether it was a question of the character of capitalist rationalization at the eighth plenum or of the "third period" at the sixth congress of the Comintern, Stalin constantly corrected Bukharin's formulations, which in their original form already contained the differences of opinion which, on Comintern questions, led Comrade Bukharin to the opposition. It was Stalin's initiative that led the sixth congress to handle not only the question of the necessity of fighting against right deviations but also the question of reconciliation. Earlier than others Stalin perceived in the chronicle of the daily petty war of the working class the signs of an increase in the revolutionary movement. Under his leadership and active participation followed the new tactical orientation of the sections of the Comintern.

If opportunism is always dangerous, it is especially so during the rise of the revolutionary movement because as the events of the international working class movement and of the Comintern teach, opportunism can at such moments impede everything and through its hesitations and uncertainty destroy the revolution. Hence arises the necessity for the most ruthless and irreconcilable struggle against opportunism. Here at the head and front of the struggle stands Comrade Stalin.

In conclusion, the fifth question, the leading part and the immediate participation of Comrade Stalin in the working out of the program of the Communist International. For the first time, after 10 years of existence, after the victory of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, after the numerous revolutionary movements in central Europe, after the lessons of the class struggle during the last 10 years, the Comintern possesses an important document, which sums up events and strikes a balance, a document in which the fundamental problems of the communist movement and the decisive

means to their solution are scientifically formulated \* \* \* The theoretical care with which Stalin drew up the program of the Communist International prevents those who deviate from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint from seizing one or other "indistinct" formulation in the program, in order to insinuate their inaccurate conceptions into the sections of the Comintern \* \* \* He (Stalin) is the guarantee of a strong leadership of the Comintern in the approaching decisive battles of the international working class.

## STALIN AND THE BOLSHEVISATION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

(By O. Kuusinen)

After the death of Lenin, the necessity for the immediate participation of Comrade Stalin in the work of the Comintern became manifest. This was and still is of the greatest importance for the Comintern. The line of the Comintern in all leading questions has for many years been worked out according to the counsels of Comrade Stalin. For instance, what care and attention he devoted to the revolutionary movement in China is already known from the numerous articles and speeches in the period 1923-1927 which are still of surpassing importance for the solution of the fundamental questions of the revolutionary movement, the national and peasant question especially, not only in China, but also in the other colonial and semi-colonial countries.

We can not and do not intend to set forth below the history of Comrade Stalin's activity in the international Communist movement. The sections of the Comintern know the value of the advice and instructions with which he helped them.

As instances Kuusinen mentions the condition of things in the Polish Communist Party after May, 1926, when it was necessary to correct the great opportunist mistakes committed; also in 1927-28, in the Communist Parties of France and Great Britain when their parliamentary tactics had to be transformed into an actual revolutionary policy. \* \* \* In all these cases Comrade Stalin conducted the activity of the E. K. K. I.

The tenth plenum of the E. K. K. I. not only approved in its full extent the bolshevistic course of the comintern directed by Stalin, but elaborated it to suit the requirements of the new revolutionary wave in the capitalist world. \* \* \* The bolshevisation of the comintern will be continued under the guiding participation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leader Comrade Stalin.

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The initials "B. V." probably stand for Comrade Vassiliev, author of a highly conspiratorial document seized in Canada (this section, exhibit No. 42).

### EXHIBIT No. 5

[*The Communist International*, March 1, 1931. Pp. 174-176]

## LENIN AS THE THEORETICIAN AND TACTICIAN OF THE ARMED UPRISING

By B. V.

In February, 1905, directly after Bloody Sunday, January 22, in a communication published by the "Bureau of the Committees of the Majority" in preparation for the Third Congress of the Party, Lenin wrote:

"The Congress will have to solve the following pressing questions of revolutionary tactics: (1) The question of the methods of direct revolutionary struggle. Here, according to our point of view, first place is held by questions concerning the planned organisation of general political strikes, the means of arming the masses, the means of organising the armed uprising, the means of affecting the army, the limits of revolutionary action in so far as it touches not only our direct enemies, but other classes of society as well (as for example, to what extent it is permissible in large cities to destroy the water supply, to close general provision shops, etc.)"

Regardless of the furious opposition of the Mensheviks who thought it impossible to prepare for an armed rebellion since that could only arise spontaneously, all these questions raised by Lenin in this communication were carefully considered by the Third Congress which took place, as is known, six months before the October general strikes of 1905. The resolution of the Third Congress on armed uprising, edited by Lenin, states that "the task of organising the proletariat for an immediate struggle against autocracy by means of an armed uprising is one of the most important and urgent tasks of the Party in the present revolutionary situation."

The Party at that moment was not yet ready for an armed uprising, it was very weak both in numbers and organisation, and had to work illegally in conditions of severe police persecution in a country where the proletariat was only taking the first steps on the path of revolutionary class struggle. None the less, the Third Congress, following the directions of Lenin, called upon all Party organisations.

"(a) to explain to the proletariat by means of propaganda and agitation not only the political importance, but also the practical organisational side of the coming armed uprising;

"(b) to explain in that propaganda and agitation the rôle of mass political strikes which may be of great importance in the beginning and in the actual course of the uprising;

"(c) to adopt the most energetic measures to arm the proletariat, and also to work out a plan of an armed uprising and its direct leadership, creating to the extent this will become necessary special groups from among Party workers."

With regard to the Moscow uprising the Mensheviks headed by Plekhanov shouted at all the crossroads that one should not have taken up arms. Lenin attacked this position of the then right opportunists, most resolutely, and "while the scent was fresh" carefully studied the lessons of the Moscow uprising for a speedy preparation of a new armed struggle, showing that "to hide from the masses the necessity of a desperate, bloody, destructive war" as the immediate task of the approaching action, is to fool oneself and the people.

In the article on the lessons of the Moscow uprising Lenin gives directions, unsurpassed in clarity and exactness, as to how one must prepare for the armed uprising and how one must lead it. First of all he attacked the Right wing of the Party and asserted that it was impossible to fight against modern armies, that it was necessary that the army should become revolutionary. Lenin places before the Party the task of *a struggle for the army*, not simply waiting for the time "when the army comes over."

Concluding the article on the lessons of the Moscow uprising, Lenin wrote:

"We shall remember that the great mass struggle is approaching. This will be an armed uprising. It must, as far as possible, be simultaneous. The masses must know that they go into an armed, bloody, desperate struggle. Contempt of death must be developed among the masses, and will guarantee victory. The attack on the enemy must be most energetic: attack, and not defence, must become the slogan of the masses; pitiless extermination of the enemy becomes their task; the organisation of the struggle must be mobile and flexible; the wavering elements in the army will be drawn into active struggle. The Party of the conscious proletariat must fulfill its duty in this great struggle."

Lenin developed the practical lessons of the Moscow uprising in the pamphlet "On the Dissolution of the Duma and the Tasks of the Proletariat."

Lenin first of all makes clear that in the October days of 1905, the Soviets of workers' deputies were created as organs of direct mass struggle.

He states that the Soviets of workers' deputies "arose as organs of strike struggle. They very quickly became, under the pressure of necessity, organs of the *general revolutionary struggle against the Government*. Irresistibly, in the course of developing events and the merging of strikes into an uprising, they were transformed *into organs of the insurrection*."

"Since this is so," Lenin continues, "the conclusion is clear that for the organisation of an uprising 'Soviets' and similar mass institutions are still *insufficient*. They are essential for the rallying of the masses, for their fighting consolidation, for the transmission of the Party slogans of political leadership (or those brought forward in agreement with the Party), for arousing, awakening and attracting the masses. But they are not sufficient for the organisation of *direct military forces, for the organization of the uprising* in the narrowest sense of the word . . . Soviets of workers' deputies were frequently termed parliaments of the working class. But not one worker will agree to convene *his* parliament in order to deliver it into the hands of the police. Everyone acknowledges the necessity of a *direct organisation of forces*, of a *military* organisation for the defence of his 'parliament,' an organisation in the form of detachments of armed workers. Now that the government has been clearly convinced through experience what 'Soviets' lead to when armed from head to foot . . . we must particularly explain in our agitation, the necessity of a sober view of things, the necessity of a military organisation alongside of the organisation of Soviets, for the defence of the latter, in order to bring about that uprising without which all Soviets and all deputies of the masses are impotent."

In the same pamphlet Lenin gives detailed directions as to what those, to use his own words, "if one may thus express oneself, 'military organisations'" must be like. They must attempt to embrace the masses not through deputies but through mass, direct participation in street struggles and civil war. These organisations must have their nuclei in very small, voluntary unions of tens, fives, and even perhaps of threes. It is necessary to declare in the strongest manner, that the fight is approaching when *every* honest citizen must sacrifice himself and fight against the oppressors of the people. Less formality, less procrastination, more simplicity in organisation which must possess the maximum of mobility and flexibility. All and everyone who desire to be on the side of freedom must immediately join the fighting "fives,"—the voluntary unions of people of one trade, of one factory, or people bound together by comradely Party bonds, or at least simply living in the same localities (in one village, in one house in the city, or in one apartment). These unions must be both Party, and non-Party, bound together with the single immediate revolutionary task: an uprising against the government. *These unions must be based on most general lines and must certainly, up to the receiving of arms, be independent of the question of arms.*

"No Party organisation will 'arm' the masses. On the contrary, the organisation of the masses in easily moving, small fighting units will do great service in the moment of action in so far as the task of getting hold of arms is concerned.

"Voluntary fighting units, the units of squad-members, if we use the name which won so much honour in the great December days of Moscow, will be very useful at the time of the clash. A squad which knows how to shoot, will disarm a policeman, will attack a patrol suddenly, will obtain arms for themselves. A squad which has not learned to shoot or obtain arms can help build barricades, reconnoitre, organise communications, lay an ambush for the enemy, burn buildings where the enemy has entrenched himself, take over quarters which can be used as a base for the insurgents—in a word, perform thousands of functions through these voluntary unions of people having decided to struggle not for life, but for death, who are well acquainted with the locality and bound closely with the population.

"Let there be a call for the organisations of such voluntary fighting squads in every factory, in every trade union, in every village. People knowing each other well will establish them first. People who do not know each other will proceed to organise in fives or tens in the days of the struggle, or on the eve of the struggle, at the place of the struggle, if the idea of organising such units is widespread and actually accepted by the masses.

"Thus the organisation everywhere of Soviets of workers' deputies, peasant committees and analogous institutions, together with widespread propaganda and agitation for the necessity of a simultaneous uprising, for an immediate preparation of forces for it and the organisation of mass voluntary squads."

It was as the theoretician and tactician of the armed uprising that Lenin particularly developed himself in the course of the preparation for the 1917 October revolution. All his articles and speeches relating to this period invariably touch upon the question of armed uprising in one form or another whether they destroy the theoretical argu-

ments of opponents or give practical directions to the Party and revolutionary workers as to how they must act in order to arm themselves, to organise a fighting force and develop the attack on the class enemy. In noting Lenin's documents of this period, one must dwell first of all on a letter to the Central Committee of the R. S. D. R. P. (b)\* of September, 1917, published under the title "Marxism and Insurrection."

In this document, Lenin analyses with extraordinary clarity the meaning of an armed uprising as understood by a revolutionary Marxist in contrast to that of a Blanquist or a putschist.

Lenin states that an uprising, in order to be successful, must be based not on a plot, not on a Party, but on a vanguard class. This is the first thing. The uprising must be based on the growth of the revolutionary movement of the people. This is the second thing. The uprising must be based on that *turning point* in the history of the growing revolution when the activity of the vanguard of the people is greatest, when the *wavering* in the ranks of the enemy and in the *ranks of the weak, hesitating friends of the revolution* is strongest. This is the third thing!

Lenin brings forward five basic Marxist rules of the art of an armed uprising.

1. "Never *play* with an uprising, but once having begun it, know firmly that one must *go on to the end*."

2. "It is essential to bring together the great predominance of forces to the decisive place, at the decisive moment, because otherwise the enemy, possessing better preparation and organisation, will destroy the insurgents."

3. "Once the uprising has begun it is necessary to act with greatest *decisiveness* and absolutely, unconditionally, go over to the *offensive*. Defence is the death of an armed uprising."

4. "It is necessary to try to seize the enemy unawares, grasp at the moment when his army is scattered."

5. "It is necessary to win *daily* victories, however small (one may say, hourly, if one speaks of one city), maintaining at all costs the 'moral superiority.'"

Marx summed up the lessons of all revolutions in so far as armed uprising is concerned in the words of "the greatest master of revolutionary tactics in history,"—Danton: "Audacity, audacity and again audacity."

Later, Lenin made this rule concrete in relation to Russia. "A simultaneous and, as far as possible, a sudden and quick attack on St. Petersburg, absolutely from within and without, from the workers' quarters and from Finland, Revel, Krondstaat, an attack by the *whole* fleet, the accumulation of a *gigantic preponderance* of forces by some 15–20 thousand (or perhaps even more) over our 'bourgeois guards' (Junkers), our Vendée army (part of the Cossack), etc. To combine our three main forces; the fleet, the workers, and the army so that the following are taken and held, without fail, *no matter at what cost*: (a) telephones, (b) telegraphs, (c) railway stations, (d) and bridges. To allot the most decisive elements (our 'shock troops' and *worker youth*, and similarly the best sailors) in small detachments for the capture of all important points and for their participation

\*R. S. D. R. P. (b) Russian Social-Democratic Revolutionary Party (Bolsheviks).

everywhere, in all important operations . . . To make up detachments of the best workers with arms and bombs for the attack and surrounding of the 'centres' of the enemy (Junker schools, telegraph, telephone stations, etc.), with the slogan: *we may perish but the enemy shall not pass.*"

In conclusion it is necessary to refer to the question of the significance which Lenin attached to the direct preparation for the insurrection by the Party itself. When the question of an uprising is raised, there come to light in the Party even amongst the leadership and even among those most tested in the past, wavering, and opportunist tendencies, which, as the decisive struggle approaches, increase the resistance to the general line of the uprising. In the C. P. S. U. on the eve of the October struggles, a number of the most responsible Party workers such as Zinoviev, Kamenev, and several others, were infected in such a way. Such moods and hesitations at a moment of the immediate nearness of the uprising are particularly dangerous and that is why Lenin attacked them with particular sharpness, proposing the expulsion of Zinoviev and Kamenev from the Party as Party strikebreakers.

It is thus that Lenin understood the "organisation of the revolution" and it is thus that he organised it in October.

*Armed Insurrection* was first published in 1928 at Zurich, Switzerland.<sup>1</sup> According to the preface here reprinted in translation, the Communist Publishing Office in Paris decided that Neuberg's manual was so urgently needed—in 1931—that it should be released without time being taken to rectify its "obvious" errors. After all, Stalin would certainly indicate the correct line. What the Communist Party of France felt it needed most in 1931 was a detailed guide to armed insurrection. At his 1933 Leipzig trial, Dimitrov declared that every true revolutionary should advance his education by mastering Neuberg's manual.<sup>2</sup>

It is generally agreed that Neuberg was not the real name of the author of *Armed Insurrection*. In the opinion of most commentators, Neuberg was actually Heinz Neumann, a leading German Communist who as early as 1923 had won Stalin's "confidence."<sup>3</sup> Two qualifications which especially impressed the Soviet *vozhd* were Neumann's ability to speak Russian and his eagerness to engage in highly conspiratorial work. According to Neumann, he and several other GPU agents experimented with germ warfare in the early twenties.<sup>4</sup> The year 1927 found him active in China. It is suspected that he staged an ill-fated Communist uprising in Canton in order to give Stalin a strong talking point at the Fifteenth Bolshevik Party Congress (sec. B, exhibit No. 22).<sup>5</sup> Neumann's rebellion, which lasted exactly 58 hours, ended with the execution of thousands of Chinese Communists and with the hasty flight of its Russian organizers. But it did serve Stalin's purpose at the Fifteenth Congress. Moreover, it made Neumann an authority on armed insurrection.

After 1927, Neumann returned to Germany via Moscow. Three years later, he incurred Stalin's disfavor through his outspoken condemnation of the Comintern plan to sacrifice the German Communist Party. At the time, Stalin believed that the German Communists should hasten Hitler's rise to power as the only practical means of effecting a proletarian revolution in their native land (sec. B, exhibit No. 65). Consequent upon his expulsion from the German Communist Party, Neumann accepted a Comintern assignment to Spain. Eventually he made his way back to Moscow via Zurich. In April 1937, he was arrested for

<sup>1</sup> William R. Kintner, *The Front is Everywhere*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950, pp. 121-122. Another manual on armed insurrection is reproduced in this section, exhibit No. 58A.

<sup>2</sup> *Imprecator*, October 13, 1933, p. 993; December 1, 1933, p. 1174.

<sup>3</sup> Ruth Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. 405, 445-446. Possony, *Century of Conflict*, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

<sup>5</sup> F. Borkenau, *World Communism*, New York, Norton, 1939, pp. 321-323. Boris Souvarine, *Stalin*, New York, Longman's, Green, 1939, p. 471. Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 596-597.

alleged complicity in a plot to assassinate Stalin. According to the policy laid down in the famous *Pravda* editorial on patriotism and repression of counter-revolutionary activity, Neumann's wife was also taken into custody (sec. B, exhibit No. 43).

While nothing has been heard of Heinz Neumann since the time of his arrest, his wife was liberated in April 1945 by the American Army of Occupation.<sup>6</sup> After serving 3 years in a Soviet slave labor camp at Karaganda in Central Asia, the Soviet Secret Police turned her over to the Nazis. For the next 5 years, she had the extremely painful opportunity of comparing Soviet concentration camp operations with those of the leading Fascist enemy.

### EXHIBIT No. 6

[Paris, Communist Publishing Office, 1931. A. Neuberg (Heinz Neumann?).  
*Armed Insurrection.* Pp. 1-19]

## GENERAL ACTION OF THE COMINTERN

### A Manual on "Armed Insurrection"

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface—Introduction.

I.—The Second International and Insurrection.

II.—Bolshevism and Insurrection.

III.—The insurrection at Reval.—The general political situation in Estonia in 1924.—Military preparation of insurrection.—The progress of insurrection.—Causes of defeat.

IV.—The insurrection at Hamburg.—The general situation in Germany in 1923.—The political situation at Hamburg.—Preparation for the insurrection.—The attack of the fighting organization and the progress of the insurrection.—Conclusions.

V.—The insurrection at Canton.—General remarks.—The situation in China.—The situation at Kouan-Tung.—The immediate preparation of the insurrection.—The plan and progress of the insurrection.—Lessons to be drawn from the insurrection at Canton.

VI.—The insurrections at Shanghai.—The insurrection of the 24th October 1926.—The second insurrection at Shanghai (22nd Feb. 1927)—The third insurrection at Shanghai (21st March 1927).

VII.—The work of the communist party for the decomposition of the armed forces of the ruling classes.

VIII.—The organization of the armed forces of the proletariat.

IX.—The direction of the military work of the party.

X.—The character of military action at the beginning of the insurrection.—Remarks of a general character.—The armed forces of the ruling classes.—The regular army.—Maritime and river fleets.—Police and gendarmerie.—Voluntary military organizations of the ruling classes.—Armed forces of the proletariat.—Fighting objectives during the insurrection.—Surprise and the "time" element at the beginning of the insurrection.—Activity and stubbornness in fighting during the insurrections.—The plan of armed insurrection.

XI.—The character of the operations of the insurgent in the course of the insurrection.—Preliminary remarks.—Characteristics of the town.—Reconnaissance in street fighting.—General principles.—Defence town.—Reconnaissance in street fighting.—General principles.—Defence of a town occupied by the insurgents and defensive operations inside a town.—Establishment of a barricade.—The attack in street fighting.

XII.—The military work of the party among the peasants.—The revolutionary parties.

Insets: Plan of the insurrection at Rival

Plan of the insurrection at Hamburg

Plan of the insurrection at Canton

Plan of the insurrection at Shanghai

Plan of a barricade.

<sup>6</sup> Margarete Buber, *Under Two Dictatorships*. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald, New York, Dodd, Mead, n. d. Miss Buber was Heinz Neumann's wife and, like him, an active Comintern agent.

## PREFACE TO "ARMED INSURRECTION"

The publishers consider that this work has great theoretical and practical importance, and that it answers to the increasing interest in these questions of the revolutionary proletariat at the present time. That is why they are publishing it at once, without waiting for additions or corrections which the author might have wished to make.

Neuberg's book is valuable for two reasons. First, because it is one of the rare works written by a marxist and active revolutionary who has taken part in armed conflict against the capitalist world. It is a sound work, rich in facts. Secondly, the book is extraordinarily timely in the present historical situation.

The program of the C. I. adopted by the Sixth World Congress, says: "When the ruling classes are disorganized, the masses in a state of revolutionary effervescence, the intermediate social strata disposed in their hesitation to join the proletariat; when the masses are ready for fighting and sacrifice, the aim of the proletariat is to lead them direct to the assault of the bourgeois State. This is done by the propaganda of transitory watchwords more and more accentuated (Soviets, workers' control of production, peasant committees for the expropriation of the great landed proprietors, disarmament of the bourgeoisie, arming of the proletariat, etc.) and by the organization of *mass action*. Mass action includes: strikes, combined strikes and demonstrations, strikes combined with armed demonstrations, finally the general strike allied to armed insurrection against the power of the State and the bourgeoisie. This last higher form of the struggle is subject to the rules of military art; it supposes a strategical plan of offensive operations and the abnegation and heroism of the proletariat. Then the program specially adds that to allow the culminating point of the revolutionary situation, which demands from the proletariat an audacious and decided attack against the enemy, to pass by . . ." "to allow this circumstance to escape without letting loose insurrection, is to hand over the initiative to the adversary and condemn the revolution to defeat."

The Sixth Congress of the C. I., which adopted this program, mentioned in its political resolution the certain and early approach of a new revolutionary wave. The Tenth plenary session of the C. E. of the C. I. held a year after the Sixth Congress, in July 1929, noted that "the new fact since the Sixth Congress was a clearly marked move to the left of the international working class and the approach of a new revolutionary wave in the workers' movement." Basing itself on this reading of the international situation, the session presented to the International as a whole and to each communist party in particular as the central objective of the moment the conquest of the majority of the working class, and as decisive problem to arrive at this objective great political strikes, the organization of which, according to the decisions adopted, "will aid the communist parties to put more unity into the dispersed economic interventions of the working class, to operate a large mobilization of the proletarian masses, and to enrich their political experience by leading them thus to the immediate fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The events which occurred after the Tenth session of the C. I. confirmed all these conclusions: they announce, in general the ap-

proach of the moment indicated in the resolutions of this session, that of the immediate fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The immediate fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat press, necessarily, armed fighting, the armed rising of the proletarian parties who, according to the program of the C. I., must rely on the rules of military art, and supposes a military plan. But if this moment is approaching the communist parties and the whole international proletariat must be prepared, must study military art, must imbibe the experience and lessons of armed insurrections, taking account of the concrete conditions and peculiarities of their own countries. This need naturally affects most of all the communist parties and the proletariat of countries in which the new revolutionary wave is advancing at the moment the most rapidly: Germany, Poland and France. But the parties and proletariat of other countries also cannot and should not, under present conditions, put off the study of the problem of armed insurrection.

In the present work, Neuberg proposes to examine only the questions concerning the military side of insurrection, tactical or technical. Thus, in certain passages, there will be found a certain "military parti-pris", observable by an insufficient attention to the elucidation of political factors. The armed rising is a special branch of military art, and for that reason obeys special rules which were already indicated in detail by Lenin, and which every proletarian revolutionary should certainly know.

The program of the C. I., summing up the immense international experience of proletarian insurrections, shows how they arise of ordinary strikes or demonstrations through combinations of great political strikes and armed demonstrations. This international experience, generalized in the program in the form of directions, shows that the central point in the preparation of armed risings, is the will of the party to call into the streets the proletarian masses by means of the strike, and once these masses are in the streets to animate them and organize them with a view to the fight for power. Consequently, it is necessary to analyse these various factors, to see how they present themselves, how the parties have reacted, how the proletariat has reacted, how events have occurred, and what positive or negative conclusions can be drawn for the future. For the time now approaching this is the essential problem. It is necessary to give the parties and the proletarian masses as detailed an analysis as possible of the accumulated experience, to teach them to raise the strikes and demonstrations to the higher level in order to transform them into general combined strikes with an armed rising against the power of the State and the bourgeoisie.

In the chapter on work in the army sufficient account has not been taken of new facts which have arisen in the military police of the bourgeoisie, nor of the recent experience of the communist parties in this respect.

Neuberg writes:

"If an army and a police, well trained in a military way . . . supported by armed fascist detachments which exist today in each country, *fight effectively against the revolution*, they are capable of making the victory of the latter singularly difficult, even if all other conditions are favourable."

Neuberg, from this, very justly draws the conclusion that active and assiduous work is necessary to demoralize the armed forces of the bourgeoisie. In this connection, he cites the following passage from Lenin's article on the lesson of the Moscow insurrection:

"Unless the revolution draws in the masses and embraces the army there can be no question of a serious struggle."

To state precisely and complete the ideas of Lenin it is necessary to add to this passage the following lines of the same article:

"The masses must know that they are going into a bloody and desperate armed fight. Contempt for death should be rife among the masses and assure the victory. The offensive against the enemy should be as energetic as possible; attack and not defense should be the watchword of the masses; the pitiless extermination of the enemy their objective. The organization of the fight will be mobile and supple; hesitating elements of the troops will be swept into the active struggle."

All experience of revolutions shows that the conquest of the troops will be achieved in the course of the fight itself, during the immediate contact of the revolutionary masses with the hesitating elements of the army already ready to be demoralised. This will be the physical fight for the army of which Lenin speaks, with the extermination of officers, modified in conformity with the new facts of the military police of the bourgeoisie in the post-war period.

This indication of Lenin is now taking on special importance. One of the most remarkable peculiarities of the new military policy of the bourgeoisie is, in fact, its orientation towards the formation of a politically sure army. This is a phenomenon to be observed in all countries and which leads to the constitution of armies of mercenaries and of voluntary military organizations of the bourgeoisie, alongside, or even in place of, the former "national" armies of compulsory service. In many countries this tendency has already had as a result that these detachments recruited in view of civil war against the proletariat have become an essential part of the armed forces of the bourgeoisie. This is so, not only in Germany, Austria and England, where compulsory military service does not exist, but also in France where, according to the new laws, the army in time of peace is composed chiefly of voluntary cadres. In Finland, the compulsory service army numbers only 30,000 men, whilst the voluntary organization of the bourgeoisie, the schutzkors, numbers nearly 100,000, who are better armed.

But it would be a great mistake to give up trying to decompose these armies of mercenaries. Every means must be employed to disorganize the attempts made by the ruling classes to ensure obedient and absolutely sure armed forces. This is very difficult work, but by no means impossible, seeing that these voluntary formations of the bourgeoisie comprise proletarian and semi-proletarian elements and that the possibility is not excluded of sending into them special revolutionary elements to decompose and disorganize them. This task needs only great determination, for the least fluctuations, the least signs of demoralisation among these troops, which are the last defence of the bourgeoisie, will be for these latter especially keenly felt.

Nevertheless, one cannot hope that the work, even the most hardy and the most persevering, will enable the majority of these troops to

be won over to the revolution. The proletariat must expect and be ready for these troops "to fight against the revolution." But, on the other hand, if in 1922 one could not hope to conquer any important proportion of the Reichswehr and of the military police, it by no means followed that the victory of the German proletariat was impossible. To make a great war between them or against the USSR the imperialist States would not have enough of the mercenary armies or the highly trained fascist organizations that they possess today. The ruling classes will be obliged to mobilise around these "sure" units, large masses of workers and peasants and to arm them, which will procure conditions more favourable to the conquest of the majority of the soldiers, especially in a revolutionary situation like that which is bound to arise in the case of fresh imperialist wars. But this in no way justifies the opportunists of the right when they pretend that the victory of the proletarian revolution is only possible after a war. Neuberger is quite right in dissociating himself categorically from this point of view. He notes very truly that a revolutionary situation may ripen not only after a war but also during a "pacific" situation.

If, in 1926 already, when Russia possessed compulsory military service and one might hope consequently to decompose the army, Lenin emphasized the necessity of a bitter physical fight to conquer the troops and of a war to the death against the units faithful to Tsarism, today, with the armies of mercenaries and the fascist organizations, this is still more true. It is necessary to emphasize still more the need for the proletariat to prepare itself in advance not only to fight to conquer the troops but also to fight with arms "to exterminate the enemy" as Lenin says.

Exterminate him with what? How is the proletariat to be armed with the increasing difficulties which oppose the decomposition of the army?

For the arming of the proletariat during the revolution of 1905 Lenin gave the following advice: "The detachments should arm themselves as best they can (rifles, revolvers, bombs, knives, clubs, sticks, rags soaked in petrol for setting fire to places, ropes or rope ladders, spades for constructing barricades, pyroxyline cartridges, barbed wire, nails (against calvary), etc.). In no case should outside help be expected, everything should be procured personally." ("On the question of the tasks of the detachments of the revolutionary arms," Oct. 1905, in the *Leninski, Sbornik*, Vol. V).

Whilst the bourgeoisie of the advanced capitalist countries dispose today of means of oppression more perfected than those of the Russian bourgeoisie in 1905, the proletariat also has more chance than then to procure arms. The workers employed in war industries, the metallurgical industry, the chemical industry handle explosives, make arms, charge bombs, transport all this material by rail and waterway, etc.

In these conditions one may foresee a serious and victorious fight against the mercenary armies and fascist detachments, even in time of peace. Naturally, this fight will only be possible in conditions otherwise favourable, that is to say above all if the decisive elements of the labouring population have decided to have recourse to arms and show a maximum of activity and a spirit of enterprise and invention to arm themselves "as best they can."

The essential factors for the victory of the insurrection are not only good military and technical preparation but also a willingness of the masses to fight, to make sacrifices, and the existence of a bolshevik party taking the political lead in the movement and organizing it. In many cases, indeed, it is these latter factors which play the decisive role.

Neuberg says that in 1923 in Germany only a few months were required to form a Red guard of 250,000 men, but that for want of a knowledge of the tactics of street fighting and in general of the tactics of insurrection this Red guard left much to be desired. That the organization of the Red guard left much to be desired is certain, but we must avoid the erroneous conclusion which opportunists would draw from this. The Red guards of the insurgent proletariat will obtain the maximum of losses if their best trained soldiers and their leaders are properly armed and well versed in military art, at all events in the use of arms and in the tactics of street fighting, fighting in open country, etc. But it would be a grave opportunist error to await the formation of detachments of a well trained and well armed Red guard in order to start an insurrection despite a favourable revolutionary situation, well prepared politically. When, in February 1917, the Russian proletarians descended into the streets to overthrow the autocracy and in October 1917 to overthrow the bourgeoisie, their arming and military organization, as everyone knows, was extremely imperfect, especially in February. But in the course of the fight (as later, in 1923, the workers at Cracow) they found arms and allies among the soldiers and military leaders who, through all the difficulties of the civil war, led them to victory over an enemy well-armed and supported by the machinery of government. Neuberg counts among the essential factors of victory in every proletarian revolution "the military superiority of the insurgent forces over the armed forces of the enemy." Indeed, this participation of the masses is not one of the essential objectives but the essential objective itself in the preparation of insurrection, and all others should be subordinated to it. Otherwise, the deviations of sectarianism or grossly opportunist deviations will be absolutely inevitable.

At the same time, we must congratulate ourselves on the insistence with which Neuberg explains the importance of military technical factors in the preparation of armed insurrection. There are strong tendencies in all parties to underestimate these factors. The proletariat must realize that enthusiasm and decision alone will not suffice to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie: for this arms are necessary and a good military organization based on military art and a plan of operations. This is the great merit which Neuberg must be admitted to possess.

Concerning the fight for the armed forces of the ruling classes Neuberg writes: "The chief task of labor in the army, the fleet, the police and the gendarmerie is to try to attract the soldiers and sailors to the united front of the proletariat."

To this must be added that careful distinction must be made between the various formations which compose the armed forces of the bourgeoisie. An example of the way in which this question should be treated may be found in an appeal which, before the insurrection of December 1905, was posted up in the streets of Moscow; the fol-

lowing piece of advice, among others, was given to the insurgent workers.

“Draw a clear distinction between your conscious enemies and your unconscious and accidental enemies. Destroy the former, spare the latter. As far as possible avoid touching the infantry. The soldiers are the children of the people, and they will not of their own free will march against the people. It is the officers and the higher command who force them to it. And it is against the officers and the command that your blows should be aimed. Every officer leading soldiers to the massacre of the workers is declared an enemy of the people and placed outside the law. Kill him unsparingly. No pity for the cossacks. They are covered with the people’s blood, they have always been the enemies of the workers. Attack the dragoons and the patrols, and destroy them. In the fight against the police, act as follows: on all favourable occasions kill all the officers down to the grade of commissary inclusive; disarm and arrest ordinary inspectors and kill those among them who are known for their cruelty and their blackguardism; in regard to ordinary policemen take away their arms and force them to serve no longer in the police but on your side.”

This question has lost nothing of its importance since the revolution of 1905. Quite the contrary; with the new tendencies of the bourgeois countries in military matters, in which the system of armed detachments, specially reliable, and specially armed in view of civil war, are combined with the most varied and wide forms of the general militarisation of the population, to the so-called workers’ social-fascist military organizations, such as the Reichsbanner in Germany and the Schutzbund in Austria, this question demands the most serious attention.

Neuberg’s book does not sufficiently clarify the problem of the direct decomposition of the army in insurrection, nor the questions of the fight for the army, of the revolutionary interventions of the soldiers or of the organization of revolt in the army. The chapter which should have dealt with these is devoted almost exclusively to work in the army in peace time, and also, as the title shows, to the work of the communist party, with scarcely any mention of the action to be exercised by the proletariat in general over the soldiers, fraternization between the labouring population and the soldiers, and communications between the factories and the barracks, questions which nevertheless arise very acutely in every keen struggle and in particular in case of armed rising. A brilliant example of this work of decomposition of the army is furnished by the action of the French sailors at Odessa in 1919 should be seriously studied in this connection by the communist parties of all capitalist countries so that they may have wide and compulsory application should similar conditions recur.

Neuberg only speaks of the role of the bolshevik party in the preparation of armed insurrection in connection with practical questions or organization and of the functioning of the military sections of the party. A proper functioning of these sections is indeed one of the essential conditions of a good preparation of armed insurrection, and yet, up to recent times, the military sections of all the parties are far from being equal to their task and are in general insufficiently directed by the authorities of the party (although the 21 conditions of adhesion to the communist international contain a special article

requiring all communist parties to work in the army). But if it is necessary to make clear the functioning of the military sections it is still more necessary to make clear the question of the special organisms intended for the preparation and immediate conduct of the insurrection, that is to say the military revolutionary committees. A special chapter ought to be devoted to these, which is not done in the book. Here, above all, one may profit by the rich experience of the October revolution. The immediate preparation of the insurrection is an essential factor of success for the armed fight of the proletariat. This work cannot be organized like ordinary head-quarters work, for it is a matter of combined action between the armed forces of the revolution and the proletarian masses, together with the working elements which support them; it is a matter of directing the armed fight and the political strikes of the masses; it is a matter of coordinating and conducting revolutionary interventions by all the mass organizations, while destroying the political influence of all the social-fascist or simply fascist parties or groups, by using largely the trade unions and above all the factory committees in order to transform the partial combats of the proletariat into armed combats for the dictatorship. It will be essential, among other things, to show by concrete examples the necessity of unshakeable firmness. Once the insurrection has begun it must be developed without stopping at any obstacle however difficult it may seem. How many times would the October revolution have perished if the communist party had yielded to the opportunist and conciliatory propositions of people like Zinovieff and Kameneff!

It is extremely important that the cadres of the party (and the proletarian masses) should understand the difference in functions between the revolutionary military committees and the organizations of the party.

The committees, constituted on the eve of the insurrection, prepare the military attack against the former regime; the organizations of the party continue to work of the revolutionary mobilization of the masses and the unmasking of the political adversaries of the preparation of the armed insurrection. At the same time, they direct the communists who are members of the revolutionary military committees, they recall those among them who show hesitation or any incapacity, they strengthen the committees with new members, etc.

Special emphasis must be laid on the role of the party in the direct preparation of armed insurrection. As everyone knows, the bolshevik party raised the question of the preparation for armed insurrection before the entire proletarian public (in meetings, in tracts, in newspapers, etc.) several months before the October revolution. The thing was indispensable, seeing that the armed insurrection which is being prepared by the bolshevik party of the proletariat is not a conspiracy brewed in strict secrecy by a handful of revolutionaries. The military plans, doubtless, must be elaborated in strictest secret; but politically, and as regards the preparation of the masses for armed conflict, the insurrection must be prepared with the help of the majority of the proletariat. The necessary condition of success is the diffusion of the idea of armed insurrection among the masses, the proper comprehension by the ordinary worker of the evolution of events, of the meaning of more and more frequent armed demon-

strations and mass political strikes, of the duty incumbent on each proletarian in case of conflict between the armed forces of the revolution and those of the ruling classes.

The attention of the reader is particularly drawn to those parts of the book dealing with the participation of the peasant masses in the preparation and execution of armed insurrection. Here is it absolutely necessary to make the most extensive use of the rich experience provided by the movements of the partisans of the USSR and of China. This experience provides, among other things, practical indications of the first importance on the structure of peasant revolutionary armies:

1. The peasant revolutionary armies are built up on the territorial principle; 2. each locality designates a head-quarters staff subordinated to the political direction (the committee of the communist part or of the peasant league) with a communist fraction within it; 3. the head-quarters staff of the locality (a) organizes the provisioning of the army by imposing fixed levies on all the inhabitants, (b) chooses among the older men a guard for the village and its immediate surroundings; (c) recruits among the young men reserves for the mobile detachments, placed little by little at the disposal of the corresponding active units; (d) organizes the reconnaissance service in the army and in the neighborhood by maintaining permanent relations with the active units; 4. The necessary conditions of success in the organization and in the conduct of the operations and in the conduct of the peasant revolutionary armies are: (a) the proletarian and semi-proletarian composition of its armies, (b) the presence of a cadre of industrial workers and of communists occupying the posts of military and political command, (c) the coordination of peasant action with the revolutionary fight of the urban proletariat.

In regard to the voluntary organizations ruling of the classes, Neuberg, citing the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the C. I. writes: "Fierce hatred on the part of the populace must be aroused against these detachments by unveiling their real character." This indication needs to be explained. It is not sufficient to awaken hatred, but it is necessary to organize the fight by disorganizing in every way the activity and even the existence of these detachments. The practice of the class war has already forged an arm of this kind in the present period of peace, namely the organizations of proletarian defence. For the moment, these organizations fight fascism very insufficiently. It is all the more necessary to give them good counsel as quickly as possible as to how they may, in present circumstances, let loose a vast offensive against fascism.

It is impossible to accept the affirmation of Neuberg according to which the insurrections of the Paris commune, of Canton and of Moscow in 1905 were objectively doomed to failure because they took place at a time when the revolutionary wave was no longer rising. This affirmation contradicts the Marxist judgment already adopted by history. In particular for insurrections which present themselves as rearguard actions in a period of decline of revolution, it must be remembered that, if they pass off successfully, they may serve as a point of departure for a new revolutionary wave.

Finally, we must pause at the chapters devoted to the movements at Canton and Shanghai. Neuberg gives in these very valuable material which has never previously been published. But he explains these

movements in a way which does not coincide with the line of the communist International.

Describing the situation at Canton at the end of 1927, on the eve of the insurrection, Neuberg speaks of an "impulse of the proletarian struggle," etc.; however, at the end of the chapter he writes that it was only afterwards that it was decided by the C. I. that the Canton insurrection was a rearguard action. It is evident that the author ought to have started with this—explaining the decision of the Eighth Session of the E. C. of the C. I. describing the insurrection at Canton as a rearguard action and showing in detail what a rearguard action is. It is not true that a rearguard action is necessarily doomed to failure. As already stated, it may serve as a point of departure for a new phase of the struggle. But Neuberg, taking this view of the Canton insurrection as a rearguard action, draws the false conclusion that "there were not at Canton, in a sufficient degree, the indispensable social conditions without which the victory of armed insurrection is impossible."

In the chapter on the insurrection at Shanghai in April 1927 we come across several false formulae from which one may conclude that Neuberg considers that in April 1927 the entry of the Chinese communist party into the Kuomintang was a mistake. As we know, the C. I. was absolutely opposed at the time to the communist party leaving the Kuomintang. The events which followed fully confirmed the soundness of this opinion. Neuberg ought to have shown how the communist party should have acted while remaining in the Kuomintang: using its influence in the ranks of the latter to form a powerful workers' and peasants' revolutionary block, taking the lead in the armed fight of the masses in Shanghai and other places with a view to the establishment of the revolutionary dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

The chapter concerning the insurrections of Canton and Shanghai requires, therefore, specially critical attention on the part of the reader.

The publishers publish this book in the assurance that, despite all its faults, its perusal will be extremely useful to *every communist* and to every revolutionary proletarian.

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The two following exhibits throw some light upon the character of illegal Communist activity.<sup>1</sup> In order to make prosecution more difficult, written documents and specific references must be avoided whenever possible. Concealed printing presses are to be kept in readiness for special revolutionary propaganda. Some years later, this point was strongly reaffirmed in the official "history" of the Bolshevik Party which all Communist groups accept as the blueprint for violent insurrection (see B, exhibit No. 61).

Exhibit No. 8 emphasizes a tactic upon which the CPUSA is currently concentrating. No less an authority than the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation has declared that the CPUSA is, for all practical purposes, an underground organization. At the same time, it strives to preserve its "mass character" by working through fronts and particularly through concealed influence upon certain organizations claiming to be interested only in civil liberties.

<sup>1</sup> Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, outlines the history of important European espionage rings. Willoughby, *Shanghai Conspiracy*, covers the same type of organization in the Far East.

## EXHIBIT No. 7

[*The Communist International*, July 1, 1932. Pp. 417, 420]

## REVOLUTIONARY UNDERGROUND WORK

*How Not To Prepare for Underground Conditions of  
Revolutionary Work*

O. Weber

A circular has come into our hands which, several months ago, was addressed by the Central Committee of the Young Communist League in a certain country, to its district committees. In this circular a number of methods of control were suggested to local organizations in preparation for going into strictly underground conditions in the event of war. Among others, the following suggestions were made to the district committees: (a) All district committees must prepare special addresses; (b) they must inform the Central Committee within eight days exactly where the district committees can be found when they go underground; (c) that they must submit to the Central Committee within eight days the names and addresses of the deputy district secretaries who are to take over the leadership of district committees in the event of the arrest or conscription of the present secretaries. There were a few other instructions of a similar character.

In regard to this document the following observations must be made.

The authors of a document must be congratulated for the zeal they show in preparing the Young Communist League organisations for underground work in the event of war breaking out; but they must be pulled up sharply for this circular. Such things must never be written. There is no guarantee that such a document will not fall into the hands of the police, and if it does, will give the clue by which the police will be able to discover and break up the illegal organisations which will have been built up on the lines of the circular. Instructions on concrete organisational questions regarding preparation for underground conditions must be given only verbally and only by absolutely tried and trustworthy people. Only in extreme cases should instructions be given in writing and these should contain only the most general instructions and should be written in such a manner as to give the police no clue as to whom to look for and where to find them if the instructions do fall into their hands. The worst proposal of all in this circular is that the names and addresses of the deputy leaders of the local Y. C. L. committees should be sent to the Central Committee. This would give the police direct information. At the very least it should have been specified that these names and addresses be given strictly orally and by a trusted comrade. Sending such information by post should have been strictly forbidden under penalty of expulsion from the League. In the old days the Bolsheviks, it is true, did send secret addresses through the post. But it should be borne in mind that Russia is a much larger country than the one which we are now concerned with in connection with this circular. The vastness of the country made personal communication between Party organisations very difficult in Russia. Moreover, and this is

very important to remember, the Russian Bolsheviks who carried on this work had had considerable experience in carrying on secret work; they knew how to use secret codes, invisible ink, etc., etc. Furthermore, they had a well-equipped, secret apparatus at their disposal.

A few remarks must be made concerning the so-called "deputy leaders" referred to by the authors in this unfortunate circular. Are such deputy leaders necessary? Obviously, in building up any kind of Party leadership (legal or illegal) that leadership must be so organised that in case a leading worker drops out, for whatever reason, another equally qualified member of the Party committee can take his place. To keep some of the best Party workers in reserve against the event of arrest of the Party leadership, as some illegal parties do, is an altogether different thing. When certain comrades are kept in reserve in this way, they are divorced from active Party work, they are put in "cold storage" as it were. Experience shows that this method of organisation is suitable only in two cases: (1) in times of big strikes and other great, mass revolutionary movements; but even in this case the method should not be applied to the Party committees but to the mass organs of struggle elected at such times. It is useful in such cases to have two or three emergency staffs for the militant committees, who, on the arrest of the first committee, can immediately take up its duties. (2) in time of war (imperialist war or civil war), when, in connection with impending military operations (or sudden mobilisation) it is necessary in good time to select several persons who shall give up regular Party work for a time and effectively conceal themselves in order that they may be available to carry on the Party work as soon as the Party organisation is disrupted by mobilisation or military operations. Incidentally, in preparing the Party organisations for imperialist wars, provision must be made for training working women and peasant women for work in the leading Party and Y. C. L. organisations as well as for work in the illegal Party and Y. C. L. apparatus. In the course of the ordinary, everyday work of the legal parties, however, it is inexpedient to set aside special deputy leaders (let alone reserve committees or bureaux of committees). Why? Firstly, in view of the extreme shortage of leading workers in all Parties, it is very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to put tried and reliable, leading comrades out of action for a time. Secondly, even if it were possible to take a few leading workers from active work and put them into reserve, these comrades would become divorced from everyday Party work, would lose contact with it, and so would not be in the position to take over the duties of leadership when the contingency arose. Thirdly and finally, in case of a raid and the arrest of the members of the acting Party committee, these deputy leaders would inevitably have much difficulty in getting the necessary contacts with the illegal Party apparatus, with its cells and fractions working in the mass organisations under the leadership of the Party committees. Therefore, in the light of international experience, to ensure continuity in the work of the illegal Party committees, it is better in ordinary circumstances, instead of creating special reserves which would be kept in a state of inaction, to adopt the following organisational measures: (1) To remove immediately from active work all members of the Party committees (and particularly of Party Bureaux) who, it is

believed, are being watched by the police, or who have been involved through the arrest of other comrades or through provocation. With all due precautions being taken, these comrades, whenever possible, should be sent to another town. (2) As a rule, work in the illegal Party apparatus should not be entrusted to the members of the Party committees but to special apparatus workers who must be effectively concealed and work under the guidance of the respective members of the Party committees as their direct assistants. (3) In case of the discovery and arrest of individual members of the illegal Party committee, these must be replaced at once by members appointed by the higher Party Committee as well as by co-opting members on the recommendation of the remaining committee members and particularly by active Party members nominated by the most important factory cells and fractions in important mass organisations. (4) Members of the Party committee (or members of the bureaux of Party committees) should not, as a rule, attend committee meetings or conferences or Party meetings all at the same time, so that in the event of the members attending the meetings being arrested, the members remaining at liberty can quickly restore the organisation and maintain continuity in the Party leadership.

#### ORGANISATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND

In February this year, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Party took place at which a detailed resolution on the organisational problems of the C. P. of Poland was adopted. This resolution is an important document for the C. P. of Poland and for the whole of the Communist International. The C. P. of Poland has many important successes to record in 1931 in regard to the organisational consolidation of the Party. These successes are reflected in the doubling of the membership of the Party in 1931 (an increase of 107 per cent.) and particularly in the leadership of the strike movement. The statistics of the strike movement in Poland, which have already been quoted in the pages of the "Communist International," show that in the first quarter of 1931, 25 per cent. of the spontaneous strikes and 45 per cent. of all strikes ended in defeat for the workers, whereas in the fourth quarter of 1931, only nine per cent. of the spontaneous strikes and five per cent. of all the strikes ended in defeat. These figures show that the C. P. of Poland is now very closely linked with the masses of the proletariat and that it has learned to commence strikes and to bring them to an end at the opportune moment. The resolution adopted at the plenum of the C. P. of Poland points out that while there have been achievements in regard to organisation, serious organisational weaknesses have become revealed in the Party which are expressed primarily in the continued weakness of the factory groups. These are very serious and very true statements in the resolution on organisation passed by the Central Committee of the C. P. of Poland. The successful struggle against the capitalist offensive and against the war preparations of the imperialists can be organised only if the Party succeeds in establishing strong factory groups. The resolution of the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Poland enumerates the following reasons for the weakness of the factory groups in Poland: (1) The small number of factory groups and

the tendency that is observed in the Party to deliberately restrict the membership of the factory groups to very small limits on the plea that it is necessary to maintain secrecy; (2) The factory groups are not sufficiently active, even during strikes. The resolution quotes cases when the driving force of strikes were the trade union departments of the respective Party committees, while the factory groups played hardly any role at all; (3) The continuation within the Party of P. S. P. (Polish Socialist Party) and Bund (Jewish Social Democratic League) traditions regarding organisational questions (for example, the existence until recently, of separate Polish and Jewish groups, in spite of the repeated instructions of the Central Committee to dissolve such).

The resolution calls for a fight against this tendency in the Party to restrict the membership of the factory groups and points out that in order to maintain strictest secrecy, the factory groups should be organised according to shops, all shop groups to be subordinated to a leading Party body covering the whole factory. The resolution also calls for more detailed instruction to be given by the leading Party bodies to the factory groups. Both the proposals contained in the resolution on organisation passed by the Central Committee of C. P. of Poland are quite correct, but quite inadequate. We on our part would like to add the following:

Shop, shift and gang nuclei should be organised irrespective of the number of members in the factory nucleus. Party work in the factory should be commenced with the organisation of Party groups in the shops, shifts and gangs, in short in every unit of the factory where Party members are employed. Unless these Party groups are established it will be impossible to organise the work of the factory nucleus as a whole, as the instructions of the Comintern on work in the factories published in 1931 have already pointed out. In regard to the Party committees giving instructions to the factory nuclei we would add that these instructions must be serious and concrete to the highest degree. One of the principal reasons for the unsatisfactory nature of the work of factory nuclei is the bad internal organisation of the factory nucleus, one of the features of which is the absence of a proper division of labour among the members of the factory nucleus.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Poland should have carefully discussed the instructions of the C. I. on work in the factories and should have adapted them to meet Polish conditions and at the same time should have suggested modifications for the internal structure of the factory nuclei. We would like to suggest the following plan for the division of labour within the factory nucleus:

(1) The secretary of the factory nucleus. His functions should be to maintain contacts between the shop, shift and gang nuclei and with the individual comrades working in those shops where nuclei have not yet been established; maintain contacts with the Y. C. L. nucleus and with respective Party committees; make arrangements for the meetings of the bureau of the factory nucleus, for meetings of the active workers in the factory and for general factory nucleus meetings. (2) A treasurer. (3) The leader of the factory newspaper who should also act as organiser of the distribution of Party literature in the factory. (4) A comrade to maintain contacts with the fraction in the trade union whose members are employed in the given factory and also to act as organiser of the trade union work in the factory.

The question of the structure of the factory nucleus is closely linked up with the question of the structure and methods of work of the Party Committees which guide the activities of factory nuclei. The resolution on organisation passed by the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Poland calls the Party's attention to two serious organisational weaknesses in the lower Party committees: (1) They are set up in a haphazard fashion; (2) in setting up these Party committees and in their work, the principles of internal Party democracy are not sufficiently adhered to. While these two statements are absolutely correct they are not sufficiently concrete. Admittedly difficult as the conditions are in Poland in view of the police régime, the Party must nevertheless see to it that all the leading bodies are elected at Party meetings (or Party conferences). Experience has shown that this is possible in Poland. The director of the organisational department of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Poland reported to the Comintern that in 1931 the C. P. of Poland organised several regional conferences at which numerous factory nuclei were represented. At these conferences all the important questions of Party life were discussed and not a single one of these conferences were discovered by the police. These facts support the claim that the Party committees of the C. P. of Poland must be elected committees. It goes without saying, of course, that in each separate case the election of the Party committee must be very carefully prepared and all the rules of secrecy must be very strictly observed.

The membership of the Party committees must be such that the members themselves will be able to maintain good contacts with the important factory nuclei and Party fractions in the important mass organisations. Hence, in preparing for the election of Party committees, a very careful selection of the candidates put forward by the organisations operating on these important sectors of the class struggle must be made. Experience in revolutionary underground work has shown that one of the best forms of carrying through the election of illegal Party committees is the following: (1) The Party conference (or general meeting) elects a small committee of from three to five persons consisting of the most trustworthy comrades (including a member of the higher Party committee). This committee takes a vote of the members by secret ballot and counts the vote. The committee reports the result of the election only to the representative of the higher Party committee and to the successful candidates. Provision must be made for the event of members dropping out from the illegal Party committee, for whatever reason, in the interval between Party conferences. In that event, they must be replaced in the manner suggested above without waiting for the next Party conference to be held. In the event of it being impossible to convene a Party conference for the election of a Party committee, then it would be best to form the latter with the aid of a higher Party Committee which appoints several members to form a small, strictly secret core of the Party committee to which elected representatives of the important factory nuclei and Party fractions in the important mass organisations should be added to complete the required number of committee men. Finally, the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Poland should have discussed the question of the internal structure of the Party committees. The resolution

vaguely recommends that the work of the departments be improved. But of which departments? We would like to suggest the following plan for the division of labour within the illegal Party committee.

(1) A secretary, to act also as Party organiser. His function should be to maintain contact with the nuclei and local organisations as well as with the higher Party bodies, and be responsible for preparing the agenda and proposals for the meetings of the bureau and of the plenum of the Party committee. In order to carry out these functions the secretary recruits a small body of active members to carry out the technical side of the work, for example: (a) a comrade to take charge of the records; (b) a comrade to write the correspondence, take charge of the secret code, etc. (c) a comrade to make arrangements for rooms for meetings, addresses for correspondence, etc.

(2) A treasurer, to act also as the organiser of all the financial affairs of the Party committee. He, too, has a small body of helpers which may include non-proletarian elements—intellectuals, etc.

(3) One comrade must be in charge of the secret printing press and be responsible for the distribution of Party literature (legal, semi-legal and illegal).

(4) One comrade must be appointed to maintain contacts with the fractions in the various legal and semi-legal organisations (trade unions, co-operative societies, sports organisations, etc.) operating in the area of the given Party organisation. It should be the function of this comrade also to assist the illegal apparatus of the Party committee in taking advantage of the various legal and semi-legal opportunities.

(5) In those districts where military barracks are situated, a comrade must be appointed to lead a special apparatus for carrying on work among the soldiers (soldiers' nuclei, contact with these nuclei, special literature, etc.). The fact that a special apparatus has been set up for this work does not relieve the general Party apparatus of the task of conducting mass anti-militarist work.

(6) In connection with the development of the workers' and peasants' self-defence movement, in those districts where fair-sized factory and village workers' and peasants' defence corps already exist, a special instructor must be appointed as assistant to the secretary whose function shall be to lead this work. He must carry on this work in close co-operation with the corresponding nuclei as part of the work of strengthening the organisational positions of the Party in the factories and among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants in the villages.

This suggested plan must under no circumstances be adopted mechanically. The question of separating or combining various functions in Party work must be decided after carefully weighing up the personal qualities of the members of the Party committee, their ability to lead this or that branch of Party work. For the purpose of carrying out any special task the Party committee may establish special temporary groups and committees.

## EXHIBIT No. 8

[*The Communist International*, December 1, 1933. Pp. 853, 854, 855, 859]

## On the Question of Illegal Work

## 2.—THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF ILLEGAL WORK

The basic principle of the illegal work of the Communist Parties—worked out through decades of Bolshevik underground activity—is the ability to preserve the *mass character* of the party in its underground activity during the most savage terror. The essence of illegality does not lie in hiding a small group of people from the enemy; it lies in carrying on uninterrupted mass work, and in having a constant influx of new help from the masses—this with the help of a strongly-welded, hidden organisation. A strong illegal party is a party deeply rooted in the masses, and surrounded by large cadres of sympathisers and revolutionary non-party activists. The Communist Party, in general, does not recognise the social-democratic division into active (functioning) and passive (only dues-paying) members of the party; but, despite many years of struggle, these social-democratic survivals still exist in a number of our parties. These must be entirely outlived in the illegal parties: here, *every party member* must be an *activist*, working in and leading a group of workers sympathetic to the party. The basic difference between legal and illegal methods of work does not lie only in conspiracy. It lies in a different system of *mass work*; in the cohesiveness of the party; in its ability to tie itself up with the masses, and to find a road to the masses through the hardest conditions of terror. Underground work demands a different structural system; different systems of leadership, of connections, of cadres; different methods of recruiting and of holding new party members; different methods of publicity and of distribution of publications. Thus, the essence of the thing is not only conspiracy itself; the task of conspiracy is to make all this work easier, and to secure its inviolability. Conspiracy does not exist of itself. Conspiracy is an inalienable, integral part of the methods of underground work; it pervades all branches of the work, the entire organisational structure. Conspiracy in a mass Communist Party exists only together with mass work; it degenerates in the absence of mass work, and under incorrect structure of party cadres. Conspiracy is a supremely organisational concept. If you hear complaints about lack of conspiracy in the cadres of this or that party, it means that that party's systems of work, of leadership, and of education of cadres, are no good.

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A question of first importance for every illegal party is the creation of independent leadership in the local organisations—leadership which will be able to react immediately to events, without waiting for directives from the centre. The strength of the Bolsheviks, before the revolution, as well as during the civil war, lay in the fact that their local cadres were able to orientate themselves at once in any situation, and further to take the correct position independently, without communication with the centre. All the C. P.s must attain such a condition. Under present-day conditions of struggle, the

active rôle of the party in contemporary events will depend on the independent initiative of the district and section committees. For most of the C. P.s, the time has already passed when it was possible to give instructions to their organisations in one day, by means of publication in the central organ, or even by telegraph or by mail. The sharper the situation, the more often the Bolshevik initiative and determination of the local committees will be the decisive factor in a number of concrete cases. The times of long circulars have also passed. Every local committee will be compelled more and more to work out plans of action for its own district immediately, on the basis of terse instructive directions. *Special attention must be given to the question of the initiative and self-activity of the district and section committees.*

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The relations of an illegal party with mass revolutionary organisations—both legal ones and those which spring up without official permission—make up a separate group of problems, of extreme importance.

Illegality is not something set and absolute. The extent to which the party must go underground depends on the co-relation of forces, on the activity of the party, and on the party's ability to get to the masses through the barriers of terror. Only a sectarian party, which is isolated from the masses, can be driven completely underground. A party which is tied up with the masses will always push itself up, will always be able to find itself a base in the mass organisations.

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The lengthy, heavy jargoned title of Piatnitsky's pamphlet was characteristic of Communist publications in the years 1928-34. In the present instance, Piatnitsky brought up to date the concept of "bolshévization" of Communist parties which had been established by the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International (sec. C, exhibit No. 9).

What Piatnitsky wrote about illegal activity was backed up by his own very extensive experience acquired long before the November 1917 revolution.<sup>1</sup> For many years, he directed the Org-Bureau of the Comintern, in which capacity he controlled the practical everyday work of all Communist parties outside the Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup> While he felt perfectly at home with the more violent tactics of the Sixth World Congress, he neglected to accommodate himself to the milder line of the Seventh Congress. In 1936, Stalin found him guilty of sabotage and counterrevolution. Whereupon he disappeared forever.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*, New York, Longmans, Green, 1941, p. 982. This work constitutes a major encyclopedia of Soviet and pro-Soviet documentation. In his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Igor Bogolepov declared that he had passed on to the Webbs memoranda on Soviet detention camps which had been prepared by the Russian secret police. After his flight from Soviet rule Bogolepov discovered that the memoranda which he had personally written for the Webbs were published verbatim. See *Institute of Pacific Relations*, hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary. U. S. Senate, 82d Cong., 2d sess., pt. 13, April 7, 1952, 4510.

<sup>2</sup> Borkenau, *World Communism*, pp. 359 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ypsilon, *Pattern for World Revolution*, Chicago, Ziff, Davis, 1947, p. 301. F. Borkenau, *European Communism*, London, Faber and Faber, 1953, p. 227.

## EXHIBIT No. 9

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, n. d. (1932?). O. Piatnitsky, *The Bolshevization of the Communist Parties by Eradicating the Social-Democratic Traditions*]

*Indispensable to Organizers*

2nd Reprint from the "Communist International" Revised.—Note: Only correct rendering. Five cents.

This pamphlet comprises the amended text of the stenographic report of a lecture on Party organization delivered at a Conference of International Communist Party School Teachers.

Giving a detailed comparison of the organization, development and methods of the Bolshevik Party with the post-war Communist Parties of advanced capitalist countries.

THE BOLSHEVISATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE  
CAPITALIST COUNTRIES BY ERADICATING SOCIAL-DEMO-  
CRATIC TRADITIONS

O. Piatnitsky

The XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I. recorded the fact that the sections of the Comintern in the capitalist countries lag behind the rise of the revolutionary labour and peasant movement.

Since the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I. a year has passed, a period sufficient for drawing some conclusions. Has this backwardness been liquidated?

The last three quarters of 1931 and the first quarter of 1932 brought a sharp deterioration of the conditions of the toiling masses, of the workers and of the poor and middle peasant masses. The Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties and the reformist trade union bureaucracy which still have a large following among the workers and employees, have long completely deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie and have been daily betraying the interests of the working class. During this period the revolutionary labour and peasant movement did not subside while in some countries (Spain, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, China, Japan, India, America, France) it even continued on the up-grade, yet in the principal imperialist countries (England, America, Germany, France) the Communist Parties are just as backward as they were before the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Each country has its objective causes to explain this backwardness. This does not mean, however, that the backwardness is not due in a very large measure to the subjective factor—the failure to utilise the discontent of the great masses of the toilers with the lowering of the living standards, with unemployment, starvation, the burden of taxation, the actions of the Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties and the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

How are we to explain this failure to capture the working masses from the Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties and the reformists, and to consolidate, organise and keep those workers who joined the Communist Parties and revolutionary trade union movements of the capitalist countries?

It is due mainly to the Social-Democratic and reformist traditions, prevailing in every field of party and trade union work, which are deeply-rooted in the Communist Parties, red trade unions and trade union oppositions.

By contrasting the Bolshevik and the Social-Democratic methods of mass work, organisational forms, estimations of the current situation and tactics, we shall show that the sections of the Comintern in the capitalist countries took over and preserved a good deal of the practices of the Social-Democratic Parties.

Czarist Russia was dominated by an autocracy, by a feudal-landlord clique. Not only the position of the workers, but also that of the peasants was unbearable. The entire petty bourgeoisie (and even the liberal bourgeoisie) were discontented with the autocracy. (This, by the way, explains the extensive participation of the intelligentsia and students in the revolutionary movement against the autocracy in 1905.) Russia, as the events of 1905 proved, was heading for a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Comrade Lenin wrote in March, 1905, on this question as follows: "The objective course of events has confronted the Russian proletariat precisely with the task of a democratic-bourgeois revolution . . . The same task confronts the whole nation, i. e., the entire mass of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry; without such a revolution any more or less extensive development of an independent class organisation aiming at a Socialist revolution is unthinkable." ("The Revolutionary Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry," Volume VI, Page 136, First Edition.)

This period of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions had already been passed in the 90's by the principal countries abroad. The bourgeois-democratic revolutions there were made, under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, by the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie with no revolutionary labour parties in existence.

The Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties which already existed as mass parties in the principal countries abroad in the 90's, adapted themselves to the existing régimes and legislations. Before the world war, the political struggle conducted by the Social-Democratic Parties was a struggle for reforms in the field of social legislation and for universal suffrage, the struggle itself being carried on chiefly by means of the ballot.

While in words they did not reject the ultimate goal of the struggle of the proletariat, Socialism, in reality they did nothing of a serious and practical character to prepare for and wage the revolutionary battles, to train for this purpose the necessary cadres, to give the party organisations a revolutionary policy, to break through bourgeois legality in the process of the struggle. The entire policy of the Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties resolved itself into securing through universal, equal suffrage, etc., a parliamentary majority, in order then to "inaugurate Socialism." Attempts at such adaptation, which met with resolute resistance on the part of the illegal Bolshevik Party, found an expression in Russia as well among the Menshevik liquidators (and Trotsky) who proclaimed the Stolypin regime a bourgeois one, and sought to adjust themselves to it by taking up legal activities, and fighting for reforms after the model of the West-European Socialist Parties. The Mensheviks ignored the fact that the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution remained unsolved after the 1905 revolution as well.

The rôle of the trade unions in the West was deliberately restricted to that of a subsidiary organisation of the great working masses

protecting nothing but the daily, even if important, economic interests of the working class without pursuing the aim of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. They left the entire field of "pure" politics to the political party. They had no other aims except to negotiate collective agreements and conduct economic strikes. Even more reformist was the rôle of the workers' co-operatives. The trade unions sometimes found themselves in conflict even with the Social-Democratic Parties on the question of the calling of political strikes and revolutionary holidays, while the co-operatives clashed with the trade unions seeking aid from the workers' co-operatives during economic strikes. It was for this reason that the foreign Social-Democratic and Socialist Parties regarded Bernstein's revision of the fundamental principles of Marxism so tolerantly, without even thinking of a split, despite the fact that certain Social-Democratic Parties passed resolutions against the opportunists, revisionists, and reformists, for the whole work of the Social-Democratic Parties and the Labour organisations led by them, was permeated in practice with Bernsteinism.

The situation in Czarist Russia was quite different. During the 90's there existed in every city, particularly in the industrial centres of the former Russian Empire, not only groups of populists but also groups and organisations of Social-Democrats. From their very inception there existed among them opposing tendencies: "Economists,"\* Bundists, with their demand for cultural-national autonomy, who adhered to the "Economists," Revolutionary Social-Democrats, ordinary Social-Democrats—a swamp which swung both ways. The Social-Democratic newspaper, "Iskra," which was published by the revolutionary Social-democrats headed by Comrade Lenin, opened from the very outset a struggle against all deviations from Marxism in general, and against "Economism" in particular.

Lenin and the revolutionary "Iskrists" who gained a majority at the second congress of the Party (the Bolsheviks) continued in their subsequent activities to follow the revolutionary Social-Democratic line of the old "Iskra." In a tireless struggle against Menshevism, liquidationism, Trotskism, the right deviation, opportunism in practice, sectarianism, conciliationism within the Party, and all deviations from the Party line, in the name of the capture, maintenance and consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in a heroic revolutionary struggle against the Czarist autocracy, in a relentless struggle against the liberal bourgeoisie which was prepared to compromise with the Czarist autocracy and sought to deflect the Russian revolution on to the "Prussian road," in a struggle against the entire capitalist system, at all the stages of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Bolshevik Party, headed by Lenin, forged the Bolshevik strategy and tactics, the methods of mass work, the organisational principles and the Bolshevik Party structure. The Bolsheviks in Russian, unlike the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, did not have to overcome the old, deep-rooted opportunist and reformist traditions in the policy organisation and methods of their work. Besides, the Bolsheviks carefully studied and learned the lessons of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, the rôle of the liberal bourgeoisie in them, rejected the weak points of the theory, programme and practice of the Western

\*See "What is to be done." N. Lenin.

Social-Democratic Parties and mass labour organisations and absorbed the good elements.

*The conditions prevailing in Czarist Russia and abroad when the Bolshevik Party was organised in Russian and Social-Democratic Parties in the West.—*

Up to 1905 there were no legal parties in Czarist Russia. Even the liberal bourgeoisie were forced to publish their printed party organ, "Emancipation," abroad (in Stuttgart, Germany). In other countries, on the contrary, there existed practically throughout the history of the mass labour movement (with some rare and temporary exceptions such as the anti-Socialist law in Germany), freedom for the Social-Democratic Parties not only before, but even during the war. In the decisive capitalist countries (France, Germany, England, America, Czecho-Slovakia and other countries) the Communist Parties exist more or less legally. It is these parties that we shall deal with. It is these parties that I will contrast and compare with the Bolshevik Party of former Czarist Russia.

Up to 1905 Russia had no legal mass trade unions, and after 1905 when they were created by the R. S. D. L. P.\* (Bolsheviks and Mensheviks) they eked out a miserable existence until 1912. The Mensheviks endeavoured to give the T. U.'s they had created functions and a character analogous to that of T. U.'s in Western Europe. If they did not succeed in this, it was only thanks to the tireless struggle of the Bolsheviks against these efforts inside the workers' mass organisations. During the period of reaction the Menshevik liquidators tried to use the T. U.'s as a substitute for the Party. From the outbreak of the war until the February Revolution the T. U.'s were either closed or placed in such police conditions as to be unable to function normally. Abroad, in the principal countries (England, America, Italy) trade unions were created before the organisation of the Social-Democratic Parties, while the trade union movement of France was permeated by syndicalism which ignored the political parties. At the same time, in some countries (England, Belgium, Sweden, etc.) the trade unions were collectively affiliated to the Labour Parties so that it may be said that in a certain measure these Parties were formed out of the trade unions. Even of Germany it may be said that the trade union movement is older than the independent *political* Labour Parties. In the 60's the trade unions in various Labour centres (such as the unions of composers, cigar makers in Berlin, etc.) originated and functioned before the worker's educational societies which gave rise to the two Labour Parties of Germany, the Lassalians and the Eisenachers (which subsequently constituted the German Social-Democrat Party), arose and broke away from the bourgeois progressive party. The workers' strikes took place without the leadership of political parties, especially during the latter half of the 60's.

To illustrate the attitude of one of the most politically active workers' parties of that time towards strikes we will quote the decision of the Congress of the German General Workers' League (a political party led by Lasalle and after his death by Schweitzer) held in Hamburg in August, 1868. The Congress, by a vote of 3,417 to 2,583, declared not in favour of leading strikes but only of maintaining a

\* Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

friendly attitude towards strikes whereas the minority was even opposed to this rather indefinite formula. The Congress rejected a proposal to convene a national Workers' Congress for the purpose of establishing general workers' unions.

It goes without saying that individual Socialists and, particularly, the First International as a whole, led by Marx and Engels, exercised a very great influence over the existing trade unions and the strikes of that time. But the fact is that even in Germany of that epoch the political parties did not organise strike or lead the trade unions. Later, with the passing of the anti-Socialist law, the German trade unions suffered less than the political Social-Democratic Party. The powerful development of capitalism strengthened the trade union movement despite the persecutions. Under the conditions of the time the trade unions could not but strengthen their independence. The Parliamentary Social-Democratic fraction which assumed the functions of the Central Committee did not direct the economic struggle of the proletariat, restricting itself to Parliamentary-political problems. Thus, from the very beginning of the existence of the Social-Democratic Party, and of the trade unions organisations, the latter displayed tendencies towards independence. In Czarist Russia, on the contrary, the Party organisations of *the Bolsheviki led the entire struggle, both economic and political*. Abroad the functions of the trade unions and the Social-Democratic Parties were divided, the Parties engaging in pure politics while the trade unions conducted the economic struggle. It must be emphasized that certain Communist Parties in capitalist countries do not even now consider it their duty to lead the economic struggle, but entrust it completely to the trade union opposition or the red trade unions. Thus, *the Communist Parties have taken over these Social-Democratic traditions*. In those countries where the Communist Parties organise strikes and attend to the trade union movement we sometimes observe cases of a sectarian attitude towards it. It is only with great difficulty that the Communist Parties succeed in ridding themselves of this attitude.

*The Bolsheviki and the Social-Democratic Forms of Party Organisation.*—In Czarist Russia there were no elections or election campaigns up to 1905. Although the municipal and county councils (the Zemstvos) and City Duma were elected bodies, neither the peasants nor the workers participated in the elections. After 1905 when the State Duma was created the workers were given special voting conditions, labour "curias"\* being created and the workers voting in the factories and mills.

All the parties in Czarist Russia up to 1905 were illegal, and the absence of elections and (and this is of chief importance) the correct attitude of the Bolsheviki towards the structure of the Party—they recruited into the Party the workers of the factories, created political and self-education circles for the factory workers—gave rise to these special forms of the Bolsheviki Party in Czarist Russia. The illegal condition of the Bolsheviki Party prompted it to establish Party groups in the factories, where it was easier and more convenient to work. The Party structure of the Bolsheviki thus began with the

\* An electoral body on a class basis. The workers' "curia" could not elect the same number of representatives as those of the bourgeoisie and landlords.

factories, and this yielded excellent results both during the years of the reaction, after the February revolution, and particularly during the October Revolution of 1917, the civil war and the great construction of Socialism. During the reaction following upon 1908, when in places the local party committees and the party leadership (the C. C.) were broken up, there still remained in the factories and mills a certain base, small party cells which continued the work. After the February Revolution, when the elections to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were held, the factories and mills also served as the basis for the elections. It is noteworthy that the elections to the municipal and district councils and the Constituent Assembly, which were based not upon occupational but upon territorial principles, were also carried out by the Bolshevik Party very successfully after the February and October Revolutions, despite the fact that the party had no territorial organisations, and its agitation was concentrated in the factories and barracks. The cells and the district and city committees conducted the election campaign without creating special territorial organisations for the purpose. During all periods the lower party organisations of the Bolsheviks existed at the place of work rather than at the place of residence.

Abroad the situation was entirely different. There elections were not held in the factories but in the election districts, in the places where the voters lived. The main task pursued by the Socialist Parties was to gain electoral victories, to fight by means of the ballot, and the Party organization was therefore built along residential lines, which made it easier to organise the Party members for the election campaign in the respective election districts.

It cannot be said, however, that the Social-Democratic Parties were not connected with the factories and mills. They kept in contact with them through the trade unions which they headed through their members. Although the trade unions were not built along factory lines, they still had their representatives and financial secretaries in the factories, and since these financial secretaries and trade union delegates were mostly Social-Democrats, the Social-Democratic Parties through these trade union delegates and through the trade unions, were connected with the factories. When the Communist Parties appeared (and they appeared in some countries as a result of secessions and withdrawals from the Social-Democratic Party, while in others, such as Czecho-Slovakia and France, the majority of the Social-Democratic Party decided to join the Communist International, the remaining minorities constituting themselves into Social-Democratic Parties), they built their organisations exactly after the model of the Social-Democrats. And this, despite the fact that the Communist Parties, from the very moment of their inception, aimed at an entirely different objective to that of the Social-Democratic Parties. They made it their object to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the power of the proletariat, while the international Social-Democracy during the war, supported its bourgeoisie, and after the war, developed into the chief social support of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the Communist Parties constructed their organisations along the same lines as the Social-Democrats, on the basis of election constituencies, along residential lines. In addition it must be said that they did not have their trade union organisations, and where they

they created their own trade unions, the latter did not, and do not, to this day, have firm organisational connections with the factories. Thus, the organisations of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries were built without permanent organisational connections with the factories. Such is the principal defect in the structure of the Communist Parties which must be clearly and sharply stressed by the teacher in the Party schools. The Communist Parties have different tasks, yet they built their organisations along the same lines as the Social-Democratic Parties. While the Social-Democrats are connected with the factories through the trade unions, the Communist Parties do not have even such connections with the factories; this is true even those Communist Parties which strongly influence the red trade unions (the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and France). The Communist Parties, immediately after their formation, took over the organisational forms of the Social-Democratic Parties, because they did not know of, they were not familiar with, the peculiar Bolshevik forms and methods of Party structure. However, during the war, and immediately after it, the factory workers in many countries appointed revolutionary representatives (in Germany these representatives played an important part in the big strikes conducted during the war) elected factory committees (such as the shop stewards in England) and even sent representatives to local and National Councils. In this way they were able to realise the advantages of organising at their place of work compared with organisation along territorial lines. But after the revolutionary storm subsided, the Social-Democratic traditions gained the upper hand over the forms of organisation approaching the Bolshevik forms of work in the factories. This is the main reason why the Communist Parties, especially the middle and lower Party and revolutionary trade union organisations and cadres which are actually carrying out most of the Party and revolutionary work, rejected at that time the nearly-Bolshevik methods of work in the factories, and are now resisting the adoption of these methods, despite the fact that their superiority to the Social-Democratic methods has already been proven. In this, however, they do not meet with sufficient opposition on the part of the Party leadership.

That the absence of Party organizations in the factories strongly affects the work of the Communist Parties is shown by such an example, for instance, as that of Germany, in 1923, when the Party failed to utilise the revolutionary situation for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, this being due not only to the absence of a truly revolutionary leadership, but also to the absence of extensive and firm connections with the workers in the factories. In 1923, German Social-Democracy was seriously weakened by mass desertions. The reformist trade unions in 1922 had nine million members (7,895,065 in the all-German Federation of Trade Unions and the rest in the clerical workers' unions) of whom only three million remained in 1923. The apparatus of the reformist trade unions was demoralised, it had no money to pay its officials. The German Communist Party could then have captured power had it been headed by a revolutionary leadership, had it conducted a real struggle against the Social-Democratic Party and the reformist, had it been strongly connected with the factories, had it been familiar with the

interests of the factory workers, had it mobilised them, applying the revolutionary united front policy in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat instead of the Brandlerist united front with the "left" Saxon Social-democrats and with Zeigner's Government. The meeting called by the Brandlerist opportunist leadership in 1923 to decide the question of whether they were to take action or not consisted mainly of Party officials, co-operative workers and trade union officials, among whom there were a good many right opportunists of the type of Brandler, Thalheimer and Walcher, who were not connected with the masses, who did not know what the working masses were thinking and interested in, and it was this meeting which decided not to act.

*Factory Cells and Street Cells.*—In Czarist Russia the cells (or the individual Bolsheviks in the factories and mills in which no Party cells existed) utilised all the grievances in the factories; the gruffness of the foremen, deductions from wages, fines, the failure to provide medical aid in accidents, etc., for oral agitation at the bench, through leaflets, meetings at the factory gates or in the factory yards, and separate meetings of the more class conscious and revolutionary workers. The Bolsheviks always showed the connection between the maltreatment in the factories, and the rule of the autocracy, for the workers felt the effects of the Czarist whips on their own backs and jail and exile for their protests and strikes against the employers. At the same time the autocracy was connected up in the agitation of the Party cells with the capitalist system, so that at the very beginning of the development of the Labour Movement the Bolsheviks established a connection between the economic struggle and the political. When the sentiments of the workers in the factories became favourable towards a strike, the Bolshevik cells immediately placed themselves in the leadership. The strikes in single shops spread to all departments, a strike in a single factory spread to all the other factories, and the strikes of the factory workers, under the influence and leadership of the Bolshevik Party organizations, frequently assumed the forms of street demonstrations, and in this way the economic strikes developed into a political struggle.

In the history of the Labour Movement of Czarist Russia there were many cases when strikes at individual factories developed into strikes of all the factories of the entire city, and affected other cities as well. All such strikes, despite the underground work of the Bolsheviks, demanded great sacrifices on their part as well as the revolutionary workers. But these sacrifices, this struggle and daily activity gave rise to new cadres who continued the struggle. In this way the Bolshevik cells became organisers of the struggle of the masses, and conducted the economic and political struggle.

The third congress of the Comintern held in 1921 adopted the first theses on the question of the structure of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Up to 1924 the Communist Parties completely failed to respond to these decisions of the third congress. Now many of the Communist Parties already have factory cells, but in most cases, especially in the legal Communist Parties, they do hardly any work in the factories. The Social-Democratic traditions of Party structure have been so strongly rooted in some of the Communist

Parties that they press upon the Party members even when Bolshevik forms of organisation are already applied. Factory Party cells already exist in many of the factories, but they are still very far from changing the method of their work. They discuss the Party questions, participate in the campaigns for the election of factory committees, sometimes even publish factory newspapers, but they do not attend to the questions of their own factory, they do not conduct oral individual agitation in the factories, at the factory gates, in the tram-car, sub-way and train, while travelling to and from work, they rarely speak at the meetings held by the factory committees, which are addressed by Social-Democrats and reformists and where it is easier to prove and reveal their treachery. The factory cells do not direct or control the work of the Communists in the factory committees led by the reformists. They leave the red factory committees without leadership; that is why the work of the red factory committees is frequently in no way superior to that of the reformist committees. The most important Party and trade union campaigns are not conducted by the Party Committees through the factory cells. Even the municipal, District Council and Parliamentary elections which are held quite frequently are still carried out, not through the factory cells, but through the street cells. All this leads to the factory cells learning of strikes in the shops and even in the factories in which the members of the cells are employed, *only after they are already begun*. Even in those cases when the factory cells and the groups of the trade union opposition and red trade unions do prepare for a strike, as soon as the strike committees are elected, they withdraw from the leadership and cease to exist as organisations, of which the reformists are naturally quick to take advantage.

This may be said of the majority of the cells existing in the factories and mills of the capitalist countries. This does not mean that there are no cells there which are working excellently, which have proved that the factory cell system is superior to the Social-Democratic system of building the Party organisation. Unfortunately, however, such cells constitute a minority, while the enormous majority of the cells in the factories do not work at all, or work poorly. In very many cases not all the members of the party employed in the factories join the factory cells to this day.

The Bolshevik Party knew only one form of lower organisation, the cell in the factory, office, army barracks, etc. Taking into consideration the conditions aboard, the Comintern was forced to introduce an additional form of organisation, the street cells. They were introduced for such members of the Party as housewives, small artisans, etc. The street cells were to be used for the Party work in the places of residence. The street cells are to embrace also the unemployed members of the Party until they find work; it is impossible to force an unemployed member of the Party to go to the factory where he was formerly employed in order to attend a cell meeting (if a cell exists there) when these unemployed simply have not the means of paying for their fare to the factories. The street cells have definite tasks; to canvass the homes of the workers, to distribute handbills, to help in the election campaigns, to give outside help to the factory cells.

In the big cities abroad, it happens that a worker is employed in the city itself, but lives far away from the city, sometimes even in a town

located several miles from the city. But in the evening, as well as week-ends, the Party members living far from these places of work must be utilised by the local Party committees and street cells for Party work in their place of residence. The basic work of these Party members still remains that in their factory cell.

But instead of making it into a merely subsidiary organisation, the Communist Parties made the street cell the predominant organisation. They began to create street cells on such a scale that they embraced 80 per cent. and sometimes even more of the Party members.

In other words, in the street cells they found a loophole through which they sought to drag in the old form of organisation to leave intact the old territorial form of organisation of the Party members. And the entire struggle of the organisational department of the E. C. C. I. for the past five years to get the Communist Parties to check up the membership of the street cells and remove those employed in the factories from them, produced practically no result. If we take the figures of the German Communist Party we will see that at the end of December, 1931, they had 1,983 factory cells and 6,196 street cells. In membership they are large, but their activity is weak. In other cases they began to create so-called concentration groups, so as to avoid organising factory cells. They take a few from different factories and create a group to serve one factory. Such concentration groups, existing especially in England, could not produce the same results as factory cells. In France cells were created consisting of 1-2 workers of the factory, and 12-16 members from outside the factory. And these were also called factory cells! To these 12-16 members of the Party, the events in the factory appear trifling, so that the cell naturally attends to anything, but what takes place in the factory.

*Difficulties in the work of the Communist Cells in Capitalist Countries and the methods for Overcoming these Difficulties.*—There are, of course, serious difficulties in the work in the factories which the teachers must not ignore. In Czarist Russia the Bolshevik Party was illegal and the Party cells were naturally also illegal. When the Party became legal the cells also became entirely legal. Abroad the situation is quite different. The Parties in the principal capitalist countries are legal, but the cells must be illegal. Unfortunately, they cannot work unnoticed. The employers and their spies detect the revolutionary workers and throw them out of the factory without meeting with any protest on the part of the reformist trade unions; on the contrary, the latter frequently act themselves as the initiator in the expulsion of the Communists from the factories. But inasmuch as the work of the Communists in the factories is weak, as a rule the workers do not defend the discharged Communists (though there have been opposite cases, as well, of course). Under these conditions the factory cells do nothing in most cases, or if they display the least activity, their members are thrown out of the factories, owing to failure to conceal even their insignificant work. There are frequently also cases when the Communists are thrown out of the factories even when they do nothing there, simply because of their membership in the Communist Party. The teachers of the International Communist Universities must remember this difficulty. They must explain to the students in the discussion of the work in the

legal Communist Parties how such cells can and must organise their work, and it is here that the Bolshevik experience of illegal work in the factories under the Czar which produced such excellent results, can be utilised. Let this not appear a trifle. The Communist Parties suffer very much from their inability to conduct conspirative work in the factories, losing members and revolutionary workers, through their expulsion from the factories. To some Communists it may appear a shame that the Social-Democrats, the nationalists and the members of the other Parties are able openly to proclaim their Party affiliation while they, despite the fact that the Communist Party is legal, must hide their membership in it. Is not such secrecy cowardice? Or right opportunism? Not in the least. This would be cowardice and opportunism if the members of the cells, or the individual Communists, feared and evaded addressing the factory workers' meetings against the reformists and Social-Democrats, when they proposed to agree to a lowering of the living standards of the workers, to approve the dismissal of the workers, or when they vote for the proposals of the Social-Democrats and reformists, etc. Such cases, unfortunately, have occurred. But there is no need at all to shout in the factories and mills that we are Communists and while shouting thus, not always conducting Communist work. It is possible and necessary to carry on real Party work connecting the Party slogans with the everyday struggle in the factories, without calling oneself a member of the Party or cell. It is always possible to find appropriate forms for this. Is it not possible to say: "to-day I read such and such a report, this or that," or "a chap from our factory (or from the neighbouring factory) told me . . .," etc.? In short, everything in the spirit of the decisions of the cell and Party, though in form there is no shouting about it; it may even appear "innocent." Even in those cases when anyone addresses the workers' meeting in the factory on instructions from the cell, it is not always necessary to declare that he speaks in the name of the cell. The main point is that the speeches should always be in the spirit of the decision of the cell, while the motions should be prepared or approved by the cell bureau. The other members of the cell and their sympathisers must not only vote for the motion made by the comrade sent by the cell, but also conduct agitation among the workers for this motion. In the illegal Parties the situation is different. There both the Party and the cells are illegal, but unfortunately even the illegal Parties have not yet learned properly to disguise their work.

There is one more important difficulty which the teachers must remember and sharply emphasise.

In Czarist Russia the rules and régime in the factories were lenient compared with those in the factories of the big capitalist countries, especially compared with what we have now after the introduction of capitalist rationalisation which sweats the workers to death, after the introduction of the conveyer system. Before the fall of Czarism the workers were so miserably paid by their employers, and conducted such a vigorous struggle against the deterioration of the conditions in the factories that the manufacturers were forced, on the whole, to give up the idea of introducing Taylorism in the exploitation of the workers. This facilitated the Party work in the factories. Besides, the workers in the factories and mills, no matter what so-called

Socialist Parties they may have belonged to,\* joined the Bolshevik workers in the economic and political struggles (strikes, demonstrations, and even uprisings). But this does not at all mean that the Bolshevik Party, the factory cells, or the individual Bolsheviks drifted with the current, that they hid their Bolshevik principles in the factory. On the contrary, in the factories and mills, as well as in the illegal newspapers and appeals, the Bolsheviks conducted a vigorous campaign against the Mensheviks, liquidators, Trotskists, Socialist-revolutionists, National Socialists, etc. The Bolsheviks, by their convincing agitation, by their arguments in the debates with the members of other Parties, by their reasoned and timely proposals, by their knowledge of the situation of the workers in the factories, by their methods of work, by drawing the workers into the solution of the questions, by patient preparation of the struggle, by their methods of organization, proved their correctness and superiority to the other Parties; that is why the Bolshevik Party succeeded in establishing in the factories and mills the united front from below, with the workers of all tendencies throughout the history of the Labour Movement in Russia, even when the Mensheviks shouted about the Bolshevik "strike fever" in 1912-1914 and when under Kerensky, the Moscow Bolsheviks in August 1917, called a general strike against the Moscow State Conference in which the Mensheviks and the Socialist-revolutionists played the first fiddle, and later, during the October days of 1917, when the Bolsheviks organised the uprising against the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-revolutionists.

Some of the favourable conditions mentioned above are not enjoyed by the present-day Communist Parties. Thus, they are forced to conduct the economic struggle—and not only the economic—both against the Social-Democrats, the reformist trade unions, the Fascists, the yellows and everybody else.

All of them go hand in hand with the employers. The least carelessness in the work and the Communists, whether as members of the trade union opposition or the red trade unions, are thrown out of the factories. This makes it necessary to resort to such methods of work as will produce, in the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat, the highest effect with the least losses.

Such methods are the tried Bolshevik methods alone. The Communists must and should overcome all the difficulties. The greater the difficulties, the more patient and determined must be the work of the Communists inside the factory, near its gates and everywhere where the workers and the unemployed are found.

The contents and methods of the work must be Bolshevik. It is necessary to systematically convince, and prove by convincing arguments instead of denouncing the opponents, especially the Social-Democratic and reformist workers. It is necessary to systematically expose the Social-Democracy and the reformists in a popular manner, with the aid of facts, without, however, forgetting the national Socialists and all other enemy Parties still followed by the workers. But agitation alone is insufficient. It is necessary to organise the struggle, it is necessary to prove to the workers that the Communists are able to organise the struggle and paralyse the manoeuvres of the

\* After 1905 there were formed "Black Hundred Gangs" led by Czarism, which wormed themselves into the railway service, especially among the clerks. In the factories and mills they completely failed to gain an influence among the workers.

Social-Democrats and reformists. This can be achieved by the application of Bolshevist methods of work and organisation, not a mechanical application, but one depending upon the concrete conditions. At the present moment when the situation of the workers in every capitalist country has been incredibly worsened, when the number of unemployed has mounted into the millions, when all the burdens of the economic and financial crisis coupled with the expenses of the preparation for imperialist wars and the attacks upon the U. S. S. R. are being thrown on the backs of the toilers, it becomes possible and absolutely necessary for the Communist Party to overcome all the difficulties and improve its work.

*Enrollment of Communist Party Members and the Membership Fluctuation.*—How are new members enrolled by the Communist Parties? The Bolsheviks enroll and have enrolled revolutionary workers in the factories. Only after the capture of the power did the Bolsheviks begin to organise Party weeks, that is, campaigns for the enrolment of members, these campaigns also being conducted in the factories. Prior to the October Revolution the Bolsheviks enrolled members on the basis of the every-day work. Those admitted to the Party were drawn into the party work and included in political study circles.

How is the enrolment of members by the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries organized to this day? Members are enrolled at meetings, at great mass meetings. Sometimes even in the streets (in England). A speaker makes a fiery speech, carries away the worker, and the latter submits an application for admission to the Party. Let us assume that in doing this he gives his address. However, our Party organizations have not been in a hurry to establish contact with such comrades, to bring them into the Party organizations, to find them in their homes, to ascertain where they work in order to get in touch with their factory cell or street. While they take their time a large number of applicants disappears in an unknown direction: some changing their addresses, some leave for other cities, some lose their ardour about joining the Communist organization. Precisely because the admission to the Party takes place not in the factories, not on the basis of the work of the Party in the factories, through the creation of a body of active non-party workers who make themselves conspicuous in the everyday work, particularly during strikes and demonstrations, and from among whom the cells recruit new Party members, even those whom we have already enrolled leave us. I could cite perfectly amazing figures to characterise the fluctuation in the Communist Parties.

In January, 1930, the German Communist Party, according to its data, had 133,000 dues paying members; during 1930 another 143,000 members were admitted, so that in 1931 the total membership ought to have amounted to 276,000. But at the end of December, 1930, the C. P. of Germany had only 180,000, which means that in 1930, 96,000 members dropped their membership in the C. P. of Germany. In 1931, the situation, according to the figures of the Organisational Department of the E. C. C. I., based upon the statistics of the C. P. of Germany, was as follows: the number of newly-admitted members was 210,000, but at the same time as many members left the Party as in 1930. Would all of these Party members have left the Party had

the organisations worked well, had they given attention to the new members, had they drawn the new members into Party work, had they supplied them with proper literature, had they formed circles and included these members within them so that they would study there? Would under such conditions all those who left the party have left it? I think they would not.

Although the workers and employees are being thrown out of the factories in masses, the enrolment of Party members must be carried out mainly among the employed workers, especially in the big factories of the key industries. The Party organisations are obliged particularly to pay attention to the members of the Party in these factories and industries; they should be drawn into the discussion of all the questions of the current policy of the Party. They should be given assistance in the preparation of speeches at the factory meetings, in the oral agitation among the workers of the factory, they should be supplied with materials against the social-democrats, reformists, national Socialists, the Government, &c. Similar work should be carried out among the Party activists who conduct the Party and trade union work among the unemployed, and within the reformist trade unions. If such work is carried out, the number of Party members, new and old, leaving the Party, will decline. For the fact that thousands and hundreds of thousands are joining the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union organisations, proves that the workers agree with the slogans, tactics and programme of the Communist Parties and with the programmes of the mass-organisations. But the internal life of the local organisations and their activity does not satisfy the revolutionary workers, so that a large section of the newly-admitted members leaves them. To the teachers of the international universities, as well as to the activists and cadres who are to engage in the Party work, these questions of enrollment and maintenance of new members are far from different. Special attention must be given to these questions. The question must be carefully studied. Perhaps the teachers are already giving attention to the fact which I have pointed out, but what I say is based on practice and practical results. And in this field we find that the Communist Parties have not yet received the cadres which are necessary for the correct building of the Party organisation.

*The Party Committees, Inner-Party Democracy, Party Discipline, Methods of Leadership, Self-Criticism, Democratic Centralism, the Question of Cadres.*—Take the Party committees. When the Bolsheviks built their party during and after the Czarist régime the Party committees were collective organs, all of whose members participated in the decision of questions, and had distinct functions of their own.

The district and city Party committees considered and decided all questions connected with the economic and political struggle of the proletariat within the framework of the decisions of the congresses and plenums of the Party C. C. of the C. C. directions, of the Central Organ and of Comrade Lenin's instructions. They not only discussed and issued instructions as to how these decisions and directives should be applied in the given province and city, but took upon themselves the organisation of the operation of these decisions, explaining and popularising them. They gave special attention to the local com-

mittees which were directly connected with the factories. They saw to it that the Party decisions and the directions of the Party committees were discussed in all the Party organisations, especially in factories, especially that they passed resolutions on them and adopted methods for their realisation. They saw to it that the Party organisations should not violate the inner-party democracy, but at the same time they also saw to it that the strictest discipline should prevail in the Party organisations. The questions were discussed before a decision was adopted. But as soon as a decision was adopted it had to be carried out without question by all the Party members, including those who opposed it and voted against it. This did not of course interfere with any criticism of the Party committees after the decisions had been carried out, as well as with self-criticism on the part of the Party committees, &c. But the criticism and self-criticism only led to an improvement of the methods of work of the leadership, to the strategy and tactics being worked out more carefully and the mistakes being corrected. The leadership of the Party, the leadership of the district and city committees did not restrict themselves to "pure" politics only. They engaged in questions of programme, policy and organisation. They did not separate policy from organisation, the adoption of decisions from their realisation. This was, in the tremendous majority of cases correct, vital, revolutionary Bolshevik leadership. This is why the divergency between the ideological influence over the masses and its organisational consolidation was not large.

An entirely different position prevails in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries. There very frequently no local Party committees exist, and where they do exist the only one doing any work, at best, is the secretary, who is sometimes paid and sometimes unpaid, while the Party committees exist only in the form of attachments to the secretaries, and do not function regularly as collective organs.

Where the Party committees exist, very frequently all reports at the full meetings are made by the secretaries and whatever they propose is adopted because the Party committees (that is their individual members) are not in touch with the Party affairs. These local and city committees are unable, of course, either to organise the work of the cells or to give them proper leadership. To the local party organs, especially the lower ones, special attention must be given.

In many cases the decisions of the congresses and C. C. of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries are not discussed in the factory or street cells or residential party groups which still exist, in large numbers. These decisions are discussed at meetings of the city or district activists and that is where the matter ends.

The directives of the C. C. and regional committees rarely reach the cells, are marooned in the district committees, yet directives applying, say, to the conduct of mass campaigns are meant mainly for the cells, since it is precisely the cells which come into direct contact with the masses. The cells and residential groups are on the whole passive. They do not throb with life as is dictated by the conditions of the present period; this too is a social-democratic tradition. These Party organisations come to life only before election campaigns. That is why there are many cases of inner-Party democracy and Bol-

shevist discipline being absent from these Party organisations. In this situation it is not surprising that the decisions of the congresses, the directives of the Comintern and C. C. remain unfulfilled. Take for instance the decisions of the C. I. congresses, of the congresses of the different Parties, of the E. C. C. I. and of the C. C.'s calling for the shifting of the centre of gravity of the Party and trade union work into the factories, for the improvement of the work of the lower units of the Party and trade union organisations, especially in the factories, &c.

Obviously the cause for the absence of Bolshevik methods of Party work should be sought in the incorrect policy of the leading (central, district, sub-district and partly local) Party cadres.

But there is "self-criticism" galore. They criticise themselves openly during strikes, when it is necessary to reorganise the work in the course of the struggle, during campaigns, when it is necessary to change the methods and content of the work to improve the organisation of the Party forces for the purpose of extending and deepening the campaign. They criticise themselves upon the conclusion of the strikes and campaigns, which is all right, but they repeat the same old mistakes during the next strikes and campaigns. We have plenty of such cases.

In the Bolshevik Party, even under the Czar, when the Party was illegal, we had democratic centralism. The Party organisations did not wait for instructions from the C. C., the regional committees, the provincial committees and the city committees; without waiting for them, they acted, depending upon the local conditions, upon the events, within the framework of the general Party decisions and directives. The initiative of the local Party organisations, of the cells, was encouraged. Were the Bolsheviks of Odessa or Moscow, of Baku, or Tiflis, always to have waited for directives from the C. C., the provincial committees, &c., which during the years of the reaction and of the war frequently did not exist at all owing to arrests, what would have been the result? The Bolsheviks would not have captured the working masses and exercised any influence over them. The provincial and city committees themselves published appeals and leaflets on all occasions when this was necessary.

Unfortunately, in many Communist Parties there is *supercentralism*, especially in the legal parties. The C. C. must supply leaflets to the local organisations, the C. C. must first state its opinion on the events in order that the locals should wake up. The responsibility does not exist which the Party organisation must have to act at any moment, regardless of whether directives exist or not, on the basis of the decisions of the Party and Comintern. And even in those cases when corresponding directives of the centre do exist, they frequently do not reach the mass of the membership, and at the same time there is not sufficient control over the execution of the directions on the part of the higher organs. All this must be combated and the teachers must remember this side of the question in the work. In the Bolshevik Party the buttress of Party work was cells in the factories and works. The connection with the masses, who were led through the cells and Communist fractions in the mass organisations was a living one. The Party press literature, the written, spoken agitation, was based on the level of understanding of the masses.

Since the Bolshevik Party under the Czar was illegal up to the February revolution, no big apparatus existed either at the centre (in the C. C.) or locally (in the district, local and provincial committees); they did not and could not have permanent headquarters necessary for any more or less reasonable apparatus. The financial resources would also not allow a large staff. For this reason the centre of gravity of the Party work (and not only of the Party work, but even of the work of the legal and illegal trade unions) was naturally shifted into the factories and mills. This situation of the Party work continued during the period of February to October, 1917, as well, when the Bolshevik Party became legal and carried out enormous mass work while the apparatus of the C. C., of the regional and provincial committees was quite small. As before the principal attention was given to the work of the local committees, sub-local committees and factory cells.

In the legal parties of the capitalist countries the order in the Party apparatus is the reverse: these Communist Parties, being legal, have quite a number of convenient premises at their disposal to house their apparatus.

The main forces of the apparatus (the agitation, organization, trade union, women's, parliamentary, village and other departments) are concentrated in the C. C., regional and provincial committees, while the local committees and the cells are empty. In many local committees in the industrial centres—not to speak of the cells—there are even no paid secretaries. The local committees must receive "everything" from the centre: that is why the initiative of the local Party organisations is deadened. The E. C. C. I. is waging a determined struggle against this phenomenon.

The struggle is all the more necessary because here again the question is not one of simply organisational condition of legality or illegality. The question consists in taking a course to the masses, to a close permanent connection with them. The forms of organisation must be subjected to these aims and serve them, not the reverse.

In the legal Communist Parties of the capitalist countries the connection with and leadership of the masses is in most cases of a paper character—through circulars; the press, literature, written and oral agitation are abstract and not concrete: they do not, as a rule, correspond to the concrete situation. This is due to the fact that under the conditions described above there are not suitable cadres capable of acting locally and directly in contact with the masses. This leads us therefore to the question of proper Party cadres. In the Bolshevik Party the Party cadres were forged in the mass practical work. They learned through this work to react to all the events in the life of the worker. They not only knew what the worker thinks and how he lives, but they also responded to it; they organized the struggle, they pointed the way out to the worker; that is why the Bolshevik Party even during the days of the Czar exercised such a great influence over the masses, enjoyed such a great prestige among the working class.

The higher and middle Party cadres in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries are in most cases revolutionary ex-members of the Social-Democratic Parties. Their methods of work remained in most cases the same as in the Social Democracy. Many of them

have not yet freed themselves from the Social-Democratic traditions. And even a large section of the new young cadres who have been brought to the fore during the last few years in some of the Communist Parties, are inexperienced, are also unable to work concretely and independently, and, in view of the excessive centralisation of the leadership ("everything" from the centre!), they are poorly learning the art of independent initiative and concrete leadership in the local work.

*The Communist Fractions and their Relations with the Party Committees.*—Of course it was easier for the Bolsheviks than for the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries to establish the mutual relations between the Communist fractions and Party committees since the Party organisations actually conducted a great variety of activities, they led the economic struggle, organised trade unions and co-operative societies and created all sorts of labour organisations, such as were allowed to exist under the Czarist regime, from 1905 until the war. That is why the Party organisations were recognised authorities in the eyes of the workers in all these organisations, especially of the Party members and sympathisers. This situation appeared to all to be quite natural and no one raised any question about it. When we came into power there were some tendencies among certain Soviet Communist fractions to supplant the Party organs, but this was a passing phenomenon. The relations between the Party organisations and the Communist fractions (or individual Communists) in the non-Party mass labour organisations prior to and, especially, since the capture of power, have been such that the Party organisations decide the important questions while the Communist fractions and the individual Communists, no matter what non-Party organisations may be affected, carry the decisions into effect. The Communist fractions themselves decide upon the methods for carrying out the decisions. In their everyday work they are entirely independent. They can and must display initiative in their work within the non-Party organisations and bodies. The Communist fractions in the leading bodies of the non-Party organisations must not only report to the conferences and congresses which elected them, but also to the Party committees. Prior to the October Revolution, and even immediately after it, when there were still Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in some of the non-Party mass organisations, the Bolsheviks converted each newly-gained position into a stronghold for the capture of the organisation in the district, city, region and nationally. They demonstrated their ability to work better than the others, prepare the questions, lead, and weld together and organise the masses of the workers. That is why they succeeded in driving the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and the other "Socialist" and populist parties out of the mass labour organisations.

In the Communist Parties in capitalist countries things are different because in them Social-Democratic traditions are still preserved, which are frequently interwoven with sectarianism. The trade unions, and the other proletarian mass organisations, as has been pointed out above, arose before the Social-Democratic Parties in the principal capitalist countries and made a strong position for themselves in the working class as independent organisations which led the economic struggle.

The members of the Social-Democratic Parties who led the mass proletarian organisations, therefore, had a definite amount of independence. Moreover, the Social-Democratic Party not only did not oppose this independence but on the contrary, they themselves developed the theory that the trade unions were equal in value to, and therefore should have equal rights with, the Party, that the trade unions were neutral organisations. As has been said already, the only exception in this respect was the Bolshevik Party. A number of cases could be quoted in the history of German Social-Democracy for instance, when the decisions of the trade union congresses differed from those of the Social-Democratic Party Congresses—for instance on the question of the general strike in 1905. And this was so despite the fact that the delegates to the trade union congresses were Social-Democrats who knew the standpoint of the Party. The same thing occurred in connection with the celebration of the First of May. Before the war the Social-Democratic Parties in Central Europe celebrated May Day on the first of May, while the Social-Democratic “free” trade unions sabotaged the First of May celebration, in order to avoid paying victimisation benefit to workers who might lose their jobs for taking part in May Day celebration on the First of May. The trade unions urged that May Day should be celebrated on the first Sunday in May. These relations which existed between the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade unions before the war, and which the Bolsheviks regarded as abnormal (since the war surprising unanimity has been displayed between the Social-Democratic Parties and trade unions and there has been complete co-operation between them in betraying the interests of the working class in their respective countries) cannot be tolerated in a Bolshevik Party since they prevent uniform leadership being exercised over all forms of the revolutionary labour movement. But they have been inherited from the Social-Democratic Parties by the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

The abnormal relations between the Communist Parties and the Communist fractions in the trade unions and in all the other mass proletarian organisations are due to two fundamental causes: the Party committees sometimes supplant the mass organisations, they remove the elected secretaries and appoint others, they openly publish in the press such things as: We propose to the red trade unions that they do this or that; that is, they act in a way as is very rarely done even by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Usually the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or of the local Party committees are carried out through the Communist fractions or through individual Party members working in this or that non-Party organisation. Another cause of the abnormal relations is that the individual members of the Communist Party work on their own accord, disregard the directions of the Party organs or disobey them. There have been cases in France, for instance, when the Party organs thought that they must do absolutely everything, that they must take the place of the International Red Aid, the trade unions, the co-operative and sport organisations, where they alone can perform the functions of these organisations. This is absolutely wrong. Even had the leadership of many of the Communist Parties been a hundred times superior to what it is,

in reality, they could not do the work of these organisations. This, in fact, is unnecessary because both the Central Committee and the local Party organisations should only determine the line, see that the line is carried out, lead the Communist fractions and the individual Communists working in the mass organisations. The Central Committee and the Party committees must get their directives carried out in the mass labour organisations through the Communist fractions or the individual Party members where there are no fractions, but they must not do their work for them.

However, I think it is hardly necessary to go into further details to prove that these incorrect relations between the Party, the trade unions and the mass organizations generally interfere with the extension of the Party connections among the masses, with the real consolidation of the Party among the masses.

In the countries in which there are red trade unions there exist side by side with them, in the same industries, trade unions of other tendencies. However, the red trade unions have very rarely succeeded in capturing whole organisations, or more or less considerable groups of members, from the trade unions of other tendencies.

The trade union oppositions in the reformist trade unions frequently succeed in gaining a majority in the local branches of the different reformist trade unions. But the Communist Parties and the trade union oppositions do not convert these into strongholds from which to extend their influence over the other branches of the same union or over branches of other trade unions which are affiliated to the same local trades counsel. This can only be explained by the fact that the opposition branches not infrequently take up the same position as reformist trade unions. The same applies to the red factory committees. They do not receive proper leadership and the necessary aid in their work.

#### THE PRESS

The Bolshevik Party Press, expressing as it does the Party line, has always carried out the decisions of the Party both during the illegal period and at the present time. It mobilises, organises and educates the masses of the workers.

The Party press must not be separated from the Party committees. Abroad the Social-Democrat Parties used to elect the editors of the Party newspapers at their congresses. There were cases when the Central Committee could do nothing with such a newspaper: the paper had its own line while the Central Committee followed its line. Such was the case in Germany with the Vorwärts, the same occurred in Italy with Avanti. The Communist Parties naturally discarded these "excellent" traditions. But the "independent" press which the Social-Democrats had before the war nevertheless left a deep impression upon the Communist Parties as well. Not that the editors are appointed by the congresses and remain independent of the Central Committee and Party committees, this does not happen in the Communist Parties, but in many cases the Central Committee and the Party committees give very little attention to the Party press, and so the press in these cases goes its own way while Central Committees and the Party committees go their own way. The line of the Central

Committee and of the Party committees often differs from that of the Party newspapers—but this is not because the Central Committee, the Party committees and the editors want this to be so.

In Germany we have 38 Party dailies. If all of these 38 daily newspapers had good and proper leadership they could exercise much greater influence upon the masses of the workers than they do at present. Remember that from 1912 to 1914 the Bolshevik Party had only one legal daily, *Pravda*. And what miracles *Pravda* performed in Russia in these days! What an inestimable help to *Pravda* was to the workers locally, though owing to the censorship it could not say everything it desired. *Pravda* wrote on all the most important and serious questions in popular language that could be understood even by the uneducated workers. *Pravda* devoted much space to events in the factories and mills. In those countries to which I have referred the newspapers are legal, they are able, more or less, to say whatever they think to express and carry out the Party line. Like the mass labour organisations, newspapers are channels through which the Communist Parties can and must influence the workers, through which they can and must win the workers. One must know how to utilize the newspapers, how to run them properly.

The legal daily Communist press in many countries is not distinguished for popularity of style, the topical character of subjects discussed, or brevity of articles. The newspapers are filled with thesis-like articles instead of popular and brief expositions of the most important vital tasks. If the active members of the Party, the members of the Party generally, and the revolutionary workers do not get material for the fight against the Social-Democratic Parties, the reformists, the National-Socialists and other Parties, which still have a working class following, the responsibility for this must rest upon the press. The Party press must not only indicate the line and give facts proving the treachery of the Social-Democrats and reformists and exposing the demagoguery of the National-Fascists, but it must also explain how these facts should be utilised. Most of the Party newspapers contain no news from the factories. The Party press has no room for such things.

Not all the Communist Parties have yet learned to appreciate the importance of the Party press. Teachers at International Communist Party schools must give the Party press special attention in their work with the students. Many of the students graduating from the International Party schools become editors.

We have not observed that they are bringing fresh blood into and helping to revive the Party press; that they are breaking down the Social-Democratic traditions in this field.

#### AGITATION

The capitalist world is at present experiencing a profound industrial crisis, an agrarian crisis, financial upheavals, an imperialist war in the Far East, which threatens to spread to the other countries. All this not only affects the workers and poor peasants, but also the urban petty bourgeoisie (office employees, Government officials, &c.).

These masses are much more open to Communist agitation under present conditions, when capitalist stabilisation has come to an end, than was the case during the period of capitalist "prosperity." Un-

fortunately, the agitation the Communist Parties carry on in their newspapers, leaflets and oral agitation is too abstract. It seems to be based on the assumption that all the workers know as much as those who write in the papers, who write the leaflets and speak at meetings. When an emergency decree is published in Germany which stings every worker to the quick, which cuts the wages or increases taxes, &c., instead of examining the decree point by point, instead of showing how much the workers will have to pay in taxes, to what extent wages are to be cut, so that the masses can understand it all, instead of this, they simply write: We are opposed to the emergency decree! We demand a strike against this decree!

How did the Bolsheviki carry on agitation in the past and how do they do so at the present time? Did they do it in the way some of our Parties are doing it now? The strength of the Bolsheviki was due to the fact that they took up every question; be it a matter of a wage cut of even a kopek, of absence of lavatories, broken windows in the factories, hot water, fines, the quality of the provisions sold in the factory store, &c., &c., and argued about them this way and that until the workers themselves drew logical political conclusions from them.

Take the strikes which occurred in 1903 in the South of Russia. The Bolsheviki succeeded in developing this economic strike movement which was initiated in Odessa by Shayevich and Co., the agents of Zubatov, Chief of the Moscow Secret Police, into a colossal political movement which affected the entire South. Many of the Communist Parties have not yet learned to agitate effectively, while the leading comrades acting as editors, agitators, &c., think that since they understand what is taking place it must be more or less clear to the workers as well. And this is the way they approach the Social-Democratic workers. Instead of taking every little fact of treachery—where it happened, when it happened, naming the witnesses, citing the exact records, relating just how and when the Social-Democratic and reformist leaders negotiated with the government and the employers and betrayed the interests of the working class, instead of painstakingly explaining this to the Social-Democratic, reformist and non-Party workers, our comrades keep repeating: "Social-Fascists and trade union bureaucrats," and that is all. And they think that having said "Social-Fascists" and "trade union bureaucrats," all the workers must understand just what is meant by these terms of abuse and believe that the Social-Democratic and reformist leaders deserved them. This only has the effect of repelling the honest workers who belong to the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions, since they do not regard themselves either as Social-Fascists or trade union bureaucrats.

It should be quite clear, therefore, that methods of carrying on agitation must occupy a prominent place in the curriculum of International Communist Party Schools. Read Lenin's articles written in 1917. At that time the Bolshevik Party was accused of being in the pay of the German imperialists. One would have thought that the only way to reply to such a charge, to such an insinuation, would be to say to the accusers: "You are scoundrels, rascals, we do not want to talk to you! We do not think it necessary to justify ourselves before you; you may think what you like, but we shall continue our

work." This is probably how many Communist Parties would have replied under the circumstances; they would have said that it was below their dignity to refute such mean accusations! But how did Lenin react to this charge? In the first place he began to explain who Alexinsky\* was, and listed all the foul acts by which Alexinsky had distinguished himself in France, that at such and such a meeting in France, this man had been thrown out because he was such a liar and skunk. He then returned to Russia. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, in which the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries predominated would not receive him until he rehabilitated himself. Alexinsky began to attack the Bolsheviki in the press and accused them of working for the Germans, for money, in July, 1917. Lenin exposed this Alexinsky in his true colours, showed what a creature he really was. Having thus exposed the moral character of Alexinsky and destroyed him, Lenin then proceeded to reveal the part the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries played in this dirty campaign. The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries knew that the Bolsheviki were being falsely accused of espionage. Tseretelli, the Menshevik leader, even telephoned to all the newspapers informing them that Alexinsky's document was a forgery and asking them not to publish it. Lenin then quoted a third fact. The slanderous document was known to the Provisional Government as early as June, yet it did not arrest any of those who were accused of being in the pay of the Germans. Hence, it was evident that the Provisional Government did not believe in this calumny against the Bolsheviki. Lenin analysed all these facts, dissected them in a popular style and then put the question: Who was at the head of the Government? Kerensky? No. The Central Executive Committee? No. It is the military. It was the military who wrecked our printing office! Who ordered it to be wrecked? Was it the Provisional Government? No. Was it the C. E. C.? No. There is another power, that power is the military, and it was they who wrecked our printing shop. And do you know who stands behind the military? The Cadets.\*\* A day later, in another article, quoting the speech of the National-Socialist, Tchaikovsky, at the C. E. C., Lenin showed that the Cadets and the Western imperialists had common aims, that the imperialists were willing to provide money only if the Cadets came into power. Lenin began with Alexinsky but ended with the question of who was to be in power, with the question of the class character of the State. He did not merely hurl abuse, he did not say that it was beneath our dignity to refute the mean charges, but he proved that they were insinuations and lies which were first circulated by a yellow sheet and then taken up and trumpeted through the country by the entire bourgeois, Menshevik, Narodniki and Socialist-Revolutionary press.

By carrying on agitation in this simple manner, intelligible to the masses of the workers, the Bolsheviki succeeded not only in repelling the attack of the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionists and Cadets at

\*"Zhivoe Slovo" (Living Word) a yellow sheet published in Petrograd, in its issue of July 18, 1917, No. 51, published a declaration signed by Alexinsky, a renegade Social-Democrat, and Pankratov, a Socialist-Revolutionary, in which they, on the evidence given by a certain Lieut. Yermalenko, under examination at the General Staff Headquarters and the Military Intelligence Service on April 28, 1917, accused the Bolsheviki of receiving money from German General Staff Headquarters for the purpose of carrying on anti-war propaganda.

\*\*Abbreviation for: Constitutional Democratic Party. The Party of the bourgeoisie.

a time when the situation was very acute for the Bolsheviks, but they succeeded in developing wide agitation during the next three months against all the Parties of that time, particularly against the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists who still exercised some influence over the workers, peasants and soldiers. In this campaign the Bolsheviks utilised against these Parties, all their acts and deception on all questions that came to the front at that time. You must remember that in the period before the October Revolution, in 1917, millions of workers, soldiers and peasants had been drawn into the movement. Just before the October Days the Bolsheviks had already won the support of the entire working class and the majority of the soldiers, while the peasantry also supported the Bolshevik slogans for land and peace.

Is this the way the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are carrying on their agitation? The Social-Democrats have committed so many acts of treachery against the working class that one easily understands the perplexity of the workers of the Soviet Union who frequently ask: what stuff are the foreign workers made of? The Social-Democrats betray their interests daily, we can see from here that they are being betrayed, yet these foreign workers continue to vote for the Social-Democrats and remain in their Party. The reason why the Social-Democrats are still able to get the support of the workers is that many Communist Parties do not know how to carry on agitation even in the extremely favourable situation which has been created by the present world industrial and agrarian crisis. The Communist Parties must present their criticisms in a detailed and painstaking manner particularly because the Social-Democratic leaders, despite their innumerable acts of treachery, still manage to find new forms for their demagogic manoeuvres. The German Social-Democrats have helped to carry out the emergency decrees with all their might and rob the unemployed as well as the workers who are still employed. Now, they are introducing a series of demagogic bills in the Reichstag—to reduce unemployment, to increase unemployment benefits, to reduce rents, &c.—and at the same time, by voting against the Communists with whom after the withdrawal of the National-Socialists, they have a majority in Reichstag, get the Reichstag dissolved indefinitely, without any date being fixed for its reassembly, without any discussion of their bills and, of course, without a discussion of the proposals of the Communist fraction. Under these conditions it is the duty of the Communist Parties to catch the Social-Democratic swindlers “red handed” as it were, to expose every one of their manoeuvres, every step in their treachery with facts and proof.

Both before and after the capture of the power, the Bolshevik Party managed to educate its members, to give them such instructions, such directives, as enabled all the members of the Party to work towards one aim; no matter where they were, no matter what functions they performed, all aimed at one point. And yet, often the local Party bodies received their directives only through the press. The Bolshevik Party achieved all this by applying those methods of work which I have described above. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the majority of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. There we have frequent cases of Party members aiming at different points.

THE PRESENT SITUATION, TACTICS, SLOGANS, THE THEORY OF  
"LESSER EVIL" AND THE UNITED FRONT

Before the October Revolution the Mensheviks ridiculed the Bolsheviks for frequently placing on the agenda of their meetings the question: "The Present Situation." Yet, without making a precise analysis of a given situation and defining its character it is very difficult to determine the tactics to be pursued. The adoption of correct tactics in each given situation, and still more, the correct application of these tactics is a great art. To master this art means to advance the struggle and the task of winning the masses. It is no small art to advance appropriate and timely slogans corresponding to the situation and needs of the moment. At present hardly anyone will deny the ability of the Bolsheviks to determine the character of the situation, prevailing at any given moment, in masterly fashion, to adopt correct tactics and apt slogans to which the great masses would and do respond and rally. Comrade Lenin mocked at those Bolsheviks who clung to the tactics of yesterday and failed to see that they no longer suited the new stage, or changed situation (for instance, the proposal made by Kamenev and Bogdanov to boycott the elections to the Third State Duma in the same way as the Bolsheviks boycotted the First Duma).

It is this ability to define the "present situation (and to adopt correct tactics corresponding to the given situation) that the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries often lack (and this despite the fact that the Comintern, unlike the Second International, decides and frequently lays down the tasks and tactical line of its section).

While some Communist Parties regard the fall of this or that Cabinet as a "political crisis," others have regarded the temporary elimination of Parliament from the discussion of current questions as the establishment of a Fascist dictatorship and have deduced from it the necessity of proclaiming as the main slogan the struggle against Fascism, and therefore, of diminishing the struggle against the Social-Democratic Parties. When the mistake is rectified the struggle begins to be conducted against Social-Democracy alone and the Fascists are lost sight of. Very frequently the slogans advanced are absurd: sometimes they apply to domestic questions alone, sometimes they are directed against war, without, however, being organically connected with the questions of domestic policy. Unfortunately we have had absurd slogans not only in the field of "high" politics but also in the economic struggle where they are no less harmful. It is necessary to study the peculiarities of the developing situation very carefully and attentively, to watch its changes and tendencies, to study how the workers react to events, how the enemies, the Social-Democrats, the Fascists, &c., are preparing, what they are about to do, what tactics they are adopting.

Only such an analysis and study of the current situation can enable us to adopt correct tactics, correct and timely slogans and to carry on our agitation on proper lines. Questions arising out of the current situation should be frequently and widely discussed in the Party press so that the analysis of the situation, the refutation of the arguments and agitation of the opponents, and the exposure of their plans and deceitful tricks serve to arm, educate and prepare the Party

members for the struggle. For the same purpose it is necessary to have frequent discussions on the current situation and the tasks of the Party at Party meetings, meetings of the Party groups, &c.

Such discussions will not only enable the Party members to understand the Party line and tactics, to get their bearings on the burning problems of the day and arm themselves with arguments for discussion and agitation in the factories, among the unemployed, in the trade union branch and street, but will also put more life into the groups and local Party organisations.

In recent years the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade union bureaucrats have been making special use of the theory of the "lesser evil." The reformists persuade the workers to agree to a wage cut of 8 per cent instead of the 12 per cent. "demanded" (not without a preliminary agreement with the reformist leaders) by the employers. Then they proclaim this "gain" of 4 per cent, as a victory for the workers. The Social-Democratic Parties support the most despicable laws, which place a heavy burden of taxation upon the toilers and cut down wages, on the pretext that the Government and the bourgeoisie had intended to tax the workers even more heavily. This too they represent as a victory for the workers. They propose to vote for Hindenburg whom they attacked in the 1925 elections as a reactionary and a monarchist, by representing Hindenburg to be the "lesser evil" compared with Hitler. The Russian Mensheviks also resorted to the theory of the "lesser evil." Thus during the elections to the Second State Duma the Mensheviks, on the pretext that Russia was menaced by the Black Hundreds, urged the workers to vote for the Cadet Party. The Bolsheviks then struck the Mensheviks a crushing blow. They convinced the revolutionary electors that they must vote for the revolutionary candidates by showing that both prior to, during and after the 1905 revolution the Mensheviks supported the liberal bourgeoisie—just as the Social-Democratic Parties are now supporting the bourgeoisie in their respective countries on every question.

The Mensheviks opposed the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Hence, their cries about the Black Hundred danger was only a ruse designed to divert the working class from the correct revolutionary path. The Communist Parties have not yet succeeded in exposing the manœuvre of the Social-Democratic Parties on the "lesser evil," by the methods with which the Bolsheviks exposed the Menshevik manœuvre on the Black Hundred danger. And as long as this false manœuvre of the Social-Democratic Parties remains unexposed to the masses, it will be difficult to free the workers from their influence.

Among the vast masses of the workers there is a desire for unity. There have been many cases in different countries when the crafty agents of the bourgeoisie resorted to the unity slogan to dupe the workers.

The Social-Democrats too sometimes put forward the slogan of unity. And in this the renegade Trotsky hastens to their aid with his proposal for a "bloc" between the Communists and Social-Democrats. In support of his proposal he argues that the Bolsheviks and Comrade Lenin adopted the same tactics.

I have tried to show above how the Bolsheviks established the united front from below in the factories and mills.

Cases have occurred in the history of Bolshevism when the united front policy was applied simultaneously from below and above; but these cases occurred only in the midst of *actual struggle*. Such cases occurred in 1905 during the strikes, demonstrations, pogroms, uprisings (Moscow) for the duration of the action. So-called contact and federative committees were set up for the duration of the joint action. The united front which sprung up from below in the course of the practical, united struggle, compelled the Menshevik leaders to join the struggle which the Bolsheviks led. Joint manifestos were issued. What was the situation during the Kornilov days in 1917, by reference to which the renegade Trotsky attempts to mislead the Communists?

At the end of August, 1917, Kerensky, not without the knowledge of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, invited Kornilov to march loyal troops on Petrograd to strangle Bolshevik Petrograd. Kornilov came. But before reaching Petrograd he demanded that practically all power be transferred to him. The workers and soldiers who followed the lead of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionists realised that if Kornilov came into power he would not only hang the Bolsheviks but them also. Under pressure of the masses the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries were compelled to join the struggle which was already proceeding under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. They were obliged to distribute arms to the workers of Petrograd for this struggle. This was a "bloc" only for the duration of the struggle against Kornilov. But even during the struggle against Kornilov the Bolsheviks did not discontinue the campaign against the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionists and the Provisional Government, who, by their betrayal of the interests of the workers, soldiers and peasants, reduced the country to the Kornilov affair and wavered between supporting Kornilov and fighting against him. Can there be any comparison between this and the situation in Germany? How is it possible to deduce from the Kornilov events the necessity of establishing a "bloc" with the German Social-Democrats, say, for the struggle against Fascism when the Social-Democrats are doing nothing but helping the Fascists and the bourgeoisie: the Social-Democratic Minister of the Police in Prussia dissolved the Red Front League because the latter fought against the Fascists, but at the same time he not only tolerated but protected the Fascist Shock Troops, while the Social-Democratic police always side with the Fascists and attack the workers whenever they resist the Fascists.

The Communists will not be deceived by the fact that Hindenburg, on the eve of the Prussian elections "dissolved" the Fascist Shock Troops. Officially these Fascist Shock Troops were declared dissolved, but their organisation was not destroyed, in fact no real damage was done them. The object of this manoeuvre was to provide the Social-Democrats with the pretext for claiming that a fight was being waged against the Fascists and thus dupe the workers and win them over to their side.

Practically every Communist Party has made numerous mistakes in the application of the united front tactics. It must be said, however, that there have already been cases of a correct application of the united front tactics. One example of this is provided by the miners' struggle in Northern Bohemia which was led by the Commu-

nist Party and red trade unions of Czecho-Slovakia. It is necessary to avoid mistakes and secure the correct and energetic establishment of a Bolshevik united fighting front in the factories and mills from below at all costs.

#### LEGAL AND ILLEGAL WORK. THE UTILISATION OF LEGAL POSSIBILITIES

The Bolshevik Party in Czarist Russia, although a completely illegal Party, yet managed to utilise legal possibilities to the utmost extent.

Beginning with 1905 legal weeklies and magazines of a more solid nature were published in various parts of vast Russia even in the years of blackest reaction. These were in addition to *Pravda*, the daily organ of the Bolshevik Party, which played such a tremendous rôle in the consolidation of the Bolshevik Party for the struggle against Czarism, the bourgeoisie, and the Mensheviks, the Liquidators, the Trotskists, the Conciliators, &c.

In addition to the legal press, illegal Party newspapers and leaflets were of course published.

The illegal Bolshevik Party utilised all legal congresses of public organisations: of doctors, co-operators, teachers, &c., in order to speak on the lines of the Bolshevik programme of demands. It worked in all the legal workers' societies, trade unions, co-operatives, recreation societies and other organisations. Moreover, the Bolshevik Party utilised the labour organisations formed by the Chief of Police, Zubatov and the priest, Father Gapon, during the period preceding 1905, to free the workers from the influence of the police agents and these police traps. It succeeded in exposing the machinations of the police at the meetings of these very organisations.

How successful the work of the Bolsheviks was may be seen in the fact that the police priest, Gapon, was compelled to include the most important demands of the minimum programme of the Bolshevik Party, by the pressure of the masses, in his programme, to avoid being exposed as an agent of the police.

It must be said that not only have the illegal Communist Parties failed to utilise the legal possibilities, but, what is more surprising, even the legal Communist Parties have not succeeded in successfully employing the underground methods of work, though they have far greater opportunities for doing so than the illegal Communist Parties.

When the legal Communist Press is temporarily suspended or when the authorities forbid them to write about the emergency decrees which are aimed against the working class (and have been coming thick and fast lately) or the shooting of demonstrators, &c., the legal Parties have failed to pour a stream of illegal newspapers and leaflets into the factories on the topics which the legal papers are prohibited from dealing with.

The same may be observed with regard to the prohibition of meetings and demonstrations. To call meetings ostensibly for other purposes, sudden demonstrations, in the working-class districts, despite the injunctions, is not only possible but necessary after careful preparations have been made.

The authorities and the police close down newspapers for various periods, prohibit labour meetings and demonstrations at the most critical moments. The Communist Party is therefore not only vitally

interest in telling the workers what the authorities seek to hide from them, but in getting the workers to protest under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Only in this way can the Communist Parties win the masses and become their leaders. In the absence of good cells in the factories it will be much more difficult to work and maintain connections with the masses when the legal Communist Parties are driven underground.

#### URGENT TASKS

*1. Communist and Trade Union Work in the Factories.*—What is the main point that should be emphasised in the course of studies at the Communist Party Schools? *Work in the factories at all costs.* Unless work is carried on in the factories it will be impossible to win the majority of the working class, and that means impossible to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat successfully. That is the first point. But work in the factories assumes exceptional importance in view of the approaching imperialist war, which will mean, in the first place, the break-up of the legal revolutionary labour movement, of the legal Communist organisations and red trade unions. Under such conditions work in the factories becomes more important than ever, and almost the only means of maintaining contacts with the masses of the factory workers, of influencing them and guiding their actions. Moreover, in time of war, nearly all factories are transferred to the production of munitions and the manufacture of supplies for the imperialist armies of the home country or of other countries; consequently, the fight against war must, more than ever, be carried on in the factory.

Work in the factories is a difficult matter. At the present time, when unemployment is rife, all the revolutionary workers are being discharged. Our task is to penetrate the factories and mills at all costs, by all means, if necessary, under another flag, it makes no difference how, but we must penetrate the factories to carry on Communist work in them. Wide and popular agitation must be carried on of the kind that the Bolsheviks carried on in the old days, and from February to October, 1917. The Communist Parties in the principal capitalist countries are still legal. They have their own Press, they can call meetings. But the work of agitation must assume a different character; it must be developed in the factories, at the factory gates, at the tram stops, near the subway stations, wherever the workers and office employees work and congregate. You must train a body of active people who know how to speak briefly and clearly, supply them with information and instructions, and send them into the street, into the factories and mills as agitators. Is this possible? It certainly is possible. The students who return to work should know this, should know how to do this themselves and how to organise this work.

*2. Strikes.*—How should strikes be prepared? How should they be conducted, what demands should be advanced? These are not easy questions. They present very many difficulties to the majority of the Communist Parties, red trade unions and trade union oppositions. Up to very recently many of the Communist Parties advanced maximum programme\* demands only and did not trouble to issue every-day demands.

\*Maximum programme: the Party's final programme for the overthrow of capitalism as distinct from everyday immediate demands on wages, hours, etc.

Now they seem to be saying: Let us advance only every-day demands without any connection with the high politics and the maximum programme, for when we advanced political points the workers did not listen to us, did not follow us, and the work was done badly. We know from experience that the Bolsheviki always connected politics with economics and economics with politics. I know of cases in 1905 when in starting a political strike the Bolsheviki advanced economic demands and *vice versa*.

To prepare strikes well is a difficult task. There was an enormous difference between the Social-Democratic reformists and the Bolsheviki both in the aims they pursued in strikes as well as in the organisation and conduct of strikes. The Bolsheviki collected information on the conditions of the workers in the factories; they conducted activities among the individual workers in order to explain the situation to them. When the preparatory work was finished (after the cell had discussed all the details of the strike with the revolutionary nonparty *activists*)\* the strike would be declared, the demands issued, a strike committee would be elected which called the workers together and put the questions connected with the strike to them. If the strike committee and the revolutionary *activists* were arrested a new committee would be formed in the same way. There were no collective agreements then. If strikes broke out unexpectedly—owing to a worsening of labour conditions, accidents, the absence of safety screens around the machines, &c.—the Bolsheviki of the given factory placed themselves in the leadership of the movement, formulated demands, &c. Thus, strikes were prepared from below, in the factories, and in those cases when strikes spread from factory to factory, or from city to city, this did not always occur spontaneously. The party organisations in the city, district and the factory cells discussed methods for broadening the movement, &c. The Bolsheviki, in conducting strikes, pursued two objectives: firstly, an improvement of the material and cultural standards of the workers, and, secondly, the broader objective of drawing the largest possible number of workers into the general proletarian struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As soon as trade unions were formed, the Social-Democrats and the reformists introduced such centralisation in the matter of strikes that the trade union members in the factories could not go on strike without the sanction of their trade union. Whenever they went on strike without such sanction and the Union Executive (or chairman) refused to approve the strike, it would be declared to be "unofficial" and the strikers refused material assistance. When they did sanction a strike they took the leadership into their own hands and the strikers had nothing to do except perhaps send pickets to the place of the strike if this was required. When the reformist trade unions grew strong they began to conclude long-term collective agreements with the employers' associations and strikes rarely occurred during the period of the collective agreement remained in force. Strikes, sometimes big strikes, took place whenever a new collective agreement had to be negotiated. In such cases the strikes were led by the Central Committee of the unions. At best the strikers acted as pickets.

\*Active workers.

The reformist trade unions were guided in the conduct of the economic struggle (before the war they conducted strikes) only by the desire to improve the material and cultural standards of the working class, completely neglecting the struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. The Communist Parties, in leading relatively small red trade unions which are almost invariably dual unions,\* or trade union oppositions within the reformist trade unions, in most cases adopted not the Bolshevik but the Social-Democratic, reformist method of preparing strikes, the method of preparing them in their offices, without always knowing the sentiments of the workers. For that reason, to this day the workers frequently fail to respond to the strikes called by the red trade unions and trade union oppositions, sometimes workers come out on strike from factories that were not expected to come out on strike.

In the International Party Schools the students must also learn how to prepare, conduct and lead strikes.

3. *The Struggle Against the Reformists and Social-Democratic Parties.*—The Social-Democrats and the reformists must be exposed, they should be shown up for what they say and actually do. This must be done day in and day out, in every article of the party press, in leaflets and in oral agitation.

It is necessary to watch the Social-Democratic and reformist press and react immediately to their agitation and leaflets in reply to them. It is necessary to react in a popular and intelligible manner. Every article, every speech written and uttered by the Social-Democrats and reformists can furnish the Communist agitators and propagandists with material for their speeches against the Social-Democrats and Reformists. Only in this way can we expose Social-Democracy; without this it will be hardly possible to expose them. In exposing the Social-Democrats and the reformists you must not overlook the other parties and organisations which exercise or seek to gain influence over the working class (the Catholics, National-Socialists, &c.).

The Social-Democratic Parties in the different countries apply various methods in performing their role as the chief social bulwark of the bourgeoisie. In England, until the last elections, the Labour Party openly played its part while in the Government. As soon as it saw that the masses of the workers were turning away in disgust from its policy, that it was endangered from this side, it sacrificed its leaders and went into "opposition." In France, the Socialist Party has not participated in the Government since the war. Sometimes, on the eve of an election, it even votes against this or that Bill in Parliament when it is certain that the Government is assured of a majority without the Socialist votes. In reality the French Socialist Party is a most devoted servant and pillar of bellicose French imperialism. It is hardly necessary to speak about the German Social-Democrats at all. They are past masters in the art of deceiving the masses and the most cunning Party in the Second International in manoeuvring.

The Communist Parties, like the Bolsheviks in Czarist Russia, must anticipate the manoeuvres of the Social-Democrats and warn the masses against them. They must expose them whenever they succeed in their manoeuvres, deceiving the workers and toilers.

\*Dual Unions: Unions in industries where more than one exists.

The Communist Parties, the red trade unions and all the mass revolutionary organisations, must tirelessly expose the Social-Democrats and the reformists, for unless the workers are freed from their influence the Communist Parties cannot win the majority of the working class, without which it will be impossible to fight successfully against the bourgeoisie. The Communist Parties must also carry on a vigorous and unrelenting struggle against the National-Socialists, who take advantage of the treachery of the Social-Democrats and reformists as well as of the mistakes and weaknesses of the Communist Parties to extend their influence over the petty bourgeoisie and permeate the unemployed with the aid of their demagogic slogans, frequently even with the aid of Communist slogans.

4. *Unemployment.*—Unemployment is rife. None but the Communist Party pays any attention to the unemployed. Nevertheless, even when it was possible to organise the unemployed, when it was easy to do this by championing the every-day interests of the unemployed, the Communist Parties failed to take advantage of the situation. They failed to achieve such organization. There are not many Communists in the factories since most of them have been discharged. It is not easy to work in the factory. But why has the work not been organised among the unemployed, at the labour exchanges, in the lodging houses, in the bread and soup lines? There is an enormous number of members of the Party and of revolutionary trade union organisations among the unemployed; is it difficult to organize the work among these comrades? In Czecho-Slovakia and Poland the unemployed organisations succeeded in places in mobilising large masses and brought pressure to bear upon the municipalities, as a result of which, the latter were forced to issue grants to the unemployed. In America the unemployed receive no aid either from the State, or from the employers, and are forced to depend upon charity. Large numbers of them are being evicted from their homes. During 1930 and 1931, 352,469 families were evicted in New York alone. There is a vast field of activity for the revolutionary and Communist organisations, but they only take advantage of these conditions to a very slight degree. At one moment they set up an exclusive unemployed organisation, at another they spend all their time organising demonstrations and overlook the need for establishing kitchens for the unemployed, for organising a movement capable of preventing the eviction of the unemployed, demanding and securing benefits for the unemployed, &c., &c.

#### WHY THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNIONS LAG BEHIND THE REVOLUTIONARY LABOUR AND PEASANT MOVEMENTS

I have tried to show the difference between the tactics, organisation, methods and content of work, and ultimate aims of the Bolsheviks and Social-Democrats, and I have also tried to show the causes of this difference. We, the workers on the E. C. C. I., sometimes hear arguments to the effect that the old Bolshevik experience does not apply to the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, especially in regard to methods of work in the factories. The experience of the past few years, however, has refuted this view. Where the Bolshevik

methods of work have been applied, and flexible tactics in the factories, they have yielded excellent results. Does not the intensity of the struggle, the mass character of the labour and peasant movement in Poland and the leading role of the Communist Party plays in this struggle, in this movement, reveal the superiority of Bolshevik methods over Social-Democratic ones? You must remember that the Polish revolutionary proletariat, the former S. D. P. of Poland and Lithuania, now the Communist Party of Poland, in spite of the mistakes it committed, fought shoulder to shoulder with the Bolshevik Party of Russia. They adopted the Bolshevik methods of work; that is why they have not become isolated from the Polish proletariat despite the ruthless fascist terror in the country. But the Communist Parties, the red trade unions and the trade union opposition in the capitalist countries which have not yet freed themselves from Social-Democratic traditions, have not adopted, are not carrying out, or are carrying out poorly, the Bolshevik methods of work and forms of organization, are not giving the work a Bolshevik content, are lagging behind the revolutionary labour movement, behind the revolutionary events and are unable to consolidate their growing political influence organisationally (for instance, we get four to five million votes and at the same time we fail to organise resistance to the employers' attack on wages). This backwardness will be inevitable until the Communist Parties, the red trade unions and the trade union opposition discard the Social-Democratic traditions and assimilate and apply the truly Bolshevik experience in every field of their political work and every-day activities.

#### TRAINING CADRES AND THE METHODS OF TEACHING IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY SCHOOLS

The question of cadres is assuming tremendous importance for the Communist Parties, red trade unions and trade union opposition, in the present conditions. The International Communist Party Schools therefore play an important part in training revolutionary cadres.

The question of instruction in these Party Schools is of vital importance because the need for theoretically-trained cadres who combine theoretical knowledge with practical experience is very acute in the sections of the Communist International. This need has not diminished in recent years, but, on the contrary it has increased. We have not trained such cadres in sufficient numbers. The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries can obtain these cadres from the International Communist Party Schools. Some of these Party Schools have been in existence for some time now, but the Communist Party has not yet received the cadres necessary for Communist work. To be sure, when the students of the International Communist Party Schools return to their Parties upon graduating, they know, perhaps, the most important works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, quite well, and in some countries they even become Party leaders.

But what the Communist Parties have not yet received from the International Communist Party Schools are comrades capable of applying Marxism and Leninism to the local conditions, capable of organising and conducting mass work, and this is precisely what the Communist Parties are mainly in need of at the present time.

They have not been getting workers really capable of helping them to rebuild the Parties, the red trade unions and the trade union oppositions on a factory basis.

What are the causes of this? The causes are as follow: the students study Party structure in the Soviet Union; that is those forms of Party structure which cannot be fully applied in their countries at the present time, but only after the capture of power by the proletariat. But they even learn the Party structure of the C. P. S. U. superficially: they do not study the methods of mass work, the mobilisation of the masses, the different approach to the different sections of the toilers, mass agitation, forms of organisation of mass agitation, the relations between the Communist fractions (especially in the lower mass non-Party organisations) and the respective cells and Party committees, the work of the factory Party cells and of the factory trade union committees, &c., with sufficient attention. This is the chief point. They do not study and assimilate the experience of the period preceding the capture of the power by the working class, that is the experience of the Bolsheviki in the Tsarist days and in the Kerensky days from February to October.

It is this experience which our Communist Parties need most.

It is this experience which contains elements of similarity with the situation in the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries at the present time. Of course there are also points of difference.

That is why I dealt with the difference between the position of the Bolsheviki Party under the Czar, and that of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries at the present time.

The fact that the Communist Parties do not get the kind of graduates they need from the International Party Schools proves that the instruction given is apparently not conducted with a view to the peculiarities of each individual Party, to its development, traditions and former customs.

The task of the International Communist Party Schools is to assist our Communist Parties to assimilate the experience of the Bolsheviki, both in Party organisation as well as in Party work as a whole, in such a way as to enable them to apply this experience to the conditions prevailing in their respective countries. The conditions in the various countries differ. Conditions in Germany differ very much from those in France, they differ very much from those in England and not less from those in the United States. In every country the labour movement has its own peculiar features, history, and traditions, its peculiar forms of Party organisation and of labour organisations. When you are giving instruction according to groups of countries you must bear this in mind. It should be stated that teachers can obtain the necessary material and facts concerning each country, and the conditions prevailing there, from the students who have taken part in the practical work of their Parties.

The International Communist Party Schools must help the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement to train genuinely Bolsheviki cadres.

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Bela Kun's encomium of the works of Lenin and Stalin is only one of thousands to be found in Comintern literature. Unfortunately it did not save him from being tortured to death in Moscow.<sup>1</sup> Years earlier, he had directed the massacre

<sup>1</sup> Ypsilon, *Pattern for World Revolution*, p. 361. Ypsilon is a pseudonym for two former members of the Comintern: Johann Rindl and Julian Gumperz.

of the captured officers of Baron Wrangel's White Guard Army.<sup>2</sup> Kun was responsible for one of the earliest attempts to establish a Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat outside the boundaries of Bolshevik Russia. His 1919 revolution in Hungary collapsed after a few months of violence.<sup>3</sup> Some 25 years later, the "liberating force" of the Red Army succeeded where Kun had failed (sec. B, exhibit No. 81). By that time, Kun had long since been eliminated as an enemy of the Soviet people.

## EXHIBIT NO. 10

[*Inprecorr*, June 22, 1934. Pp. 942-943]

## THE INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF STALIN'S "FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM"

By Bela Kun

## I

Three Bolshevik works have exercised an immediate, a decisive influence in shaping the ideology, the policy and the organisation of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The first is Lenin's work "The State and Revolution"; the second work, also by Lenin, is "Left-Wing Communism"; the third is Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism," the first foreign edition of which appeared nearly ten years ago in German.

There are other Bolshevik works—before all by Lenin and Stalin—which have had a great political effect on the members and the leading cadres of the Communist Parties. The influence of the two above-mentioned works of Lenin and of Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" was, however, of a special kind. Regarded from the standpoint of the ideological, political and organisational development of the Communist Parties, their effect has not only been exceedingly broad, but it has also been most extraordinary in regard to quality.

In the first historical period of the Communist International, before and immediately after the founding of the World Party of Communism, Lenin's work, "The State and Revolution," became the chief weapon in winning the Communist advance-guard. The chief works written by Lenin at the time of the imperialist war remained almost entirely unknown in the European workers' movement. His works written before and during the war against the rotting and rotten social democracy—especially his book on imperialism—only later became the common property of the Communist Parties and even of their leading cadres. This circumstance was one, and not the least, of the reasons why the rebellion of the "Left" radical elements in the social-democratic parties of the western countries, and in fact even the effects of the great October Revolution on the workers' movement outside of Russia, did not by a long way lead to a thorough enlightenment of the views of these groups in regard to the fundamental questions of the workers' movement and of the proletarian revolution. Lenin's "State and Revolution" brought for the first time an element making for theoretical order and clarity in the chaotic confusion existing existing in the minds of the rebelling oppositional workers. Many of them at first welcomed this work only as restoration of Marxism which had been

<sup>2</sup> Borkenau, *World Communism*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Ebon, *World Communism Today*, New York, Whittlesey House, 1948, pp. 18, 78-81. Chamberlin, *Russian Revolution*, II, 385-390.

falsified and desecrated by social democracy. Very few of them at that time recognised that this book constituted a further development of Marxist teachings on a new stage of social development based on the experiences of two revolutions. Nevertheless, the "State and Revolution" fulfilled its mission among oppositional masses in the social-democratic parties. It became the theoretical platform of all those elements which, before and soon after the founding of the Communist International, formed the first ranks of the Communist advance-guard. The political-organisational role of this work, its decisive influence, consisted precisely in the fact that it brought about the final division between centrism and revolutionary Communism on the basis of the relationship to the bourgeois and the proletarian State, to bourgeois and proletarian democracy. None of the leading centrists took up a position based on the views set forth in the "State and Revolution." Not only Kautsky, but all the theoretical and political leaders of Centrism, who demagogically proclaimed that the "workers' councils should be embodied in the Constitution" of the bourgeois democratic republic, rejected the "State and Revolution."

The whole content of this work, the teachings laid down in it, formed the subject of political discussions not only in small circles, not only among "educated" people. After its publication abroad this book was heatedly discussed at public meetings. The political discussions and organisational quarrels between the supporters of the revolutionary tendency in the workers' movement on the one hand, and the various shades of the opportunist tendency on the other, were for the most part fought out with this book in the hand. There was no other work which, in the first fierce fights for the formation of the Communist advance-guard, for the founding of the Communist Parties and the Communist International, played such a big role in winning for the advance-guard the elements which were seeking, mostly spontaneously, the revolutionary way and the revolutionary means.

Lenin's other work, "Left-Wing Communism," accompanied and guided the next historical step in the organising of the Communist advance-guard and rendering it capable of performing its historical role. After the first gathering together of the forces of the Communist advance-guard in the capitalist countries, a great quantity of theoretical and practical slag of every kind of petty bourgeois revolutionary-social democratic and anarcho-syndicalist-tendency remained clinging to the young Communist Parties. The petty bourgeois revolutionary theories, the pseudo-Left views which arose in nearly every country as an elementary reaction to the petty bourgeois opportunism of the Second International, attempted to continue their sectarian existence within the Communist International and to give their sectarian stamp to the Communist World Party. The boycott of the reformist trade unions and of parliament, the denial of the role of the Communist Parties in the revolution, the failure to understand the relations between party and class, between leader, party and the masses, between party and soviet, and a whole number of other sectarian ideas threatened the newly-founded Communist Parties in the fulfilment of their historical task of creating the preconditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution, in the winning of the majority of the working class and of the toilers in town and country. There

were many leading and influential elements in the Communist Parties which regarded Bolshevism only as a "Maximalism," which differed from "other fractions of Socialism" (Serrati) in that it did not recognise any minimum programme as being justified in the given period and was concerned only about "the realisation of the maximum programme of the social democracy." The members and the leading cadres of the Communist Parties found in Lenin's "Left-Wing Communism" the first comprehensive treatise on the nature and development of Bolshevist Russia and the methods of applying Bolshevist policy in the capitalist countries, and therewith the weapon against "Left" and Right sectarianism.

The effect of this book was in no way restricted to the sphere of propaganda and theory. This work of Lenin on Bolshevism was based not only on the exceedingly important experiences in the development of Bolshevism in Russia; it generalised for the first time in a connected manner all the experiences of the Communist Parties and movements west of Soviet Russia, and thus laid down the basis of the strategy, tactics and organisation of Communism under the new conditions of the general crisis of capitalism.

Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" reached the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries at a time when the relative stabilisation of capitalism opened up to them a new, special period of the fight against capitalism, against social democracy and for winning the masses. This new period at the same time brought with it a whole number of vacillations within the various Communist Parties. Stalin's work determined the policy of the Communist Party in the period of stabilisation and the shaking of this stabilisation. The historical function of this work for the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries was of a threefold nature.

Firstly, Stalin's work clearly and precisely expounded the international character of Leninism against the tendencies which attempted to push it back or limit it to Russia.

Secondly, it determined the position of Leninism in the development of the theory and practice of Marxism and the international labour movement. It did this, on the one hand, by showing—against the social-democratic calumnies which sought to characterise Leninism as a turning away from Marxism—its character as a restoration of Marxism, and on the other hand by demonstrating—against the opportunist tendencies within the Communist International—the justification for the existence of Leninism in general, its independent position on the theory and practice of the workers' movement, and its character as a further development of Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

Thirdly and finally, the historic function of Stalin's book in the development of the Communist International was the working out of the revolutionary perspective in a period of the development of the international revolution and of the Communist Parties, when a number of vacillations in the ideological and political field against the unity of the Communist International made their appearance, which if they had become stronger would have meant the danger of losing the revolutionary perspective and of the isolation of the Communist advance-guard from the masses of the working class and the toilers.

Thus the international importance of Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" by no means lies solely in the fact that it systematises the

teachings of Lenin, that it gives a clear and precise summary of Leninism in the fight against the tendencies which wished to falsify or refute Leninism. It has acquired international importance also, and much more, by reason of the fact that it represents a theoretical enrichment of Leninism, that it continues it further and thereby politically determines the further development of the Communist International after the death of Lenin, in the second and third period of post-war development. Stalin's book, the "Foundations of Leninism," was both theoretically and politically the preparation of the Leninist Programme of the Communist International.

In 1937 the great purges within the ranks of the Russian Communist Party were at their peak (sec. B, exhibit No. 55). Nevertheless, the Executive Committee of the Communist International sent the following message of strong approbation to the director of the "people's" instrument of vengeance. The entire exhibit manifests the Communist technique of Aesopian doubletalk in its rankest form. After he had served his purpose as Stalin's butcher, Comrade Yeshov quickly vanished from public life.

Two former Soviet officials have described some of the close ties existing between the Bolshevik secret police and Soviet foreign offices.<sup>1</sup> It is also interesting to note that Alexander Semyenovitch Panyushkin, Soviet Ambassador to the United States from 1947 to 1952, is probably now an important director of Russian terrorist activities.<sup>2</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 11

[*Inprecorr*, December 31, 1937. P. 1413]

### TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHEKA-O. G. P. U.

MOSCOW, *December 21, 1937.*

Yesterday all the towns and villages of the Soviet Union celebrated at solemn meetings and demonstrations the glorious champions of the Soviet intelligence service. Thousands of representatives of the organisations of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, the trade unions and other associations met at the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow at a meeting devoted to the 20th anniversary of the Cheka-O. G. P. U.-People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. The leaders of the Communist Party and of the Government took part in the meeting. Voroshilov, Mikoyan, Andreyev, Yeshov and Dimitrov were seated on the platform. Molotov appeared during the meeting, and was greeted with great applause. Stalin was present at the concert which was given after the meeting.

Mikoyan, member of the Political Bureau and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, delivered the report. In his speech he emphasised that the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs is the organisation which is nearest to the Communist Party and the whole of the people. The path it traversed, he declared amidst stormy applause, reflects the path of the great Socialist revolution. Our Chekists have written glorious pages in the history of the revolution.

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<sup>1</sup> W. G. Krivitsky, *In Stalin's Secret Service: An Expose of Russia's Secret Policies by the Former Chief of Soviet Intelligence in Western Europe*, New York, Harper, 1939, p. 141. Alexander Barmine, *One Who Survived*, New York, Putnam's Sons, 1945, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> E. H. Cookridge, *Soviet Spy Net*, London, Muller, n. d. (1954 or 1955), pp. 41-43.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary, the Executive Committee of the Communist International sent the following letter of greetings to Comrade Yeshov, head of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs:—

The Executive Committee of the Communist International sends warmest greetings on the occasion of its 20th anniversary to the Cheka-O. G. P. U.-People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, the glorious tried and tested organ for the security of the State, which vigilantly protects the country of victorious Socialism against spies, diversionists and wreckers, the shameful agents of fascism.

The toiling people, which under the rule of the exploiting classes, were persecuted and suppressed by their penal organs, have received for the first time in the history of mankind, in the shape of the Cheka-O. G. P. U.-People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, its own un-sheathed sword which punishes the enemies of the people. The army of Chekists, trained by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, who are conducting their self-sacrificing struggle to safeguard the country of Socialism, is surrounded by the love and support of the whole of the Soviet people. The working class of all countries realise that the Soviet Chekists who protect the country of Socialism, annihilate the fascist agents, the spies, warmongers, the Trotskyist-Bukharinist gang of traitors, are protecting the interest of the toilers of all countries and the cause of universal peace.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International wishes the glorious champions of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs further success in the struggle for the extermination of the enemies of the people and the consolidation of the unshakable power of the country of Socialism—the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

On May 22, 1943, the Comintern was declared to be abolished, an action which was taken without the formality of a concluding congress. Although its constitution called for a world congress every 2 years, only 1 had been held between 1928 and 1943. Even the very pro-Soviet Webbs admitted that the failure to call regular world congresses made no difference, since the principal overt function of these Moscow meetings was to enable leading members of the Russian Communist Party to publicize the previously established propaganda line.<sup>1</sup>

Consequent upon the "dissolution" of the Comintern, publication of *The Communist International* was terminated on July 5, 1943.<sup>2</sup> The American edition had been stopped at the end of 1940, when the CPUSA voted to disaffiliate from the Comintern "for the specific purpose of removing itself from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act."<sup>3</sup> *World News and Views*, which succeeded *Inprecorr* in 1938, continued publication in London. In Moscow, *War and the Working Class* took over the propaganda activities of the now defunct *Communist International*.<sup>4</sup> In 1946, its title was changed to *New Times*. It is still circulated from Moscow.

As the declaration of dissolution makes clear, open continuance of the Comintern had become a serious liability to the Soviet Union. On the other hand, formal dissolution provided an opportunity for much needed favorable propaganda. By 1943, the various Communist parties had been so thoroughly subjected to Soviet control that they could be trusted to carry out their conspiratorial work on a decentralized basis.<sup>5</sup> Soviet embassies and trade corporations could provide all necessary additional direction.

<sup>1</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism*, pp. 317-318.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 392-393. The Voorhis Act required registration of alien agents engaged in advocating the violent overthrow of the American Government.

<sup>4</sup> Borkenau, *European Communism*, p. 291.

<sup>5</sup> Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics*, New York McGraw-Hill, 1952, p. 65.

As early as 1941, the Comintern headquarters was moved from Moscow to the town of Ufa on the western side of the Ural Mountains. Shortly after the "dissolution," it was returned to Moscow, where Dimitrov, Manuilsky, and Ereoli continued to work until they came out in the open after World War II.<sup>6</sup> In January 1945, the Soviet Embassy in Canada was receiving information from this Comintern center in Moscow.<sup>7</sup>

## EXHIBIT No. 12

[*World News and Views*, May 29, 1943. Pp. 169-170]

## THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

*The following is the text of the resolution of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, announcing the dissolution of the Communist International as the directing centre of the International Working-Class Movement, published in "Pravda" on Saturday, May 22.*

The historic role of the Communist International, which was founded in 1919 as a result of the political union of the great majority of old, pre-war working-class parties, consisted in upholding the principles of Marxism from vulgarisation and distortion by the opportunist elements in the working class movement, in helping to promote the consolidation in a number of countries of the vanguard of the foremost workers in real working-class parties, and in helping them to mobilise the workers for the defence of their economic and political interests and for the struggle against Fascism and the war the latter was preparing and for support of the Soviet Union as the chief bulwark against Fascism.

The Communist International from the first exposed the real meaning of the "Anti-Comintern Pact," as a weapon for the preparation of war by the Hitlerites. Long before the war, it ceaselessly and tirelessly exposed the vicious, subversive work of the Hitlerites who masked it by their screams about the so-called interference of the Communist International in the internal affairs of these States.

## DIFFERENT PROBLEMS

But long before the war it became more and more clear that, with the increasing complications in the internal and international relations of the various countries, any sort of international centre would encounter insuperable obstacles in solving the problems facing the movement in each separate country. The deep differences of the historic paths of development of various countries, the differences in their character and even contradictions in their social orders, the differences in the level and tempo of their economic and political development, the differences, finally, in the degree of consciousness and organisation of the workers, conditioned the different problems facing the working class of the various countries.

The whole development of events in the last quarter of a century, and the experience accumulated by the Communist International convincingly showed that the organisational form of uniting the workers chosen by the first congress of the Communist International

<sup>6</sup> Borkenau, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253. *National and International Movements*. Report on the Strategy and Tactics of World Communism, Supplement IV: Five hundred leading Communists. Committee on Foreign Affairs, H. of R., 80th Cong., 2d sess., 1948, pp. 10-11, 82.

<sup>7</sup> *Canadian Spy Report*, pp. 37 ff. See also Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, *The Permanent Purge*, Harvard University Press, 1956, p. 203.

answered the conditions of the first stages of the working-class movement but has been outgrown by the growth of this movement and by the complications of its problems in separate countries, and has even become a drag on the further strengthening of the national working-class parties.

The World War that the Hitlerites have let loose has still further sharpened the differences in the situation of the separate countries, and has placed a deep dividing line between those countries which fell under the Hitlerite tyranny and those freedom-loving peoples who have united in a powerful anti-Hitlerite coalition.

#### THE FUNDAMENTAL TASK

In the countries of the Hitlerite *bloc* the fundamental task of the working class, the toilers and all honest people consists in giving all help for the defeat of this *bloc*, by sabotage of the Hitlerite military machine from within, and by helping to overthrow the Governments who are guilty of the war. In the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the sacred duty of the widest masses of the people, and in the first place of the foremost workers, consists in aiding by every means the military efforts of the Governments of these countries aimed at the speediest defeat of the Hitlerite *bloc* and the assurance of the friendship of nations based on their equality.

At the same time the fact must not be lost sight of that separate countries which are members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition have their own particular problems. For example, in countries occupied by the Hitlerites which have lost their State independence the basic task of the foremost workers and of the wide masses of the people consists in promoting armed struggle, developing into a national war of liberation against Hitlerite Germany. At the same time, the war of liberation of the freedom-loving peoples against the Hitlerite tyranny, which has brought into movement the masses of the people, uniting them without difference of party of religion in the ranks of a powerful anti-Hitlerite coalition, has demonstrated with still greater clearness that the general national upsurge and mobilisation of the people for the speediest victory over the enemy can be best of all and most fruitfully carried out by the vanguard of the working-class movement of each separate country, working within the framework of its own country.

Already the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, meeting in 1935, taking into account the change that had taken place both in the international situation and in the working-class movements that demand great flexibility and independence of its sections in deciding the problems confronting them, emphasised the necessity for the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in deciding all questions of the working-class movement arising from the concrete conditions and peculiarities of each country, to make a rule of avoiding interference in the internal organisational affairs of the Communist Parties. These same considerations guided the Communist International in considering the resolution of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. of November, 1940, on its withdrawal from the ranks of the Communist International.

## THE PRINCIPLES OF MARX AND LENIN

Guided by the judgment of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, Communists have never been supporters of the conservation of organisational forms that have outlived themselves. They have always subordinated forms of organisation of the working-class movement and the methods of working of such organisation, to the fundamental political interest of the working-class movement as a whole, to the peculiarities of the concrete historical situation and to the problems immediately resulting from this situation. They remember the example of the great Marx, who united the foremost workers in the ranks of the Working Men's International Association, and, when the First International had fulfilled its historical task, laying the foundations for the development of the working-class parties in the countries of Europe and America, and, as a result of the matured situation creating mass national working-class parties, dissolved the First International in as much as this form of organisation already no longer corresponded to the demands confronting it.

## THE PROPOSAL

In consideration of the above, and taking into account the growth and political maturity of the Communist Parties and their leading cadres in the separate countries, and also having in view the fact that during the present war some sections have raised the question of the dissolution of the Communist International as the directing centre of the International Working-Class Movement.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in the circumstances of the World War not being able to convene a Congress of the Communist International, puts forward the following proposal for ratification by the sections of the Communist International:

The Communist International, as the directing centre of the International Working-Class Movement, is to be dissolved, thus freeing the section of the Communist International from their obligations arising from the statutes and resolutions of the Congresses of the Communist International.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International calls on all supporters of the Communist International to concentrate their energies on whole-hearted support of and active participation in the war of liberation of the peoples and States of the of the anti-Hitlerite coalition for the speediest defeat of the deadly enemy of the working class and toilers—German-Fascism and its associates and vassals.

THE PRESIDUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Signed):

*G. Dimitrov.*  
*M. Ercoli.*  
*W. Florin.*  
*K. Gottwald.*  
*V. Kolarov.*  
*J. Kopenig.*

*O. Kuusinen.*  
*D. Manuilsky.*  
*A. Marty.*  
*W. Pieck.*  
*M. Thorez.*  
*A. Zhdanov.*

The following representatives of Communist Parties also append their signatures to the present resolution:

*Bianco (Italy).*  
*Dolores Ibarruri (Spain).*  
*Lekhtinin (Finland).*  
*Anna Pauker (Rumania).*  
*Matthias Rakosi (Hungary).*

MOSCOW, May 15, 1943.

After the formal dissolution of the Communist International in May 1943, Communists intensified their efforts to infiltrate and, in many places, to take over underground organizations operating against Nazi regimes. No less an authority than William Z. Foster has declared that Communist participation in underground activities was based upon the anti-Fascist people's front strategy laid down by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International (sec. C, exhibit No. 14).<sup>1</sup>

The December 25 issue of *World News and Views* made it clear that the comrades had no sympathy for underground work which was not directed toward the establishment of Communist-controlled governments in the postwar period (sec. B, exhibit No. 81).<sup>2</sup> Applying the Communist technique of rule or ruin, the Soviet government on July 30, 1944, appealed to the non-Communist Polish underground to rebel against the Nazi forces of occupation.<sup>3</sup> When after serious misgivings the Polish underground complied with the Soviet appeal, the Red Army halted its advance not far from Warsaw until the Nazis had time to exterminate the non-Communist Poles. A different, but nonetheless effective, technique of rule or ruin was later exploited in France (this section, exhibit No. 66).

The brief note which appears at the end of the columns reprinted from the November 27 issue of *World News and Views*, entitled "To Our Readers," is quite interesting. Save your old copies so that the editors can send them to the USSR.

#### EXHIBIT No. 13

[*World News and Views*, November 27, 1943. P 383]

#### RESISTANCE IN THE OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

By T. Bell

The term "Maquis" is applied to those young Frenchmen who have taken to the mountains and woods to join the Partisans rather than go to work for the Nazis in Germany. They consider themselves as soldiers in the fight to liberate France.

In the course of an exclusive interview given by permission from his chief to a Swiss correspondent, here is what one of the young Maquis has to say: "Our units constitute a real army disposing of modern equipment and commanded by experienced officers, who know their profession. Youths wishing to enter the camp are strictly examined and shifty elements are mercilessly eliminated. Discipline is as strict as circumstances allow. More than elsewhere when a soldier is ordered to go, he goes; and to return, he returns."

The Maquis are merciless to those who denounce any of their comrades to the Gestapo. They are executed.

Regarding food, shoes, tobacco, or anything they need, this young Maquis says: "We make requisitions just like any other army which has to live on the country. Thus we keep exact records and

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 432-435.

<sup>3</sup> Possony, *Century of Conflict*, p. 272. Selznick, *Organizational Weapon*, pp. 232, 233.

accounts for all goods requisitioned in order to pay for them when it is possible. . . . Our achievements are made possible by the qualities of our leaders who are experienced officers.”

A garage owner at Annemasse, Charles Baudin, was executed on November 7 at Reignier station by the Maquis. Baudin had repeatedly accompanied the Gestapo during arrests.

Maquis blew up a pylon on a line conveying electric current from Giffre, cutting off the power on the Samoens railway. An explosion also caused a total stoppage of the Marignier factories.

Eight Norwegians were court-martialled and sentenced to death by the Germans at Tromso, on October 20, and were executed on October 23. At the same time 14 were sentenced to penal servitude, and three Norwegian women to 15 years. The majority were fishermen from Arnoga, near the Troms-Finnmark border. They were accused of espionage on behalf of the Allies.

Damage due to sabotage at the American Apparate Coy., Gentoft is estimated at one and a half million kroner. Valuable raw material has been destroyed, and the radio shortage in Denmark aggravated.

Altogether 143 Danish Communists have now been deported. About 20 of these are women. The members of Parliament Aksel Larsen and Martin Nielson, the chairman of the blacksmiths' trade union; Ove Celsen, a municipal official in Aarhus; Thomas Christensen, of the board of the Seamen's Union, Thor Vang, of the Board of the Dockers' Union, Ludwig Gamburg and Raguhild Anderson are among the deported Communists.

The paper *Je Suis Partout*, in the northern zone of France, writes on October 15: "The post often brings anonymous letters in which we are informed that our days are numbered, and that inevitable punishment will soon put a stop to our activities. Clandestine papers are passed from hand to hand; they contain lists of names of 'traitors' who are to be executed without trial; 'Tribunals' send us, on mourning paper, decrees sentencing us to be shot or hanged. Others send us little coffins."

From Stockholm comes the news that about 30 leading members of the German Refugee colony gathered at the invitation of the Swedish writer, Arnold Ljungdahl, to discuss the Free German Movement. Various political parties were represented and they unanimously agreed that the unification of all Germans who are opposed to the Nazis is essential.

In a statement issued they declare that Germany may be spared annihilation only if all peace loving Germans unite to destroy National Socialism while there is yet time. The statement is signed by 23 well-known Germans, including Leo Bloch, and is intended for the Free German Committee in Moscow, but also addressed to the leaders of the Free German Movement in Great Britain and the United States of America.

Reports from Austria speak of the growing movement of resistance among the workers. In October serious clashes occurred at the Hirtenberg munition works and an army canning factory. The Gestapo made arrests. Demonstrations have taken place against the regime in several districts; at the Florisdorf locomotive works, the Koplach coal mines, the Linz dockyards, etc.

## TO OUR READERS

*Back numbers of the following issues are urgently needed for the Library of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R., in Moscow: Volume 22, 1942, No. 17; Volume 21, 1941, Nos. 5, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17. Will any reader who can spare any of these copies send them to "World News and Views," 57 Walter House, Bedford Street, London, W.C2.*

[*World News and Views*, December 25, 1943. P. 415]

## POLAND AND THE WAR

By Academician Tarle

(*from the Soviet trade union journal "War and the Working Class."*)

The moment for which the Polish people are impatiently waiting, the liberation from the Hitlerite yoke, is approaching.

But there still are, it turns out, Poles who have not yet made the choice with whom to go:—With Hitler or the Soviet Union? At any rate, this is still the "problem" for the entire Polish Government and reactionary circles supporting it.

This position is most clearly expressed by the Polish paper, *Wiadomosci Codzienny*, which on November 7 declared that, if the Red Army enters Poland, without previously renouncing its claims to the "Eastern districts," that is the district of Vilna, the Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia, "the Polish underground movement will fight against the Red Army just as ruthlessly as against the German aggressor." Under the high-sounding title, "The Polish underground movement," the author of course had in mind not the movement of the Polish guerilla patriots but the handful of organisations backing the emigré government and carrying out its orders.

The Soviet people fighting against the Hitlerite invaders (the executioners of Poland) expects the creation of a new strong democratic Poland to be one of the results of the victory over Hitler Germany.

However, neither Hitlerite propaganda nor the programme of the reactionary elements of the Polish emigrés have been by any means inclined to permit the unhindered normal development of friendly and truly allied relations natural for peoples conducting a common struggle.

A campaign of slander, of the most monstrous and absurdly incredible accusations, has been launched against the Soviet Union, and the Polish emigré press has not troubled to conceal its disappointment that British public opinion maintains a dead silence with regard to the most pathetic plea of Polish reports and the most sensational accusations.

The Mykolajczik Government was formed. The appointment of of the arrant fascist, General Sosnkowski, as commander in chief of the Polish army, opened an entirely new era, hailed by the whole Hitlerite press, an era of systematic murders of Polish guerillas at Polish hands, through direct, official encouragement and incitement on the part of Sosnkowski and his agents.

We have no doubt, of course, that Poland, whose representatives are heroically fighting on our front, is overjoyed at having set feet

on the highway to Warsaw, has irrevocably made its choice and will see its decision to the end. When we speak of present-day Poland, we know that it is not the Messrs. Sosnkowskis, who are murdering Polish guerillas, who are the heralds of a better future and all the hopes of their people. We understand that for every Lutasewicz or Matuszewicz and their ilk lounging in cosy London and New York cafés, spinning their vile absurd intrigues, there are dozens like Lieutenant Czarkowski and other heroes of the Kosciuszko division giving their life for Poland's cause.

It is possible for a person in possession of his senses and memory even to raise the question with whom should Poland go, with Hitler or the Soviet Union? Is it possible for a Pole not suffering from completely phenomenal lack of understanding (or without direct instructions from Berlin) to agitate energetically against the Second Front and frankly voice the fear of the Red Army's victories? These men, ten minutes short of Quislings, even lie like genuine Quislings and Laval in official positions. Laval calls the Hitlerite invasion of Russia "Europe's rising against Bolshevism," while Ignat Matuszewski and his ilk also speak of the "struggle against Bolshevism" as the central political task on the agenda.

When Joseph Beck, having safely deposited Poland in Hitler's hands, modestly betook himself to Rumania for a rest from his labours, maintaining the strictest incognito en route, few recalled the fervour with which Beck some time ago joined the "Anti-comintern pact" the moment Berlin beckoned. But, to repeat Beck's phraseology with such exact precision today in London is only possible in the hope that Englishmen won't understand Polish and that some Poles will forget the glaring lessons of the past.

However, to write articles in emigration far from the war is one thing, and to practise Beck's policy in Poland proper in 1943 or even 1944 is far more difficult and doomed to failure.

For the Polish people, having spent 4 years in the Hitlerite prison, and still languishing there, differs in mentality from its "government" and others of its "wellwishers" who watch Poland from their beautiful far-away homes. The beast who humiliated Poland as it humiliated no other country hoped that he would succeed with the aid of reactionary Polish emigrés in driving a wedge between the Soviet Union and Anglo-Saxon powers. He failed, but succeeded in something else: in proving with the utmost clarity to all Poles with common sense that Poland has no choice and that there is only one possible solution of the question.

Moving along this road of resistance they (the Poles) are already on the highway to Warsaw; and will go farther spreading, broadening the old (and even the oldest) Western frontiers of their motherland, overtaking the criminal enemies in their brigand lair. This they can do only in close comradely unity with the Red Army and they have already sanctified this unity with their noble blood.

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## RESISTANCE

By Tom Bell

There have been references from time to time in the press of this country about "Reports" alleged to be coming from an "Underground Movement" in Poland, to which there is a liaison with the emigré

government in London. Such "reports" should only be accepted with the greatest reserve. This "Underground Movement" referred to has nothing to do with the People's Guards, the Polish guerillas and partisans co-operating with the Kosciusko division now heroically fighting to free Poland from the Nazi executioners. It is an agency of certain pro-fascist circles in the emigré government in London, and their compatriots in New York.

A Swiss paper reports that partisans continue raids in Northern Italy with the special object of acquiring arms and food. During a clash between German troops and partisans near the Swiss frontier, anti-fascist soldiers were taken prisoner. They were forced to dig their own graves in the parish cemetery before being shot.

On December 7 nine Belgians and two Frenchmen were sentenced to death in Brussels for housing airmen, giving them food and helping them to escape. On the same date Belgian patriots shot the President of the Brussels court of First Instance, Judge Paulsen, at his home: Four members of a Flemish "New Order" organisation were also shot.

A widespread campaign has been going on for several weeks back in Denmark of "False Alarms." These alarms are used to create confusion. But not all are false. Recently the Frederiksberg police received such a call, announcing that Soren Wistoft and Co.'s factory would be blown up at 12 noon. Police and ambulances were immediately rushed to the factory. Before the police arrived on the scene violent explosions were heard. Twenty armed patriots had entered the factory some minutes before and forced the workers into the air-raid shelters. Several two storey and two one storey buildings were blown up.

From an article published in all the Copenhagen morning papers on December 11, it appears that the damage caused by sabotage in Denmark up to date, amounts to £10,000,000. The author adds if all the buildings destroyed were to be rebuilt immediately, it would cost £75,000,000.

The former Minister of Agriculture in Hungary, Janos Mayer, addressing the Village Farmer's Association, has stated that "masses of pamphlets signed by the 'Peace Party' had inundated the whole country, summoning the population, particularly that of the villages, not to pay taxes, and not to allow themselves to be enrolled in the army, and not to deliver the prescribed quotas, but to help the 'Peace Party' to seize power, which would mean an immediate peace."

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## II. MASS (FRONT) ORGANIZATIONS

### A. LABOR; RELIEF

The Red International of Labor Unions (also referred to as RILU or Profintern) was one of the first front organizations to result from the application of the Third World Congress slogan "To the Masses" (sec. C, exhibit No. 7). In Communist jargon, fronts are known as mass organizations consisting of groups of non-Communists controlled by a minority of the vanguard or Communist Party (sec. A, exhibit No. 13). In the early years, the Communist "fraction" sometimes amounted to a large majority within the "mass organization." Nowadays Communist control is often effectively maintained through a few very well concealed comrades. One of the advantages of prolonged, unremittent cold warfare is that the combatants become highly skilled operatives.

In his history of the Communist International, William Z. Foster devoted an entire chapter to the establishment of the RILU.<sup>1</sup> At its founding convention

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, Chapter 36: The Red International of Labor Unions (1921).

held in Moscow, Foster became a secret Communist with directives and financial assistance to infiltrate the American Federation of Labor.<sup>2</sup> His failure to capture the AFL was scarcely compensated for by limited successes achieved among members of the anarchist IWW.<sup>3</sup>

In commenting upon the resolutions of the First Congress of the RILU which began on July 3, 1921, the following exhibit emphasizes Communist willingness to be flexible in words, but not in deeds. "Infantile left-wing" remnants still plagued the Comintern, with the result that no effective rapprochement was accomplished with the revived Second or Socialist International.<sup>4</sup> Many years later, the Communists learned how to beguile socialists into joining the "Popular Front."

#### EXHIBIT No. 14

[American Labor Union Educational Society, March 1922, *Resolutions and Decisions of the First International Congress of Revolutionary Trade and Industrial Unions*. Pp. 4-6, 17-18]

We regard the resolutions on the relations between the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions as indicating, undoubtedly, the entire direction of the International Labor Union movement. The congress could not and did not silently pass this question. Before the first congress of the Revolutionary Labor Unions the Communist movement and the Communist International were a revolutionary fact. Despite the "independent" frame of mind of many of the delegates, whatever their prejudices against politics, political parties, facts are stubborn things and the congress had to say: "Will the revolutionary unions go hand in hand with the Communist International or with some other force in their struggle against capitalism?" The congress had to decide as to whether there existed some other revolutionary class force which is following the same path as the Red International of Labor Unions? And here the resolution adopted while declaring for the independent organization of the Red International of Labor Unions, emphasizes the absolute necessity for unity of action and close co-operation for the struggle. The congress logically bases this view on the concentration of the forces of the bourgeoisie, pointing to the fact that the bourgeoisie had long since succeeded in unifying and rallying its political and economic organizations for joint struggle. The demands of the struggle, the creation of a united front for the revolutionary onslaught compels not only the majority of the congress, but the revolutionary syndicalist minority, which defends feverishly the independence of the trade union movement, to recognize the absolute necessity for establishing closest possible connections with the III Communist International as the vanguard of the world labor movement on the basis of mutual representation on both executive organs of joint sessions, etc.; to recognize that the connections must bear an organized and business character and find expression in joint preparatory work for and in most complete co-operation in revolutionary activities on a national and international scale; to recognize the extreme desirability for each country to establish practical connections between the Red labor unions and the Communist party so as to carry out the instructions of both Internationals.

The decision on the relations with the III Communist International predetermined all further decisions of the congress and the discussions

<sup>1</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, pp. 279-280. Benjamin Gitlow, *I Confess*, New York, Dutton, 1940, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> James Oneal and G. A. Werner, *American Communism*, New York, Dutton, 1947, Chapter VIII: The "United Front." Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 311-312, 329-331.

which sprang later only completed the already developed and expressed views of the basic questions.

The question of relations between the Communist International and the International of Labor Unions solves only one part of the problem of co-ordination of action; of close co-operation, etc.; there is still to be decided and defined precisely the special tasks before the revolutionary labor movement of the world. The aim is to overthrow capitalism and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The majority agreed on this point; nine-tenths of the syndicalists, taught by the experience of war and revolution, declared themselves for the dictatorship of the proletariat, understanding it, true enough, in their own syndicalist way. Great differences arose when the congress had to define the concrete problems of the struggle in each individual country and the slogans upon which the attention of the working masses had to be concentrated. Here first of all we had to determine the very methods of struggle. The debates became quite heated on the question whether we must strive to destroy the old unions or to conquer them. Those who stood for the principle of splitting them were a mere handful at the congress. For them the old reformist unions were the center of vices, where the revolutionary saints have no place, and therefore they thought it necessary to put the smashing of such unions as the basis of revolutionary tactics. On this question the congress took a definite stand both in the resolution on tactics and in the resolution on the question of organization. "Not smashing, but conquering the unions," this is what the first congress said, and this was said almost unanimously with the exception of a few confusionists who try to clothe their pessimism and lack of force in theoretical garb.

In a special paragraph called "the methods of struggle," the congress draws the attention to the necessity for elastic tactics in the struggle, both defensive and offensive.

"There are no absolutely infallible methods of struggle," says the congress, "everything changes in accordance with time, place and circumstances. The partisans of the Red Labor Union International must be not only model revolutionists, but also models of sustained power and attitude, as well as of level-headedness. The whole secret of success lies in the systematic, well-planned and energetic preparation of every action, of every movement of masses. Rapidity and implacability of action should combine with a thoughtful and detailed study of conditions, as well as of the extent of organization of the hostile forces. In the class struggle, as well as at the battle front, it is necessary to be able not only to attack, but also to retreat in orderly and compact formation. Both in defensive and offensive action we should always keep in view one thing: to have with us the sympathy of the large proletarian masses and to carefully consider the entire social-political situation in which the struggle is going on." This relativity of methods and means of struggle is emphasized in another part of the theses on tactics, where it is said that we should not think that offensive action is the best means of battle under all circumstances and conditions. Our tactics should be flexible and should take into account all the difficulties.

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## III

## RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED LABOR UNION INTERNATIONAL AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(On the report of Comrades Rosmer and Tom Mann)

Whereas, The struggle between labor and capital in all capitalist countries has assumed, as a result of the world war and crisis, an exceptionally acute, implacable and decisive character.

Whereas, In the process of its every-day struggle the laboring masses realize ever more clearly the necessity of eliminating the bourgeoisie from administration of industry and consequently from political power.

Whereas, The above result can be obtained solely by establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a communist system,

Whereas in the struggle to preserve the bourgeois dictatorship, all the capitalist ruling classes have already succeeded in consolidating and concentrating to a high degree their national and international organizations, political as well as economic in a solid front of all the bourgeois forces, both defensive and offensive, against the onrush of the proletariat,

Whereas, The logic of the modern class struggle demands the greater consolidation of the proletarian forces and the revolutionary struggle and consequently means that there must be the closest contact and organic connection between the different forms of the revolutionary labor movement and primarily between the Third Communist International and the Red Labor Union International it is also desirable that every effort should be made, in the national field, towards the establishment of similar relations between the Communist parties and the Red International of Labor Unions;

Therefore the congress resolves:

1. To take all steps uniting together in the most energetic manner all the labor unions in one united fighting organization with one direct International center—the Red International of Labor Unions.

2. To establish the closest possible contact with the Third Communist International as the vanguard of the revolutionary labor movement in all the parts of the world on the basis of joint representation at both executive committees, joint conferences, etc.

3. That the above connection should have an organic and business character and be expressed in the joint preparation of pre-revolutionary action on a national and international scale.

4. That it is imperative for every country to strive towards uniting the revolutionary labor union organizations and the establishment of the closest contact between the Red labor unions and the Communist parties for the carrying out of the decisions of both congresses.

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Like the late but unlamented Vyshinsky, Solomon Abramovich Lozovsky proved himself agile enough to survive a period of "heterodoxy" in the Menshevik Party.<sup>1</sup> In 1925, Zinoviev openly espoused Lozovsky's hesitant opposition to boring from within non-Communist unions. While Lozovsky preferred his own independent RILU tactics, he was smart enough to see that Zinoviev's days were numbered (sec. B, exhibit No. 22). Hence he threw in his lot with the rising

<sup>1</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism*, p. 980. Alexander Orlov, *The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes*, New York, Random House, 1953, p. 328.

Stalin.<sup>2</sup> Through prudent flattery of the Georgian *vozhd*, he saved his head and remained a great power in Communist trade union conspiracies (see B, exhibit No. 38). Today he holds the office of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Here Lozovsky advocates a scientific strike program drawn up according to the best principles of military strategy. His directives are well suited to the needs of unremitting cold warfare.<sup>3</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 15

[*Daily Worker*, May 26, 1924. P. 4]

## SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF STRIKE STRATEGY PLEA TO WORKERS BY RED INTERNATIONAL OF UNIONS

The difficult question of Strike Strategy has never been given adequate scientific study by the workers of the world, according to the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions. Thru the guidance of this organization an effort is now being made to collect the data upon this subject from year to year. The Red International plans to develop a science of strike tactics which will rival the highly complex

The difficult question of Strike Strategy has never been given adequate scientific study by the workers of the world, according to the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions. Thru the guidance of this organization an effort is now being made to collect the data upon this subject from year to year. The Red International plans to develop a science of strike tactics which will rival the highly complex science of military tactics which the militarists and capitalists have evolved for their protection, maintenance, and aggression.

Because of the great interest of the workers of this country and others where the DAILY WORKER is read, we are reprinting here the stimulating letter sent out by the Red International of Labor Unions to all its affiliated organizations on the subject of Strike Strategy.

Moscow, April 1, 1924.

*To All the Organizations Affiliated to the R. I. L. U.:*

The Agenda of the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. contains the question of strike strategy.

This question was considered by a Committee during the Third Session of the Central Council last summer. However, owing to the intricacy of the question and the insufficient clarity of the materials, the question of strike strategy was not decided at the Third Session. The Plenum of the Central Council of the R. I. L. U. decided to defer the final settlement of this question till the next congress of the R. I. L. U. This was agreed upon in order that sufficient material might be collected, thoroly discussed and systematized, and that during the coming R. I. L. U. Congress a decision covering the entire scope of the question might be adopted.

The Central Council made this quite clear in its circular letter of July 19th, addressed to all the R. I. L. U. organizations. In conformity with the above, the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. has decided at its meeting of March 25, 1924, to ask you to speed up the compilation of the material which has been gathered by you since the Second Congress.

<sup>2</sup> Borkenau, *World Communism*, pp. 279, 280.

<sup>3</sup> Possouy, *Century of Conflict*, pp. 228-231.

In addition to the questions already mentioned in the above circular letter, it is desired that the material also deal with the following aspects of the strike movement:

(1) The total number of strikes divided by industries and trades.  
 (2) The total number of strikers; their percentage to the total number of organized workers in the industry.

(3) Industrial conflicts (whether resulting in strikes or not).

(4) The number of work days lost (during each strike separately).

(5) Organized strike breaking (Technical Aid, etc.).

(6) The intensity of the strikes (were there any conflicts with the strike-breakers, did they take the form of workers' self-defense and of armed collision).

(7) The general causes of the strikes (economic: wage cuts, lengthening of working hours, violation or change of collective agreements, etc., etc.).

(8) Spontaneous strikes: their causes, provocation on the part of the employers, sabotage of the reformist leaders, etc.; initiative and leadership of spontaneous strikes; by the Reformists, Anarchists, or Communists; the part played by the spontaneous strikes in the general labor struggle: the break-up of the united front, strengthening of the revolutionary elements, etc.

(9) Were there any solidarity strikes, their volume, scale (national and international), character of the demands: economic or political, for instance, "Hands off Soviet Russia," against the occupation of the Ruhr, etc.

(10) Did the strikes cause lockouts or vice versa.

(11) The organization and development of union strikes (the industry, where and how many), was the strike restricted to its own trade or did it spread to other trades as well (territorial localisation of strikes); describe the forms of material aid given to the strikers.

(1) The role and influence of the Factory and Shop Committees in the outbreak, development and completion of strike struggles.

(1) The role of the unemployed in the strike movement (positive, support of the strikes; negative, strike breaking).

(14) The general results of the strike (what real economic advantages or losses were caused by them to the particular industry or country; did they strengthen or weaken the idea of the United Front both on a national or international scale).

Besides these questions, please give particular attention to the character, methods and forms of the strikes of seamen (in foreign ports) and of agricultural workers.

The above questions on the strike struggle are not intended in any way to limit the scope of your report, but merely to give a general outline of the materials desired.

We expect that upon the receipt of the above mentioned circular letter, you will take steps to gather and elaborate your materials in a most exhaustive manner.

Hoping that you will send in all your materials without delay,

EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE R. I. L. U.,

(Signed) A. KALNIN.

*To All the Organizations Affiliated to the R. I. L. U.:*

At the Third Session of the Central Council, a Special Committee on the Strategy of Strikes worked out a corresponding resolution and submitted it to the Central Council. Taking into consideration the complexity of the question, and the lack of sufficient data, the Central Council decided to have the question discussed by all the R. I. L. U. organizations, and only after adequate data shall have been collected, the question thoroly discussed in the press and a number of proposals made, shall it be taken up by the next Congress of the R. I. L. U.

We are forwarding herewith all our available material and the draft resolution of the Committee. The Executive Bureau urges you to pay most serious attention to this question. You know, of course, that the strike movement, in which millions of workers take part every year thruout the world, has been studied very little.

The weapons created by the working class in its spontaneous struggle for emancipation, the methods which frequently bring the workers victory, have not yet been made common to the entire international proletariat. The great strike experiences have not yet been studied or utilized. The questions relating to strike strategy, have never yet been on the Agenda of any national or international congresses.

In this, as well as in many other respects, the working class is far behind the bourgeoisie. It will suffice to compare the comprehensive study of the war and military conflicts made by the bourgeoisie, with the studies of the class battles. Hundreds of investigations have been devoted to each petty diplomatic conflict, to each armed crash, to each battle. Every country has its own rich military schools and academies, where everything that might in any way throw some light on the forms, methods and conditions of military conflicts, is minutely studied.

What, on the other hand, have we in regard to the study of the strike movement? Practically nothing. Scattered articles, reporters' notes, external descriptions of the strikes in the union organs, and a few books and pamphlets—that is all, and it is altogether insufficient.

Yet is not the strike of 1,200,000 British miners, which shook the gigantic British Empire, as important from the point of view of historical development, as the battle of Sedan? Is not the strike wave which swept the entire world in 1919-20, arousing tens of millions of toilers to the realities of life, worthy of study in every detail, and is it possible for the working class to win unless we account for every bit of energy spent by it, everything carried out in the struggle?

Strategy is a very complicated thing, and our proletarian class strategy is immeasurably more intricate than a war strategy. In war we have clear cut lines of action, a definite front. Everyone knows where the enemy is. It is quite different in the class war, in which we have to arouse millions of workers to the realization of the existence of the class front. There are yet millions of workers in the reformist organizations who follow the lead of their general staffs, in spite of the fact that these staffs are dominated by conscious and unconscious agents of the bourgeoisie.

If the adherents of the R. I. L. U., in each country will give greater attention to strikes, if they will study the causes of the strikes, the character and form of negotiations, the organizations which aid the strikes during the struggle, the conflicts with the authorities, the

methods of struggle against strike-breakers, the role of the bourgeois press during the conflict, the methods for the moral mobilization of the strikers, the role of the family in weakening the intensity of the strike, the pickets, boycotts, spontaneous sabotage, corruption of the leaders, the organizations of the employers and their resistance to the workers, etc.—if adequate material should be collected on all these questions, and if this material is thoroly studied and classified. It might serve as an inexhaustable source for the internationalization of our tactics and for making the experience of one the knowledge of all.

You can thus see the importance of these questions raised by us and we feel confident that you will take all necessary steps in order to lay the foundation for the serious study of the many-sided experiences of the strike struggle and for the crystallization, by common effort, of a strike strategy.

Fraternally yours,

EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF  
LABOR UNIONS.

(Signed) A. LOSOVSKY.  
*General Secretary.*

MOSCOW, July 19, 1923.

Willi Muenzenberg was the first great organizer of Communist fronts.<sup>1</sup> Long before the Seventh World Congress propagandized the new look in world conspiracy, Muenzenberg had understood that Communists would achieve greater results if they cultivated "intellectuals" and middle class professional people rather than workers. In keeping with the early Bolshevik emphasis upon labor, Muenzenberg's first front was named the Workers International Relief (WIR). But Muenzenberg saw to it that the relief came largely from people much more gullible than union members.

Some time before the November 1917 revolution, Muenzenberg threw in his lot with that of Lenin. When in April 1920 the latter advocated the utmost flexibility in dealing with non-Communists (Section A, Exhibit No. 10), Muenzenberg knew that his hour had arrived. Quickly he organized and promoted art and photo exhibits, radio programs, benefit concerts, propaganda theaters and motion pictures, advanced advertising techniques along with a whole series of attractive periodicals. In 1926, his *Worker's Illustrated Review* attained a circulation of almost one million. Muenzenberg overlooked nothing that could have popular appeal to middle-class people. His fronts distributed special stamps, flowers, medals and post cards combining "bourgeois" sentiment with radical propaganda. He was also the first leading Communist to appreciate the worth of cultivating women fellow travellers.

Long before Stalin could bring himself to put any reliance in professional people, Muenzenberg insisted that Communist success depended upon organizing non-Communist intellectuals. For those non-Communist groups which he managed to hoodwink, Muenzenberg reserved the contemptuous designation of "Innocents Clubs."<sup>2</sup> All the while, he associated with certain "liberal" French, British and German circles and contrived to make them pay his bills and spread his tactfully diluted propaganda.

Eventually Muenzenberg's successes proved to be his undoing.<sup>3</sup> Stalin grew more and more fearful of the brilliant, mighty, and much too independent leading organizer of foreign fellow travelers. Upon being commanded to come to Moscow in 1937, Muenzenberg refused. At that time, the great purges were at their peak (sec. B, exhibit No. 55). Soon thereafter, he accomplished in Paris the organization of the "right kind" of anti-Hitler people. It seems that he planned to return in triumph to Germany after Hitler's defeat. Having escaped from a French in-

<sup>1</sup> Fiseher, *Stalin and German Communism*, pp. 610-613. Ypsilon, *Pattern for World Revolution*, pp. 194-202. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, pp. 310-311.

<sup>2</sup> Eugene Lyons, *The Red Decade*, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1941, p. 48. Selznick, *Organizational Weapon*, p. 125. Both these books go into considerable detail as to how "Innocents Clubs" were set up in the United States. Oneal and Werner, *American Communism*, pp. 148-149, refer to the origin of this nickname.

<sup>3</sup> Ypsilon, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200. Hugo Dewar, *Assassins at Large*, London, Wingate, 1951, p. 58.

ternment camp, Muenzenberg tried to reach safety in southern France from which he hoped to come to the United States. Only a few hours after his escape, he was found hanging from a tree. While the official verdict was suicide, the Soviet Secret Police never accused the Gestapo of murder as it usually did in similar cases.<sup>4</sup> At the time of his death Muenzenberg was only 50 years of age, full of ambition and very hopeful of escape to the United States. If as is most likely French Communists or Soviet agents murdered him, his execution was only a mild forerunner of many more to be undertaken in the latter days of World War II (this section, exhibit No. 66). Once again the patient, plodding Georgian vozhd had eliminated another untrustworthy intellectual.

Muenzenberg had given up the position of first president of the Young Communist International (YCI) in order to take over the directorship of the Worker's International Relief (WIR). Certain admissions made by him in the present article lend support to the opinion that foreign aid saved the economy of the U. S. S. R. from probable collapse in 1922 (sec. B, exhibits No. 4 and 5).

### EXHIBIT No. 16

[*Inprecorr*, December 22, 1922. Pp. 976-979]

## REPORT ON WORKERS' RELIEF

By Munzenberg

Comrades, I have divided my report into two parts. I will devote a few minutes to our past Famine Relief, and take up the rest of the time with the second part of my report, with the Economic Relief.

Naturally, I will not spend any time on the causes, the magnitude, and the course of the famine. These facts are only too well known to most of the Delegates. Every organ of public opinion reported on last year's famine in Russia which Lenin characterised as the greatest hardship in the reconstruction of Soviet Russia. It suffices to say that 40 million people were directly affected by the famine and that about 3 million of these died of starvation.

It is very important to know that the famine was vanquished and finally overcome not so much by foreign relief, nor by the bourgeois or workers' organisations, but by Soviet Russia. I had promised myself to quote no figures, but I will give two figures in this matter because public opinion is absolutely uninformed of the actual work of relief done to overcome the hunger. All the foreign, governmental, Red Cross, A. R. A., Nansen, Quaker and Workers' Relief sent 33 million poods of grain to Russia until August 1922; during the same time Russia herself gathered 165 million poods of food and 31 million of sowing seeds; altogether 196 millions. All the foreign countries, all foreign relief did not accomplish one sixth of what famished Russia herself did to combat the famine. The famine on the Volga gave birth to a manifestation of labour solidarity such as we had never seen in the history of the Socialist movement before. The action began spontaneously, before any organisation, any Party, had made direct appeal to the workers. German, Austrian and Dutch workers responded to the first call for help with large collections. The campaign spread to all countries, to Japan as well as to India, to North and South America, to every European country; all responded to the call for relief.

The campaign lasted undiminished for a year. It gave rise to a great many touching manifestations of solidarity towards the Russian working class. In England and especially in Holland a great number

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

of working class women gave up their last jewels, even their wedding rings, for the starving Russians; children emptied their saving boxes, sold their pencils and their copy books; prisoners gave up their miserly pay for the relief of the starving Russians.

No action in the past decade has been so popular, or affected such large masses of the proletariat as the campaign for famine relief. I will not bore you with figures; only allow me to read to you these few lines from the report from Bulgaria:

“Whenever any one celebrated a marriage, or child-birth, whenever anyone was buried, or whenever any other event happened, the starving Russians were remembered. Many cases have been recorded when women gave up religious observances and used the money thereby saved, for the Russian relief. Many gave up smoking for weeks, others did not shave, it even happened that comrades sacrificed several meals a month to come to the help of their Russian brothers”.

These are small individual manifestations. I quote them as a proof that this action affected the broadest, non-communist masses and awakened and increased the interest in and solidarity with Soviet Russia.

Comrade Zinoviev in his report said that this action was one of the most remarkable campaigns in the past years. It is indisputably true that almost all Communist Parties and groups with very few exceptions took part in this action and helped to make it a success. At the same time it must be stated in this connection that many comrades took quite a different attitude towards the campaign. In Germany, there were groups who saw in this campaign nothing but a philanthropic charitable action and acted accordingly. I believe that nothing could be more false than to see in the past campaign and the pending economic action, nothing but a charitable collection, an action of a purely philanthropic character. Its primary importance is political not charitable.

The past relief campaign had a great political task to accomplish, which was only partly done because the Communists first began to carry on the campaign on the necessary scale only when they were forced to it by the masses. What were the immediate results when the famine broke out? The immediate results were that a great number of bourgeois governments attempted to increase their attacks against Soviet Russia. In September and October 1920 the world rang with the sword rattling of Polish and French militarism. And just as the English workers were able to prevent the English government from pursuing the Anglo-Polish-Russian war and put a stop to England's military support of the Russian interventionists, the famine campaign of the Comintern and the partial support of the Trade Union International and the large masses of unorganised workers created such a sentiment which forced France to give up some of her plans against Soviet Russia. As is well known, at the first news of the famine, France had prepared an extensive plan for armed intervention in Russia. The pressure of the masses and the change of public opinion in favour of the famished forced even such reactionary governments as France to vote funds for the relief of the famine.

Our second political task in this campaign was brought about by our differences with the Second and Two and a Half Internationals and their affiliated unions. Forced by spontaneous mass manifestations,

the official leaders of the Second and Two and Half Internationals, the adherent Trade Unions and the affiliated Parties declared themselves in favour of a large relief campaign for the benefit of the starving Russians. A few months later when the pressure from the masses became less urgent the leaders changed their course and attempted to use the famine catastrophe as propaganda against Soviet Russia. A savage campaign began in all Social Democratic newspapers whose dominant tone was: "Now you can see where Communism, where Bolshevism lead to! It is a return to barbarism! I only wish to recall the words of Wels at the last Congress of the Social Democracy. He declared; "What is Bolshevism? It is the return to capitalism through cannibalism". This was the propaganda of the Social Democratic papers for months. This made necessary a counter campaign on the part of the Communist Party to show the true causes of the famine. Those responsible for the catastrophe were not the Bolsheviks, but those who had prevented the lifting of the blockade and given their support to military interventions against Russia. Our press only partly came up to this task. (Quite true) The Social Democratic press conducted a much wider and more intensive campaign against Russia than the Communists for Russia.

Comrades, this was the great political significance of the famine relief campaign. To this campaign which awakened the interest of the large masses of the working classes in Soviet Russia by mean of public discussion of the famine on the Volga we should have added a political propaganda explaining the course of the Russian Revolution and showing that the present famine was one link in the long chain of sufferings which the Russian proletariat had to undergo in the interest of its revolution. Everywhere where our committees and Parties have done this, we scored many political successes. I only wish to recall the case of America and Japan, two very typical countries. The campaign for the famine relief enabled us for the first time to conduct Communist propaganda among the Trade Union workers of North America, and to unite these workers in a relief action under the control of the Communist Party. The same thing happened, in Japan. There large associations were created, consisting primarily of workers' organisations, Trade Unions, and even of a bourgeois Womens' League which acted together and were controlled secretly by the Communist Party. In this way we were able to bring for the first time before the masses the questions of Soviet Russia, proletarian revolution, etc.

I will be brief, but I would like to mention another political fact of importance in this connection, and that is the question of the famine campaign in Russia herself. The bourgeois organisations attempted to use the catastrophe against Soviet Russia not only abroad, but they also attempted to incite the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia against the Soviet government and plotted for its overthrow. Together with every plate of soup the A. R. A. distributed a leaflet which read: "We the American bourgeoisie are helping you after the Bolshhevik regime has thrown you into this frightful situation." For several months the Trade Union International sent several delegates to the famine districts where they attempted to win the peasants and workers over to the Amsterdam International. This is why we gave over our distribution apparatus and especially our hospital stations in Samara, in Saratov, in Orenbourg, in the Ural, and in the

Crimea, to the Soviet government in order to put a stop to this exploitation of Russia's misery against the Bolshevik regime, and we gave the piece of bread or meat which we could afford to bring to the suffering peasants and workers in the name of the Communist International. These Russian peasants and workers naturally do not stand on the same cultural plane, as for instance, the members of this Fourth World Congress of the Comintern. This thing took a very simple form in their mind. Till then they had heard of the Comintern only through the Congress reports in the form of resolutions of the Western workers in favour of Soviet Russia. For the first time they felt the presence of the Comintern in flesh and blood. They saw practical action in their support. In this way the famine relief produced positive political results for the Comintern in Russia also. Comrades allow me a few more words on the relief work itself. This is also known to most of the delegates here through our constant reports. Under advice of the Executive, we attempted to form a United Front of the workers on the famine relief. We entered into negotiations with leaders of the Second and Two and a Half and Trade Union Internationals, we had two common conferences in Berlin, which had no positive results. Only in Italy and Czecho-Slovakia were we able to create a temporary committee of representatives from various parties, Trade Unions and cooperatives. However, a few months later the committee broke up when it came to the question of the disposal of the collected funds. The Czecho-Slovak Social Democrats wanted to give those funds over to Amsterdam.

Two great organisations took part in the workers' relief for the Russian famine, the Trade Union International and the Communist International. Allow me a word on the work of the Amsterdam International. The work of the Trade Union International found support in all the Social-Democratic parties and the still existing independent centrist parties. Under pressure of the spontaneous manifestation of the will of the masses to come to the help of Soviet Russia, the Amsterdam Bureau used very pointed and wise language.

Manifestoes were published in the papers saying "Workers, help Soviet Russia; if Soviet Russia falls misfortune will fall upon all Europe!" These manifestoes were ignored by the Centrist and other social democratic organs. As the agitation in the Press continued, the Amsterdam Trade Union International took the matter up; and now, after a year and a half, we can regard the work as established. The trade unions and the social democrats have contributed according to the audit of April 1922, altogether 1,400,000 Dutch gulden. With this sum 40,000 children have been fed for several months and about 50,000 railway workers have received rations.

The aid of the International Co-operators has not been so great, as only the Czecho-Slovakian and Italian co-operatives have sent substantial shipments of clothing etc.

Now a few words with regard to the action of the Communist International. After the plan to form a powerful united front of working class unions and parties against the Russian Famine was wrecked, the Communist Party endeavoured to win support from as large a number as possible of the workers in the factories and the unions. This has been done in many countries with great success. For example, in Switzerland, in Holland, in Scandinavia, and also, to some extent in America. Large groups of sympathisers and con-

siderable numbers of indifferent workers, were won over to the cause of famine relief through the activity of the Communist committees and parties.

The material results of this work were unexpectedly good. When we initiated the campaign, none of us would have thought it possible to amass such great sums as those which have been collected. You have heard, in the report of comrade Eberlein, how weak from a organisation point of view, the parties in the Western countries still are. To this we must add severe unemployment in Amerika, England, Switzerland, and Norway, which materially hampered our activities, while in Austria and Germany, as a result of the continually rising cost of living, the position of the workers was thereby so impoverished that it was difficult even for the best of communists, to request further sacrifices of these comrades.

Altogether, the activity of the communist relief committees in goods, money, and valuables, realised over 2½ million dollars.

To illustrate the magnitude of this result, I would like to make a comparison. In Switzerland 250,000 trade unionists and social democrats, who organised a special campaign of their own, collected only 80,000 Swiss francs. On the other hand, the Swiss relief committee of the Communist Party, which had only a few thousand members, collected 540,000 Swiss francs (Applause). These are figures which tell us distinctly that the Communist committees have been able to penetrate into many sections of the masses which were hitherto indifferent, and to obtain from them financial support.

I said just now that the Amsterdam International, with over twenty million members, collected 1,400,000 Dutch gulden. The Relief Committees of the little Communist Party of Holland, up till about a fortnight ago, collected half a million Dutch gulden. I believe that the Dutch Party has only four or five thousand members. And these have raised about half a million gulden, while the Amsterdam International with its 22 million members, up to the 15th March, had only raised 1,400,000 gulden. I believe that these figures show that it was possible to obtain good results when the Communist Parties conducted a skilful agitation. These figures also show the goodwill and self-sacrificing spirit of large sections of the working class.

With the 2½ million dollars, about 30,000 tons of foodstuffs and other relief material were sent to Russia. The relief work started in Russia in November. In December the first relief trains arrived in Kazan and other parts of the famine area. I will not detain you with figures especially as some of our comrades, working in the famine area, have not compiled exact statistics, as they forgot to include in their reports to whom relief was accorded. But it is better to forget to enter some one in one's statistical report, than to forget to aid him, as has been the case, I believe, by certain bourgeois organisations. During the famine months, we gave full relief to about from 200,000 to 220,000 people, and also supplied certain rations to railway workers and other workers in different necessary factories. At present the famine relief continues still in the form of aid to the children. We have taken over some Children's Homes in the different famine districts, in which at present 14,000 children are completely supported by us. We have also equipped a number of these homes.

That which distinguished the relief work of the C. I. from that of the bourgeois philanthropic societies, is that we have, from the begin-

ning, united the famine relief—that is, the actual feeding of the hungry—with aid towards the reconstruction of Russian agriculture and industry which were destroyed in the famine area.

I now come to the second part of my report: the economic help campaign. I must now take a brief glance at the past. The will of the West European and American workers to render to Russia, not only political aid through their Communist Parties, but also practical economic aid, has shown itself for several years. Already in the autumn of 1919, and still more markedly in the Spring of 1920, American, Swedish, Norwegian and German workers groups emigrated to Russia and there, with much idealism and little skill, endeavoured to restore Russian industry. Most of these experiments have ended in a complete fiasco. I am reminded now of the Kolomna affair, so well remembered in Germany. About a year ago, and mainly as a result of the famine relief campaign, an increased determination to extend economic aid to Russia has shown itself among the West European, and particularly among the American workers. In Germany a number of machines have been sent to Russia, besides tools and agricultural machinery. In Italy the cooperative societies played the most important part in economic aid. They intend to undertake the cultivation of 100,000 hectares of land. In England, in Switzerland, and Czecho-Slovakia groups are being formed, for example construction groups, who wish to emigrate to Russia with tools and a small capital. This tendency is also found in South Africa and is particularly strong in America. There are several large groups in that country adhering to the enterprise of the Dutch engineer Rutgers, who have established several thousand construction and other workers in the Cuznetz Basin, and have taken over mines and land sites for development.

In America there is the Friends of Soviet Russia, which is closely connected with the Communist International, and which has already supplied considerable economic help for instance, the 20 tractors which are now at work in the Perm district. In the United States there is also the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia which also sent several tractors to Russia; this organisation has several branches and several thousand members. Then we have Comrade Hillman's plan which proposes to raise a loan of one million dollars for Russia and which has arranged with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to found large-scale clothing factories in Russia.

In the last few days the Russian Government has established a special commission, under the control of Comrades Eiduck and Tartens, which will bring over 8,000 American workers to Russia next Spring.

I believe it is the duty of the Communist International to define its position with regard to these matters. In America there are at least 20,000 people who are interested in these enterprises; in Europe perhaps an equal number. We must know how to deal with these things. Perhaps they are not good—then they must be changed into large-scale campaigns for economic help. Among most of the workers in Europe and America who are inclined to emigrate to Russia, the desire to aid Russia is mingled with the desire to aid themselves. They have the idea that within the next few years there will be great political crises in America or Europe. Russia, however, is at present in a state of improvement. Therefore, think they, let us shoulder

our bundles and start for there. So far, the Communist International has refused to take up a position with regard to this; but it must now assume a very definite attitude. In the face of such a plan, the bringing of eight to ten thousand emigrants to Russia, we of the Communist International are in duty bound to tell our Russian comrades that we have given our best thought to this subject, not only to the work which these emigrants will do here, but to the consequent weakening of the revolutionary movement in the countries which they leave, through their withdrawal. There is no reason why we should mitigate the tremendous economic crises in France and Czecho-Slovakia by bringing a great mass of unemployed to Soviet Russia. I believe that we should unconditionally take up the attitude that, as a Communist Party, we are strictly opposed to any mass emigration of European and American workers to Russia. Such emigration implies no further support for Russia but only a relieving of the crisis in the Western capitalist countries.

It is quite different, however, when for certain factories, certain skilled specialists are needed who cannot be found in Russia. In such cases the bringing over of European or American workers, under the control and with the consent of the Russian trade unions, might be advisable.

Comrades, whatever position we take with regard to this, it must at least be definite. Either the immigration of foreign workers is a good thing or it is a bad thing, and our attitude must be governed accordingly.

I am of the opinion that the question of economic help is a matter which deserves the support of the Communist International to the fullest extent. Only we must be absolutely clear as to the character of this help. We must finally break with such fantastic conceptions as that the economic help is a new campaign to solve the world problem, that it is the struggle of the classes to introduce new production as some comrades seem to think. Here a distinct division must be drawn.

There are a number of comrades who have great doubts with regard to economic help. They see in it the danger of the opportunistic petty bourgeoisie, they fear economic experiments which will have deteriorating effects on political propaganda. They remind us of Kolomna and other similar cases.

It is true that Famine Relief, and even more so economic help, is a very ticklish problem, especially when the Communist International supports it. It brings with it many great dangers. But there are no tactics which do not contain within themselves certain dangerous factors. We discussed the United Front for nearly a year, and the whole Congress was of the opinion that it implied dangers both from the Right and from the Left. Yet it was unanimously accepted. Because certain tactics may involve certain dangers is not an argument that they should not be introduced, if they be possible, useful, and productive of good results. One must take precautions, on a national and on an international scale, to reduce this danger to a minimum.

Comrades, I believe that the problem of economic help is above all a problem of expediency and practicability. The principal thing is that we should ask ourselves whether the expenditure of effort is justified by the results. There should be no doubt left in this Congress that the Communist International should agree that the first and best

support of Russian economic reconstruction lies in the pressure exerted by the Communist and other working class parties upon the governments of their respective countries, so that they may recognise Soviet Russia and conclude advantageous trade agreements with her, and that, in these countries, the revolution be accomplished also. Therefore those comrades who are at present occupied with this work have no doubt but that the economic aid for Russia, just as the political aid, should not be in the least diminished or enfeebled. We stand absolutely upon the ground that the political revolutionary struggle in each country is the best and most necessary support for Soviet Russia.

The only question which we have to settle in this Congress is: Is the political struggle the only method which the proletariats and the Communist International may use under the present political and economic reconstruction.

We are all united as to the importance of Soviet Russia. Through the addresses of Lenin, Trotzky, and Zinoviev, the Congress has once more affirmed, what is really the A. B. C. to every comrade, that without Soviet Russia a continuation of the present proletarian revolution is impossible. A new immediate release of proletarian power would be impossible. And the higher the waves of Fascism rise in other countries, the more must Soviet Russia be supported as the only line of retreat for the proletarian armies of the world. Therefore we ask, has the world proletariat to support Soviet Russia only by its political power? I say, No! It has yet a minimum of economic power. It is true we have no machines, no factories,—they belong to the capitalists—but we have technical knowledge, professional knowledge, and knowledge of organisation. This minimum of economic power should be mobilised through the economic help and placed to the credit of Soviet Russia in its economic war with the imperialists.

And now, comrades, let us take up a few of the tactical objections, which have been made by certain comrades. They say, this is perhaps all very well, but we can do no more to-day. We are exhausted. The Famine Relief, which has lasted a whole year, has so tired us, that we cannot continue it.

Comrades, this is a reason which, among all the objections is the most to be considered. It is true that some of the proletariat—especially the workers of Central Europe—have exhausted all their strength through the length of the campaign. And there is no doubt that we must cease our collections, in the form in which they were made previously.

The means we adopted in the past can no longer serve the purpose. But it is a different question, how we are to carry out the action from the standpoint of technical organisation after we have decided that it is necessary on principle and properly conceived. The collections in their present form should be discontinued. Other means could be devised for the purpose of mobilising the maximum of financial support for Soviet Russia.

Another objection was raised, that the financial resources of Party officials have been exhausted. All the appeals in the world will be in vain, since these people cannot give any money. This objection does not reflect upon the action itself, but rather upon those comrades who raised the objection. We have never demanded from the Communist International, nor from any Communist Party, to so tax

the financial resources of its officials and workers that they should not be able to pay their Party dues. Our demand was that every Communist Party should make use of its officials to arouse the interest in those quarters that are passive but sympathetic to Soviet Russia, and we find that wherever this proposition was properly understood, it gave good results.

One of the important objections is that the appeal for economic aid is likely to be detrimental to the political revolutionary struggle of the Parties, taking away the best comrades. That is not true. Such parties like the German Party, with a membership of 200,000, do not consist entirely of political workers. As soon as we organise the Communist Party as an open Party which anyone can join on becoming converted by our agitation, we get a good many elements which could not eventually devote themselves to daily political activity. Here we have thousands of workers and comrades unoccupied by Party work, and every Communist Party could—by a proper selection of forces in the same manner as is done for activity among the youth, for Party work and for educational work—get together many forces everywhere for the special work of economic aid.

But we are told that the political character of the Party would become tainted with petty-bourgeois philanthropy. This only goes to show that these Parties do not make the best use of the tactics. It would be similar to saying that we ought to reject the United Front because some Party group might be likely to apply it wrongly. It is economic aid activity that furnishes a hundred points of contact with the masses to arouse universal interest for the Russian question and the general revolutionary questions associated therewith, to bring influence to bear upon the large masses in the daily political struggle and to lead on the proletarian revolution.

Finally let me deal with the principal objection. The comrades ask, what is the use of it all? We mobilise hundreds of Party members, we give half a column in our press week by week, and what is the success obtained? In my concluding words I will deal with the material success, but for the present let me speak of the political success.

Comrades, we are well aware that as workers and as the Communist International we could not hope to build up Soviet Russia by our own financial resources. If that were possible, our Executive would long ago have carried out this book-keeping transaction. Unfortunately that cannot be done. As against the few cases of overestimation of partial successes there are a majority of comrades inclined to underestimate the financial support which we are able to render. Most of the comrades have no idea of the vast amount of good that could be done by the international proletariat, if a wide mobilisation of forces for financial aid were to be carried out. In the famine relief campaign five million dollars were directly or indirectly collected by the proletariat. That amounts to ten million gold roubles. Comrades, you will recollect the speech of Comrade Lenin in which he said, that the greatest achievements of the economic policy of last year consisted in the saving of twenty million gold roubles for the reconstruction of the heavy industries. The entire State machine effected a saving of twenty million gold roubles, yet the proletariat got together ten million gold roubles for famine relief without exhausting the resources of a single Communist Party, nor of the trade unions, the cooperatives

and other labour parties. If all our Party forces would put their shoulder to the wheel, there is no doubt that the results would be doubled. I can easily imagine occasions when economic aid by workers would be ridiculous irony, but under the present economic situation of Soviet Russia the financial force of the proletariat is an important factor.

There is another objection, that the workers' relief organization already has a number of its own enterprises in Russia: fisheries, farms, shoe factories etc. There were times when 30,000 workers were directly employed in the industrial enterprises maintained by the workers' relief organisation. Think of the words of Comrade Trotsky who said: One million workers in the State industries, and 40,000 in the capitalist industries!

Comrades, with a slight increase in our activity it would be possible to increase the number of workers employed in our industries and enterprises to 50,000 and more, perhaps to one tenth of the number of workers employed by the State in its industries, and at least as many as are employed in the petty capitalist enterprises.

I repeat that the main purpose of our economic relief activity for Soviet Russia is to give the world proletariat an opportunity of rendering practical aid without in any way retarding the progress of the political revolutionary movement.

As I have already said during the last nine months, we successfully conducted various enterprises in Russia. We maintain three farms in the vicinity of Kazan which have yielded sufficient produce to feed over 100 children. We have established a successful fishery in Astrakhan, where we caught large quantities of fish which we are now distributing in the famine regions. At the present moment we are negotiating with the Russian Government for the realisation of a million dollar loan. We may use that fund partly in reorganising the leather industry. Just now we are asked to arrange for the supply of millions of railway sleepers on a five year contract. Thus we see that all our experiences so far demonstrate the possibility of practical aid in the reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

As I said, we have floated a million dollar loan in order to get more money for our enterprises Russia. It is interesting to recall the reception that was accorded to this loan. Not only the workers and the Communists, but even among the bourgeoisie there were liberal subscriptions to this loan. The Deutsche Bank of Berlin and the State Bank of Brussels were among the subscribers to the loan, as well as great numbers of the middle class. The Dutch workers subscription cards brought in the sum of 75,000 florins. I therefore have no reason to doubt that by the coming spring the one million dollar loan will be fully subscribed, furnishing us with new resources for our enterprises in Russia.

My answer to the question of the effectiveness of this financial activity can only be in the affirmative. The experiences as well as the prospects indicate the assurance of mobilising a sufficient amount of money for doing practical work in Russia.

The purely material side of this loan is a secondary consideration in our economic aid. The main purpose of our economic activities is to influence the large masses to whose primitive way of thinking our ordinary communist propaganda can hardly make effective appeal. This economic action affords us the opportunity of approaching the

indifferent masses by means of moving pictures and through the newspapers, and this constitutes the great propaganda value of this work. On these grounds we expect that the Congress will decide in favour of continuing the work of famine relief in the shape of economic aid.

The next step is the attempt to centralise all the existing groups. We have made a beginning by uniting with the Dutch engineer Rutgers. The tendency of all the organs of economic aid is mainly in the direction of uniting all the active groups and forces.

I think it of importance in a few words to indicate the political tendency of this work once more. It is a question of recognising that there has been a good deal of exaggeration, which I readily admit, but it cannot be gainsaid on the other hand, that our economic aid will be a useful practical supplement to our political activity. This activity will not be necessary of course if the revolution should triumph tomorrow in Germany or France; but in the present political situation of the world, and in view of the circumstances in Russia, the economic aid activity will be a useful and direct adjunct to our political action, and will mean the practical assistance of Soviet Russia.

One of the oldest and financially most successful of world Communist fronts was the International Red Aid (IRA). It was originally set up in 1922 as the result of a directive of the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, which called upon "all Communist parties to establish an organization to render material and moral aid to the imprisoned victims of capitalism."<sup>1</sup> Every subsequent world congress confirmed this 1922 Comintern approval of the IRA.

By the year 1925, Communists in the United States succeeded in organizing an American branch of the IRA under the title of International Labor Defense (ILD).<sup>2</sup> After the formal dissolution of the Communist International, the ILD continued its work without interruption until 1946. In that year, the ILD was superseded by the Civil Rights Congress.<sup>3</sup> William Z. Foster has admitted that the Civil Rights Congress carried much of the burden of defending the 11 leaders of the CPUSA who were indicted July 20, 1948, and convicted on October 14, 1949.<sup>4</sup>

Israel Amter, the author of the following exhibit, has been a long-time member of the CPUSA. In the early years, he preferred "infantile leftwing" tactics.<sup>5</sup> After he accepted the correct orientation brought to the United States by John Pepper, an official representative of the Communist International, Amter himself became a "C. I. rep."<sup>6</sup> On June 20, 1951, Amter was indicted under the Smith Act. Conviction followed in January 1953.

#### EXHIBIT No. 17

[*Inprecorr*, July 31, 1924. P. 557]

### FIRST WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED RELIEF

By I. Amter.

The First World Conference of the International Red Relief has come to an end and begins a new year with a full understanding of the tremendous tasks that confront the organisation.

The Conference met in Moscow and was attended by representatives from Soviet Russia, Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia,

<sup>1</sup> *Resolutions and Theses of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Held in Moscow, November 7 to December 3, 1922.* London, Communist Party of Great Britain, n. d., p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, p. 459. Louis F. Budenz, *The Techniques of Communism*, Chicago, Regnery, 1954, pp. 32-33.

<sup>4</sup> Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

<sup>5</sup> Gitlow, *I Confess*, p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 231.

Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Italy, France, Spain, Turkey, Switzerland, Denmark, Egypt, Java, India, China, United States, Argentine and Brazil. The delegates were, for the most part, men and women who have been working actively in the organisation of the IRR. and therefore know its tasks.

The main work before the conference was the adoption of plans whereby the great masses of the workers and peasants could be drawn into the organisation and filled with a sense of solidarity with the fighters of the working class who have been sent to prison by the brutal capitalist regimes. The IRR. is an organisation for collecting funds for the support of these revolutionary fighters and their families, for protecting them before the courts of the reactionary bourgeoisie and for taking care of political emigrants who are obliged to flee from the claws of the White Terror. But the IRR. has another most important function: to enlighten the working masses as to the significance of the struggle for which the revolutionaries are thrown into prison and tortured.

The conference unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the sections to form membership organisations—organisations including the industrial workers, peasants and sympathetic elements. As a United Front non-party organisation, the committees are made up of representatives of all proletarian political parties, trade unions, co-operatives, youth and women's organisations etc. As a non-party organisation, the IRR. supports and protects all revolutionary workers and their families irrespective of their party affiliation.

The reports of the delegates revealed the brutality of the methods that the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state employ in the vain hope of demoralising the revolutionary movement. By employing the torture-methods of the middle ages and adding modern means of torment—such as the electric chair—the bourgeoisie believes that the revolutionary workers will be terrorised. But the capitalist system itself is furnishing the conditions that force the workers and poor exploited peasants to fight. The International Red Relief, as a revolutionary auxiliary organisation, is mobilizing the workers and peasants to the support of the fighters of the working class—the victims of bourgeois "justice". From all the countries where Social Democracy still has a hold on the workers, came the reports of the treachery of the bureaucracy of the Social Democratic parties and reformistic unions. The revolutionaries have been persecuted and denounced by the reformists, many of whom are even members of the secret police (ochrana) of the capitalist states. From the colonies came the reports of the savage treatment of revolutionaries by the imperialist regime ruling the countries. Terrorisation, torture, murder, persecution of the families—these are some of the means whereby the bourgeoisie tries to destroy the revolutionary movement.

One of the important points was that of legal help. In many countries it is extremely difficult to procure lawyers to defend the revolutionary prisoners. In some cases, the Social Democrats refuse to assist. In other countries, the Communists are not permitted to appear before the courts. In all countries every obstacle is put in the way of the proper defense of proletarian prisoners so that, as in Germany, one may get rid of 40 or 50 revolutionaries in one batch. The conference decided that every step must be taken to organise legal help so that as many revolutionaries may be kept out of the hands of the bourgeoisie so possible.

The conference emphasised the necessity of agitation and propaganda. March 18th is the international day of the International Red Relief. It is a day when the working class the world over thinks of the heroic struggles of the proletariat of Paris during the days of the Commune. This is a day on which the victims of the revolutionary class war must be held in remembrance—when the world proletariat must be called to new effort to demand the release of revolutionary proletarians and to consolidate their ranks for the revolutionary struggle.

The activity of the IRR. has been most successful in Soviet Russia. In fact, the aid that has been given to the prisoners in the capitalist prisons has come chiefly from the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. Nowhere in the world is there manifested such solidarity with the revolutionary prisoners as in Soviet Russia. This was particularly evident in the speeches of the delegations sent to the gala opening meeting of the conference at the Zimin Theatre, Moscow. Soviet Russia's workers and peasants know what reaction means. For decades they suffered the most brutal treatment and repression at the hands of the Black Hundreds of the tsar. Hence their sympathy with the prisoners in capitalist countries. From January 1923 to June 1924, they have collected more than 368,000 dollars for the relief of the victims in capitalist prisons. But that is not all. The Russian Section of the IRR. has carried on a most intense propaganda. It has reached the most remote parts of that vast country. 2,500,000 Russian workers and peasants are members of the IRR. and the number is constantly growing. The political activity of the IRR. therefore, must be carefully weighed. Propaganda, literature etc. must be issued in large quantities. The splendid example of Soviet Russia must be copied in all countries. The International Red Relief as a revolutionary auxiliary organisation must reach all sections of the working class. It must draw them into the relief work. It must clearly explain the meaning of the class struggle, it must stand behind every fighter—thus broadening the struggle and leading to the day when the proletariat will rule the world over.

The great majority of the revolutionaries in capitalist prisons are Communists and Communist Youths. It therefore becomes the duty of every Communist to enter immediately into the ranks of the IRR. and propagate its work. Every revolutionary worker, however, whether still in the Social Democratic parties, in the syndicalist or anarchist organisations, all the revolutionary peasants' organisations and cooperatives, are intensely interested in the struggle. They must be drawn into active work for the IRR. The proletarian press must be pressed into service. The film as one of the most effective methods of propaganda must be exploited.

International Solidarity is the slogan of the International Red Relief! International Red Relief must be given to every fighting proletarian—in the name of the revolutionary struggle in the name of the emancipation of the working class!

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Muenzenberg's present article purports to make a short summary of the first 10 years of WIR activity. It was written during one of the more radical periods of Bolshevik history, 1928-34. At the time of the WIR Congress, however, Stalin manifested a somewhat less suspicious attitude toward intellectuals.<sup>1</sup> While

<sup>1</sup> David J. Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia*. Translated by Joseph Shaplen, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1944, p. 117.

keeping his emphasis upon the proletarian class, Muenzenberg did find time to praise certain scientists, artists and writers who had helped to make his front organizations successful. Within a few months after this WIR Congress, Stalin again became very distrustful of intellectuals.

### EXHIBIT No. 18

[*Inprecorr*, September 24, 1931. Pp. 920-921.]

## PROLETARIAN MASS ORGANISATIONS

### BEFORE THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS INTERNATIONAL RELIEF

By Willi Münzenberg (Berlin)

During the last few months the international economic crisis has shown a decided tendency to become more aggravated. One can say without exaggeration that we are experiencing an unprecedented intensification of class antagonisms and that the present development is rapidly tending to big and final conflicts between labour and capital, between exploiters and exploited.

Needless to say, under these political, economic and social conditions a proletarian Congress such as the International Congress of the Workers International Relief, convened for October 9th on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the W. I. R. assumes great importance.

The decade of untiring work of the W. I. R. in supporting the proletarian mass movements and struggles has aroused a deep interest for the W. I. R. in the factories and mass organisations. Delegates from important trade unions and mass organisations of the proletariat of almost every important imperialist and colonial country will attend the W. I. R. Congress, not only delegates from the revolutionary trade unions of England, France, Czechoslovakia and the Balkan countries, from the oppositional groups in Spain and Belgium, but also delegates from various strike committees, who have conducted great mass struggles with the support of the W. I. R. The miners' strike committee of Pennsylvania. Ohio and West Virginia, the textile strike committee of Northern France, the strike committee of the textile workers of Rhode Island. Allentown and Bedford have decided to send the delegates to the W. I. R. Congress. The striking Polish and Bulgarian textile workers, the agricultural workers of Andalusia are sending delegates to the World Congress of the W. I. R. in order to exchange experiences.

Big delegations will attend from colonial countries, from Egypt and French North Africa, from Java, Indo-China, India and China.

The propaganda for the Congress has met with a response also among the intellectuals and middle classes in Germany, France, England and the United States. Representatives of agricultural cooperatives, of small peasant farms have found their way to this Congress just as the most prominent personalities in the world of art, literature and science.

Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, the Japanese writer Fujimori Mrs. Mariategui, the representative of the Latin-America countries, will take part in this Congress together with hundreds of the best representatives of German science and art.

The old veteran of the Irish labour movement, Mrs. Despart, who is now 86, has just been instructed by the revolutionary trade union groups of Ireland to represent them at the Congress. The Australian W. I. R. will be represented at the Congress by Jeanne Devanny, a woman writer.

This Congress meets at a time when 80 million people in China are facing death from starvation as a result of the decay of the capitalist-imperialist system. True to its tradition to organise proletarian solidarity, to alleviate the appalling mass misery resulting from decaying capitalism, the W. I. R. Congress will tackle the problem of a concrete relief action for the victims of the Chinese flood and hunger disaster.

The unemployment of 35 million people sets the W. I. R. fresh tasks with regard to supporting the struggles of the unemployed.

The character and the extent of the approaching strike struggles, the problem of drawing in the unorganised masses and the intermediate strata, the allies of the proletariat, the outbreak of fresh crises and their affect on the proletarian standard of life and the fighting strategy of the respective organisations, will be subjected to thorough discussion and will in all probability lead to important fighting decisions.

The Congress will be of extraordinary importance both in regard to its social composition and the tasks set it. It will become an event in the international labour movement and a milestone in the development of the class struggles which are breaking out in all countries as a result of the economic crisis.

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The next three exhibits summarize certain Communist efforts to apply the united front tactics of the Seventh World Congress to the generally socialist International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU).<sup>1</sup> Through the years, the Communists had their share of troubles trying to take over this rival organization of their own RILU.<sup>2</sup> Following some tentative action begun in 1913, the IFTU became firmly established shortly after the Versailles Conference held in 1919. For some 16 years (1921-37), the RILU both opposed and at the same time attempted to bore from within the IFTU.<sup>3</sup> In 1937, Comintern leaders disbanded the RILU in the hope of deceiving the IFTU.<sup>4</sup> Much credit for the failure of Communist intrigue with respect to the IFTU must be awarded to the American Federation of Labor which openly opposed, not only the admission of the Soviet Labor Unions, but also the socialist orientation of many of the IFTU affiliates.<sup>5</sup> AFL opposition proved to be a potent factor at the 1938 Conference held in Oslo. As exhibit No. 21 clearly indicates, Communists were still having serious difficulties with the IFTU in late 1939.

#### EXHIBIT No. 19

[*World News and Views*, May 28, 1938. Pp. 664-665]

### THE CONFERENCE OF THE I. F. T. U. IN OSLO

SPEECH OF BENOIT FRACHON, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FRENCH  
C. G. T.

“The question of unity dominates this Conference because the working masses of all countries are more imperatively demanding every day that it be realised. They fully understand that unity is their chief weapon in the fight against fascism.

<sup>1</sup> Selznick, *Organizational Weapon*, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 367, 382. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism*, pp. 165, 167.

<sup>3</sup> Gitlow, *I Confess*, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Borkenau, *European Communism*, p. 223. Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 320.

“Moreover, in spite of obstacles, unity is being established in the fight. It has been established in Spain in the fight against fascism and against the attacks of Hitler and Mussolini; it has become stronger in the midst of the difficulties which one encountered in this fight.

“Unity has been established in China, where a whole nation is fighting against aggressive Japanese militarism; and this unity of the people has already rendered possible important victories.

“Trade union unity has been established in France in face of the fascist danger. This unity has resulted in important achievements for the working people of France.

“The question of unity, moreover, dominated the debates in London. If we sum up the political events which have taken place since then, as well as the results achieved by the I. F. T. U., it is to be much regretted that two years have been lost in fiddling about with unity.

“In regard to support for Spain, the aid rendered by the I. F. T. U. was relatively weak, compared with what ought to have been done.

“In our respective countries we have not succeeded in compelling our democratic Governments to abandon the shameful policy of non-intervention, nor has the action against the aggressor countries been rendered effective. If the forces of the workers had been united in this action the result would have been different.

“In London the question of unity was put as follows: either invite the Soviet trade unions and the other unaffiliated trade union centres to affiliate, or conduct discussions with them for the purpose of realising trade union unity. The latter proposal was adopted after a thorough discussion and was clearly expressed in the resolution.

“When, after a year of waiting, this decision was finally carried out, when the delegation of the I. F. T. U. came back from Moscow and published in a protocol the results of these negotiations, when they declared that they would support the proposals of the Soviet trade unions, there was joy among the workers.

“But some days later the bourgeois press published, with obvious satisfaction, articles and declarations of officials of the I. F. T. U., who made fierce attacks against the Soviet trade unions and rejected unity.

“Why this sudden barrage against unity at the very moment when its realisation seemed to have approached nearer? What is the meaning of these attacks against and these objections to unity with the Soviet trade unions?

“I will examine some of these objections. There are people here who have declared that it is impossible to unite with the Soviet trade unions owing to ideological differences of opinion. These people hold the view that ideological unity must be established. We shall certainly establish it one day, as soon as we have destroyed the pernicious ideas which the bourgeoisie endeavours to implant into the Labour Movement. But what ideology is meant in the present case, in regard to the relations of the I. F. T. U. to the organisations outside of it? The ideology of the Second International.

“If you think that the 20 million members of the I. F. T. U. support the theories of the Second International, then you are mistaken.

“Other people object that the trade unions of the Soviet Union are not free and are dependent upon the Government. Are there, per-

haps, people who wish to maintain that trade union freedom is to be found in the capitalist countries, and that where the capitalists have been driven out there is no longer freedom? You know quite well that the opposite is the case, that we in our countries, even in the democratic countries, have continually to fight for the exercise of trade union rights.

"Certain people reproach the Soviet trade unions because they support their Government. What do these people want? Do they demand that the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union shall call back the big landowners and ask them to form a Government? If that were the case with them, as it happens to be with us, they would certainly be against the Government.

"For my part I fully and entirely agree with the proposals of the Soviet trade unions, proposals regarding which the I. F. T. U. delegation were of the opinion that they permitted a solution. In any case we should continue discussion with the Soviet trade unions, inspired by the desire to achieve unity as soon as possible."

#### DISCUSSION OF QUESTION OF AFFILIATION OF SOVIET TRADE UNIONS

OSLO, May 18.

At to-day's session, the Conference of the I. F. T. U. commenced to deal with the question of the affiliation of the Soviet trade unions.

At the beginning of the proceedings *Citrine* emphasised the great importance of the question, upon which *Schevenels* then delivered his report. *Schevenels* recalled the proposal made in 1936 by the Norwegian T. U. C. to invite all existing trade union federations to affiliate to the international. At that time there was a marked political advance, he declared. "The Soviet Union was in process of democratising the Constitution of its political and economic organisations. Many of those then in agreement with Norway's proposal had since become doubtful. Reporting in detail on the negotiations in Moscow, *Schevenels* stressed that the I. F. T. U. delegation had made no agreement in Moscow nor had it bound the I. F. T. U. in any way. The Executive wished expressly to state that the Russians had made no formal application whatever for affiliation. It was impossible, he said, to accept the conditions laid down by the Soviet trade union and thus the bureau of the I. F. T. U. had rejected them by four votes to one with two abstentions. The demand for struggle against war and fascism could be agreed to if there were no criticism of the I. F. T. U. So could action against war and support for Spain and China.

As far as concerns further efforts towards unity the I. F. T. U. could not compel its individual sections to take part in such collaboration. The same applied to the demand for support for People's Fronts where they exist. In each case the trade union federation in the particular country must decide this issue for itself.

Following the report of *Schevenels*, the first speaker to take part in the debate was *Leon Jouhaux*, General Secretary of the French C. G. T. and member of the Bureau of the I. F. T. U.

"The question of the inclusion of the Soviet trade unions is of historic importance. International Union unity is of the greatest importance at the present time. Without it we shall be helpless."

It was lack of unity, he went on, that was contributing to fascist expansion in Europe, to its oppression of free peoples, and its threat to the Americas.

"Now is the time to ask ourselves in all seriousness whether we want to win or to be defeated," he declared, "we can no longer postpone answering this question. Delay has already led to the Austrian people being brought under Hitler's yoke. Further delay may lead to the enslavement of the Spanish people. Its consequence may be that Czechoslovakia will be forced into alliance with Hitler Germany if she does not disappear altogether from the map.

"The question of the Soviet Union must be regarded broadly, in no formal way. All who wish must have the possibility of joining our movement. They could not reject anyone who wants to fight for freedom. These questions must be treated with all seriousness. The I. F. T. U. must never adopt a stand that would be likely to strengthen the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis.

"We cannot defeat our opponents unless we have a closed front against them," Jouhaux said. "In this spirit unity must be operated. We criticise the Russian regime. But if we do this we must simultaneously give the Russian workers the opportunity of joining our fight for the liberation of the working class."

After Leon Jouhaux had concluded his speech the President of the Mexican trade union, *Lombardo Toledano*, spoke. He said it was no longer possible to consider fascism, as it had been considered in the past, as an Italian peculiarity, but as something that is international. Its appearance on the American Continent showed it was a movement which could triumph only if it was able to conquer the whole world.

The working-class movement has remained passive up to the present time. In Mexico on the contrary, the workers had taken the offensive against fascism and that is why they have triumphed.

"Mexico had recommended the acceptance of the Soviet trade unions into the I. F. T. U. That is not a question of tactics or dogma, it is a question of policy. It is necessary to unite in a common struggle against fascism."

For these reasons the Mexican delegation was putting forward a resolution envisaging conversations with all organisations outside the I. F. T. U. This resolution was an appeal to the working class of the entire world.

Next to speak was one of the joint secretaries of the Spanish U. G. T., *Rosal*. He regretted that the Executive of the I. F. T. U. had not accepted the Spanish proposal to invite the Soviet trade unions to send a delegation to Oslo for information purposes and to answer questions. It would be of the greatest importance in the struggle against fascism if the number of members of the I. F. T. U. were doubled, as it would be by the addition of the Soviet Trade Unions. It was better to struggle for international trade union unity while there was still time than to struggle too late amid torrents of blood.

The next speaker, *Benoit Francon*, one of the representatives of the French C. G. T., said:<sup>1</sup>

*Olaf Hendahl*, President of the Norwegian unions, declared it was too late to enter into a discussion as to whether the Soviet trade unionists enjoyed freedom or not. Unity was necessary, and if they

<sup>1</sup> Committee note: Quotation omitted in original text.

international trade union unity. The congress called upon Jouhaux to continue his efforts for this cause.

EXHIBIT No. 20

[*World News and Views*, July 9, 1938. Pp. 818-819]

THE ATTITUDE OF CERTAIN TRADE UNION LEADERS AT OSLO

By Miguel Gomez (Madrid)

I.

It will be recalled that in Oslo the majority of the leaders of the International Federation of Trade Unions opposed both the admission of the Soviet trade unions and the continuation of negotiations with these trade unions. With this decision the I. F. T. U. leaders gave expression to their hostility towards the Soviets and towards the working class of the Soviet Union.

The non-admission of the Soviet trade unions to the I. F. T. U. means at the same time the rejection of the conditions of entry set by the Soviet trade unions. Citrine and Schevenels are quite consistent. Among the conditions laid down by the Soviet trade unions were the following: "Effective aid to Spain and China against the invaders," "organisation in all countries of proletarian sanctions against the oppressor states of Germany, Italy, and Japan (refusal to load ships going to the oppressor states; refusal to carry out transport for these countries; organisation of strikes in factories manufacturing arms and war material for the oppressor states, etc.)" Another condition set by the Soviet trade unions was: "Effort to ensure trade union unity in places where the trade union movement is still split or threatened by a split (United States, Czechoslovakia, Canada, South America, Spain, etc.)" In rejecting the conditions of entry set by the Soviet trade unions, Citrine, Schevenels, and others deny effective aid to Spain and China, they decide against trade union unity and against boycotting the aggressors. And in refusing admission of the Soviet trade unions into the I. F. T. U. they, in effect, make themselves advocates of a boycott against the Soviet Union.

They have declared themselves opposed to strikes in factories manufacturing war material for the aggressors and invaders. Their attitude on the question of lack of "freedom" of Soviet trade unions is tantamount to being in favour of strikes in Soviet undertakings. The oppositional attitude of Citrine and Schevenels amounts to advising the workers not to support one another mutually in their struggle against the joint enemy, fascism, and not to take any practical and effective measures against the aggressors and invaders. Their attitude is equivalent to advising the workers to trust the "good intentions" of the fascists. Such energetic militant measures against the aggressors as boycott, might annoy them, provoke and anger them. By means of a policy of concessions and capitulations fascism may be lured onto a friendly path. This is the policy of Citrine and Schevenels. Poor Abyssinia! Poor Austria! A pity for these countries that they were not informed sooner of Citrine's recipe! His proposals remind us only too vividly of the tactics pursued by the German Social Democratic leaders on the eve of Hitler's taking over power. In Germany, too, the S. P. leaders rejected all the proposals of the C. P. for united action, and with the same pretext: not to anger Hitler.

It is scarcely possible to think of a stranger argument: If a robber or a bandit commits a crime, the whole world is agreed that the criminal must be dealt with at once by severe measures rendering it impossible for him to repeat his crime, and the penalty is made severer in proportion to the offence. But if anyone threatens and raids whole peoples, when whole peoples are criminally robbed of their rights, liberties, and wealth, then it is proposed that no severe measures should be taken, then we are told that we had better not upset or molest the bandits.

If no one had listened to this "advice," if the feeling of the British working class had been honestly weighed and interpreted, then the war in Spain would have had a very different fate, then it would long since have been ended in favour of Democracy. The British trade unions are so powerful that—had the leaders of the T.U.C. given a real lead—they could have forced Chamberlain to change his foreign policy, or they could have overthrown him, and thereby stopped and prevented the German-Italian invasion of Spain.

The pre-conditions laid down by the Soviet trade unions for their entry into the I. F. T. U. were based on one definite aim: The unification of the international trade union movement for an effectual struggle against the enemies of the whole of progressive humanity. These enemies are the fascist invaders and aggressors.

What had these I.F.T.U. leaders to say about this? It might have been imagined that such a clear, useful, and trenchant proposal—specially at a time when world peace is so seriously imperilled—could not but meet the unanimous support of all I.F.T.U. leaders. It might have been imagined that the hand of the Soviet trade unions, stretched out fraternally to the millions of workers organised in the I.F.T.U., would be grasped enthusiastically by all the I.F.T.U. leaders. For what is at stake here is the joining of forces for the struggle against the joint enemy. But no, the proposals of the Soviet trades unions were rejected, the negotiations broken off. Unity with the Soviet trade unions has been refused—unions counting almost 23 million members, more than the whole I.F.T.U. And on the ridiculous pretext that the admission of the Soviet trade unions might be detrimental to trade union unity. The threats of splits uttered by a number of speakers in Oslo had no other object than to override the other trade union representatives.

The entry of the Soviet trade unions into the I.F.T.U. would not cause the slightest split. Their admission would arouse the utmost enthusiasm and joy among the workers.

The policy of splitting and division among the broad proletarian masses, this policy of schism carried on in the name of unity, is only too familiar to us. We only need remember the case of the S.P. of Italy in the years 1920 and 1921, on the eve of Mussolini's seizure of power.

The majority of the I.F.T.U. leaders in Oslo rejected the admission of the Soviet trade unions. But this was not enough. They had to go further, and give expression to their hostility to the Soviet Union, and of the Soviet workers organised in its trade unions. They expressed their dissatisfaction at the friendly relations existing between the Soviet trade unions and the Soviet Government. Citrine stated openly that in his opinion the British trade unions cannot declare the boycott, that the British trade unions cannot lead the effective

struggle against the aggressors. But as soon as the Soviet Union comes in question, the matter is very different.

The newspapers brought us the news of the negotiations between Chamberlain and the representatives of the British trade unions, when on Chamberlain's request the question of intensifying and increasing the work of the British workers in the armaments industries was discussed. Statements coming from Chamberlain himself are to the effect that the increased work in the armaments industries is to have for its object not only the securing of the rearmament of the British army, but at the same time "of increasing the export of arms to all countries with whom we are on friendly terms." We know the countries with whom England is on friendly terms, but we imagine that since the Anglo-Italian pact Italy too counts among these countries, and that the negotiations in course of preparation with Hitler will make even the Third Reich a country with whom England is on amicable terms. Thus Chamberlain invites the British trade unions to co-operate in increasing war production, so that he may be able to send arms to extremely suspicious and dangerous destinations. But up to date Citrine has not said a word in protest.

But even this is not all. Even were it not a question of the export of war material, even were it only a matter of increasing war production in order to enhance the war powers of Great Britain, even then Citrine should remember the suspicious and pro-fascist policy of Chamberlain, aiming as it does at the formation of a bloc with Italy and Germany against the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, and against the Soviet Union. Remembering this, he should have made co-operation in increased armaments conditional on a change in Chamberlain's foreign policy. But this was not done. But in the case of the Soviet Union, the country which has afforded so many proofs of its readiness to defend peace, the country which has fought consistently against the warmongers, and self-sacrificingly defends the countries attacked by the aggressors—Citrine declares that the Soviet trade unions should not act in collaboration with their Government.

It may be said that the British trade unions call strikes in certain emergencies, but not the Soviet trade unions. But is it a "fault" of the Soviet trade unions that the Russian workers and peasants have not left a single bourgeois on the whole Soviet territory, that all the works and factories belong to the working class and all the land to the peasantry, and that all are organised in their own Soviets, that is to say, in their own state? Are the Soviet workers to call strikes against themselves?

It need not be said that this does not end the struggle of the world proletariat for trade union unity. Oslo was merely an unpleasant episode for the proletarian and anti-fascist cause, but no more than an episode. The workers of Great Britain have once more proved to the fighting Spanish people, precisely during the last few weeks, that they understand their anti-fascist and class interests, their international tasks and duties, better than certain persons among their leaders.

Unity will come. These leaders should revise their opinions beneath the weight of the experience gained in the struggle against war and fascism, beneath the weight of the tenacious work for unity all over the world.

## EXHIBIT No. 21

[*World News and Views*, October 28, 1939. P. 1048]

## THE I. F. T. U. AND THE WAR

By J. A. (Paris)

More than six weeks have passed since the outbreak of the second imperialist war. The leaders of the reformist Trade Union International (International Federation of Trade Unions), or rather the rump International, have met in Paris and adopted a resolution in which they place the Soviet Union on a par with Hitler Germany, and venture to designate as aggression the liberation of Byelorussia and the Western Ukraine from the yoke of the Polish Schlachta and from the immediate menace of the Nazi jackboot. They describe an imperialist war on the part of the imperialist Powers as a war for human liberty, democracy and civilisation, as a war of social progress, and naturally declare their solidarity with these Powers and pronounce in favour of the prolongation of the world slaughter.

One calls to mind the noisy promises of these gentlemen, their reiterated decision to prevent by a general strike the letting loose of a second imperialist war, no matter in what circumstances it might break out. But one also remembers their actions, and then one is forced to recognise that in a serious crisis one could not expect of them that they would fight against an imperialist war, but rather would come forward in its support.

We shall not enumerate here all the crimes of the reformist leaders, who on every occasion have served the fascist aggressors. We will confine ourselves to asking: What did they do to check the Italian aggressors when the latter invaded Abyssinia? What did they do to save Spain, which was assassinated by Italian and German fascism? What have they done for China, which has been invaded? And, finally, what did they do to break the sabotage, by means of which the Western Powers prevented the establishment of a real peace alliance with the U. S. S. R.?

In the case of Abyssinia they rejected any united action and even renounced any independent action. They declared themselves ready to support the League of Nations. But in the League of Nations there was Laval, who did not fight Mussolini but fought against the League. In the League there was Baldwin who, as he openly admitted, was concerned above all with saving Italian fascism. The first action of the League of Nations ended with the first big blow struck against collective security, in the first great victory of the fascist aggressors. The I. F. T. U. bears a heavy load of responsibility in this respect.

And what did the I. F. T. U. do to save Spain? It rejected from the beginning any united action. But Spain could have been saved if the Western Powers, and particularly Great Britain, had not throttled the Spanish democratic Republic by the criminal policy of so-called "Non-Intervention." Has not Chamberlain, from the beginning to the end, enjoyed the best support that Citrine and the British trade union leaders could give him? And were not these British trade union leaders in turn supported by the I. F. T. U., which thus bears full responsibility for the victory of aggression in Spain?

And what did these trade union leaders do for the million masses of China, the victims of Japanese aggression? They did not move a finger.

But all was not yet lost. The Soviet Union, in spite of the continual treachery of the imperialist Powers to the cause of peace, has always declared itself ready to conclude a pact of mutual assistance which would have really served the cause of peace and not helped to encourage aggression against the Soviet Union. But the Pact proposed by Mr. Chamberlain was precisely a pact of the latter kind, designed to encourage aggression and to divert it against the Soviet Union. The Red Army was expressly barred from entering Polish territory. This meant that the "pact of mutual assistance" had as its aim to make the Soviet Union the scene of war. International action would have brought Chamberlain to reason. But what did the leaders of the reformist International do? They refused to admit the Soviet trade unions into the I. F. T. U. and thereby encouraged Chamberlain to persist in his fatal sabotage of the pact of mutual assistance.

The outbreak of the imperialist war, the aggression of German fascism against Poland, did not come as a bolt from the blue; the preparations for it were made quite openly in stages. But the appeasers, the accomplices of Hitler, had their best supporters in the reformist trade union leaders. And when one sees these gentlemen posing as paragons of virtue, condemning aggression and even having the brazenness to insult the only Power which really fights against aggression, the Soviet Union, because it barred the way to the advance of fascism in the East, one is reminded of the old method of thieves who cry: "Stop thief" when being pursued.

The leaders of the reformist trade unions do not confine themselves to exonerating the imperialist Western Powers from responsibility for the war. After the collapse of the State of the Polish junkers there was a *possibility* of terminating the imperialist war and securing a just peace, of setting up an independent Polish State. *The Soviet Union had broken the bloc of the aggressors whilst Hitler had paid obeisance to Moscow, renounced his anti-Bolshevism, and thereby brought about a serious crisis in his own party. He hoped to be able, by rapidly crushing Poland, to establish himself in the Western Ukraine, and to invade Rumania (everything was ready from the military and political point of view, including the assassination of Calinescu)—he hoped to play his usual game.* The Soviet Union foiled this plan by liberating the Baltic countries from Hitler's influence and *inflicting a catastrophic defeat on German fascism.* A peace in these circumstances would have sealed the defeat of Hitler—a *defeat which the rejection of his peace offer will without doubt only delay, whilst millions of human beings in the first place the workers, will be exposed to terrible sufferings.*

The reformist trade union leaders appeal to Chamberlain and Daladier: *Do not make peace! Calmly continue the imperialist!* We shall represent it to the masses as a just war, waged for liberty, justice and social progress. The workers have too long supported the actions of these gentlemen, who therefore think they will get them to accept everything. But they will be greatly mistaken this time. For the day will come when they will be called to account for all their misdeeds.

After 24 years of trying, Communists succeeded in 1945 in establishing a united front between the Soviet controlled labor organizations and many sections of the IFTU.<sup>1</sup> In the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the comrades attained one of their most cherished objectives with regard to world labor. From the United States, the CIO became a WFTU affiliate in 1945. The AFL, however, took the position that the World Federation of Trade Unions was nothing more than a Soviet controlled front.<sup>2</sup> Headquarters were set up in Paris, from which city Soviet agents could more easily operate outside the Iron Curtain.

In April 1948, a serious crisis developed out of insistence on the part of the CIO that the WFTU endorse the Marshall plan.<sup>3</sup> With Communist unions dominating the activities of the WFTU, there could be only one solution to this quarrel. As Foster explained it, the "progressive" elements within the WFTU were determined to "preserve world labor unity." Whereupon the CIO withdrew its affiliation in 1949. British and Dutch delegates to the January 1949 meeting in Paris also walked out.

Since its formation in 1945, the WFTU has striven for "world labor unity" in colonial territories according to strategies first promulgated at the Second World Congress of the Communist International (sec. C, exhibit No. 3). As is only to be expected, Soviet trade union leaders remain the chief source of WFTU strength.<sup>4</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 22

[*World News and Views*, December 9, 1944. P. 395]

#### THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

*The following is an extract from a recent article in the Soviet trade union journal, "War and the Working Class."*

The agenda of the International Trade Union Conference will be decided by the Conference itself, on the basis of the proposals of the preparatory committee. In considering the tasks facing the trade union movement a great many vital problems arise which may be divided into two main groups.

These are, first of all, questions of the defence of the lawful interests and rights of the masses of the working people, the working conditions and standard of living of the workers after the war. While in the Soviet Union the working class is in power and the Socialist system of economy is an effective guarantee of the basic life and interests of the workers, and the trade unions look after the daily needs of all working people, in other countries working people have to defend their lawful interests against the employers' encroachments. The trade unions are profoundly interested in the question of how the problems of organising help for the victims of the war, of combating unemployment, of the length of the working day, wages, continuance of the control system in the post-war period, are settled. Then there are the questions of prices, health protection, help to ex-Servicemen, social insurance, education, housing and so on.

Secondly come a number of organisational problems connected with the unification of the trade union movement on an international scale. The Conference will be faced with the task of creating a world trade union organisation which will be called upon to play the role of permanent centre for the trade union movements of all the democratic countries. In this connection there are sometimes attempts to speak of the resurrection or restoration of the international trade union organisation which existed before the war, the so-called Amsterdam

<sup>1</sup> Selznick, *Organizational Weapon*, pp. 154-157.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 465. Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 447. Ebon, *World Communism Today*, p. 1<sup>st</sup>6.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 498. George B. DeHuszar (Northwestern University) and Associates, *Soviet Power and Policy*, New York, Crowell, 1955, pp. 317-318.

<sup>4</sup> W. W. Kulski, *The Soviet Regime*, Syracuse University Press, 1954, p. 776.

International. However, such a thing is far from being a reality. It is no accident that the Amsterdam International was unable to play a positive role in the period leading up to the present war. In its composition the Amsterdam International was by no means a world-wide amalgamation of organised labour. It did not include the trade unions of the Soviet Union, the Congress of Industrial Organisations of the U. S. A., or the unions of a number of other countries. What is more, for a long time German unions held a very prominent place in it and exercised marked influence.

#### REALLY WORLD-WIDE

Inasmuch as it is now a question of creating an amalgamation of trade unions which will include Soviet and American unions, and will really become worldwide, it is perfectly obvious that this amalgamation will differ radically both in name and in essence from the Amsterdam International. The progressive trade union leaders of the United Nations realise that under present conditions the creation of a much more authoritative and effective world trade union organisation is required. Evidently the International Conference will have a great deal to do to work out the principles of an international trade union organisation which will be incomparably more democratic in character and meet the genuine interests and requirements of the working class of the democratic countries.

The enormous political experience that the trade unions have accumulated in the course of the war will to a great extent make for the success of the work of the International Trade Union Conference. The share of the trade unions in the war effort of the United Nations, especially in the sphere of increasing labour productivity and war production, can hardly be over-estimated. During the years of grim struggle with Hitlerite Germany the need for mutual understanding and unification of the efforts of the freedom-loving peoples came out in particular relief, and the prerequisites were created for successful collaboration not only during the war period but also after victory over the enemy. It is precisely for this reason that the idea of extensive and friendly collaboration between the workers of the democratic countries through their trade union organisations received such enthusiastic support from the majority of trade unions.

The initiative in calling the International Trade Union Conference shown by British trade unions and supported by the Soviet trade unions found a lively response in the unions of France, Belgium, Australia and Latin America. In the U. S. A. one of the two main trade union amalgamations, the Congress of Industrial Organisations, is resolutely supporting the International Conference.

#### A. F. OF L. ISOLATIONISM

The leadership of the other trade union amalgamation in the United States, the American Federation of Labour, has taken a different position and is still holding it. Last year this organisation unfortunately refused to send delegates to the Conference. Today its leadership, judging by reports, is still pursuing a policy of watching and waiting. But, whatever the decision of the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labour, one thing is clear. If the leadership of this organisation refuses to participate in the Interna-

tional Trade Union Conference, this will injure most of all its own influence and authority among the broad masses of trade unionists united under the American Federation of Labour. This refusal to participate in the International Trade Union Conference will inevitably raise doubts as to the democracy of those who choose to remain aloof from international collaboration of organised labour in the democratic countries.

There can be no doubt of the fact that throughout the entire democratic world the authority of those who are well-disposed towards international collaboration, the guarantee of the effective defence of the vital interests of the working class, will grow. On the other hand, the influence of those who are against consolidation of the forces of the international working class movement, thus exposing their indifferent and neglectful attitude towards the defence of the vital interests of the working class, will decline.

The sooner the necessary unity in the international trade union movement is established, the more authority the trade unions will have in the eyes of the people of all the democratic countries. And the fuller and more decisive will be the voice of the organised working class in the solution of the basic problems of the post-war order, and in laying the foundations of a lasting and stable peace between the nations after the defeat of the common foe.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 23

[*World News and Views*, February 24, 1945. Pp. 57-58]

### THE WORLD T. U. CONFERENCE

by George Sinfield

The main decisions reached and the wide publicity that has been given to them are eloquent testimony to the success of the World Trade Union Conference. These decisions were:—

1. Take steps to build a new trade union international.
2. Accelerate the Allied war effort.
3. Trade union representation at the peace conference.
4. Post-war reconstruction.

No workers' conference ever had the privilege of resolving such an historic four-point People's Charter.

Taking only one day off from February 6 to 17, about 260 delegates representing approximately 60,000,000 workers in upwards of 40 countries carefully sifted all the arguments and eventually constructed their far-reaching Charter.

The fact that these men and women, coming as they did from the four corners of the earth, holding allegiance to diverse religions and political views, and some professing neither, whose skins were brown and yellow, pink and black, could agree to struggle for a common trade union policy, is one of the outstanding lessons of the conference. It should be learned by heart by all.

Why was this unity possible? There were two fundamental reasons: (1) a fierce hatred of Fascism; and (2) a passionate desire for freedom and economic security. The two reasons were the basis of the four main policy decisions.

One could sense from the start that the dominating question would be the issue of a new world federation. The case for the new body was astutely presented by a leader of the delegation from the Congress of Industrial Organisations, Sidney Hillman, and brilliantly supported by Lombardo Toledano, a truly great visionary from the Latin-American Confederation of Labour; L. Saillant, of the French T.U.C., and Vassili Kuznetsov, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

The leader of the British T.U.C., Sir Walter Citrine, produced a plan which agreed in principle with the idea of a new world body, but called for caution in approach; proposed the examination of all the problems by a competent committee before establishing the new body; and objected to the idea of discarding the International Federation of Trade Unions until something better could be put in its place.

Fortunately, the commission appointed to draw up the final declaration on the matter was able to accommodate both points of view.

Conference elected a Continuation Committee of about 40 members, and this committee will prepare a Draft Constitution for the proposed world federation, submit it to constituent organisations for ratification, and is empowered to reconvene the world conference not later than the end of 1945 for the purpose of adopting the final constitution.

Meanwhile the Continuation Committee, whose headquarters will be in Paris, will act for the world body.

The Continuation Committee comprises 3 representatives each from the U. S. A., U. K., France, U. S. S. R. and Latin-American countries, 2 from the I. F. T. U. and International Trade Secretariats, and 1 from a number of other countries including ex-enemy Finland, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Italy.

Storm clouds gathered early in the proceedings when the question was raised of inviting representatives from the ex-enemy countries and from Poland to the Conference. Speaking for the British delegation, Sir Walter Citrine argued that no one really knew the strength and bona fides of the reborn trade unions in the ex-enemy countries, and as far as Poland was concerned, he said, some Governments of the United Nations had not yet recognised the Polish Provisional Government!

This drew from L. Saillant, what I thought, was the obvious retort: "This is a conference of workers and not governments." Finally, as is known, invitation was cabled to the ex-enemy countries, but it was decided to take no action with regard to Poland.

Then followed the dramatic announcement of the decisions reached by the "Big Three" at Yalta, and later, when conference resolved the question of the world federation, provision was made for the inclusion of a delegate "from the Trade Unions in Poland."

With one voice delegates saluted the victories of the armed forces of the United Nations, and pledged on behalf of the 60 millions represented, to "work unceasingly" to supply the forces of liberation with their needs until the day when the "enemy lays down his arms in final defeat." They also called upon the people of countries at war with Japan to provide maximum assistance in the form of arms to the "heroic Chinese people," in their struggle against the Japanese invader.

Conference also made the important declaration that the full mobilisation of the workers is inseparable from the maintenance of adequate

wage levels, equal pay for equal work without discrimination between "nationality, race or sex, or against minority groups."

The policy adopted called upon the Governments of the United Nations to provide relief to the liberated countries, and to secure the planned repatriation of the peoples deported by Nazi Germany.

Jobs for all at adequate wages, the 40-hour week, a fortnight's annual holiday with pay and a single state system of social insurance, were included in the recommendations.

The declaration also urged legislation to control or to prevent the formation of monopolies, and to transfer the industries concerned to public ownership.

Finally, the policy incorporated the call for agreements to regulate prices of stable commodities entering international trade and proposed long-term loans for the economic and industrial development of the colonial territories and backward countries.

A decisive and determined attitude was adopted with regard to the peace settlement. Welcoming the Yalta declaration of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, delegates unanimously decided to seek from the three Allied Governments an undertaking that accredited representatives of the Trade Union movement will be received into their councils at the forthcoming San Francisco Conference, in an "advisory and consultative capacity."

Thus the world Trade Union movement, aware of its responsibilities to the common people, staked its claim for a voice in the highest sphere of international affairs.

In order to eliminate war, measures were agreed upon for the eradication of Nazism in Germany.

No longer is the voice of colonial workers a lone cry in the wilderness, for when post-war reconstruction was debated, many delegates took up the call. They not only demanded the ending of the colour bar, but strongly claimed that the peoples of colonial and backward countries should benefit by the exploitation of their own natural wealth. These peoples should be encouraged along the lines of self-government.

George Isaacs (Britain), Vassili Kuznetsov (Russia) and R. J. Thomas (U. S. A.), the three presidents, did their job efficiently, especially Isaacs, who often interpolated his remarks with Cockney wisecracks.

The British delegates must have felt like blushing with pleasure at the praise showered on the T. U. C. from all sides for their "tremendous work" in making the conference possible.

Hard-boiled reporters are often left stone-cold and cynical by conferences, but this one, so unique in content and character, kept those who were there always "on their toes" and intensely interested.

Without doubt the World T. U. C. has written a glorious page in the history of the International Trade Union movement.

#### B. COOPERATIVES: WOMEN

Consistent with Stalin's emphasis upon cooperatives as the third main category of mass organizations, Comintern leaders strenuously struggled to infiltrate and, whenever possible, to take over cooperative movements in Europe and other parts of the world. Great emphasis was given to this tactic of boring from within by the Third World Congress, which insisted that Communists must go "To the Masses!"<sup>1</sup> This latter strategy was merely the logical development of the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 317.

gram advocated by Lenin in his "*Left-Wing*" *Communism* several years before Stalin published his definitive *Problems of Leninism* (sec. A, exhibit Nos. 10 and 13).

Before the Bolsheviks seized power in November 1917, cooperative movements had attained considerable importance in countries adjacent to old Russia. Mass production and mass distribution of cheap consumer goods prevented similar organizations from becoming widespread in the United States. In Europe, however, the situation was different. Only by buying in groups could European workers hope to bring prices down to a level somewhat approximating those prevailing in American stores. Both Lenin and Stalin believed that cooperatives, especially consumer cooperatives, were a step in the direction of collectivism.<sup>2</sup> By pretending to be interested only in the partial demands of workers, Communists were expected to bore their way into cooperative "mass organizations." In time, the comrades hoped to assume full control. If they failed to attain their ultimate objective, they could at least apply the strategy of rule or ruin. When consequent disorganization of a genuine cooperative society brought economic distress to disillusioned workers, the Communists planned to pick up the pieces.

The Comintern assault upon non-Communist consumer cooperative societies naturally focused attention upon women who did a large part of the family buying. Clara Zetkin, a leading German Communist, became the first director of the Women's Department of the Comintern.<sup>3</sup> One of her articles on cooperatives and the housewife appears in exhibit No. 26.

Another and psychologically perhaps more important line of approach to women was the Communist exploitation of the "peace" theme. Exhibit No. 27 is representative of the tactics developed as a result of the antiwar propaganda of the Seventh World Congress. Competent as this approach was during the years 1935-39, it must be regarded as amateurish when compared with the great Communist "peace offensives" developed after World War II.<sup>4</sup> The April 14, 1945, issue of *World News and Views* shows how the comrades hoped to combine their concentration upon cooperatives with peace propaganda acceptable to the Kremlin masters.

#### EXHIBIT No. 24

[*Inprecorr*, January 10, 1922. P. 26]

### RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

#### INADEQUATE RELIEF FOR RUSSIA BY THE COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL

by Karl Bittel

On the 4th of December an International Conference for the relief of the Russian famine took place in Berlin. It was held under the auspices of the foreign section of the Relief Commission for the Famine Sufferers of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. Krestinski, the representative of the Russian Soviet Republic acted as chairman, and Victor Kopp brought in the main report. Almost all of the important organizations were represented by delegates: The Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation (Grassmann), the Vienna International Working Union of Socialist Parties (Friedrich Adler), the International Red Cross, Nansen's Relief Committee, the English Relief Committee—"Hands off Soviet Russia", the Quakers, the Clarté, and many others. *It is interesting to note that no delegates were sent to this important conference by the International Cooperative League of London nor by the Central*

<sup>2</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism*, Part I, Chapter IV: Man as a Consumer, provides the reader with a highly laudatory description of the Soviet attitude toward cooperatives. By way of compensation, see Harry Schwartz (Syracuse University), *Russia's Soviet Economy*, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1951, Chapter IV: Soviet Economic Development.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-317.

<sup>4</sup> *The Communist "Peace" Offensive*, Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 82d Cong., 1st sess., April 1, 1951, Washington, Government Printing Office.

*League of German Consumers.* It is about time that these organizations make it clear whether they wish to carry on an energetic campaign for the Russian Relief or not. The millions of proletarian cooperative members consider the intensive cooperation of the consumers' leagues in the Russian relief as a matter of course act of international as well as proletarian solidarity. It must therefore be made clear to them whether the appeal of the Basle Cooperative Convention and the promises made by the National Cooperative Leagues were anything more than empty phrases. Do the cooperatives seriously intend to cooperate with all their energy in the general Russian relief work or not?

More than five months have now passed since the Communist fraction in the cooperative council of the Consumers' League of Greater Berlin brought in the urgent motion (on the 25th of July) to organize a relief action on a large scale throughout the entire cooperative movement. At that time a concrete program was at once proposed. First of all a *Cooperative Fund* for Soviet Russia was to be created out of collected moneys and supplies; secondly a *Cooperative Supply Warehouse* was to be organized.

At the International Cooperative Convention which took place in Basle in August, the German delegation brought in a motion by which the International Cooperative League obligated its member organizations to aid the Russian Relief to their utmost; this motion was passed unanimously. Even before this, the *Centrosojus of Moscow* came before the International Cooperative movement with Comrade Chintschuk's appeal in which it was pointed out that it was just these organizations which were best capable of furnishing aid not only at the present moment but that they were also capable of taking permanent measures. Comrade Chintschuk particularly demanded a regulated cooperative exchange of goods with Soviet Russia and aid in the economic reconstruction of the suffering regions by means of a cooperative credit and other cooperative measures. In another appeal to the "Consumers' Leagues of all countries" the cooperatives of Western Europe were urged to furnish aid without delay and to support the Russian cooperative organizations with all their energy.

But what has happened until today? According to the latest issue of the "International Cooperative Bulletin" (London), the net result of the cooperative collections is not quite satisfactory. The latest figures are as follows:

French Cooperative Leagues (Paris) 37,000 frs.,  
 British Cooperative Leagues (Manchester) £1,530,  
 Norwegian League (Christiania) 35,000 Crowns,  
 Belgian League (Brussels) 40,000 frs.,  
 Bulgaria 250,000 leva,  
 Dutch Cooperative League (Hague) £125,  
 Austrian Cooperative Purchasing Society (Vienna) 100,000 Crowns,  
 Sweden 66,000 Crowns,  
 Central League of German Consumers (Hamburg) 96,000 marks,

The three cooperative headquarters existing in Czecho-Slovakia, namely, the Czecho-Slovakian, the German and the National-Socialist Consumers' Leagues, have passed the most far reaching resolution:

Apart from its political activities, the Section must deal with the trade and credit operations between the cooperatives in various countries. This, however, leads to the setting up of an international wholesale buying agency, and an international cooperative bank.

Two representatives of the Russian cooperatives having joined the Central Committee of the International Federation of Cooperatives it became necessary for them to formulate the differences between their political position and that of the cooperatives which are all for "political neutrality" and which in their Basle convention declared their solidarity with the principles of the League of Nations, clamoring for admittance to its Labor Bureau.

The Section sets itself the task of bringing about everywhere communication between the producers' and the consumers' cooperatives and to broaden the activities of the Communists in the cooperatives.

The Section must, finally, take steps towards the realization of the resolution of the Third Congress providing that a Congress of all Revolutionary Cooperatives be called.

Activities of the Communists in the cooperatives have just commenced, and it is the duty of our members to try and intensify these activities in a manner befitting the cause. It is our task to gain points of support in the cooperatives which heretofore have been the exclusive domain of the opportunists of all shades.

We must prepare the hundreds of thousands of proletarians in the cooperatives, belonging neither to Communist Parties nor to the revolutionary trade-unions, for the struggle against Capitalism.

One should not underestimate the importance of the Communist activities in the cooperatives. It is a well known fact that the cooperatives provide the opportunist parties with financial support. It is our task, nay, our duty to bring this practise to an end.

At the Socialist Congress at Copenhagen in 1910, the cooperatives were named as the third form of the labor movement, after the political parties and trade-unions.

It is our task to make these cooperatives support the Communist Parties and the militant trade-unions in their struggle against Capital.

Wherever workers' cooperatives exist we must form Communist nuclei within them. All Communist Parties must entrust the work within these nuclei to special sections which must be in closest communication with the International Section in Moscow.

These are the tasks before the Communist Parties in regard to the cooperatives.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 26

[*Inprecorr*, July 2, 1925. Pp. 733-739]

### THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE DAY

REFORMIST NONSENSE AND PROLETARIAN SENSE OF THE  
CO-OPERATIVE DAY ON THE 4TH JULY

By Algo

The International Cooperative Alliance (London) comprises not only the whole of the workers' cooperatives in the world, but numerous small holders' cooperatives, making a total of 50 million members. This mighty army, forming the "International Cooperative Alliance",

cannot boast of an activity proportionate to its size. It is scarcely credible that this International should have developed so little force in the 30 years of its existence. The utter futility of the international relations between the cooperatives was evidenced with particular distinctness during the war; these relations could not even be "ruptured", for the simple reason that they did not exist at all. The Alliance was thus enabled to issue its bulletin as usual during the war, since it was merely a bulletin of entirely unimportant items.

After the war the Cooperative Alliance became painfully aware of its insignificance and weakness. Its headquarters therefore resolved to fix upon one day in the year upon which they would celebrate the: "1st of May of the Cooperatives", for the purpose of drawing the attention of the broad masses to the Cooperatives. This international cooperative anniversary, fixed for the first Saturday in July, was celebrated for the first time in 1923. On that occasion the official proclamation sent forth into the world ran as follows:

"The object of this anniversary celebration is to demonstrate the unity of the cooperative members, and the efficiency of their organisation, as a means towards economic emancipation, and as a guarantee for international peace."

These unworldly illusionists! In the 'nineties they founded their Cooperative International, in order to erect a bulwark against the class conscious labour movement. Their idea was to substitute for class warfare a "cooperative class reconciliation", by a collaboration of all classes of society. After the proletariat of the whole world had been driven into international massacre, their confused imaginations still conjured up visions of their:

"First systematic attempt to proclaim on a wide scale our joy (!), our ideals (?), our successes (), and our aims, in order to approach nearer to our final goal . . . The field of your activity is ready for the harvest . . . the opportunity is favourable, and the magnificent harvest awaiting us is a world of peace and amity among the peoples, based upon the cooperative movement."

This proclamation with its fantastic phrases was spread abroad all over the globe in thousands of copies. But now came the amazing part: millions of proletarian cooperative members accepted these empty phrases without rising in indignation against this clique of leaders, here openly carrying on their dirty work of deceiving the masses. It is an actual fact that petty bourgeois and proletarian gathered at meetings and demonstrations convened under these slogans.

This deceptive manoeuvre thus practised by cooperative bureaucracy was possible at a moment when the proletariat was plunged into an unheard of material impoverishment, broad masses of the population were reduced to despair by unemployment and starvation, class antagonisms clashed with unexampled intensity, civil war raged in many countries, and the Fascisti in Italy were destroying not only the revolutionary cooperatives, but reformist as well. It is characteristic of the situation in the Cooperative International, that at such a moment its leaders could find nothing to say beyond futile and hypocritical phrases.

The proceedings at the cooperative anniversary celebration in 1923 showed plainly to all countries the utter degeneration of the post bellum cooperatives, though they still boast of their descent from

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the brave proletarian pioneers of the English workers' cooperative movement in Rochdale. The July celebration was reduced to an absurdity by being brought down to the level of the most superficial business advertisement. In Germany, for instance, the Cooperative Association (GEG) could think of nothing better than to have an illustration made, advertising GEG articles, and to distribute this on the anniversary day. Upon this the simple verse was inscribed:

"If you want to be economically free  
Join the Cooperative Society."

One group of cooperative societies in the industrial districts of Central Germany, where the proletariat has the severest struggle for bare existence, issued the slogan:

"Members of the Cooperative Society, follow the appeal issued by the Cooperative Alliance, and celebrate this year's first recruiting day for the Cooperatives in all quietness!"

(ZeitZ Purchasers' Association.)

It was likewise in the other countries. Where it was ventured to convocate the members, mostly hostile to the bureaucracy, in meetings and demonstrations, they were fobbed off with cheap speechifying, Philistine music, beer drinking, coffee and cake, and theatrical performances. At best an advertising procession was organised with the aid of the cooperative society's motor cars and a few children's flags.

Thus the first international cooperative anniversary in 1923, whose purport for the proletariat should have been a rallying the masses of cooperative members for the proletarian struggle, was converted into sheer reformist nonsense, and was used by the business managers for cheap business advertisement. The celebration would have possessed a real import if it had been the beginning of a gathering together of the masses of the consumers, if it had aimed at uniting them with their cooperative as their class institution, at calling upon them to convert their cooperative into a real weapon for their struggle for life and emancipation, into an additional class factor reinforcing the Party and the Trade Unions.

After this fiasco in 1923, the cooperative International expressed itself more moderately in its appeal for the cooperative anniversary in 1924. The extravagant phraseology of 1923 was reduced to one single sentence:

"Our appeal goes forth to the cooperatives of the whole world to unite for the realisation of the idea of the cooperative state (?)."

The cooperative movement, having utterly failed in developing its influence into any description of politically or economically determinative factor during the last few years, and having on the contrary suffered severe setbacks as a result of the capitalist offensive, can again offer nothing more than hackneyed and hypocritical phrases in its proclamation for the coming 4th of July. Here are two passages from this piece of botching:

"The Alliance is the germ cell of the United States of the world, and the international cooperative day is the symbolical expression of that highest of human virtues (!) which alone is capable of welding together humanity for the peaceful building up of a happier state of society and for the realisation of the cooperative commonwealth . . . On this day the international cooperative flag, representing the rainbow (!) the sign of promise for the whole world, will wave for the first time."

“Cooperators of the world! Raise your banner? May the rich colours of this celestial (!!) symbol be a promise to the whole world that the principles and actions of the cooperative movement will lead us finally out of the chaos of civilisation into the kingdom of pure humanity.”

These are the confused phantasies and religious ecstasies which we are called upon to hear at a moment when capital—having arrived at an international understanding—is dealing the severest blows at the workers of all countries, and especially of Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia; at a moment when the frightful impoverishment and misery of the masses of proletarian consumers demand the most energetic struggle against the terror and profiteering, against war danger, militarism, the White Terror and Fascism (which, it need not be said, have swept away the cooperatives in their work of destruction in Italy and Bulgaria). Even at this moment the Cooperative International has still nothing further to offer than a re-dishing up of its old stupid drivel. It is plain enough that the Cooperative International has transformed its “day” into arrant nonsense.

But the masses can lend purport to the 4th July! They must ask themselves whether the cooperative movement, which they themselves have built up in every country as part of the modern labour movement, at the cost of infinite pains and material sacrifices, is really not worthy of something better than the empty chatter of its leaders. The masses of the cooperative members must ask themselves if there is really nothing more to be made of their organisation of millions of proletarian consumers than a “beautiful and celestial rainbow flag”? If this whole accumulation of organised masses of consumers, of economic means, warehouses, bakeries, factories, motor cars, etc. cannot be used for something beyond a business enterprise capable of competition with the firm of Smith & Co.? If there is not some proletarian force at the back of this cooperative movement, a force which can be employed as a factor in the proletarian struggle?

When the question of the cooperatives is put in this form, the answer comes of itself. For there can be no doubt that the cooperative organisation can and must be, alongside the political and trade union organisation of the working class, a weapon in the hands of the class conscious proletariat. All that is required is to gather together and concentrate this force with clear consciousness of the aim in view, in order to range this gigantic movement into the fighting front, in order to develop the cooperatives into controlling organs and economic functionaries of the organised proletariat, and to strengthen by them the fighting forces of the proletariat.

The masses of cooperative members who recognize all this, and who are anxious to attain this object, should make use of the 4th July 1925 for propagating this clear proletarian sense in place of the reformist nonsense. The leaders of the international class conscious proletariat—the Communist International—call upon them to make of the 4th of July a field day of the millions of organised consumers among every class of the exploited, and to gather together this fighting force, to-day latent and set aside, for the proletarian struggle. This means that cooperative reformism is to be called to account for shunt-

ing the cooperative movement on to the wrong track. It means a declaration of war on the part of the cooperative movement against capitalism! It means solidarity in the proletarian struggle!

The masses of cooperative society members are called upon to demonstrate on 4th July, without and against their leaders, for the enlistment of themselves and their cooperatives in the mighty army of proletarian class fighters, in the mighty army of labour solidarity.

In the trade union movement the proletariat has at last set its feet on the path leading to unity and to powerful solidarity. The frightful impoverishment crushing the proletariat of all countries has awakened the trade unions. The opposition made by cooperative bureaucracy against drawing the cooperatives into the broad class front must be broken down in precisely the same manner as the opposition still being made within trade union bureaucracy against the unity of the international proletariat.

The 4th July will possess great proletarian import if it brings with it in all countries a mass pressure of organised cooperative members, declaring unitedly that the cooperative is to be used as an additional weapon against the capitalist and Fascist offensives, and against the fresh preparations for war. It is the task of the cooperative members to gather together for the struggle in defence of the vital interests of the broad masses, for the international fighting alliance between cooperatives and trade unions, and for the preparation and victory of the proletarian revolution.

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## COMMUNIST WORK IN THE CO-OPERATIVE MASS ORGANIZATIONS

By W. Hanka

For the Communist cooperative work of the Comintern sections there are two conclusions to be drawn from the estimate made of the political situation, and from the lines laid down for the development of Bolshevist mass parties, by the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern (April 1925). First of all it is of the utmost importance to recognise the necessity of devoting intense attention, in the Communist Parties, to the work of the cooperatives. All communists, without exception, must become members of the cooperatives, and must take active part, and in an organised manner, in all events relating to the cooperatives, and in the solution of the daily questions arising in cooperative life. A second and no less important aspect of the question relates to the methods and starting points of our practical activities in the cooperatives, the tactics by which we are to win over the millions, organised in the cooperatives for revolutionary class warfare. At the III., IV., and V. World Congresses it was already pointed out that it is the duty of the Communist Parties to devote adequate attention to the cooperatives, and during the present period of Bolshevisation, and of systematic building up of our Parties as real leaders of the masses, this duty is placed more emphatically in the foreground.

In the theses issued by the Executive, work among the existing mass organisations is designated as the most essential prerequisite of Bolshevisation. Besides the trade unions, with regard to which

the Enlarged Executive categorically declares that the communists have to work in them, even when they are in the hands of arch-reactionary leaders, there are in all countries huge cooperative organisations, again mass organisations of the proletariat. The "International Cooperative Alliance" (London) alone comprises 100,000 cooperative organisations belonging to 32 countries, affiliated to the Alliance through their central unions. This involves the enormous number of 50 million members. We must wrest these many millions from the hands of the reformist leaders! The slogan: "To the masses!" must be realised in the cooperative movement with our maximum of intensity, energy, and perseverance. We must endeavour to enlist this gigantic organisation of the exploited, created in the course of decades, in the united proletarian fighting front against capital.

An intense fractional activity within the cooperative organisations gives us communists the opportunity of contact with strata of the working class which we encounter neither in the trade unions nor in the factories. Thus, for instance, work in the cooperatives offers the best possibility, or may even be regarded as the first premise, for really useful Party work among the proletarian housewives.

Many proletarian housewives, having learned by bitter personal experience the necessity of organised opposition against the profiteering in food practised by the capitalists, against high prices and speculation, join the co-operatives. But the social reformist managers of the co-operative societies exert their utmost endeavours to paralyse the fighting will of these masses by the propagation of illusions as to the possibility of overcoming capitalism on peaceful lines with the aid of the co-operatives only, without the necessity of the revolutionary class struggle. To bring light into this obscurity with the torch of Leninism, to show the proletarian housewives, gathered together in these organisations in compact masses and who are otherwise inaccessible to us, the real task and means in the struggle against capitalism, and to lead them forward in this struggle—this is a duty imperatively incumbent on the Bolshevist parties, and one which can no longer be postponed.

Besides the main masses of proletarian members, we find in the co-operative societies of today various groups from those strata of the petty bourgeoisie which may be regarded as possible allies of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle, though at the moment they may still be vacillating irresolutely to and fro. The Lennist tactics of recruiting allies for the decisive revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, culminating in the Soviet Union in the magnificent success of the unshakeable alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, will have to be applied in a much higher degree to the city population in countries where this is of greater decisive importance. We find all these petty state and municipal officials, private employees, artisans, technicians, etc., in the co-operatives.

Starting with their most primitive needs, with their daily cares, we find here the opportunity of gaining for the first time the ear of these strata of the population for the voice of the revolutionary proletariat, and of convincing them that, in the struggle between capital and labour, it is to their own interest not to take part against the proletariat, but to support the working class, or at least not to place obstacles in the way of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

Conditions are similar with respect to the small farmers. The wide-spread network of farmers' co-operatives is the main type of those economic organisations of the peasantry to which the Enlarged Executive has directed the attention of the Communist Parties. The setting up of concrete communist demands regarding questions of taxes and credits, in questions relating to the regulation of land ownership, and in all questions dealing with the daily vital interests of the peasantry—questions which are invariably on the agenda of these peasants co-operative organisations or can be placed on it—forms the best possible opportunity of proving to the largest strata of the rural population the immensity of the antagonism between their real interests and the policy pursued by the capitalist big agrarian State. Here too a consistently carried out co-operative activity affords the suitable opportunity, and is the suitable medium, for emancipating the great masses of backward peasantry from the influence of the big land owners and the priests, and for converting them into the conscious allies of the proletariat.

The first pre-requisite for the thorough utilisation of the whole of these advantageous possibilities for our proletarian class struggle offered by the co-operative societies is, it need scarcely be said, for us to have access to the co-operative meetings, conferences, etc. The entry of communists into the co-operative societies, and the formation of fractions within these societies, is thus an urgent duty.

With regard to the methods to be pursued in communist co-operative work, the decisions of the Enlarged Executive show the fundamental lines laid down by the resolutions passed by the Organisation Bureau, and by the Co-operative Section of the ECCI, in October 1924, to be entirely correct and in no need of alteration. The conditions of the present general political situation, and the prospects adduced by the Enlarged Executive of a diminished speed of revolutionary development, render it the more urgently incumbent on the Communist Parties to apply the principle of devoting attention to the current questions of practical daily life to work in the co-operatives.

If we put forward definite communist demands and propositions with reference to the daily questions arising in the co-operative movement, and in its local, national and international organisations, we shall be able to make use of the immediate interests of the co-operative societies for showing the masses of the members how the gigantic apparatus of the co-operatives could be developed into an effective means of defence against the exploitation and starvation practices of capital, and how the organisation of the workers' consumers must work hand in hand with the other organs of revolutionary class war towards the overthrow of the capitalist system, if this organisation is actually to fulfil its purpose: The raising of the standard of living among the people, and the bridling of the greed of the usurious capitalists, who force up prices.

Basing our criticism on an accurate knowledge and analysis of the general economic situation, and of the practical business conditions in the co-operatives, we must, in our criticism of the leadership, show the members that the reformist co-operative bureaucracy betray even those narrow co-operative society interests which they profess to represent; that this bureaucracy, by working together with the bourgeoisie during and after the world war, is driving the co-operatives to ruin, and delivering them over into the hands of banking capital.

The question of combatting usury and high prices, acute in almost every country at the present time, should be specially raised in the co-operatives. In place of cooperation with the bourgeoisie, we must demand a fighting alliance with the trade unions and factory councils. For in the first place the economic power of the co-operative is directly dependent upon the purchasing powers of the working class, and in the second place help from the trade unions and factory councils is necessary if the co-operative societies are to succeed in having their demands (freedom from taxation, credit-control of private trade) acceded to in a capitalist state.

The necessary conclusions to be drawn for communist co-operative work from the decisions of the Executive are therefore as follows:

Join the co-operative societies!

To the masses of co-operative society members!

Organise participation in the daily life of the co-operatives!

Exercise expert criticism and make definite demands!

Use the fight against high prices and the struggle for existence as starting points!

Get into contact with the trade unions and factory councils!

Go forward from the current demands of the co-operatives to the revolutionary mass struggle.

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## CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND SOCIALIST PARTIES

By G. Baryschnik

The assertion that the communists desire to make the co-operatives subservient to their aims, and that it is only the social democrats who defend the "purity and independence" of the co-operative movement, has already become a social reformist platitude. An impartial analysis of the altitude of the communist and social democratic parties to the co-operative movement will, however lead to a very different conclusion.

The social democrats over-estimate the significance of the co-operative movement in two directions: They regard the co-operative as an instrument for the "peaceful" revolutionary improvement of the position of the proletariat, and besides this they attribute to the co-operatives an independent significance as "germ cells of social ownership", as the starting point of a new order of society. The co-operative societies are to raise the standard of life in the working class by cheapening the most important necessities of life. The co-operative societies are to form a model of a new state of society by foregoing trading profits and distributing these among the consumers.

These assertions are repeated in all manner of variations by every nuance of social democracy. It is true that before the imperialist war this over-estimate of the significance of the co-operatives, among the social democrats belonging to the extreme reformist group, caused the revolutionary Marxists (the Guesdists and a part of the German social democrats) to deny that the co-operatives were of any use whatever to the working class, and even to assert that these organisations injured the interests of the workers. But the war obliterated most of the different shades of social democracy (the real revolutionists gathering together as Communist Parties). Social democracy now accepts the co-operatives without reservation, and uses the co-operative societies as an instrument for its policy of social betrayal.

The experiences gained during the period of modern imperialism have demonstrated conclusively that the social democratic conception of the tasks and significance of the co-operative movement are entirely wrong. Even if it be granted that the co-operatives, under the conditions caused by the revival of capitalism, and assuming that wage rates remain unaltered, are capable of improving the workers' standard of life, it is none the less a fact that the independent economic significance of the co-operatives sinks to zero during the period of imperialist reorganisation of capitalism, the period of monopolist banking concerns and trusts. It is sheer hypocrisy and deception of the working masses to speak today of an improvement of the position of the workers by means of a "peacefully" developing co-operative movement. Today not only the productive co-operative, but the consumers' co-operative societies, are alike completely entangled in the system of capitalist economic, and are entirely dependent on bank credits, monopolist trusts, and cartels. Their fate is indivisibly bound up with the policy of the ruling class.

It is equally absurd to maintain that the co-operatives do away with trading profits, and thus lay the foundation stone for a new state of society. Profit in general—and thus trade profit as a part of this—is a portion of the surplus value created during the process of production as result of the exploitation of labour. The distribution of the trade profit in the form of dividends does not in any way alter the capitalist character of the pre-requisites of a non-capitalist state of society. The working masses must become clearly conscious of this, and must make use of the positions won by them in the sphere of distribution to aid them in their conflict against the capitalist forms of production, against capitalism itself.

The co-operatives being thus hopelessly entangled in capitalism, the slogans of "neutrality" and "Independence" mean nothing more nor less than an abstention on the part of the co-operatives from all revolutionary struggle, and the erection of barricades between the co-operatives and the influence of the Communist Party. Neutrality is being preached by those same Mensheviks who in Austria have bound the workers' co-operatives by organisatory fetters to the social democratic party, who in Belgium employ the co-operatives as milch cows for the purposes of party propaganda, who in all countries agitate violently against the communist co-operators, and expel the communists from the co-operative societies, and who, in a word, give us constant object lessons on the impossibility of neutrality on the part of workers' organisations during the period of acutest class warfare, a period in which the true character of all political parties, including those calling themselves socialist parties, is revealed.

In consideration of the importance of the co-operative societies for the working masses, the Communist International has emphasised, in a number of resolutions passed at its World Congresses, the necessity of combatting reformism in the co-operatives as energetically as everywhere else, and of inducing the masses organised in the co-operatives to join the class army of the proletariat, by showing these masses that their immediate interests are defended by the communists in the co-operatives. The cheapening of the necessities of life (one of the tasks of the co-operatives) cannot possibly be carried out under present conditions unless accompanied by a struggle against

the taxing of co-operatives, against the monopolist rule of trusts and cartels, or without a struggle for the workers' control of production and commerce, for the state monopoly of foreign trade, etc.

But all this means fighting against the fundamentals of the capitalist Order. These tasks will only be accomplished when the co-operative society members are enlisted in the ranks of the revolutionary struggle the possibility of a further development and of a real protection of their own interests.

Nothing short of this real protection of the interests of the workers will transform the co-operatives, into a medium for the improvement of the position of the working class, into one of the instruments for the final emancipation of the proletariat. These are the tasks which the Communist Parties, on the occasion of the International Co-operative Propaganda Day, call upon the organised masses of co-operative society members to perform.

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### WHAT DOES THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY MEAN TO THE HOUSEWIFE?

By Clara Zetkin (Moscow)

Might we not expect every mother of a family to reply to this question with a paean of praise regarding the economic advantages and the ideal social significance of the cooperative societies? Those who cherish this opinion forget that in countries where the large property owners rule over and exploit the small owners and the penniless, the interests of various classes of women in the social conditions and institutions vary greatly and are even entirely opposed, the decisive question is: whether the women belong to the possessing and dominating class, and keep house from a well filled purse, without themselves performing any useful work for society at large, or whether they belong to the class who have to contrive to make both ends meet on the wages or salary of their husbands, or on their own wages or salary.

The purchase of food, linen, shoes, clothing, coal, etc., through the co-operative society, means a saving of money. It means a saving even when the prices are the same as those of the private shops. It is a well known fact that the co-operatives supply goods of good quality, and that the weights and measures are accurate; these points in themselves render the goods cheaper. And how important all this is for the mother of a family, spending sleepless nights and care-racked days over the vain attempt to stretch her housekeeping money beyond its utmost limits, and turning every penny over ten times before she spends it. Often much time is saved by buying at the co-operative store. The housewife organised in the co-operative society is well aware of where she buys to the best advantage, and every co-operative society strives to open as many branches as possible, in order that the members need not go long distances. The proletarian housewife is spared the necessity of visiting distant market places and shops, an advantage valuable indeed to the worried and overworked housewife who grudges herself every moment of rest, and whose working day none the less often enough stretches far into the night!

The material advantages of the co-operatives society will be of special benefit to the housewife in times of social distress and struggle. The co-operative society does not take advantage of scarcity goods and economic emergencies for the purpose of gaining speculative profits. Under certain conditions it can temporarily keep bread and other urgent necessities of life below the high prices ruling at the moment, and it can grant credit in cases of unemployment, without any concealed pocketing of interest and compound interest. It can lend material support to striking or locked-out workers and political fighters, out of its profits and surpluses; it can contribute to the war funds of these fighters, can provide food, clothing, etc., from its stores, for the children of those thus struggling with the bourgeois class enemy and with blackest misery and poverty; it can lend them strong moral support, agitate for them, etc.

Summed up in a few words: The co-operative society can be an extremely powerful instrument and auxiliary for the workers, employees, officials, etc., in their class struggles against the exploiting usurious capitalists and their State. It is a matter of vital interests to housewives that the cooperative society does play this role, actually and energetically. Every victory won by the exploited over the exploiters effects an alleviation of the crushing cares and burdens imposed upon the women of the proletariat and the lower middle class.

But the awakening and thinking women of today is not content with a mere alleviation of her lot. She seeks emancipation. She longs to develop and to act as a complete human being, she demands that the whole social world, with all its duties and rights, is opened out to her as her sphere. The co-operative society performs invaluable service here for the housewife. It has already proved a political and social school for hundreds of thousands of women, and it could be the source of such education, in the highest sense of the term, for millions. Its educative and enlightening influence forms a striking contrast to the influence exercised by the individual household of today, with its complete absorption of woman's time and energy.

The household of today has ceased to be a sphere of multifarious productive activity; it no longer furthers the development of capabilities. It overburdens women with monotonous occupations, scarcely ever brightened by any new idea. It absorbs the whole mentality and activity of the housewife in a never-ending recurrence of humdrum trifles, confines her within a narrow circle, and isolates her from the human beings and events beyond the four walls of one household. The household of today cripples and stifles the receptivity, the thought, and action of woman. The good housewife's capacity for thinking and feeling with others, her whole social consciousness, degenerates into an egoistic care for her own family. She fails to recognise a duty of solidarity towards anyone outside of her own intimate circle. She remains unaware that her personal fate is indivisibly bound up with that of her class.

The co-operative society is a bridge over which many hesitating and timid housewives may find the path from their own narrow homes into the outer world, into social solidarity. It is a link joining the economics of the individual household to the economics, the life, and the strivings of society as a whole. Its literature, its meetings, its propaganda, give the housewife the enlightenment enabling her to understand the daily object lessons of overflowing shops with the

contrasting emptiness of the pantry and wardrobe at home. Many women who have never read a political article have learnt through their co-operative society that not the failure of crops has raised the price of bread, but the imposition of a high import duty on cheap foreign grain for the benefit of the large landowners.

In this manner they learn to recognise the connections between economics and politics, the decisive influence, exercised by the class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the big bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, upon the social position and standard of life of the individual. They become conscious of the strength and power which unity brings even among the weak and exploited, for they see that the co-operative society, in its capacity as a large buyer, can obtain better goods at cheaper prices than the small owner of a private shop.

The intimidated and anxious housewife learns even more than all this from the life of the co-operative. She learns that a business enterprise need not necessarily be synonymous with profit, with an advantage gained by a few at the expense of many, and that the welfare of all is more than the profits of the few. She is given the right to co-operate with others in the defence of her opinions, demands, and interests, and to exercise an influence in the control and management of the business. Once this right is given her, the courage to exercise it and the sense of duty compelling her to exercise it awaken of themselves. The enlarged economic, political and social horizon given by the co-operative society activity, furthers the development of class consciousness, of realisation of fraternal solidarity among the exploited and oppressed. The active and consistent woman member of a co-operative society is bound to become a revolutionary fighter against capitalist profit economy and its bourgeois state, or she is untrue to herself and to the ideal of the co-operative. The housewife may begin her co-operative activity for the sake of gaining some advantage for her own little household. But she must end it by joining the struggle against the bourgeois order, by fighting for the seizure of state power as the means of revolutionising economics and society.

The housewife can thus find in the co-operative society that which fills her life with all that is highest and best. The will to fight, the irresistible impetus to fight, for her emancipation; and at the same time the mental and social equipment for the fight. But it is quite another question whether the co-operative society actually does offer the housewife all it should offer, in truth and deed, for her material and mental equipment as a servant of the revolutionary proletarian class struggle. This depends on the spirit permeating and actuating the co-operative society. Is the ruling spirit merely one of despicable, bourgeois, individualist profit and dividend-hunting in favour of a limited group of persons, a spirit of reformist and capital subservient "neutrality", smothering all will to revolution in a cheap syrup, or is it a spirit of revolutionary proletarian class war, conscious of its mission as bearer of the true ideal of co-operation? For true co-operation can only be realised when the proletarian revolution has deprived the exploiting bourgeoisie of its position as ruler over state and economics, and when the co-operative society has been converted into an apparatus of social development and distribution, serving the transition to and the carrying out of communism.

The housewife should not resignedly accept the spirit which happens to prevail in her co-operative society. She must realise that this spirit is hers, hers and that of her sisters and brothers. The co-operative society is what its members make it. The housewife, as a convinced co-operative worker, is bound in honour to combat, continuously and systematically, the open and concealed anti-revolutionary bourgeois spirit finding its way into the co-operatives, and to spread the co-operative ideals and the propaganda for co-operative organisations among ever increasing numbers of men and women ready to fight, class consciously and determinedly, against capitalism. All efforts must be united to haul down the lying rainbow flag now floating over the international co-operative movement, the symbol chosen by those who continue to talk rubbish about smoothing away the antagonism between the nations, and about eternal peace among the peoples, without uttering a syllable about the fundamental causes of the hostility between the nations, or about the actual roots of predatory imperialist wars—the irreconcilable class antagonism between possessors and non-possessors. The flag borne by this kind of co-operative society is as deceptive as the wisdom which it represents.

These ladies and gentlemen boast of the influence exercised by 50 million co-operative society members in 31 different countries. They preserve silence regarding the fact that they, as leaders, not only neglected to mobilise these 50 millions against the last great massacre of the peoples, but have done something much worse and more unpardonable: they have driven these millions into the camp of the bourgeoisie which is lusting for power and money. These ladies and gentlemen forget that in the bible legend the rainbow did not appear as a celestial sign of peace until the flood had exterminated every living creature. The sign of socialist peace cannot appear until the proletarian revolution has wiped out class antagonisms. This sign of peace will not, however, be the co-operative rainbow flag, symbol of sentimental pacifist drivel and allied bourgeois and reformist reaction. The true sign of peace can only be the glowing red of the banner borne by the Communist International, leading the revolutionary proletarian fighters today to battle, tomorrow to victory. It is around this banner that the housewives must gather in the co-operative societies.

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## WOMEN'S WORK IN THE CO-OPERATIVES

### WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT SHOULD BE

By Hertha Sturm

The co-operative society bureaucracy will doubtless discover a warm spot in its heart again for the women, when the International Co-operative Conference once more offers an opportunity of singing the praises of the co-operatives, and of beating the recruiting drum which is to induce more women to enter the co-operative societies. Almost a year has passed since the founding of the International Women's Co-operatives Guild at the International Women's Conference of the Co-operatives at Geneva in 1924; but during this time working women have not experienced any benefit from the benevolent

effects of the co-operatives in general, or of the women's guild in particular.

It is thus not to be wondered at that the Co-operatives feel themselves impelled to undertake some sort of action likely to give the masses the impression of activity. The 40 million households organised in the Co-operative Alliance cannot be dismissed as a trifle. The 40 million housewives, of the working, peasant, and lower middle class, ruling these households, constitute a factor which even the most ossified bureaucracy has to take into consideration. The women members of the co-operatives should fully realise their power. They should not permit themselves to be deceived in any way, but should call the co-operative societies decidedly and definitely to account, demanding to know what steps these have taken in defence of their members' interests, and beyond this in defence of the interests of the broad working masses.

At its inaugural conference, the International Women's Guild boasted that it was going to create an internationally comprehensive organisation of the broadest masses of women, a "mothers' international". It was going to fight against war, it was going to protect the interests of the "market basket", the symbol of the new women's organisation, it was going to develop social consciousness among women, and many other desirable things. But even the most credulous of the members must now recognise that the whole conference was nothing more than a theatrical performance for misleading the masses. Nobody has stirred a finger towards converting these fine phrases into action.

"Mother's international!" But where have the co-operatives been whilst the governments of all countries have been arming for war against each other, against the colonial peoples, and against Soviet Russia? Where have they taken action, or even uttered a protest, against the raging of Fascism and White Terror in Italy, in Esthonia, and in the Balkans? What are they doing for the release of the hundreds of thousands of political prisoners all over the world?

The leaders of this gigantic international organisation share the responsibility for the shedding of the blood of every mother's son who has fallen on the battlefield of imperialist or class war, and for the starvation of every worker's or peasant's child whose father pines behind prison walls.

"The interests of the market basket." A huge wave of high prices is sweeping across the whole world, taking the bread out of the mouths of the worker's families. In Czechoslovakia masses of women crowded the market places and streets, desperate and helpless, for weeks at a time; in Italy the starving women storm the bakers' shops; in England the "imperial government" finds itself compelled by the pressure from the masses to appoint a pseudo-commission for inquiring into the prices of food, and even to call upon a few real housewives out of the working and middle classes to report to this commission. There is a universal outcry for energetic action on the part of organised labour, for the confiscation, price fixing, and distribution of food through the agency of the workers' control organs in association with the co-operatives in town and country.

But all this does not affect the co-operatives. They are waiting to see if the capitalist governments will not perhaps help the working women, and meanwhile these governments all over the world are

tactily agreeing among themselves to further reduce the working class standard of life by the introduction of protective tariffs, by the increase of indirect taxation on articles of mass consumption, by the raising of rents, by the restriction of tenants' protection, and by reducing social welfare measures.

The leaders of the co-operative societies share the responsibility for the fact that, week after week, the working class housewife brings home worse and fewer goods in her shopping basket.

"Education of the women to social consciousness?" Truly an excellent aim! No doubt it was in pursuance of this aim that the co-operatives in France and Belgium kept at such a safe distance from the question of women's suffrage, since this was likely to free women from the narrow confines of the four walls of the home, and to lead them into the broad daylight of public life. And no doubt this is the reason why the working women and peasants have never seen or heard anything of co-operative society help towards an alleviation of their burden of toil in homes and factory, towards the organisation of co-operative kitchens, laundries, creches, etc., enabling women to develop from beasts of burden into thinking and acting fellow fighters for their own class. And where has the women's guild of the co-operative societies ever organised any systematic work of enlightenment and education among its women members?

The leaders of the co-operative societies share the responsibility for the fact that millions of women of the suppressed class are still unenlightened, still stand aside from the class struggle, and strengthen the position of the enemy in every conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, from Parliamentary elections to strikes and lock-outs.

All this must be changed. But the present leaders of the co-operatives do not want the masses of the women to be mobilised in defence of their claims, for this would mean a rupture of the alliance between the co-operatives and the bourgeoisie. The leaders prefer that the women remain politically unenlightened, for this enlightenment means the loss of the strongest auxiliary forces of these leaders. The revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the communists, must thus work the more systematically and tenaciously for the political enlightenment of the masses of women in the cooperatives, and for the enlistment of these women in the class front of the proletariat.

The co-operative bureaucracy hopes to attain the object of its swindling manoeuvres on one single day, on the 4, July. The communists can hold out longer than this. They will work for weeks, months, and years; but they really will attain their object. Every opportunity must be taken for obtaining access to the masses of women, every public meeting held by women, every trade union, factory council, or co-operative meeting every factory nucleus newspaper, every co-operative society or labour party periodical, must be utilised by the communists for opening the eyes of the women to their own interests, to the real tasks of the co-operative societies, and to the disgraceful failure of the co-operatives to perform these tasks.

But mere agitation does not suffice. The Communist Party must at the same time teach the masses not only to understand the world, but to change it. Every concrete fighting situation arising in any place or in any country must be made to serve as a starting point for showing the women members of the co-operative societies, and with them the co-operatives themselves, the plain duties lying before them, whether

these consist of mobilising for the material support of the starving families of strikers, of safeguarding against corn duties and usurious taxation by means of proletarian mass action, or of organising political, moral, and material help for the victims of the White Terror. In all such situations special tasks fall to the women. We only need to remember the control committees against rising prices, the organisation of collections, the distribution of food in cases of mass need etc. And all these actions will be carried out by women with the utmost enthusiasm as soon as they have grasped the import of this solidarity.

Above all, this is a task of burning importance which must not be so neglected in the future as it has been in the past. Our best agitation, our best conducted action with the participation of the masses of the women, will be but temporarily successful if we are not capable of creating firm strongholds among the masses of the women in the co-operatives themselves, these to form a constant connecting link between the staff of leaders, the Communist Party, and the masses. For this two things are necessary: Every co-operative fraction of the Party must have its organiser, conducting work among the women in accordance with a definite plan. Further, every co-operative society must have a women's committee consisting of women co-operative society members representing different tendencies. This committee has to enlighten the women members of the co-operatives as to the tasks incumbent on the co-operatives in class warfare, and to school and stimulate them for these tasks; besides this it has to awaken the interest of the broad unorganised masses of women outside of the co-operatives, to induce them to participate in co-operative action, and to become members of the co-operative societies.

This work demands an extensive staff of class conscious working women. Therefore, every revolutionary woman, every woman communist, must join the co-operative society. A complete system of meetings, courses of instruction, and discussion evenings, is required, if all confused heads are to be enlightened, all indifferent minds interested, and all passive elements mobilised. We may thus form an elite troop of women co-operative society members, fully realising why they are members, and capable of explaining this to the broad masses within and without the co-operatives. And it is only thus that we can finally wrest the minds and hearts of the broad masses of the women out of the clutches of the treacherous co-operative society bureaucracy.

The international co-operative day is a great fighting day in this wrestling contest.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 27

[*The Communist International*, July 1937. Pp. 493-498]

### WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR

“Communists, above all our women Communists, must remember that there cannot be a successful fight against fascism and war unless the broad masses of women are drawn into it. . . . We must spare no pains to see that the women workers and toilers fight shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers in the ranks of the united . . . front.” \*

\* Georgi Dimitroff, *Working Class Unity—Bulwark Against Fascism*, pp. 67-68, Workers Library Publishers, 10 cents.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S  
MOVEMENT

During the last two years and more, a women's movement has grown up on quite a large scale in a number of countries, as the result of the initiative of a group of advanced women who convened the International Women's Congress against War and Fascism in Paris in August, 1934. Almost all the big countries and the most varied women's organizations responded to the call of the initiatory group. The congress set itself the task of organizing in each country and throughout the world a wide movement of women in defense of peace and women's rights, against fascism. The congress elected an International Women's Committee, which included representatives of various countries and various organizations.

The international women's movement against war and fascism at the present time is directly or indirectly influencing millions of women, and has established a mass women's magazine called *Woman* which it issues in various countries and languages, in twenty editions.

Appreciating the full importance of the experience gained in this movement, the Editorial Board of *The Communist International* asked a number of leading officials of the international and national women's committees of various countries to reply to certain questions as to the work of these committees and to give us the benefit of their experience. In reply, the Editorial Board received the following material which we print below. The Editorial Board will gladly devote part of the columns of the magazine to further materials on this question.

If full use is to be made of the experience which is being accumulated by the growing women's movement, it is necessary to declare war on the weaknesses and deficiencies which exist in regard to the women's movement in our ranks, and in the labor movement in general.

If a successful struggle is to be carried on by the masses of the people against fascism, if victory is to be won by the working class against capitalism, and socialism established, it is absolutely essential that millions and millions of women—working women, peasant women, housewives, intellectuals, etc.—be drawn into the common struggle.

This truth is universally recognized in the ranks of the Communists. Nevertheless, right up to the present day, the practical work done among women has still lagged very far behind the needs and possibilities of the movement. What is the cause of this? And what should be done to bring about a radical change, the necessity for which is imperatively demanded by all the circumstances of the struggle today of the masses against fascism and war?

Even in the ranks of the Communist Parties there are still to be found strong remnants of a philistine, narrow-minded, condescending attitude towards women. According to this outlook, men can develop, organize, lead, struggle, they can do everything; women, on the other hand, can only do so in exceptional cases, if they are particularly energetic, gifted, talented. If women are sometimes promoted in the Party and in the workers' organizations, this is done in a formal and mechanical fashion, and not by virtue of a deep conviction that women can and should participate on a really mass scale in the struggle against the common class enemy.

And there are also quite a number of Communist women who share this disbelief in their sisters. To these Communist women, equality between men and women means forgetting the need for special work among women, means to neglect all movements among women under the pretext that women are formally given the opportunity of marching alongside the men, of participating in the political, trade union and social movement. A Communist woman who does not take pains to see that her sisters make progress is a poor Communist. Just as the prime duty of Communists in the trade unions is to take an active part in the trade union movement, to recruit workers to the union, so is it the prime duty of Communist women to do everything in their power to secure the drawing in of masses of women to support Communism, to prevent fascism utilizing them against the working class.

The mechanical transference to the capitalist countries of the forms of activity in the women's movement now practised in the Soviet Union is also one of the reasons why work among women is not up to the mark at present in the capitalist countries. The great socialist October Revolution gave real freedom to women. The Communist Party and the Soviet government provide tremendous possibilities for the development of women, for their active participation in the construction of socialism and in the administration of the state. The formation of separate women's organizations or special bodies of the women's movement attached to the Communist Party and the trade unions in the Soviet Union is a bygone stage. The Communist Parties of capitalist countries have mechanically transferred the experience of this work in the Soviet Union to their own countries, their attitude being that since separate women's organizations have been abolished in the Soviet Union they are not needed in the capitalist countries either. But as a matter of fact, even in the Soviet Union, various forms are arising such as conferences of wives of leaders of heavy industry, the Red Army, etc., for attracting women who are not trade union members, who do not work in industry, into the general front of the construction of socialism.

Among the causes of the serious weakness of the Communist Parties in regard to work among women, the main one is the fact that the women themselves not infrequently regard themselves as inferior personalities, as second or third rate people, do not believe in their own strength, do not display sufficient initiative, do not try to make the Communist Parties do all that is necessary in this sphere. The women themselves must fight for the fulfillment of the tasks which face the Communist Parties and the working class in regard to women. A struggle is needed against the heritage of the past, against the relics of feudalism.

The public opinion of the working people must be mobilized against medieval remnants, against a philistine attitude towards women. Those Communists whose attitude towards women is not that of comrades in the struggle must be denounced, and this relic of the past must be ruthlessly uprooted. Wide masses of working women, peasant women, housewives and women intellectuals must be drawn into the work, into the anti-fascist movement, the trade unions, the cooperative societies, the committees of the peace movement and other social and cultural organizations, must be drawn into active participation in the general movement. Ways and forms of

developing the independent women's movement must be found without being afraid of women's separatism. Account must be taken of the special position of women, of their special psychology, their special approach to life and to various questions; account must also be taken of the situation of girls and mothers, invalids, and old women, not forgetting at the same time that they are all to some degree housewives.

Women, for instance, have a greater interest than men in the question of the price of food, because it is the women who spend the family income. Women have to bring up the children, and they are interested in questions affecting the kitchen, the house, the creche, the school, the hospital, social insurance, etc. A tremendous number of women are under the influence of religion and the church; they are very prone to give way to all kinds of prejudices, which renders a special approach to women necessary.

The need for an independent mass women's movement in the shape of movements of working women in defense of their own interests and demands against disfranchisement and inequality, and against the oppression of women, arises from the present situation of women in the capitalist countries, where a double slavery for women exists in various forms and degrees.

The development of this movement is not only the affair of women, but of the whole of the working class and above all of the entire Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class.

One of the central problems which unite women of all races, nations, religions and political views is the maintenance of peace. And the struggle for peace, strong action in favor of peace, will give the necessary impulse to the development of the mass women's movement. From this point of view it is especially important to study the experience of the international women's movement against war and fascism as reflected in the reports of the leaders of this movement.

#### THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

The example of Spain shows how great can be the role of women at a moment of keen struggle. And in other countries it is also necessary to have cadres of women capable of rising to the occasion in similar cases.

The example of Spain shows that women are needed not so much at the front as in the rear, where they have specific tasks, to work in the factories, to organize supplies, medical aid, to look after the children, care for the wounded, etc.

Women's organizations are now being formed in Spain in the process of the work. The struggle of the Spanish people against the rebels and the German-Italian interventionists has united very wide masses of anti-fascist women of the most varied parties and trends. Tens of thousands of women are united in committees, and it is difficult even now to calculate how many women are participating in this movement. The national women's committee is exerting all possible energy and employing all means in support of the government of the Popular Front in the struggle against the enemies of the people.

At the present time, for example, the women's committee in Madrid is the government's mainstay in organizing aid behind the lines for the people's army. Committees have organized the recruiting of women for the factories and of men for the front; have organized tailoring

shops, carried through the requisition of equipment and material for them, helped to establish hospitals, and taught women how to look after the wounded. Many of the members of the committees have gone to serve as sisters and nurses at the front and in the hospitals behind the lines. The committees have organized public dining rooms and children's homes, and have helped to organize the evacuation of the population. Members of the committees established regular connections with the families of the fighters in the people's militia and the regular troops, informing the men about their relatives and bringing their families news from the front.

According to the opinions expressed by the leaders of the anti-fascist parties and the government, the members of the committee, such as Dolores Ibarruri, Margarita Nelquen, Maria Theresa Leon, Matilda Juichi, etc., have played a big role in keeping up the morale of the people's army. In Asturias and the Basque Provinces and also in Catalonia, the International women's committee has helped to form a wide united front movement among the women, covering anti-fascist, Catholic, liberal, Socialist and Communist women, as well as various trade unions and a number of other women's organizations, including Anarchist organizations.

In Catalonia, the Trotskyites tried to set the women against the People's Front in connection with food difficulties, and organized demonstrations aimed at discrediting the Commissar of Food, Comorero. The maneuvers of the Trotskyites were very soon shown up. The women of Catalonia are now organized in a single "Women's Alliance of Struggle for the Independence and Defense of the Country."

Anti-fascist women's movements exist in a number of countries—France, Belgium, Spain, Great Britain, Holland, Greece, Jugoslavia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Italy, China, the Latin American countries and in the U.S.A. In some of these countries there are committees, and the international women's committee maintains contact with the other countries in various ways, but chiefly through its magazine. But there are still many countries where the peace movement among women has not been organized at all.

The international women's committee has made the first attempts to organize the women's peace movement in the colonies.

Certain experience of work in Syria, Algiers, etc., renders it possible for the women's international committee to find the necessary forms and methods of work for drawing the masses of native women into the movement.

The international women's movement against war and fascism has achieved considerable success in the last three years. The significance of this work is tremendous, for women form 53 per cent of the world population. Wide masses of women are burdened by centuries of tradition and prejudice. From their childhood days, boys and girls are educated differently, and this must be taken into account in all our work. A mass women's movement can only successfully develop if account is taken of the special position of women, of their special approach to life and to the various problems. It is precisely in this way, by appealing to the hearts of the women, that we shall win them and draw them to our side.

BERNADETTO CATTANEO,  
*Secretary of the International Women's Committee  
Against War and Fascism.*

## A FEW EXAMPLES OF WORK AMONG WOMEN IN FRANCE

The women's movement against war and fascism in France has achieved marked successes in recent years. At the present time the French women's committee has about 200,000 members organized in approximately 2,000 local committees. To coordinate the work of the local committees in one and the same counties, county committees were formed. On January 1, 1936, there was only one county committee but by February, 1937, there were seventeen.

This growth of the women's movement is mainly to be explained by the practical everyday work of the women's committees, their participation in the chief political events. Here are some examples of the participation of the women's committees in the economic struggles of the French proletariat.

In connection with the July (1936) strike movement in France, the women's committees together with the trade unions and strike committees did a great amount of work in giving regular aid to the strikers. The trade unions gave credentials to our active members entitling them to enter the factories where the strike was going on. The women on strike were very much disturbed at the thought that their children would be uncared for when they came home from school. Some of our committees organized children's rooms and kindergartens, where the children came after school, and so their mothers were able quietly to remain in the factory or stores till late in the evening. The women's committees also collected money for the strikers, organized the supply of food and books, and free theatrical performances at the factories where the strikes were taking place.

As a result of this work, the women's committees won the confidence of many working women and office employees; in Paris and the provinces new committees were formed in the factories, and the women often come to them to ask for advice on general political or trade union questions or even questions of a personal character.

This aid given to the strikers strengthened the contacts of the women's committees with the trade unions. For instance, at the Hispano Suiza automobile plant, the women's committee organized a meeting with the full endorsement and support of the local trade union; in Grenoble, the trade union called a meeting of 800-900 working women, at which a delegate of the women's committee spoke.

Both during the election campaign and during the strikes, the women's committees mainly advanced slogans dealing with the improvement of the economic conditions of the women and children.

We took account of the fact that women are reluctant to gather in cafes, public halls or clubs. Women do not feel at home in such places which are often not attractive. This led us to the idea of organizing special "women's clubs," which they can arrange and decorate to suit their own taste. Such "women's clubs" have now been opened not only in the Paris district but also in other towns, such as Bordeaux, Grenoble, and Marseilles. The women hold their meetings there, do sewing, hold needlework classes, and arrange cinema performances for the children. Here also medical advice is supplied, readings are held, and legal advice is given. The unorganized women come there simply for advice and then join our movement. The women's committees compete with each other for the best organization and performance of the work of the women's clubs."

The French women's committee carried on great work in connection with the International Peace Congress in Brussels. Though the number of delegates from France was restricted, the women's committee nevertheless sent 200 delegates, the biggest delegation to the congress.

The French women have displayed particular energy in connection with aid for republican Spain. In addition to the political campaign in defense of the Spanish people, for the restoration of free trade with republican Spain, the women's committees have collected considerable sums of money as well as food, medicines, new and second hand clothes, and linen; in addition they have established special knitting and repair stations, sent two ambulances with the most up-to-date equipment to Spain, and carried on work to secure the adoption of the orphans of fighters of the Spanish people's army. This work has been a big impulse to the development and formation of women's committees, especially in the Northern and Eastern counties.

The international solidarity of the French women was also expressed in the campaign to save Anna Pauker, prisoner in the hands of the Rumanian secret police.

The national women's committee succeeded not only in drawing into this campaign all our women's committees but also in getting a number of organizations not immediately sympathetic with us to take up the cudgels on behalf of Anna Pauker. For example, the League of the Rights of Man, the National Council of French Women, the Association of Republican Reserve Officers, etc., gave their support.

When the King of Rumania came to Paris to ask for a loan, letters, telegrams, and protest resolutions showered into the hotel where he was staying. The telephone never stopped ringing. One of the King's officials stated that "Anna Pauker has spoiled the King's stay in Paris." Ten of the best women's committees decided to take patronage over Anna Pauker.

These are some examples from the experience of the women's movement in France. The women are showing tremendous interest and initiative in questions of the defense of peace, democracy and women's rights. There are great possibilities for a mass women's movement in France.

MARIE RABATE,  
*Secretary, French Women's Committee  
Against War and Fascism.*

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#### EXHIBIT No. 28

[*World News and Views*, April 14, 1945. Pp. 113-114]

#### WOMEN'S RIGHTS

By Tamara Rust

The first clause of the International Women's Day Charter adopted by thousands of women throughout the country demands "the right of women to bring their children into a world free from the fear of war and want."

It is precisely this principle which has been worked out in concrete terms at the Crimea Conference, which showed so clearly how the

principles of international cooperation, security and prosperity should be applied in the world today. Its decisions will find a deep response in the hearts of the women of Britain.

Woman's love of freedom and her concern for the future of her children, makes her vitally interested in the complete rooting out of Fascism and the ensuring of peace. That is why millions of women in every freedom-loving country will enthusiastically give their support to the principles of the Crimea Conference and thus increase the effectiveness of the international organisation for the preservation of peace.

There can be no firm peace without democracy. One can speak of true democracy only if all the people exercise their rights. Democracy cannot be true unless the women, who form half of the population, take an active interest in the political life of the country and exercise their rights, whether it is the right to a nursery for the children or the right to vote.

Moreover, it is the women who bear the main responsibility for the bringing up of the children. It is the women who largely determine the moral character of the growing generation. The mother who does not possess equal rights, who is excluded from political life is handicapped in the bringing up of a free democratic citizen.

This principle is recognised in every democratic country. One of the first decrees of the French Provisional Government was the granting to women of the right to vote. In Yugoslavia, where women had the right to vote only at the age of 24, the Tito Government extended this right to all women of 18, and established the rate for the job as a State decree.

In Britain, where women have the right to vote, it is the job of all progressive organisations to ensure that the women exercise this right and vote on the side of the Labour and progressive forces who alone will ensure the building of a world free from want.

Thousands of women who belong to the Co-operative Guilds can be won for the active support of the Crimea decisions if they are helped to understand that lasting peace cannot be brought about on the individual sentimental basis of pacifism; that the creation of lasting peace demands the removal of "political, economic and social causes of war" as stated in the Crimea decisions. Almost every Guildswoman has a relative in the forces and, in addition, she often does some voluntary war job, such as acting as a foster mother to evacuated children or running a canteen for servicemen and women. Many of them call themselves "pacifist," meaning that they desire peace, but they would sharply disagree with those doctrines of pacifism which imply passivity and folded arms. In fact, the Guilds have a long fighting tradition. Big support for every progressive cause, whether it is the upholding of friendship with the Soviet Union or the demand for decent houses, comes from the Co-op Guilds.

Some of the best workers of the Labour Party are to be found amongst the women and the Women's Sections are always in the forefront of the election battles.

On reading *Labour Woman*, one is always struck by the similarity of the policy, interests and aims of the Labour women with that of the Communist Party and the work carried on by our growing groups and sections.

In preparation for the coming elections there is a marked revival of activity amongst the Labour women. New sections are being formed

up and down the country; lapsed members are being canvassed; conferences on the New Education Bill, Full Employment, Housing, Elections, are being held in district after district.

But this work would be greatly strengthened if the ranks were united and if the active Labour women were to realise the truth of what a French woman said when she addressed the great meeting in the Albert Hall on International Women's Day. Speaking of the part played by French women in the Resistance Movement, she said:

"We learned the value of unity in the bleak days of reaction. Today French women fight shoulder to shoulder with their men for the future of their country. They are able to do this because in the bleak days of reaction they learnt the value of unity. Labour, Communists, Conservatives, Catholics, Protestants, have all run the same risks, shared the same toil, and in suffering together this unity was made possible."

These words have a meaning for all of us. They show that the decisions of the Crimea Conference are rooted in the firm determination of women to seek a true and happy life. From their sorrow and sacrifice there is now emerging the glorious prospects of a world from which the horrors of war and poverty will be forever banished.

### C. YOUTH: SPORTS

In his *Problems of Leninism*, Stalin assigned "Youth Leagues" the fourth position in his list of chief categories of mass organizations (sec. A, exhibit No. 13). The Young Communist International (YCI) was set up at Berlin in November 1919 by the "opportunist," Willi Muenzenberg (this section, exhibit No. 16).<sup>1</sup> At the time that he wrote the appeal which appeared in *Inprecorr* for September 20, 1923, Zinoviev was president of the parent organization, the Comintern. Like Muenzenberg, Zinoviev also later fell from favor (sec. B, exhibit No. 22).

To American readers, early Comintern attention to sports as a means of infiltrating youth movements may appear somewhat farfetched. Nevertheless, this particular strategy of boring from within non-Communist organizations was based upon a sound understanding of athletic activities as conducted on Continental Europe, where mass calisthenics had great popular appeal. In these countries, group exercises were often employed to give quasi-military drill to the youth of minority groups otherwise prevented from developing their nationalist aspirations. If the Communists had succeeded in capturing these mass sport organizations, they would have controlled possible nuclei of insurrectionary armies. The "Resolution on Sports," which appears at the end of exhibit No. 30, summarizes Comintern thinking about this matter after the Fifth World Congress (June-July 1924). Exhibit No. 31 develops the same theme.

By the year 1935, Comintern thinking about youth activities had undergone extensive revision as a result of the propaganda line laid down at the Seventh World Congress.<sup>2</sup> Earlier crude attempts to apply the tactic of the united front were now discarded in favor of Dimitrov's "new look." While working-class youth were not forgotten, students with "intellectual" backgrounds received preferred consideration.<sup>3</sup> This new Comintern strategy was aimed at the demoralization of those who would probably become the lower ranking line officers and noncoms of "bourgeois" armies. Toward this objective, Communists directed an intensified campaign to establish a correct "peace mentality." Except for a much more flexible manner of presentation, there was nothing really new about this antimilitarist approach after the Seventh World Congress. The latter had merely ordered Communists to become more subtle in carrying out the *Program* adopted at the Sixth Congress (sec. C, exhibit No. 11).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 382.

<sup>3</sup> A. Rossi, *A Communist Party in Action: An Account of the Organization and Operations in France*. Translated by Willmoore Kendall, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949, pp. 123-132.

<sup>4</sup> Possony, *Century of Conflict*, p. 214.

## EXHIBIT No. 29

[*Inprecorr*, September 20, 1923. Pp. 681, 682]

## THE TASKS OF THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH

By G. Zinoviev

The Party Press is specially requested to reprint this article. (Ed.)

The present times are full of the deepest import for the International Youth. Further violent tempests are brewing. The German Party is entering upon great struggles. It is long since we felt their very breath so near as now. The German Party in action! Twenty million proletarians raise their voices—the main army of the International Proletariat, the bearers of the international proletarian revolution advance!

The new struggles of the proletariat in Germany can assume such proportions that they will be capable of bringing us the commencement of the socialist era in one of the most important parts of the World.

There is no power on Earth which could vanquish twenty million proletarians! Twenty million proletarians, every one of whom is able to read and write, who have passed through the severe school of social democratic treachery and have drunk to the dregs of the preparatory cup of defeat!

In perusing the chronicle of the revolutionary struggles of the working class of the various countries, one is often forced to the conclusion that the working class is unable to vanquish the bourgeoisie before the workers have endured defeat in one or another of its forms. Without the events of the years 1905 and 1906, the victory of the Russian proletariat in 1917 would have been scarcely possible, or this victory would have been much harder of attainment. The German proletariat has also passed through its testing time. In the year 1918/19, in the famous Spartacus revolts and in the beginning of 1921 in the March action, the German proletariat underwent its tempering process and received the lessons which now render it capable of not only rising in revolt but also of being victorious.

The events which are now preparing in Germany may well lead us to the most important age in the history of the struggles of the international proletariat and of the destiny of the whole of mankind. The proletarian youth in particular turns to this page with trembling hands.

Let us be clear on the matter—the struggles which have already begun in Germany and which can wax fiercer every day, perhaps also mean the acceleration of that new series of wars against the socialist states, whose inevitability was predicted by Comrade Lenin some years ago. Powerful events are in course of preparation! We dare not for a moment shut our eyes to the dangers bound up with these events.

The young generation of the proletarian youth which has grown up in the period following the great victorious Russian revolution of 1917 and of the abortive first German revolution of 1918, will essentially decide the fate of the crisis which is now ripening.

An especially heavy, but nevertheless glorious task now lies with the German youth. The German Youth League which, we will not

hide ourselves from the fact, during the last years has on many occasions remained behind events, must now strain every muscle in order to rise to the grandiose events now approaching. The German Youth League must be the most sound, the most active and the most self-sacrificing—in one world—the most illustrious troops of the German Communist Party in the battles of the future. The German Youth League must be the light cavalry of the proletarian army which is entering into new fierce struggles with capitalism.

An equally great task lies before the French Youth. Tomorrow, the French armies will be launched against the German workers. An attempt will be made to convert them into the hangmen of the German workers. The French Communist Party, and before all, the French Youth League must proclaim this aloud throughout the whole of France and set itself against it.

The Communist Youth of Russia, and with it the other sections of the Communist Youth International, must regard it as their greatest honour to aid their brother troops in the youth of Germany and through them the German revolution. The proletarian youth can be thoroughly convinced of the fact that in any event their generation will witness the decisive battles of the world proletariat. The best cohorts of our youthful comrades will in any case have opportunity of engaging in combat with the bourgeoisie and their Fascist sons, not only in the streets of their native towns, but also in the streets of the chief cities of Europe. The oppressive atmosphere of bourgeois reaction of the last days is beginning to get lighter. The era of the retreat of the workers' army is drawing to a close. The unbearable torturing epoch of contempt and scorn of the workers on the part of international capital is approaching its end. The thunder clouds are lowering. Not today perhaps—but tomorrow the purifying storm can burst forth. Let us be ready! May the proletarian youth which has been wont to receive the first blows of reaction be the undaunted herald of the coming battles.

We declare right out: The Comintern is proud of the fact that in its years of severest work and struggle, never once has there been any serious differences of opinion between the Comintern as a whole and its International Communist Youth troops. While in all other international organizations, disputes between "Father and Son" are a quite usual phenomenon, it is not so in the Comintern, not even in thought, and *will* not be so. One exception does not count. Only an outlying corner of Europe (in Sweden) we witness a case where some "old" comrades who have become prematurely aged (we mean, of course politically), mutter their peevish senile criticisms against the communist youth which call to mind the good "Papas" of the 2. and 2½ International. This is an exceptional case. In all countries where the Comintern has come into conflict with the remnant of the opposition in our sections, we have had the good fortune of witnessing the communist youth on the side of the Comintern. This was the case recently in France. It is so in Italy at the present time, and that is how the matter also stands in Norway and Sweden.

Put forth your energies, young proletarians. Deep into the masses! With the full glow of youthful fervour, with the firm conviction of communists must we anchor ourselves in the masses! May there be no factory, no mine or workshop without its promising nucleus of the International Communist Youth. Let us go also into the villages.

The village youth is the great reserve of the international working class in the international revolution. Tenfold, a hundredfold, a thousandfold more energy to the capturing of the youth in town and country!

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EXHIBIT No. 30

[*The Communist International* (Petrograd Edition), December 1924—January 1925. Pp. 105-114]

THESES ON YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

I. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL SINCE THE FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS

1. Following out the decisions of the Fourth World Congress, the Third Congress of the Young Communist International outlined in detail the tasks which had already been set in a more general form by the Second World Congress of the Young Communist International, with its slogan "To the masses." It defined the basic form of the organisation, the content of the work and methods of a mass organisation of the young of the working class, and stated as its most important immediate task the transfer of the basis of the organisation to the factories by starting factory nuclei. It laid stress upon the necessity for the fuller participation of the Young Communist Leagues (Y.C.L.) in the struggles and problems of the Communist Party and of the working class and assigned as their immediate practical task the fight against bourgeois militarism, against new wars, and against the "break through" offensive of capital.

2. The development of the Y.C.I. in the period which has just passed, has proved the correctness and necessity of these decisions. They have proved their worth and have enabled the further development of the Y.C.I. into an organisation of working class youth. They have also justified themselves in the steady rise, even from the numerical point of view, of most of the more important sections of the Y.C.I. This rise is especially notable because at the same time there has been a marked drop in the so-called Socialist Youth organisations. If the Y.C.L. continues to carry out the decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses energetically, it will soon be seen that this rise has been neither accidental nor temporary, but that it is a permanent improvement which will lead to the development of the Y.C.I. into a mass movement of working class youth and to the complete liquidation of those organisations which call themselves "Socialist" or "social."

3. The most important results were attained in the following fields:

(a) The political activity of the Y.C.L., whose participation in the fights and problems of the working class and of the Communist Party, have markedly increased. The political line to which the Y.C.I. held fast, was right and good, and its members have in most cases proved themselves the best of the Comintern front.

(b) With regard to their re-organisation on a basis of factory nuclei, the Y.C.L. have not only achieved the ideological re-adjustment of their members, but have in some cases already created the necessary conditions from which the whole re-organisation of the movement can eventually follow on the new basis in some of the bigger organi-

sations. The Y.C.I. and Y.C.L. have been the pioneers in this work and have given great help to the Communist Party and to the Comintern by tackling this job and by collecting valuable experience.

(c) The Communist International welcomes enthusiastically the readiness for self-sacrifice, the initiative and the activity shown by the Y.C.I. in the struggle against war and imperialism and in propaganda in the bourgeois armies. Its work among the French troops in the occupied area of Germany and in the Ruhr has been the first practical, concrete and international work which has been carried out in this field. Also the active work of the French Y.C.L. in the French Army is an important step forwards. The Y.C.I. has proved that work of this kind is possible and effective even under the most difficult conditions.

(d) The Y.C.I. has also made great progress in its development into a centralised and unified international organisation. In addition to the numerical growth of the most important sections of the Y.C.I., the Comintern particularly welcomes the steady intensification of its influence on the broad masses of working class youth and the continuing consolidation of the Y.C.L.'s in various countries into a strong world organisation of youth.

In all this work the Y.C.L.'s have had only inadequate support from the Communist Parties. In some cases the Young Communist Leagues had first to contend with violent opposition from individual parties or from their Central Committees, before they could fulfil their tasks. (For instance, in anti-military work, or, again, in Sweden where the Young Communist League and the Y.C.I. were violently attacked by the majority of the Party Executive because they stood by the line laid down by the Communist International; in Czechoslovakia, the Party did its best to hinder the attempt on the part of the Y.C.L. to form factory nuclei, and continued its opposition for a long time; in the Balkans also it met with obstruction, and there were other similar cases.) Moreover, the decisions of the Third Congress of the Comintern with regard to the independent organisations of the Y.C.L.'s have not yet been carried out in all cases.

4. In some fields, the Young Communist Leagues could work in an imperfect manner only. Thus the fight of the Young Communist League against the offensive of capital, and against the impoverishment of working class youth, and its activity in the trade unions has been, with the exception of a few countries, still too feeble. Its educational work has also not yet been equal to the demands of the vast new stream of members and to the great fighting tasks which lie before it in this field. Here again the lack of support from the Communist Party has been a contributory cause. The attempt to win over the peasant youth which has to be conducted with special methods and which has great significance in view of the necessity for fighting the recently formed fascist youth movement and the various Christian organisations, has also not been sufficiently made in the period we are reviewing.

5. Taking it all together, the results of the last working year show great progress. The Y.C.I. has increased its influence and has been able to draw broad masses of working class youth into the new struggles of the working class. It has made its movement more active, consolidated it and taken decisive steps to develop it into a mass organisation of working class youth. Added to this, it has also given

real help to the Communist International during the past months in the battles of the working class, by its earnest endeavours to act according to true Communist and Leninist principles. It has collected valuable information for the work of the Comintern and the Communist Parties in the course of its campaign against war and its work in the bourgeois armies.

## II. THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE Y.C.I.

6. In considering the development of the Y.C.I. in the recent period, the Fifth Congress finds that the decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses of the Y.C.I. and of the Third Congress of the Comintern on the Young Communist Movement have thoroughly justified themselves in practice. The Y.C.I. and its sections must continue their work on the same lines and must immediately undertake the next steps towards transforming the Young Communist organisations and the whole international of Youth into really Leninist organisations, into strongholds of Bolshevism.

The struggle to Bolshevise the Y. C. L.'s must be regarded as its central task, the starting point of all its collective work. That must be impressed upon the consciousness of every individual member. The Bolshevisation of the Y. C. L.'s must be expressed in the transformation of the whole organisation into a mass organisation of working class youth, inextricably bound up with the youthful peasants and workers, and pressing forward energetically in the work of conquering the majority of working class youth, the leaders and representatives of the interests of the masses, must take firm root in the consciousness of the young workers. The Young Communist Leagues must get hold of the best elements among the young workers and in the course of their development and their battles must liquidate all other "Socialistic" and "social" organisations of youth.

But they have not only to conquer the masses of young workers and to permeate all their practical work in the masses with the will to fulfil this task, they must also educate the young workers organised in their ranks into true Leninists, into faithful guardians of the legacy left us by our great leader. They must see to it that every one of their members has a thorough knowledge of the main teachings and tactics of Lenin, and is capable of applying his methods. This Leninist education must be expressed in the active participation of the Young Communist Leagues in the battles of the Communist Party, and the working class, and in the union of this practical work among the masses with theoretical education.

The whole Y. C. I. must be permeated with Leninist principles. It must steadily strengthen the principles of centralisation, of international discipline, and of unity, and must root itself more and more firmly among the masses, while it encourages the idea among all its sections that the working class is the leader of all oppressed peoples. The Y. C. I. must work for the enrolment of the poorer young peasants and the oppressed youth of the colonial countries in the fighting line of the international working class. This is the way in which the Y. C. I. must develop a new generation of young Leninists.

7. At the same time the Young Communist Leagues must give special attention to the following questions: Intimate participation in the life of the Communist Party and in the battles of the working class (political activity); reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei; active

work in the bourgeois army and fight against impending wars; preparations for the tasks connected with civil war, particularly systematic military training; economic and trade union activity; educational work.

(a) Political Activity. This must continue and, where it has not reached a satisfactory stage, must be strengthened. Political activity means that the Young Communist Leagues must be in closest contact with all the fights of the working class, take part in them all under the leadership of the Communist Party, and mobilise working class youth to do the same. They must also take an active interest in the solution of all the problems of the Communist Party, and the Comintern, and in all questions of party life. Political activity is not a special task in addition to the other tasks of the Y. C. L.'s; its nature is simply the permeation of every activity, its vitalisation, and its influencing in the Leninist direction. It is the basis and method for all the tasks of the Y. C. I.

The Communist Parties must do everything they can to develop this political activity, which will mean a great reinforcement of the fighting front of the working class and the education of new competent political fighters for their own ranks.

(b) The Y. C. L.'s must go on energetically with the work they have already begun in the creation of Factory Nuclei. They must also immediately proceed from this to a complete re-organisation on the new basis. The slogan of every young Communist must be the complete re-organisation on the basis of the Factory Nuclei by the time of the next World Congress. The Fifth World Congress of the Communist International points out, in view of certain tendencies, that the Y. C. L.'s must organise their own factory nuclei quite independently of those organised by the Communist Party. This applies in periods of illegality.

(c) The Work in the Army and against fresh wars must be energetically continued by the Y. C. L.'s. This is one of the most important of the commandments, arising out of the international situation and the prospects of revolution. The transition from simple propaganda to concrete work, as it was made in the occupied area of Germany and in France, must quickly be extended internationally. Special attention and effort must be given to carrying out Lenin's slogan of nuclei in the bourgeois armies. The Y. C. L.'s must make every possible attempt to mobilise the young workers against fresh imperialist wars. They must meet the hypocritical and misleading doctrine of the Social-Democrats, that a general strike is the infallible method of stopping an outbreak of war, by sober propaganda showing what happens when a war actually breaks out. They must point out the necessity of transforming an imperialistic war, when once it has broken out, into a civil war within the imperialistic states, and in order to do this, they must carry on revolutionary work in the bourgeois armies.

(d) The Fight in the Economic and Trade Union Field must be intensified in the future, or where necessary, must be definitely taken in hand. The Y. C. L.'s must progress from mere propaganda to the actual fight for the defence of the material and cultural interests of working class youth, they must act here as the representative of youth. With this end in view, work in the reformist trade unions must be markedly strengthened, the final end being to revolutionise them.

In all trade unions existing fractions of Y. C. I. members must be further developed and proposed as candidates, and any sort of division between young and old, especially in the form of special sections for young workers, must be energetically opposed.

This can be done by showing the trade unions and the adult workers by practical results that the Young Communist Leagues, as they develop into the only mass organisation for the working class youth, are defending the interests of youth only as a part of the whole battle of the struggling proletariat. This is also true of the relation of the Young Communists to the Red Trade Unions with which they must work hand in hand, knowing that these are the only trade unions which are in a position to lead the fight for the interests of the young workers in a really useful way. Communist trade unionists must see to it that the Y. C. L.'s are recognised in the trade unions and among the adult workers as the organisations which look after the interests—economic and otherwise—of the young workers in harmony with those of the whole working class.

(e) The more the Young Communist Leagues succeed in rallying round their banner the mass of the young workers, the more must they be careful to carry on systematic Communist and Leninist Education for all their members, in the closest association with all the battles of the Communist Party and the working class. Unless they do this, they will be in danger of diluting the true Communist character of their fight and activity and becoming superficial. The training which must be carried out in the immediate future is first and foremost political training. It must enable Young Communists to take over the heritage of Lenin's works and deeds and to carry them further. How far the Y. C. I. is able to carry out this task of Leninist training, depends on the support given them by the Comintern and the Communist Party. To make this support possible is one of the most pressing tasks of the International.

8. Although the Young Communist Leagues must concentrate their main forces on these tasks in the immediate future, they ought not to neglect tasks in other fields.

The winning over of rural youth is specially important since on it, in most countries, must depend the victory of the proletarian revolution.

The fight against our opponents especially against Fascist, so-called "Socialist" and religious organisations of youth, must be carried forward with every possible intensity in the future. The aim of the Young Communist Leagues must be to do away with these organisations altogether.

The work of preparing the Young Communist Leagues for attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie to suppress them and for the period of illegality must not be neglected.

Work in the colonial lands of the imperialist nations must be carried forward with the ultimate end of drawing into the Y. C. I. the native youth of these lands. At the same time the Y. C. I. has the task of organising the young workers who are fighting for their national freedom in colonial and semi-colonial countries, in the dominions, and in the East, and winning them over for the international struggle of the working class.

Constant attention must be devoted to conducting propaganda among the young women. They must be attracted to the Communist youth organisations to a greater degree, than they have been hitherto.

Great attention must also be paid to work among children. This must be carried out according to the principles of Communist education, through which the proletarian children will be drawn into the battle of their class which must be led by the Y. C. L.'s.

9. The period of the direct struggle for power which in the near or distant future will be at hand in several countries, must lead the Y. C. I. to consider its task during this period in the greatest earnestness. The experience won in Germany last October must be carefully examined, and careful preparatory work be carried out on this basis in the respective Communist Leagues.

10. All these tasks can be fully accomplished by the Y. C. I. and its sections only if the various Communist Parties provide them with the necessary help. The support of the Y. C. I. and its sections is one of the most pressing tasks of the Comintern and the Communist Party in the near future. If this support is successfully given, it must result in winning over the great masses of young workers to Communism and in providing the Communist Party with new cadres of class conscious and steadfast Leninists.

In detail this task chiefly consists in drawing young Communists into the political activities of the Communist Party and the fights of the working class and to give them the opportunity to assist in the solution of the problems before the Communist Party and the Comintern. The factory nuclei of the Communist Parties and their fractions in the trade unions must also give every possible help to the Y. C. L.'s in their economic struggle and in the fulfilment of their other tasks. It is especially important that the Young Communist Leagues and the Y. C. I. should have better support in their work in the army and against fresh wars. The actual carrying through of this activity which is one of the most important preliminary tasks for the victory of the proletarian revolution, can only be attained if the Communist Parties participate in it as leaders. Also the pressing task of Leninist training must depend largely on the help afforded by the Communist Party.

11. The Y. C. L. must do everything possible on its side to unite itself more closely in daily work with the Communist Party in all its daily activities as far as it possibly can, but must also carry out a regular and systematic training within its own ranks as a preparation for entrance into the Communist Party, and must see to it that its members enter the Party when they attain the right age.

In this way, the Young Communist Leagues and the Y. C. I. will fulfil their duties towards the Communist Party and the Comintern and so fulfil the expectations of the Comintern that they will be in the future as they have been in the past, the best fighters and the best defenders of the policy of the Comintern.

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## RESOLUTION ON SPORTS

1. Sport and physical culture at present play a very important role in all countries. The bourgeoisie uses sports and physical organisation for its class purposes, and supports the bourgeois and State sports movements with all the means at its disposal.

There are still many working class elements in bourgeois sports organisations, which are purely bourgeois class organisations. The

main object of these bourgeois organisations is—to train the youth for the bourgeois army and to awake in the young feelings of nationalism and chauvinism by special educational methods, in order to be able to use them as fighting cadres against the proletariat. The fascist movement has succeeded in making use of these organisations as military reserve forces.

2. To counteract the influence of these bourgeois organisations and the efforts of the bourgeois States, workers' sports organisations have been founded in a number of countries. These organisations have in their ranks considerable numbers of workers and proletarian youth. They are to a great extent still in the hands of reformists who misuse them for their reformist purposes under the slogan of "sport is neutral."

The class conscious elements in the sports organisations rally around the Red Sport International, whose work is based on the principles of revolutionary class struggle.

3. To make the proletariat physically fit, is a necessary pre-requisite of successful revolutionary class struggle. Therefore, it is in the interests of the class struggle as a whole that Communist Parties in conjunction with Communist Youth organisations and Red Trade Unions pay attention to the sports and physical culture movement, using it for their revolutionary purposes.

The Fifth Congress emphatically declares that work on this field is of the greatest importance, and lays down the following rules for the benefit of the Communist Parties:

(a) In countries where no working class sports and physical culture organisations exist, Communist Parties must encourage their formation. They must form workers opposition groups in bourgeois organisations with the object of forming independent working class sports organisations, they must insist on working class elements leaving the bourgeois organisations and must carry on propaganda for the entry of the working class youth into independent workers' sport organisations.

(b) In countries where workers' sports leagues and physical culture organisations exist. Communist Parties must form fractions in them with the object to emancipate these organisations from reformist influence and to win them over for the revolutionary class struggle.

(c) Communist fractions must also be formed in the already existing red workers' sports and physical culture organisations in order to give every chance to the revolutionary elements to exercise continuous influence.

All fractions must be subordinate to the Communist Party.

(d) Through the work of the Communist fractions, the workers' sports and physical culture organisation are to be drawn into the revolutionary fight and are to be used in support of the fight against fascism and bourgeois militarism.

(e) The workers' sports and physical culture organisations are of the greatest importance for the general proletarian struggle. They are an excellent means to make the working class youth disciplined and efficient as a fighting force. Thereby they contribute to the formation of revolutionary forces and must be used as such by the Communist Parties.

(f) Communist Parties must endeavour to extend the influence of the workers' sports and physical culture organisations also to the small peasantry and to the agriculture labourers.

4. Encouragement must be given to the fight of the revolutionary elements against the reformist tactics of the Lucerne Workers' Sports International and the Red Sports International must be supported. All tendencies towards splits and formation of purely Communist organisations are to be discouraged. The idea that workers' sports and physical culture organisations are a substitute for political organisations must be strongly condemned. The Communist press must place its sports column mainly at the disposal of working class sport.

Communists are fighting for the upkeep and establishment of a uniform workers' sport and physical culture movement on a national as well as on an international scale.

The Fifth Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the Communist International to give its attention to the development of the International sports movement and to work for it.

#### EXHIBIT No. 31

[*Inprecorr*, July 16, 1925. Pp. 789, 790]

### THE FIGHT FOR THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT FOR GYMNASTICS AND SPORT

By Fritz Reussner (Berlin)

The Red Sport International has fought for a long time for the creation of a united battle-front in the international workers' movement for gymnastics and sport. The RSI. has shown on the most various occasions that it really wishes for this unity. So far however it has not been possible, in an international measure, to force the leaders of the Lucerne International to renounce their policy of cleavage and sabotage.

What kind of a picture does the international movement of workers for gymnastics and sport make?

First of all we can note the existence of recognised sections of the RSI. Such is the case in Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Norway, Uruguay, America, Italy. To these must be added some other countries in which there are as yet no central sections, but local organisations of the RSI.

Further we see the sections of the Lucerne Sport International. In the Lucerne International there are various groups. Thus we have a Left wing which sympathises with us and embraces Finland, Alsace Lorraine and Italy. Recently Switzerland has joined us. Then there are countries in which there exist strong opposition groups within the Lucerne sections, such as Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and others. There are also some Lucerne organisations which will not hear of a policy of unity.

In this situation the conditions are fairly favourable for a struggle for a united front. All that we need is to know how to make the best of our position.

Our policy of a united front has gained us the sympathy of wide circles of the workers who go in for gymnastics and sport. The reformist bureaucracy of the Lucerne Sport International scents danger in this condition and is fighting all the more vigorously against the Red Sport International. This intensification of its

opposition is expressed in a series of exclusions and disciplinary measures and is particularly conspicuous in the resolutions passed at several recent conferences.

Furthermore the bureau of the Lucerne International has not yet withdrawn its resolution to exclude the RSI. from taking part in the Frankfort Olympia, in spite of the urgent demands of wide circles of its members. These facts prove that the bureaucracy is determined to prevent international unity and is desirous to bring about a split in the present union of the workers' gymnastics and sport clubs.

The secretary of this International, Devlieger, writes in a letter dated Feb. 14th this year and addressed to the opposition section in Italy:

"As I have already had the honour of writing to the RSI., all workers who go in for sport should belong to one unanimous International, which throws its doors open to the representatives of workers of all political tendencies. The Lucerne International possesses just this advantage. Why then is a Red Sport International necessary? Only so that immediately after it is founded, we become aware that it is again necessary to form ourselves into a united front in order to hold our own against the attack of the bourgeois organisations. It is my most heartfelt wish that our Russian comrades may understand the sound reasons for our action and the present strength of this fundamental attitude."

Our good friend writes letters of this kind although he knows perfectly well that whenever "political tendencies among the workers" other than social democratic crop up, they are attacked with the greatest brutality. The resolutions passed in Germany and at the recent Union conference at Aussig are the best example of this. The resolutions state "that all those who make propaganda for the efforts of the RSI. (are these no workers' tendencies?—F. R.) will be rigorously excluded". We can further report that the proposals to admit the RSI. to the Frankfort Olympiad made by the members were answered by Wildung, member of the Lucerne bureau, to the effect that the bureau was not willing to introduce any change of the resolution—in spite of the demands of the members.

The Red Sport International has repeatedly emphasised in a number of proposals that it is prepared to join in a united battle-front and common work concerning the Frankfort Olympiad. The bureaucracy however in its official letters demanded nothing less than the liquidation of the R. S. I. Needless to say, unity by this method is out of the question. Unity is not a matter of mere transference from one organisation to another. The creation of unity is a process in which a basis for common action and common fighting must be created. The united work of the masses is the best guarantee of real unity. This is however not the intention of the Lucerne bureaucrats.

If we ask ourselves to-day whether the fight for a united front should be continued, we must answer this question in the affirmative. There are many possible ways by which we can win over to our side the workers of other countries who belong to gymnastic and sport clubs. There are many manifestations of individual sections of the Lucerne Sport International which demand the creation of unity in the international workers' movement for gymnastics and sport.

We must take hold of these manifestations and use them as a lever, in order with these organisations to carry on the fight for the creation of an international united front of the workers' gymnastics and sport movement.

The exclusion of the R. S. I. from the Frankfort Olympiad results also in the exclusion of the Russian section. The result of this Olympiad will give a certain general view as to the relative strength of the international workers' movement for gymnastics and sport. This survey is incomplete because many organisations are not represented in the Olympiad, among them Soviet Russia. It is typical that the first proletarian State with the first real workers' and peasants' government, is not present at the first workers' Olympiad and is up to now excluded from participating in it. This imparts its character to the Olympiad. The workers who go in for gymnastics and sport will never accept this situation. The victorious red banner of the firstfruits of the victory gained by the proletarian fight for freedom will be absent from the Olympiad.

Although this situation still continues we shall not fail to do everything in our power to manifest our strong desire for unity. Our Russian comrades—as well as all sections of the R. S. I.—will show that they will be ready to take part in the 1st Olympiad whenever the Lucerne bureau abandons its policy of sabotage.

It is of course evident that we shall still have to fight hard against the bureaucracy of the Lucerne Sport International. But we are convinced that our policy will finally be crowned by victory.

#### EXHIBIT No. 32

[*Inprecorr*, October 5, 1935. Pp. 1271-1273]

### FOR THE FORMATION OF A MIGHTY ANTI-FASCIST YOUTH MOVEMENT!

The *Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International*, which opened on September 26 in Moscow, is undoubtedly a very important stage in the history of the youth movement. The greatest historical changes mark the period separating us from the last Congress. Unprecedented crisis in the capitalist world, incredible unemployment and impoverishment of the toilers, the sharpening of the danger of a new imperialist war, a fascist offensive in a number of countries, and, finally, the historical turn of the Social-Democratic workers to a united front with the Communists—all this has set before the youth movement the task of its fundamental reconstruction.

In reality, the entire content of this reconstruction is summed up in one task, namely, to do everything to form *mass youth organisations* which will unite not limited circles of chosen people but the masses of youth, numbering millions, who are against imperialist war and fascism.

We must not for a moment forget that the overwhelming majority of youth hate war and reaction. Doomed to starvation, poverty, mass unemployment, robbed of rights, deprived of a cultured life, deprived of education, the toiling youth, naturally, bears within itself inexhaustible hatred towards the capitalist system. This hatred not

infrequently breaks out in turbulent mass actions, in protest movements involving the youth in vast numbers. Fascism endeavours to make use of this growing discontent for its own aims. By vile demagoguery it tries to transform the youth into an obedient instrument of the terrorist fascist dictatorship. It is the duty of the toiling youth, of the best sections of all the young people the world over, to rally all their forces to repulse fascism—the most sinister enemy of youth.

The chief slogan of the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International is *unity of all the non-fascist youth*. In fighting for this unity, the Sixth Congress naturally becomes the expression of the innermost strivings of the entire young generation of toilers throughout the world. *A united front of toiling youth*—this, for a number of countries, is already a living practical thing, a concrete method of the day to day struggle. The united front is the symbol of the great revolutionary friendship, the revolutionary unity of all non-fascist youth, which had its origin in the heroic battles on the barricades of Asturias in Spain, in the daily class battles in other capitalist countries. It is not an agreement made in an office, it is not the product of a diplomatic game. The united front reflects the will and the striving of millions of young toilers who now see that the strongest ally of fascism and reaction is disruption among the masses of the toilers.

But in order that unity of the young generation shall become a reality, the Y. C. L.ers are proceeding fundamentally to reconstruct their entire system of organisation. What do the organisations affiliated to the Young Communist International now represent? With but a few exceptions, they are shut-in, sectarian organisations, isolated from the masses, uniting devoted but—alas—very small numbers, of advanced revolutionaries. Laying the main stress on the “chosen few,” on the “heroes,” on the “vanguard,” led to a gap between the members of the Y. C. L. and the vast numbers of youth. We cannot, for example, consider the *British* or *Belgian* Leagues, that unite in their ranks somewhat less than 1 per cent. of all the young people in their respective countries, as mass organisations.

But can this disparity between the organisational condition of the Y. C. L. organisations and the size of the reserves of the youth movement be explained? It is explained by the fact that the Y. C. L.s. did not correctly understand their role, did not take into consideration the Leninist instructions that the Y. C. L. is a *school for training the young generation*. The Young Communist Leagues blindly copied the methods and forms of work of the Communist Parties, forgetting that the Party is the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, and the Y. C. L. the organisation for the revolutionary *training* of the bulk of the youth.

The Young Communist Leagues must be mass non-party organisations, including in their ranks not only Communists, but also Socialist and non-party youth—all the young people who are ready to fight against fascism and reaction, for peace and freedom. Being an organisation for the training of youth, the Young Communist League must include all the youth and insistently, in every-day practice, train them in the spirit of the class struggle and of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of Marxism—Leninism. Not bare politics, not dry agitational, propagandist formulas, but vital

problems which agitate the entire young generation, must be placed in the centre of the work of the youth organisations. Questions pertaining to wages, education, small conveniences at work, sport and recreation, questions pertaining to the family and human relations, questions of art and science, problems of love and friendship—all this should find a place in the work of the youth organisations. The youth organisations will be built upon the broadest democratic foundation. There must be no commanding and domineering, no cut-and-dried schemes and ready-made decisions handed down from above! The chief methods of work should be showing examples and the method of conviction. Failing this, mass organisations cannot be built.

But, say the frightened sectarians, wouldn't this destroy the organisational structure, the precise scheme for building up the organisations, so to speak, the symmetry of organisational forms?

Well, what of it? Let it be destroyed. We must not put live, mobile young people, full of initiative, into a Procrustean bed of invented forms. Let us have more variety in the very construction of the organisations, variety corresponding to the national, cultural, vocational and group specific features of youth! The cell is the primary unit of the Party organisation. The primary youth organisations may be clubs, groups and all kinds of local associations, courses, and separate groups of unemployed, peasant and student youth, and also women. Let us have more initiative in finding such forms of organisation which would accord with the interests and demands of the youth themselves, to the greatest possible degree!

Proceeding along the path of such reorganisation, the Y. C. L.s. will inevitably solve the fundamental question of the youth movement, viz., the question of unity.

The first step in the struggle for the unity of the toiling youth is the unification of the Y. C. L.s. with the young Socialist Leagues which have an anti-fascist standpoint, just like the Y. C. L. Both the Y. C. L.s. and the Young Socialist Leagues in the majority of countries are not of a *mass character*. Unity would not only double their strength, but would facilitate the further rallying of youth. As the leadership of the Socialist Parties are hindering this unity in every possible way, it is the duty of the Young Communist Leagues insistently to proceed towards it by establishing a united front for common action, by forming unity committees and, wherever there are actual prerequisites, to fight directly *for the unification* of the Leagues. By persistently continuing this struggle, the Young Communist International will lead the youth to the solution of the fundamental task, namely, the creation of *a single Youth International*.

It stands to reason that the united front and even unity with the Young Socialist Leagues does not yet solve the problem of creating a powerful anti-fascist youth front. This front will be formed only when the unification of all *non-fascist* youth organisations will be achieved for a common struggle for freedom, for peace, for the rights of the young generation. Experience in the united front of youth in a number of countries has already shown that this task is not altogether unrealisable in practice.

Wide democracy, taking into account the peculiarities and the habits of each separate group of youth, a struggle against all forms of sectarianism, refraining from the use of studied phrases, and ability to

adapt demands to the needs and the sentiments of the very broadest masses of the youth—these are the basic conditions for the success of the united front.

The tasks of the Sections of the Y. C. L. working in fascist countries increase to an unusual extent in connection with this. It is not true that in the fascist countries there are no legal opportunities for mass work. The vast bulk of the youth in these countries are most often forcefully drawn into the fascist youth organisation. Revolutionary work in these organisations can be conducted by calling upon the youth to demand the fulfillment of the promises made by fascism, and in this way the lies and demagoguery of fascism can be exposed.

The Y. C. L. can make use of all the mass fascist organisations and trade unions in order to rally the youth to the struggle for their daily interests and in order to isolate the conscious agents of fascism. The Y. C. Ls. in the fascist countries have every possibility of achieving a united front with opposition democratic circles for forming youth organisations that are independent of fascism.

Work in the trade unions is a matter of honour for all Y. C. L. organisations. Without the support of the trade unions the anti-fascist fight will never acquire mass scope. That is why the world Young Communist League puts forward the slogan to achieve the drawing of all working youth into the trade unions—both the Red and the reformist unions—and to create within the framework of the trade unions the most varied forms of mass work among the youth. For the sake of these same aims the Y. C. Ls. will fight for the unity of the workers' sport organisations in every country throughout the world.

These are the great tasks which confront the world youth movement and the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International.

The Congress assembles at a moment when the whole world is filled with alarm, when the danger of imperialist war hangs over many frontiers, when fascism is feverishly preparing to plunge the world into an abyss of new bloody battles. For this reason the decisions of the Congress will have vast significance for the fate of the toiling youth. Not only representatives of the Communist youth will speak from the rostrum of the Congress, but also other active fighters for the united front, expressing the will and the hope of the entire young generation of toiling humanity. This generation despises fascism and reaction, militarism and the oppression of small nations.

Its banner is unity, peace and freedom.

Its banner is the invincible banner of the great revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism.

The Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International began its work under these banners.

#### SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

MOSCOW, *September 26.*

Once again the Hall of Columns in the Trade Union House has opened its hospitable doors to delegates from the five continents—this time to the delegates to the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International. Singing, they marched into the hall, but suddenly their singing was drowned in a storm of applause: Dimitrov, Pieck and Kuusinen appeared in their box. Raymont Guyot, secre-

tary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of France, takes his place at the presidium table. He tells of the worn-out world which is ruled by dying capitalism, in which the rising generation of workers must live and grow up. What a tragedy! All the fine young hopes of youth are trodden in the dust. In order to rescue the old world, fascism condemns the peoples to slavery and drives them to the slaughter. It declares war on civilisation and humanity. Yet civilisation will continue to live. The Star of Socialism, which rose in the old empire of the tsar, is shining over the darkened earth. Long live those who are building up this country of peace and freedom, who are training the rising generation to be free men and women. Long live the man who led us to this victory!—Lenin's successor, our teacher and leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin! At this great name, the hope of humanity, the whole hall is deeply moved. Amidst the deafening applause and shouts of enthusiasm are heard the strains of the proletarian hymn. The whole Congress rises and sings the International in every language under the sun.

Guyot speaks of the anti-fascist struggle that is growing in every country. This mighty movement is linked up with the heroic figure of the rising generation's anti-fascist tribune, the figure of Dimitrov. Once again the hall resounds with a storm of applause, once again shouts of greetings are heard and the Dimitrov song is sung. And for the third time the walls of the Hall of Columns quiver as Thaelmann is saluted from the platform in the name of the militant younger generation. Silent grief fills the hall as Guyot refers to the heroes of the Youth International who have laid down their lives for the cause of the working class and as he speaks of that great fighter against fascism and war, that friend of youth, Henri Barbusse, whose death has occurred all too soon. The Young Communist International is out to rally youth, in order to rescue it from despair and misery, in order to open up to it prospects of a better and a free life. The League of Youth must become a non-sectarian mass organisation, embracing not only young Communists but also young Socialists and the non-party youth: an organisation whose chief task is the training of youth in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Forward under the banner of Lenin and Stalin! Forward with Dimitrov! Forward for the unity of the Youth International! Guyot's final words are taken up by the whole congress. The French delegation start up the "Young Guard;" rising to their feet, all the delegates join in.

Guyot declares the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International open. Stalin, Dimitrov, Thaelmann—these names are like a banner beneath which the Congress is meeting, and when it is proposed that they be elected to the honorary presidium, there is no end to the ovation. Enthusiastic applause greets the sending of the following letter of greeting to Stalin:

"Dear Comrade Stalin: The anger and hatred of generations against the wealthy rulers has gathered in our hearts. Among us there is courage and heroism, which again and again emerges from our midst when we see how the barbarians of to-day are destroying the workers' organisations, condemning the people to starvation and poverty, stifling science and culture and attempting to turn back the wheel of history. But you and the Bolshevist Party have taught us that for victory the heart of a lion is not enough: that the keen,

reliable weapon of Leninism is also necessary. You have taught us that the labouring masses must combine if they are to overcome all difficulties and obstacles. In our own countries, in every corner of the earth, we know you and we know what you have achieved. Throughout the world our generation is envious of the youth of the Soviet Union, because the policy of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin has created for it a happy life and assured to it a future full of joy and promise. We, too, want joy, happiness, freedom and an assured future. The marvels of heroic valour, the gigantic work of socialist construction which the younger generation of the Soviet Union has performed in common with the working class, evoke our enthusiasm and our pride. We are of your generation, the generation of Lenin and Stalin, the generation of victory."

A storm of applause greets Dimitrov as he appears on the platform and welcomes the Congress in the name of the Executive Committee of the Comintern:

"The impressive dictum of Stalin, the great leader and teacher of the proletariat of the world, describing internationalism as the fundamental idea behind the work of the Young Communist International, is embodied in you. The fascist police cordons and the dangers which lay in wait for you on your long and difficult journey hither, could not prevent you from gathering here to discuss, in international brotherhood, the rallying of the forces of the younger generation.

"Among us is the young Diego, who fought and was wounded on the barricades of Asturias. Among you is Janicki, who escaped after eight years in a Polish prison in order once again to take an active part in the struggle of Polish revolutionary youth. Among you is Suipin, who fought in the ranks of the heroic Chinese Red Army for the liberation of his people. Among you are the best representatives of Soviet youth, Timofeyev, Krainov, Sviridov, who have been decorated with the Order of Lenin.

"We must oppose to fascism and the menace of imperialist war the united forces of the entire younger generation. Raise high the banner of the liberation of humanity from capitalist slavery, the banner of the Communist International! Rally the younger generation of workers throughout the world around this banner!"

The Congress adopts a letter of greeting to the courageous helmsman of the Comintern, which reads as follows:

"To our Congress falls the task of changing the life of our organisations. We are firmly determined to create an organisation which conforms to the needs of youth, and is a genuine organisation of non-party working class youth. We are convinced that we shall be successful in this, because we know that you and the whole Communist International are following the work of our Congress with the keenest attention. We greet you as a steeled and proven fighter in the people's struggle against fascism, and we wish you health and long years of creative work. Long live Dimitrov, the helmsman of the mighty Communist International!"

As soon as the applause for Dimitrov dies down, the delegations of the young working men and women of Moscow march into the hall. From the platform they welcome the heroic fighters against fascism. They are followed by that generation which does not know the horrors of capitalism, but was born and grew up under the loving care of the Socialist land. The Pioneer groups in red sports shirts welcome the

delegates with songs, flowers, dances and recitations. After them the representatives of the new Soviet intellectual workers appear on the platform—young engineers and scientists. A delegation of the Moscow Flying Club brings a “winged” welcome. To the accompaniment of cries of “Long live Soviet Youth!”, Guyot closes the first session of the Congress.

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MOSCOW, *September 28.*

Michal (Czechoslovakia) member of the Presidium of the Congress, reporting on the experience of the work of the Y. C. I. and of the struggles for the United Front of Youth, drew a clear picture of the tragic situation of youth in the capitalist countries, especially the results of the two-year rule of fascism in Germany.

“Can we avoid war, halt the offensive of fascism?” asked Michal, and replied: “Yes, we can. Together with all anti-fascist forces we want to create a mass youth organisation, and to approach the young Socialists of all countries with a call regarding this.

“We are children of one class. We have a teaching in common—Marxism. And a common foe—fascism—and one goal—Socialism.

“This unity of Communist and Socialist youth will be a magnet drawing towards it all anti-fascist youth.

“In France our League proceeded from agreements with young Socialists on local special questions to a pact regarding the United Front on a national scale. Communist and Socialist youth in Spain achieved brilliant successes with joint efforts. Clear confirmation of this is the presence here of an official delegation of young Socialists from Spain.”

Rising, all delegates give a rousing ovation to the participants in the armed battles in Spain and to the delegates from the Young Socialist League who were present.

The speaker further emphasized the importance of work to get the youth into the trade unions.

Until now, he said, the number of youth in the trade unions was still very insignificant. In Czechoslovakia, for instance, only two percent, of working youth were in the trade union movement.

In a whole number of countries the Y. C. L.'s took all kinds of steps to draw youth into the trade union movement. In Spain considerable results had been achieved.

But this is not enough. The Y. C. L. must develop and popularise its work in the trade unions in every way.

The Y. C. International devotes special attention to the sport movement. Sport organisations in the fascist countries—Germany, Italy and Poland—are under the direct influence and leadership of the military authorities.

The sport Olympiad which the German fascists are preparing in Berlin in 1936 is planned as a widespread propaganda campaign for fascism.

The Y. C. L.'s are striving to establish friendly contacts with all sportsmen, including bourgeois non-fascist sport organisations for a joint rebuff to this forthcoming fascist demonstration, and for uniting all non-fascist sportsmen in all countries.

The workers' sport movement is already united in France and in Norway.

Michal discusses the tasks of organisations of revolutionary youth in the fascist countries.

The fascist youth organisation in Germany has five million members, in Poland about one million. Not all their members are drawn into organisation by force. A large section of the youth have believed in the demagogic promises of fascism.

But many of these youngsters already see through the fascist deception, and some sections are actively coming out against fascism and fighting for their partial economic demands.

The Y. C. L. must seize hold of these demands, it must fight for every plate of soup for the unemployed, for benefits, for schooling.

It is necessary go to into the mass youth organisations, to join them to work there.

Michal finished his report with a fervent call for international unity of the youth.

Our slogan is, "Put an end to the split in the ranks of the working class youth. Long live the United Yough International."

Raymond Guyot (France) devoted his speech to the experience of the struggle of the French Young Communists for the United Front. Congress enthusiastically greeted his statement regarding the unification of the Red and Reformist trade unions of France.

To applause and singing of revolutionary songs, which did not subside for a long time, the German delegate, Walter, mounted the rostrum to read greetings from the Communist Party of Germany to the Congress:

"On behalf of tens of thousands of underground fighters of the Communist Party, on behalf of over a hundred thousand anti-fascist prisoners, and on behalf of the German revolutionary proletariat, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany greets the Sixth World Congress of the Y. C. I."

Congress decided to send greetings to Thaelmann amid prolonged applause.

"Across all seas, across all artificially created barriers and obstacles, across prison walls, we bear your name, Ernest Thaelmann, symbol of all that's honourable, true and just in the German people"

### EXHIBIT No. 33

[*In precorr*, November 2, 1935. P. 1437]

## THE STUDENTS IN THE FIGHTING FRONT FOR PEACE

By André Victor (Paris)

The young generation of intellectuals have repeatedly proclaimed their determination to fight for peace, whose defence is synonymous with the defence of the greatest achievements of human civilisation. The *Students' Congress against war and Fascism*, held last December in *Brussels*, was an historical event in assembling the forces of student youth in the defence of peace and culture. At this Congress it was decided to organise an international fighting day of the students for peace, and on 12th April 185,000 *American* students responded to this appeal. They left their college halls, held meetings and demonstrations, under the slogan emulating that of the Oxford

students: "Under no circumstances shall we follow the American government if it undertakes a war!"

On 10th May, the anniversary of the burning of the books organised by Hitler fascism, students' demonstrations for peace were held in the great university cities of *London, Madrid, Seville, Copenhagen, Brussels, Amsterdam, etc.*

These facts show the importance of rallying the forces of the rising generation of intellectuals for the struggle for peace and culture. *The International Students' Movement* founded in Brussels is already playing an important role in student life, and the organisations collaborating with it embrace the greater part of the students in a number of large countries (U. S. A., Spain, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, various Latin American countries).

There is no doubt that, in consequence of the war of conquest being waged by Italian fascism against Abyssinia, many Italian students are taking an active part in the chauvinist campaign under Mussolini, but, on the other hand, we see great student organisations all over the world combating the war and working for peace, for the observance of international justice.

All the Congresses held in the course of the summer by various organisations: World Federation of Christian Students' Leagues, Pax Romano, Students' Association for the League of Nations, etc., have expressed themselves in favour of the defence of peace, if not always with the necessary clearness, especially with regard to the choice of means to be used in the struggle for peace.

The Students' World Committee organised a number of holiday camps (in England, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, etc.), and called upon students' organisations of every trend to send delegations. These holiday camps have been very successful.

Immediately after the outbreak of the Italian war against Abyssinia, the Students' World Committee appealed to the great international workers' organisations, to the political parties, trade unions, pacifist and Christian organisations, and called upon them to ensure the coordination of all the forces working for peace in order to put an immediate end to the war. The Students' World Committee assured these organisations of its unreserved support. At the same time the Students' World Committee appealed to all students' organisations, and proposed to them that an International Students' Congress be speedily convened, to point out the ways and means of the struggle for peace in the world of the high schools and colleges. The association of women possessing college diplomas is supporting this proposal. Negotiations are now going on with the Pax Romano and the association of Christian students.

The demonstrations on 10th and 11th November will represent an extremely important stage in the unification of the forces of the young intellectuals in the struggle for peace.

In the United States the "Vigilance Committee against War and Fascism" embraces the eight largest students' organisations: National Student Federation of America, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., National Student League, Student League for Industrial Democracy, American Youth Congress, American League against War and Fascism, and Methodist Youth. These bodies have issued an appeal for participation in the great students' demonstrations for peace on 11th November. Among the slogans of this demonstration is the demand for the

abolition of compulsory military training in the schools. At the Columbia University (State of New York) a meet of over 600 students, attended at the same time by a number of professors, resolved to form a Student Committee for the Defence of Abyssinia, entrusted with the task of providing medical and financial aid to the Abyssinian people and of endeavouring to induce the U. S. A. Government to raise the arms export embargo to Abyssinia and to declare a definite boycott against Italy.

In England preparations are being made in the University towns for peace demonstrations and indoor meetings on Armistic Day. A trial of Italian fascism is to be held by a tribunal formed of professors, jurists, etc.

Similar demonstrations are being organised in other countries (Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, etc.).

The campaign for 11th November will be dominated by the idea of rallying the intellectual youth in defence of peace, of culture, of human dignity, for the support of the League of Nations in its work for peace, against race prejudices, against the pseudo-heroism of the bomb-thrower, for a true heroism in the service of peace and progress.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 34

[*In precorr*, July 24, 1937. P. 716.]

### THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED STUDENTS' INTERNATIONAL

Dr. Otto Friedlaender, founder and for a long time secretary of the Socialist Students' International, who, at the Paris Congress of Socialist and Communist students, was elected member of the Executive Committee of the newly-formed United Students' International, made the following statement:—

“Perhaps the Congress did not quite fulfil the hopes of an immediate and complete amalgamation of the two Student Internationals; nevertheless the measure of unity which was achieved represents a great victory. The union of the two Internationals and of the Independent student organisations grouped around them was agreed upon for China, America and Mexico. There are already in the new organisation over 70,000 members in 24 countries. Political work in the universities is from henceforward to be under common leadership, and it is to be hoped that in time the general political situation will bring about increasingly close unity, so that perhaps at the next Congress the present agreement, which has more the nature of an alliance, may give rise to a really united International.

“In order to estimate the progress which has been made, the reports from the different countries should have been heard. What a difference, for instance, between the calm and peaceful atmosphere surrounding a social-democratic student from Copenhagen and the warlike situation with which the Spanish and Chinese students have to deal. This wide divergence caused some difficulties which had to be overcome in order to carry out the task of unification. The fact that they were overcome gives a certain measure of the progress made. The regular appearance of a common information bulletin will make it possible to obtain more exact information, through the

International itself, about the situation at the European and non-European universities.

Question: "What was the strongest political impression of the Congress?"

"Without doubt the appearance of the Spanish students, who, like the English and the Belgian, are already fraternally united in a common organisation of Socialists and Communists. A large number of Spanish students under the leadership of Zamora, the son of the former President of the Spanish Republic, were present at the Congress and were greeted with stormy applause. The statements of the Spanish delegates regarding the victims of German-Italian invasion, among the students in Spain, led the Congress to send a delegation to the German Ambassador to protest most sharply in the name of the Congress against the brutal destruction of Spanish student youth. The Congress enthusiastically accepted the invitation of the Spanish students to hold its next conference in Madrid."

Question: "Were the fascist countries also represented at the Congress?"

"Yes, but their delegates were naturally compelled to be cautious. Representatives were present from Austria and Poland, as well as representatives of the anti-fascist student opposition of Germany and Italy. Most regrettable was the absence of the French Socialist students, who, under the influence of the Marceau Pivert group, declined the invitation to the Congress."

Question: "What hopes have you of united action?"

"The unification of our efforts will show itself within the framework of the various international student demonstrations, at which we shall have the opportunity for common action. We hope also that our example will lead to closer co-operation between the Socialist and Communist youth organisations. The exchange of information which we have in view is one of the most important conditions for an international campaign in the universities, a campaign which will enable us to combat fascism at the very foundation of its influence over the intellectuals. The exchange of opinions between students of 24 countries will be extremely useful from a theoretical point of view, and will show the students of the various lands how they can best fulfil the tasks with which they are faced.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 35

[*Inprecorr*, August 13, 1938. Pp. 921, 922]

### THE SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS FOR PEACE

By Michael Wolf, *Secretary of the Young Communist International*

The Second World Youth Congress for Peace will be held in *New York* from August 15 to 25. The First World Congress was held in Geneva in 1936 from August 31 to September 6.

On the initiative of the League of Nations Union and the youth peace organisations of a number of countries, the peace organisations and peace movements of the youth which had previously worked isolated from each other, were linked together into a united front

by the First World Youth Congress. The First World Youth Congress was attended by 756 delegates from 36 countries. The World Youth Movement for Peace set itself the following aims:

1. To give the youth of all countries the opportunity to exchange views on international questions.
2. To find ways and means to establish collaboration of the youth of all countries, based upon mutual understanding and mutual respect for their various views.
3. To consolidate the connections between the youth organisations of various countries and the League of Nations Union.
4. To arrive at an agreement on a programme of joint action to prevent war and restore peace, and the necessary measures to be taken to this end.

The First World Youth Congress for Peace, by accepting this plan as a basis for its work, called upon the youth in all countries to combine the peace forces of the youth for this purpose.

Since the first World Youth Congress for Peace, national Peace Committees of Youth have been set up in 26 countries. Inspired by the idea of working for peace, pacifist, religious and students organisations, Communist, Socialist, Liberal, Republican, sports and cultural youth organisations are collaborating through such Peace Committees. In addition, 16 international youth organisations are actively collaborating in the youth world movement for peace, among them the Young Communist International, the Young Socialist International and the international organisations of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations.

New National Youth Peace Committees are being established in all the *Scandinavian* countries. In April, 1937, a Youth Peace Committee was set up in *Poland*, in which the Socialists, trade union, democratic, religious and peasant youth organisations are taking part.

Inspired by the gigantic struggle of the country of Socialism, the Soviet Union, for peace, inspired by the heroic struggle of the Spanish and Chinese people, the young generation of the bourgeois-democratic countries is throwing itself boldly and enthusiastically into the great fight for peace.

The youth of France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Scandinavia, America, Canada and Australia, are joining the great front which has arisen in all countries to defend the Spanish and Chinese peoples and the national independence of Czechoslovakia. They are not only collecting money and food but also demanding of their Governments that they sell arms and munitions to the Spanish Republic and, as in France, open their frontiers. At numerous meetings and demonstrations thousands of young English people are declaring that Chamberlain is the most dangerous enemy of the English people and of world peace; they are demanding his resignation and the setting up of a government which does not capitulate to the fascist aggressors. The youth of America, who some years ago still supported and defended the policy of America's neutrality and isolation, are raising their voices more and more boldly against the policy of isolation and demanding the close collaboration of America with the democratic countries of Europe for the defence of peace, for struggle against the fascist aggressors.

The World Youth Movement for Peace embraces more than 40 million young people. It is the first time in the history of the

international youth movement that such a powerful and united youth movement for peace exists.

Nevertheless, a considerable number of young people who are for peace are still outside the world youth front for peace. In particular it is regrettable that the big Catholic youth organisations have not yet found their way to this Youth Movement for Peace. Important sections of the Socialist Youth Leagues in such countries as France and Denmark and in other countries are also outside the Youth Movement for Peace. The World Youth Movement for Peace has made great efforts to win the youth of Germany, Italy and Japan to participate in this movement, but without success. The representatives of the official youth organisations of Germany, Italy and Japan stubbornly refuse to join the World Youth Movement for Peace.

The preparations for the Second World Youth Congress for Peace show that it will be a great demonstration of the tremendous vigour of the idea of peace which has seized the young folk of the whole world. More than 200 delegates from Europe will attend the Congress. The Youth of Republican *Spain* and of *China* are each sending a delegation of 15 members.

The preparations for the Second World Youth Congress has met with a great response in the countries of *Central and South America*. In these countries the Youth Movement for Peace has up to now been very scattered. The progressive Youth organisations of these countries are now getting into touch with each other, setting up preparatory committees and beginning to fight unitedly for peace. The Youth of more than 12 countries of America will attend the Second World Youth Congress. In addition, Turkey, Palestine, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Indochina and other Eastern countries are sending delegations to this Congress.

*The preparations for the World Youth Congress for Peace is being conducted with a view to winning fresh forces for the defence of peace.* The *Agenda* of the Congress is as follows:

1. Political and economic organisation of peace;
2. Economic and cultural situation of the Youth and their attitude to peace;
3. Religious and philosophical bases of peace;
4. The role of Youth in international life.

Great responsibility rests on the shoulders of the representatives of the young generation who will meet at the Second World Youth Congress for Peace in order to show to the Youth of the whole world the way to safeguard peace. It is the task of the Second World Youth Congress for Peace to explain to the Youth of the whole World that Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese military clique are responsible before the whole world for the present strained world situation. They are the aggressors. It is necessary boldly to declare that the aggressors must be curbed, that such measures must be adopted against them as will compel them to respect international law and treaties and the inviolability of the frontiers of other countries.

The Youth must reject any attempt to undertake a "reform" of the League of Nations which would transform it into a "universal non-Intervention committee." The youth are prepared to continue their support of the League of Nations, but they demand a consistent policy based on the principles upon which it was established, i.e., the safeguarding and the organisation of peace.

The main question to which the second World Youth Congress for Peace must give a reply is: *what must be done in order to frustrate the warlike plans of the aggressors, in order thus to preserve peace?*

The young generation of the world expects from the second World Youth Congress for Peace that it will give the correct reply to this question.

The *Young Communist International*, which from the beginning of the World Youth Movement for peace loyally worked together with other Youth organisations, will also participate in the second World Youth Congress for Peace and work there with the same loyalty and in the same spirit for the preservation of peace as it did at the first World Youth Congress for Peace. We are convinced that also at the Second World Youth Congress for Peace the young people, despite their different world outlook and religious beliefs, will find a common language, a common path—the language and path of an effective defence of peace.

The young generation of the Soviet Union represent one of the most important forces of the World Youth Front for peace. They actively supported the World Youth Movement for Peace since its inception. They participated in the work of the first World Youth Congress.

May the second World Youth Congress for Peace boldly and resolutely declare to the fascist aggressors: thus far and no farther! You will not remain unpunished; the young generation of the world stands in a united front against you and draws an iron ring of peace round the world which will compel you to respect peace!

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#### D. PEACE; MISCELLANEOUS

It is obviously impossible for this committee to hope to cover the many thousands of mass or front organizations which were spawned by the Comintern during the 24 years of its acknowledged existence (1919–43). In the earlier years, most Communists lacked finesse in setting up the Soviet planetary system of front organizations, with the “Willi Muenzenberg shows” being the outstanding exceptions (this section, exhibit No. 16).<sup>1</sup> But one thing is certain. The comrades never gave up trying.

Exhibit No. 36 deals with one of the earlier Comintern efforts. Attempts to obtain worldwide acceptance of Esperanto as a simplified universal language began in 1887.<sup>2</sup> Decades later, Esperanto received favorable commendation from the League of Nations. While nobody can question the usefulness of a simple universal language, none such has as yet caught on with the nations of the world.

Today, perhaps, the Kremlin masters may no longer be interested in such a language even as a common vehicle of communication for the masses as opposed to the Russian elite. But back in 1925, the idea looked good to certain internationalists within the Comintern. As the exhibit makes clear, Communist interest in Esperanto was not without its headaches. Nevertheless, the comrades kept hammering away in the hope of ruling or ruining.

<sup>1</sup> Borkenau, *European Communism*, pp. 222–223.

<sup>2</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica, University of Chicago, 1948, vol. 22, p. 861.

## EXHIBIT No. 36

[Imprecorr, September 17, 1925. P. 1044.]

## THE WORLD CONGRESS OF PROLETARIAN ESPERANTISTS

By L. Revo

The International Association of Esperantists held its V. congress at Vienna in the middle of August. The Esperanto movement is now more than thirty years old; the workers' Esperanto movement is however, comparatively young, and although its first beginnings already existed before the war, it is only since 1921 that it opposes, as an independent factor, the so-called "neutral" Esperanto organisations under bourgeois leadership. Today the World Federation of Worker Esperantists (SAT.) has attained a sphere of influence threatening that of the bourgeois Esperanto movement. The proletarian elements in the Esperanto clubs are turning more and more aside from the "neutral" movement, and are streaming into their class organisations. The SAT. publishes a weekly paper, the "Sennaciulo", which has already 10,000 readers, and besides this a monthly scientific, literary, and pedagogic review, publishing not only many translations, but a large number of original contributions.

The aim of the first pioneers of the Esperanto movement was to provide, in a universal language, a medium for uniting mankind on the basis of a common tongue, and to make war impossible. The proletarian Esperantists have opposed to this visionary pacifism the principle that a universal language can only fulfil its purpose when employed in the hands of the proletariat as a weapon in the class struggle.

It is thus comprehensible that the 200 participants at the Vienna Esperanto Congress did not waste their time with superfluous discussions on lingual problems. Various speakers repeatedly emphasised that if it were a question of the theoretical elaboration of some artificial language, if Esperanto were not already a living language, spoken by hundreds of thousands of people, and if the workers' Esperanto movement were not already a widespread proletarian cultural movement, then the workers could spend their time better than with lingual trifling. But since it is a question of the practical application of an already existing and widespread language, the problem confronting the proletarian Esperantists is before all that of the most practical utilisation of Esperanto in the class struggle, whilst the propaganda of the universal language as such is a secondary consideration. Or it may be better expressed by saying that the task of the worker Esperantists is the propaganda of the universal language by means of its practical employment in the service of the proletariat.

The Congress, after having heard the addresses of welcome given by representatives of the Austrian Labour Chamber the Communist and social democratic parties, many trade unions, the freethinkers, etc., and after having rapidly dealt with the lingual and organisatory points of the agenda, proceeded to the discussion of the most important matter before the Congress: the relations between the proletarian Esperanto association and other proletarian organisations.

During the course of the past year the SAT. has been successful in interesting a number of important labour organisations in the universal language. The Red Sport International, the Central Committee

of the International Red Aid, the International Transport Workers' Federation, and the Lucerne Sport International, are already making practical use of Esperanto, and are making use of the international information and press service of the International Workers' Esperanto Federation.

It was further decided to promote with the utmost energy the international correspondence from factory to factory, and to place the Workers' Esperanto Federation translators belonging to the organisations concerned at the disposal of factories in which no Esperantists are employed.

Great enthusiasm was aroused by a comrade from Moscow, who reported that there had been many Esperantists among the labour delegates recently sent to the Soviet Union from Sweden and Germany, and that these had been able to enter into direct communication with the Russian comrades, without the aid of interpreters, whilst those without a knowledge of Esperanto were dependent on the lengthy and tedious process of translation.

The SAT. is an organisation of the proletarian united front, uniting proletarians of every political trend. But since all the members hold firmly to the class struggle, the Congress—apart from some few differences of opinion—was entirely harmonious in character. A motion proposing that the Congress should appeal to the Soviet government to release an arrested Esperantist anarchist was rejected by all against two votes. Even the non-communists are rightly informed as to the character of the Soviet government and the proletarian dictatorship; this is greatly due to the fact that very many social democratic workers in Central and Western Europe correspond in Esperanto with Russian workers, and thus receive their information from a better source than the lying reports and slanders spread abroad by their own leaders.

We thus see, on a small scale, how useful the wider propagation of Esperanto can be made for the working class. When the lingual barriers dividing the proletariats of the separate nations are swept away, it will be difficult for the bosses to incite them against one another by means of lies and calumnies.

The Communist fraction of the Congress held a special session, at which it received the reports of the representatives of the Communist Esperantists in the CI., and commissioned these to exert their utmost efforts towards having Esperanto employed in the service of the CI.

Another relatively early Comintern effort to split and capture a non-Communist movement is described in exhibit No. 37. Aggressive interest in atheism was fully in accord with prevailing Soviet attitudes during the 1928-34 period (sec. B, exhibits Nos. 29 and 41).<sup>1</sup> Within a few years, the "new look" of the Seventh World Congress would considerably mollify Comintern statements on the subject of religion. No less an authority than the General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, Maurice Thorez, would have the following to say with regard to the exploitation of Trojan-horse tactics against religious groups: "Let us therefore work patiently for unity among Communists, Catholics, and Protestants of all denominations \* \* \*. Our aim is unity of the masses of the people for their well-being, for liberty and peace."<sup>2</sup> By 1938, the comrades had learned to put their trust in positive humanitarian appeals rather than in negative extremism.

<sup>1</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism*, pp. 811-812. The Webbs take William Henry Chamberlin to task for his allegation that religious persecution existed in the U. S. S. R. Chamberlin's position has been supported by a historian of the tragic fate of Jews living under Stalin: Solomon M. Schwarz, *The Jews in the Soviet Union*, Syracuse University Press, 1951, pp. 112-115.

<sup>2</sup> Maurice Thorez, *Catholics and Communists*, New York, Workers Library Publishers, October 1938, p. 3.

## EXHIBIT No. 37

[Inprecorr, May 13, 1931. Pp. 467, 468]

THE WORLD-EMBRACING INTERNATIONAL OF PROLETARIAN  
FREETHINKERS

By W. Jopp

As is known, at the IV. Congress of the International of Proletarian Freethinkers which was held last Autumn in Tetchen (Czechoslovakia), the social fascists tried to expel the section of the Soviet Union and, in defiance of previous Congress decisions, to exclude the revolutionary minorities. The social fascists however were expelled by an overwhelming majority of the Congress delegates the International of Proletarian Freethinkers was founded and a revolutionary Executive elected. Since then the International has undergone a rapid development. The social fascists who were expelled and who with the aid of the police attempted to usurp our name of "International of Proletarian Freethinkers" have suffered a miserable bankruptcy. They deceive the workers and conceal from them the fact that they are striving to merge their international organisation with the fascist bourgeois Brüssels Freethinkers' International.

On the other hand the International of Proletarian Freethinkers has increased its propaganda among the exploited and oppressed of the whole world and can record the following achievements:

Recently the following organisations have joined the International of Proletarian Freethinkers: The "Liga anti-clerical Revolucionaria" of Mexico, the League of Militant Atheists of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Freethinkers' organisation "Avant-Garde" of Greece. This brings the number of Sections affiliated to the International to 12, and is a striking proof of the correctness of the policy of the International of Proletarian Freethinkers under revolutionary leadership.

That which the International of Proletarian Freethinkers could not achieve in the five years of its existence under the social fascist executive, has been achieved by the revolutionary Executive within a few months.

The Mexican League Anti-clerical Revolucionaria held its first national Congress at Easter 1931. More than 100 delegates unanimously decided to affiliate to the International of Proletarian Freethinkers. The League is a young organisation but inspired with great revolutionary enthusiasm. In Mexico anti-religious work among the population, consisting mainly of peasants, is the chief problem. The Mexican League has close connections with many South American, Central and North American freethinkers' organisations, so that the affiliation of the Mexican League to the International of Proletarian Freethinkers will be of great importance for the further growth of the organised anti-religious movement on the American Continent.

The affiliation of the League of Militant Atheists of Mongolia "Tannu-Turva" is of no less importance for the I. P. F., as greater possibilities for work in the colonies are thereby created, and the setting up of anti-religious revolutionary organisations in China will soon follow. The Mongolian League numbers 7,000 members and is conducting a semi-legal struggle against the Buddhist church,

which is strongly rooted in the whole population. But the social splitting of the monks into poor and rich prepares the way for disintegration. Up to recently every family was compelled to have one son become a priest. This custom explains the extremely great number of monasteries and monks.

In addition, the Greek Freethinkers' group "Avant-Garde" decided to affiliate to the I. P. F. In addition to this group in Patras, which issues an organ of its own, there exist several groups in the country, which must be brought into a central organisation for the whole of Greece.

The International of Proletarian Freethinkers therefore consists of the following Sections: Soviet Russia, Czechoslovakia, France, Switzerland, Austria (Opposition), Holland, Germany, Mongolia, Mexico, Belgium, Poland and Greece.

In many other countries preparations are being made for founding anti-religious organisations. The I. P. F. has connections with England, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, North America, Japan, South Africa and Australia. It is to be expected that in the course of the year new sections will join the I. P. F. so that the number of affiliated Sections will increase to at least 20 in the year 1931.

In the following exhibits dealing with Communist propaganda on questions of war and peace, one can quickly trace the progress made in developing the popular line required by the Seventh World Congress. Exhibit No. 38 was written in the old style and with the old emphasis. Considerable changes appear in the November 1935 exhibit. But the grand transformation shines at its best in the articles describing the World Peace Conference held at Paris in July 1938. At this Conference, church dignitaries, lords, ladies, and members of parliaments shared the speaking platform with high ranking Communists. Without fear of contradiction, the comrades could congratulate themselves upon having arrived socially. An American scholar has ably analyzed the psychological processes by which Communists succeeded in beguiling people whom they would almost certainly have liquidated once the dictatorship of the proletariat was established.<sup>1</sup>

In keeping with the Soviet reversal of attitude toward the League of Nations (sec. B, exhibit No. 46), front organizations spawned by the Comintern wholeheartedly gave the League their dubious cooperation. Just as they were to do again in 1955, leading Communists were smiling broadly and holding out the warm hand of "friendship." Only a little more than a year later, such acts of cordiality would be reserved for Fascists.

Other Comintern front efforts with regard to peace can be found in this section, exhibits Nos. 27, 28, 43, 45, 49, 61, and 100.

### EXHIBIT No. 38

[*Inprecorr*, January 29, 1931. P. 73]

## MANIFESTO OF THE LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

*To the National Sections of the League Against Imperialism!  
To all Anti-Imperialist Organisations!*

February 25th of this year has been fixed as an International Fighting Day against Unemployment, and the revolutionary proletariat in all capitalist countries will on that day organise giant meetings and demonstrations in order to bring home to the broadest sections of the toiling population the real causes of unemployment, to convince

<sup>1</sup> Selznick, *Organizational Weapon*, pp. 171-174, 275-308.

them of the urgent need of the proletarian united front and to formulate the immediate demands of the impoverished working masses.

Unemployment today has reached a figure unprecedented in the history of the world. In the capitalist countries alone there are, according to the most moderate estimates, not less than 25 million workers that have been completely thrown out of employment. When to this figure is added the millions of short time workers and the millions of agricultural workers, as well as the millions of those that are dependent upon them, we obtain the stupendous result that nearly 200 millions in the capitalist countries alone are living on the verge of starvation!

But this ruthless offensive of capitalism against the working class of the capitalist countries is intimately bound up with the intensification of imperialist terror and imperialist exploitation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. For, threatened in its very existence, imperialism is struggling for a fresh lease of life by the merciless economic plunder and political enslavement of the colonial peoples. As a result hundreds of millions in the colonies drag on their existence in a chronic state of unemployment, millions perish every year of hunger. While foreign imperialism thus squeezes its colossal profits out of the blood and bones of the colonial masses, its allies and junior partners, the native capitalists and landlords, drive their workers and peasants still further down into misery and starvation. Millions of workers in the colonial countries—particularly in China, in India, in Indo-China at the present moment—are in open revolt against this double yoke of foreign imperialism and native capitalism, and hundreds of thousands of revolutionary workers have been thrown out of employment. Hundreds of thousands of employees and of the urban poor find no employment whatsoever under the imperialist system. But the catastrophic results of imperialist exploitation are nowhere so evident as among the hundreds of millions of peasants in the colonial countries. The mass unemployment and starvation of tens of millions of peasants in China has already led to an agrarian revolution in a number of provinces. The unemployment among the millions of India's peasantry, enhanced both by the direct burdens of imperialist exploitation on the land as well as by the congestion in rural areas created by the imperialist prevention of industrial development, has reached a stage that nothing short of an agrarian revolution can save the peasantry. In Burma, where nearly one-fourth of the entire population has been reduced to unemployment and starvation, the peasant revolt just broken out is a prelude to a general agrarian revolution. In Indo-China, the impoverished peasantry that has gone through years of unemployment and starvation is conducting a heroic struggle for national liberation from the murderous pressure of French imperialism. In Korea and Formosa the revolts of the peasants against Japanese imperialist plunder and terror are a daily occurrence. In Indonesia unemployment among all sections of the toilers—workers, peasants, employees—is increasing and the widespread discontent is being temporarily held in check by Dutch imperialist terror. In Palestine, the plunder of the lands of the Arab fellaheens by the Zionist bourgeoisie with the support of British imperialist guns, has led to a revolt and the agrarian discontent is gathering strength for a fresh revolutionary outburst. In the countries of the Latin American Continent, the growing eco-

conomic distress and unemployment among large sections of the toiling populations brought about by imperialist exploitation, by the antagonisms of the imperialist Powers, and by the treachery of the national bourgeoisie, have already led to a series of violent outbursts that are precursors of a general revolutionary upheaval.

In the demonstrations of the workers on February 25th it must therefore be made clear that the overthrow of the capitalist system is impossible without the annihilation of this terrible system of imperialist plunder in the colonial and semi-colonial lands. The struggle of the European, American and Japanese workers is inseparable from the struggle for the complete economic, political and social emancipation of the colonial masses.

The League Against Imperialism, therefore, calls upon all its National Sections in the imperialist countries to participate to the fullest possible extent in the demonstrations on February 25th. The League's speakers at these meetings and demonstrations should point out clearly the disastrous effects of the low wages and mass unemployment of the colonial workers and the pauperisation of the colonial peasantry upon the standards of life of the workers in the imperialist countries, and thereby bring about the coordination of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat with the national emancipation movements of the colonial peoples.

The League appeals also to all its affiliated, associated and sympathising organisations in the colonies, and semi-colonial countries to maintain international solidarity by also organising demonstrations on February 25th—the International Fighting Day Against Unemployment! Through the press and in mass meetings it must be made clear to the broad masses in each colonial country that only their united revolutionary struggle can overthrow imperialist exploitation, and that in this struggle the only ally is the international revolutionary proletariat and not the national bourgeoisie of their own country who has either openly joined the imperialists or are on the point of betraying the cause of national independence by compromises with imperialism. In order to mobilise the colonial masses for the struggle for complete national emancipation, a number of immediate concrete demands must be put forward, such as:—

Complete freedom of speech, press, assembly and association;

Release of all political prisoners;

The 8-hour day;

Equal pay for equal work;

State insurance against unemployment, sickness, old age, etc.;

Non-payment of taxes, loans and interest to the imperialists or their agents;

Confiscation of all plantations and of all lands and forests belonging to the imperialist government, to the princes, to the chiefs, landlords, and moneylenders, and their transference to the poor and landless peasants;

Confiscation and nationalisation of all industrial undertakings, banks etc. belonging to the imperialists;

Cancellation of all rural indebtedness;

Immediate withdrawal of all imperialist troops; and

Complete national independence.

In the demonstrations on February 25th, particular attention should be drawn to the fact that the growing world unemployment has become a powerful factor in hastening the open and secret war preparations of

the imperialist Powers directed against the only anti-imperialist State in the world the Soviet Union. The details of these war preparations must be made widely known, and the colonial masses especially must be made to realise that, if they do not intend to be used as cannon fodder and to be massacred by the millions for the furtherance of imperialist aims, they must resist the imperialist war, they must convert this imperialist war into a war of national liberation, they must defend the Soviet Union. The great anti-imperialist bloc constituted by the united forces of the colonial peoples, the revolutionary world proletariat and the Soviet Union will annihilate imperialism and capitalism and establish the foundation of a new world free from unemployment, starvation and misery.

The League Against Imperialism aims at coordinating all these forces, and every effort must therefore be made during the demonstrations on February 25th in all countries to widen and strengthen the organisational basis of the League and make it a strong militant mass organisation capable of actively helping the oppressed masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries along the road to national freedom.

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EXHIBIT No. 39

[*Inprecorr*, November 2, 1935. Pp. 1437, 1438]

CONVENTION OF PLENARY CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD  
MOVEMENT AGAINST WAR

We have received the following from the Secretariat of the World Committee:

Under the chairmanship of its president, Professor Paul Langevin, the Secretariat of the World Committee against War and Fascism adopted at an enlarged session a number of directive decisions for its work in the immediate future.

The World Committee has resolved to call a Plenary Conference of the world movement against war and fascism on November 23 and 24, to take place instead of the annual Plenum of the World Committee. A number of persons and organizations not affiliated to the World Committee will be invited to this Conference. With this the first note is to be struck towards the fundamental conversion of the world movement against war and fascism into a board people's movement for peace and liberty. The movement will then be really enabled to cope with its decisive task of coordinating all the forces of peace and liberty for the common struggle on a national and international scale.

The following questions are envisaged for the agenda of the Plenary Conference: (1) The war in Abyssinia and its effects on the international situation; the dangers threatened from Hitler fascism; the strengthening and co-ordination of the international action for peace. (2) The peace policy of the Soviet Union and the role played by the Soviet trade unions in this policy. (3) The people's struggle for the defence of public liberties, of culture, and of the progress of mankind. (5) Organisational and financial questions; new election of Presidium and Secretariat of the world movement; vote on the manifesto and other documents.

Leading persons of various political trends will speak on the five items of the agenda, well-known trade unionists and the best representatives of the cultural life of a number of countries will deliver addresses. During the Plenary Conference a memorial celebration for Henri Barbusse will be held.

The Secretariat of the World Committee, basing its action on the reports and proposals of Francis Jourdain, who represented the World Movement against War and Fascism at the Congress of Italians in Brussels, and on those of Jules Racamond, has adopted decisions aiming at intensifying and spreading the action carried on for almost a year in defence of the Abyssinian people and of peace. A mass campaign in all countries will serve the purpose of convincing the international public that the sanctions and their collective application signify peace, and the failure to apply them would encourage all warmongers, rendering imminent the danger of a world conflagration. It is of special importance to redouble the efforts being made for the co-ordination of the actions of all workers' organisations and pacifist associations, as by this means the masses of the people are guaranteed the most effective security for the carrying out of the sanctions. Those workers whose action is decisive for combating Mussolini's war in East Africa, the transport and munition workers, the seamen, etc., must be assured of the solidarity and practical support of the whole of the toiling masses and friends of peace.

November 11, whose solemn celebration has already been made the subject of an appeal from the World Committee to all its National Committees and sympathising organisations, will be dominated by the international struggle for the defence of Abyssinia and of peace. This day is to be a demonstration of the gathering together of all the forces of peace. Demonstrations far surpassing any yet held on Armistice Day will proclaim the decisive slogans of the international peace action. News from all continents, especially from America, confirm the fact that preparations are in full swing on a large scale for the November 11 celebrations.

On a motion brought in by Jean Painlevé, who reported on the organisation of the World Peace Fund (Henri Barbusse Fund), a plan was approved which will place the projected fund at the service of the broadcast campaigns for peace. The World Peace Fund is to serve the following aims, among others: Promotion of propaganda for peace and for general disarmament; rapid organisation of campaigns wherever peace is threatened; support of all relief action for the victims of every war; formation and support of culture centres (Sunday schools, holiday courses of instruction) devoted chiefly to the cause of peace and the fraternisation of the peoples; exchange of delegations; above all, youth delegations among the different countries; furtherance of the education and instruction of youth in the spirit of the fraternisation of the peoples and of peace; publication of international pacifist literature, circulation of films, etc.; awards of prizes for exemplary peace actions; organisation of a peace museum; organisation and furtherance of inquiries, press campaigns, questionnaires, interventions in the cause of peace, etc.; support of all demonstrations and efforts made by pacifist, cultural, and sport organisations in the cause of peace.

The delegation of the World Committee in Abyssinia has carried out its inquiry on the spot. It gave its report on October 21 through the Addis Ababa broadcasting station. The Secretariat of the World

Committee resolved to send one of the two delegates to report at the Plenary Conference of the World Committee and to carry out a campaign of public meetings.

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EXHIBIT No. 40

[*World News and Views*, July 9, 1938. P. 820.]

PARIS WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE

Preparations for the world conference of action for peace, which will be held on July 23 and 24, are going ahead in all countries.

On July 1, in the Paris "Cercle des Nations," a preparatory meeting on the coming world conference was held; it was summoned by the world peace movement (R. U. P.) and presided over by Paul Boncour, the former Prime Minister.

The well-known American journalist, Edgar Mowrer, who has just returned from China, gave at the conference, a striking eye-witness account of the terrible effect of Japanese bomb attacks on peaceful Chinese towns. As Mowrer described the horrifying scenes which he had witnessed in China, he—a soldier in the World War—was so overcome by emotion that a sob was audible in his voice.

The international secretary of the world peace movement, Dolivet, put forward the programme of the world peace movement. As practical measures which had been resolved at the conference, he enumerated the following:

1. Delegations of the world peace movement are to be sent to the various governments, to inform them of the demands of public opinion, and to co-operate with them in the struggle against bombing and other acts of aggression.

2. International commissions of investigation must be formed from persons of international reputation, to proceed immediately to the scene of aerial bombardments.

3. In the various countries, real plebiscites must be held against aerial attacks and bombardments.

4. One of the important tasks of the conference will be the organisation and improvement of aid for the victims of attacks and aggression.

5. The campaign to protect the principles of the League of Nations and collective security must go forth strengthened from the conference.

The conference will not be a "political" one, but a conference of work and action for peace.

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The Radical Party of France has promised to take part in the world conference. Further, 20 well-known airmen, among others, Fonk, Bossoutrot, Lefevre, Sadilecointe were also present.

A big Czechoslovakian delegation, of which the brother of President Benes and a leading figure in Catholic circles are members, will also be present.

In England the National Committee for Aid for Spain has resolved to support the conference. In a letter to all peace leagues and democratic organisations the secretary of this organisation, the Liberal M. P., Mr. Wilfrid Roberts, invites all democratic organization to

send delegates to the conference. 200 leading public figures are expected from England—probably the strongest English delegation which has ever taken part in an international conference.

Big delegations have also been promised from the Scandinavian and Central European countries.

Members of the American delegation will be, among others: the general secretary of the Church World Peace League, Atkinson; the Bishop of New York, Oldham; the director of New York World Economic Conference, Eischelberger, as well as a number of Congressmen and Senators.

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EXHIBIT No. 41

[*World News and Views*, July 30, 1938. Pp. 878-881]

WORLD CONFERENCE FOR ACTION ON THE BOMBARDMENT OF  
OPEN TOWNS AND THE RESTORATION OF PEACE

The World Conference for Action and for Peace was opened on July 23, in Paris, in the big Salle de la Mutualité. More than 1,000 delegates, representatives of all races and nationalities, were present. The number of women delegates was very large. Priests could be seen among many groups of delegates, as well as members of the Salvation Army in uniform. The aviators, whose colleagues had played such a frightful rôle in killing innocent people, took part as a separate delegation. The Spanish delegation, and in particular Pasionaria, was heartily greeted. The Chinese delegation sat not far from the Spanish, arousing the attention and the sympathy of the other delegations. Among the other delegations, of whom the British and Belgian were particularly large, were seated the delegates of the Soviet Union. At the back of the platform the flags of about 50 countries were displayed.

Opening the first day's proceedings, *Leon Jouhaux*, General Secretary of the French T. U. C. said:

"We may congratulate ourselves that this Conference is a complete success not only from the point of view of the number of delegates present but also by reason of the sympathy which it has aroused in the world."

M. Jouhaux said that he was glad to be able to mention in this connection messages of support received from the Mayors of New York and London and notabilities all over the world.

"We must not be content merely with asserting our sympathy with the victims and raising protests," continued M. Jouhaux. "The question they must decide was whether or not brute force was to triumph and whether the unanimous will of the peoples should remain impotent before the desires of a minority."

The speaker then went on to deal with the wider problem of respect for international law and the organisation of collective security.

"Law is being trampled under foot and if we do not act now," he declared, "in a very short time all Europe might be plunged into war. Peace is indivisible, but this is a truth which has not yet become a reality as regards international diplomacy. The latter must be shown quite clearly the action expected of it. That success

could be achieved by action had been proved by results already secured in this way. We have proclaimed the necessity of respecting international law. We have underlined the necessity of organising collective security. In spite of our protests the events have continued as though we had said nothing, as though no voice was raised in protest.

“What must be done now is to defend those who fight for peace and for liberty. That is to permit China and Republican Spain to be victorious against the invaders and rebels. We are united here not only to protest but to take decisions of action and we are certain that if the decisions are taken here in unity, the Conference will have done a great work and we can then think of saving peace.”

When the applause which greeted M. Jouhaux's speech had died down *M. Pierre Cot* rose to speak as President of the I. P. C.

M. Cot hoped that practical and positive conclusions would be arrived at by the Conference. “Public opinion,” he said, “is tired of well-meaning speeches out of which nothing results and of solemn condemnations with nothing to back them up.”

It was rather against war itself than the horrors of war that the Conference should take action.

The second point on which M. Cot placed great emphasis in his speech was the fact that the United States was no longer silent in world affairs or absent from world deliberations, and in the name of the I. P. C. he expressed confidence in the policy of President Roosevelt. He concluded with the wish that the final resolution of the Conference should proclaim that “the League is still a force in the world.”

*Lord Cecil*, the next speaker, also welcomed this immense gathering, and outlined in telling phrases the aims of the Conference—protest against the bombardment of open towns and effective measures to put an end to the bombardments. An end would not finally be put to these horrors until war had been abolished. Lord Cecil also asked the question “what can we do?” And his answer was: “the I. P. C. must try to organise public opinion in defence of the League.” If the peace-loving Governments were decided and courageous there could be no question as to the result. They must not falter or turn back, nor be afraid of what the dictators might say.

The next speaker was *Mgr. Mangold*, who spoke of the great interest of the Catholic Church in the Peace Movement.

“The mission of the Catholic Church,” he said, “was one of peace. If it did not continue this mission it would not be doing its duty to its ministry.” The speaker concluded with a moving appeal to Catholics: “You will not be true Catholics,” he said, “if you do not do everything in your power to prevent unjust aggression and the bombardments of open towns which has claimed so many victims.”

*Doctor Atkinson*, President of the American I. P. C. Committee, and the General Secretary of World Alliance for International Friendship through the churches, was the next speaker.

“We must demand the maintenance of the law,” he declared, “and we Americans are ready to participate in any measures which may be taken for this purpose. Wherever Anarchy, poverty and barbarity exists the United States have a duty to intervene.”

Among the other speakers at the session was *Rosay*, President of the Goncourt Academie.

*Martinex, Barrio*, President of the Spanish Cortes, delivered a stirring speech in the afternoon. He recalled that a year ago when he visited Paris he had declared that the sympathies of the peoples of the democratic nations were clearly showing themselves at every opportunity. This Conference was one further proof of that.

Amid great applause, he underlined the indestructible unity of Spanish Republicans behind the Negrin Government. He denounced the fascist barbarians who have destroyed thousands of human lives as well as the artistic and cultural treasures of Spain.

"By the bombardment of open towns," he said, "they wish to smash Spain and to smash Europe. To reduce Spain to slavery it will be first necessary to destroy Europe. Is the world going to allow that?"

The *Dean of Chichester* was the next speaker. "The Spanish Government forces do not bomb civilians" he declared "That is because they are Spaniards and love their country. It is not the Spaniards who have instituted the bombardment of civilians. It is the foreign invasion which has instituted such bombardments. To sit down as though nothing can be done is itself a crime. We must state clearly that we will have no dealings, will make no treaties with the Governments that bomb civilians. We want co-operation, not non-intervention. So far as war is concerned there can be no neutrality."

Following the British clergyman came the Belgian father, *Abbé Mahieu*, President of the Walloon Concentration. Among the other speakers was *Dr. Edith Summerskill*, M. P., who had just returned from Spain, and the General Secretary of the Swedish Trade Union Federation, *Fritjof Knuborg*.

The speech which roused the greatest enthusiasm of the day was that of *Jacques Duclos*, Secretary of the French Communist Party, Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies. "The Spanish Republic must be given the material by which it can stop the crimes that are being committed against it," he said. "They must have anti-aircraft guns, squadrons of chaser planes. International law must be re-established and the frontier opened. We must declare firmly that this will be done even if it does not please the Fuehrer and the Duce. It is a question of humanity and it is also a question of safeguarding ourselves. Not only must we defend Spain but all the democratic countries. The fascists must be told: Enough, you will not pass.

"The example of the great Soviet democracy which has not yielded to the blackmail of the Japanese militarists shows the path to follow. The union of the great democracies, of France, Britain, the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. would make the fascists retreat. That is why we will do everything in our power to achieve this unity. We must at the same time save the children from these massacres. We must obtain the right to receive the children of Spain and look after them in democratic countries. One way non-intervention must be ended. For that a clear resolution on these questions is indispensable. It would be good to nominate a delegation to go to Spain which would on its return lead a campaign to secure a policy conforming to the will of the peoples and particularly of the people of France and Great Britain. We must make an end to criminal complacency which benefits the fascists. It is necessary to do this in the interests of human progress and peace."

Making reference to the need for aid to China and Czechoslovakia, Duclos ended by declaring: "Let us unite against the fascists. Peace and liberty depend on it."

*Paris, July 25.*

The democrats of the world this week-end laid the foundation stones of a lighthouse of Peace whose beams will shine into the furthest corner of the globe. At Paris, meeting under the auspices of the *International Peace Campaign*, the representatives of the majority of men and women of the world decided to help the victims of fascist aggression not by words but by concrete action. They therefore decided: To establish a *Peace Hospital in China*; to organise an *International Day of Solidarity*, as well as a week of solidarity for Republican Spain; to take immediate steps for the sending of foodships and trains to Republican Spain.

Probably most important of all was the decision, contained in the proposals that the Congress set up, under the auspices of the I. P. C., of a *World Commission for Aiding People* who are the victims of aggression.

This Commission is to assist all existing organisations and use their resources.

The other practical proposal is, to send delegations of prominent democrats to Spain to examine the open towns already bombed, to examine conditions in the country, and report back, and bring pressure to bear on the democratic Governments.

In its special resolution on *Spain*, the Congress, at which more than 1,100 delegates represented the democrats of 34 countries, declares against the closing of the Republican Pyrenees frontier. It demanded the opening of the frontier, the re-establishment of freedom of trade for the Republican Government, and the immediate raising of means necessary for the furnishing of arms and anti-aircraft defence apparatus.

Congress also demanded that "if the complete withdrawal of foreign combatants should not be assured within the time fixed by the London Committee, democratic Governments should forthwith reconsider the Spanish problem on the basis of the Covenant of the League of Nations."

Resolutions of support and assistance to democratic Czechoslovakia and China, including the boycott of all aggressor countries, were also passed.

The hopes of millions of people are placed on the results of this Conference, which, in the words of many speakers, may well be a "decisive" factor for world peace.

To the Conference came not only the representatives of the popular mass movements of the different countries, but world-famous men of good-will like *Lord Robert Cecil*, *M. Paul Boncour*, *Pierre Cot*, the former Belgian Minister, *Jaspar*, the Bishop of New York, the Dean of Chichester, as well as many well known parliamentarians from the different countries, and from Britain in particular, *John Jagger*, M. P., *W. Gallacher*, M. P., *Mr. Philip Noel Baker*, M. P., *Miss Ellen Wilkinson*, *Mr. Wilfrid Roberts*, *Eleanor Rathbone* and many others.

Climax to the entire reunion was reached in the speech of the representative of the Communist International, the French Senator, *Marcel Cachin*, when he characterised the Conference as one of

the greatest examples of democratic unity ever. Paying homage to Lord Robert Cecil and M. Pierre Cot, as chairman of the I. P. C., who were the initiators of these international meetings, he declared:

“You have accomplished a miracle in assembling here people of different convictions, but all united in a cordial collaboration to ensure the defence of peace.”

Cachin who was speaking towards the end of the Congress, caused the biggest, most enthusiastic and most significant demonstration of the feelings of the people when he declared:

“Is it not a symbol to see united in the same Congress, two women who are such admirable examples of the elite of humanity, the Duchess of Atholl and our great comrade, Pasionaria.”

The Duchess was on the platform. Pasionaria was in the body of the hall. So great grew the applause that, as one man, the delegates rose and called for her to mount the “tribune.” Finally Pasionaria left her place and amidst applause, swelling in a mighty crescendo to a shout, took her place in the seat of honour, on the right-hand of the chairman of the meeting, M. Pierre Cot.

Immediately followed the *Duchess of Atholl*. She also paid a tribute to Pasionaria. She demanded that the frontier to Spain be opened.

Following her came another demand that Pasionaria take the stand. Petitions circulated among the delegates. The platform, however, claiming that time was short, asked all the remaining speakers due to speak to forego their time.

One after the other, during the Sunday afternoon session, the Congress had heard strong speeches from delegates and some of the famous men invited to attend.

And the significant thing about all these speeches was not that famous men were talking peace, but that what they said really represented the feelings of the people they were talking for, whether officially mandated or not.

When Senator *De Brouckère*, chairman of the Second International spoke, whether he meant to or not, he spoke on a united platform with the representative of the Communist International, and his demands for Spain and Czechoslovakia really represented what the mass of Socialists throughout the world desire.

The same thing was true of the parliamentarians, who when they spoke, represented the people of their constituencies as a whole; and also for the eminent churchmen, including the Catholic Abbé, Maheu, from Belgium.

When *Jawaharlal Nehru* spoke, in the name of the 370 millions of the toiling Indian peoples. He said himself:

“I do not speak for Kings or Queens or Princes, but for the hundreds of millions of my countrymen. We must fight for peace. But it is necessary to remove the roots of war if lasting peace is to be obtained. In the past we have dealt with the problems of peace superficially. We shall fail again if we ignore the basic problems.

“It is time people took action and compelled their Governments to act.

“This action must take the form of action to permit the Spanish Republic to protect itself, to buy what it wants, and to feed its people.

“If anti-aircraft guns and chaser planes are necessary for its defence, means must be found to allow them to go through to Spain.

"I am glad to tell the Congress that the Indian National Congress has organised and is sending a medical unit to China. We have also organised successfully a boycott of Japanese goods.

"In Malaya, the Japanese own mines which they used to work with Chinese labour. The Chinese refused to work in the mines. Then they tried to employ Indians. At the request of the Congress Movement, these Indians also refused to work in the Japanese mines.

"The struggle goes on. Friends and dear ones die and are killed. But those that die do not die in vain. Whether we live or die, the cause of peace and freedom is not a vain cause, because the cause of Peace is the cause of humanity."

Immediately following Nehru came an Englishman, a leading Liberal M. P., *Richard Acland*. He declared that all right thinking British men and women detested the bombardment of the North-West Frontier of India by the British as much as they detested the bombardment of Spanish towns. He also, turning to the French and making the rest of his speech in French, declared that although some people liked to persuade the French it was essential for France to string along with Britain, it must not be forgotten by the French that it is equally important for Britain to string along with the French.

"Your Government," he said, "has shut the Pyrenees frontier. To please the British. It may have pleased some Britains but not the majority."

Big emphasis was laid on the necessity of co-operation with the United States of America, as well as the formation of the "democratic bloc," throughout the Congress.

Congress sent a special message to *President Roosevelt* congratulating him on his work for peace.

The World Conference Against the Bombardment of Open Towns and of Action for Peace, consisting of a thousand delegates from 34 countries belonging to all the social classes, and of all shades of public, philosophic and religious opinion, urges the great States to save peace while there is yet time and so ensure their own security.

It declares that world politics are becoming farther and farther removed from the four principles which form the basis of the I. P. C.; respect of treaties, general limitation of armaments, collective security, procedure for the peaceful regulation of all international problems.

The Conference considers the weakness and complaisance of certain great States towards the aggressor States has strengthened the latter both in international public opinion and in the eyes of their own peoples; it thinks this culpable weakness has given the illusion of a lack of equality between the real strength of the great democracies and the strength of the aggressor States.

It declares that, in fact, the democracies possess all the means of arresting wars of aggression, since the totalitarian States only have a small part of the financial and economic resources (raw materials, gold, petrol in particular) which are necessary for the pursuit of their enterprises; it demands in consequence that action be taken to forbid trade which is contrary to the interests of peace.

The Conference considers a more rational and more equitable organisation of economic life will reduce the causes of conflict and of war; it judges that this problem must be linked with that of collective security; it believes that these two problems cannot be solved

in a satisfactory manner without the co-operation of the United States; it instructs the Bureau of the I. P. C. to put these problems on the agenda of an early conference.

The Conference regrets that the mistakes of the big States have caused a dangerous weakening of the authority of the League of Nations; it asks that this authority be reinforced by a return to the law of the Covenant, the highest expression of international justice.

The Conference sends its most earnest congratulations to President Roosevelt and his Ministers for the courageous declarations they have recently made; it recognises in this attitude of the American Government and Democracy a great opportunity for peace; to President Roosevelt, to the American democracy and to all the democratic forces in the world it addresses a warm appeal; it hopes their preventive action will make impossible a world conflict, easier to produce than it would be to stop; and it asks them to take the initiative the gravity of the situation demands, promising them the unreserved support of the organisations belonging to the International Peace Campaign, which embraces 400 million human beings.

#### RESOLUTION ON THE BOMBING OF OPEN TOWNS

The commission, instructed to suggest measures to prevent the bombardment of open towns, recommends the delegates and organisations represented to bring pressure on their Governments to cause them:

1. Immediately to remove all obstacles to the supply of arms and anti-aircraft defence materials, for the reason that all obstacles of this sort are the cause of the relative impunity with which bombardments of the civilian population are carried on.

2. To give the financial aid that is indispensable to all countries victims of aggression, to allow them to obtain arms and defensive war material: guns, detectors, sirens, concrete for refuges, etc. . . . so as to protect the civilian population from bombardments.

3. To put an embargo on the supply of petrol, metals and other materials used for bombardments, to the aggressors guilty of bombardments, and in addition to prevent any financial aid which might furnish resources needed for such bombardments.

4. To organise, in collaboration with the Governments of Spain and China, the evacuation of populations threatened with bombardments; to this end to have recourse to their own merchant marine and rail transport, and to assure the security of convoys of refugees by the use of their own armed forces necessary for protection.

In addition the commission recommends the delegates and organisations to undertake:

5. An immediate campaign in all countries to gain the support of public opinion for all or some of the accompanying proposals, so that they may be submitted to the Assembly of the League at its September session.

6. The mobilising of public opinion against the bombardment of civilians, wherever it may occur.

7. Development of the boycott and embargo on merchandise exported from or destined for nations which bombard civilians.

8. Intensification in particular of the boycott measures already in force against Japanese products, development of the indignation

of world public opinion against the bombardments of the civilian population in China.

The Conference regrets that no official international commissions have been instructed with examining the bombardments of open towns; in default of such official commissions it instructs the Bureau of the I.P.C. to organise commissions composed of impartial personalities of different nationalities who can make the necessary inquiries and direct public attention to the facts of the bombardment of civilian populations.

9. Development of sympathetic relations between those towns whose civil populations have suffered bombardments and the other towns of the world, these relations having been inaugurated by the protests of Mayors which has a world-wide repercussion.

10. The supply of instruments of defence indispensable to the civilian populations who are victims of bombardment, as a symbolic gift.

The commission recommends the I.P.C. immediately to take the initiative in the movement we indicate here.

The I.P.C. Congress decides:

The National Committees of the I.P.C. are charged with organising as soon as possible a people's petition to their own Governments asking them:

1. To collaborate with all international organisations which would tend to render the bombardment of open towns impossible.

2. To supply to the nations which are attacked by the bombardment of open towns means of anti-aircraft defence, the most effective means of defence.

#### DRAFT RESOLUTION OF SUB-COMMISSION FOR FOOD SUPPLIES

The International Congress of Action for Peace and Against Bombing of Open Towns, affirming the failure of the Governments to come to the aid of peoples, victims of aggression, in spite of the solemn commitments undertaken by them at the League of Nations;

and being of the opinion that the solidarity of peoples, in all its manifestations, is the only factor up to the present which has contributed to counter-balancing this failure;

calls on the peoples of all countries to intensify that campaign greatly, to raise it, not only in standard, efficiency and substance, but also organisationally; to meet the supreme demands of the present time.

To this end, the Congress undertakes, together with the I.P.C., to set up an *International Commission of Aid for Victims of Aggression*, the commission to be supported by all existing organisations with their technical facilities, in particular by the International Committee of Co-ordination and Information for the Aid of Spain, the International Medical Centre, and the International Office for Children, all three international organisations officially recognised by the Spanish Government, which has just formed a National Aid Co-ordination Committee, setting an example for all other countries which are victims of aggression.

This commission will remain open to the participation of all national and international organisations which may desire to take part in this vital effort.

This commission will consist primarily of a Spanish and a Chinese section, and, as the need may arise, of any other section that shall be necessary.

The Congress determines that the head of this Commission be an honorary committee composed of the leading personalities of the various countries and a general executive secretariat.

A world appeal, to be generally used by all the organisations concerned, will serve as a basis for propaganda.

The Congress considers it necessary to make an immediate drive for the sending of food-ships and food-trains, ships for which liberty of navigation will be guaranteed by the fleets of the democratic countries, and also for the organisation of a determined, unflagging campaign towards those objectives and plans which have been discussed and popularised in a preliminary fashion.

Congress makes the following proposals:—

- (1) an immediate campaign for the sending of ships and trains with food supplies;
- (2) The formation of a peace hospital in China;
- (3) the organisation of an international solidarity day and a solidarity week.

The Congress asks all organisations to draw up their plans of work and to submit them to the Commission as soon as possible.

#### RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION

##### *To the President of the United States:*

The International Congress of Action for Peace and Against the Bombing of Open Towns, representing the majority of the countries of the world, draws your attention to the desperate position of more than two million refugees in loyalist Spain.

Knowing your profoundly humanitarian views, and remembering how in the past the American Government and people have come to the aid of nations in distress, we hope that the Government of the United States, under your direction, will now extend its help to the people of Spain.

This Congress has to declare that the problem of the Spanish people, without shelter and without food, has become too important for individual and spontaneous action to suffice any longer.

Recognising with gratitude your continued affirmation of the necessity for alleviating suffering and famine, we respectfully ask you to apply this great principle to the sufferings of the Spanish people. Your distinguished leadership in this cause will inevitably result in similar action on the part of other democratic countries.

##### *Addenda by Spanish Delegation.*

The Spanish delegation, vigorously expressing its gratitude for the initiative taken by the American delegation, has the honour to propose that there be added to the text of the resolution the Congress' warm greetings to President Roosevelt, thanking him for his courageous actions on behalf of peace and democracy.

#### RESOLUTION ON SPAIN

The Conference, considering that Spain has been the victim of one-sided intervention, which has become a foreign aggression against its independence and its territory and that the I. P. C. must condemn all aggression,

declares that, in accordance with the plan accepted by the Republican Government, all the foreign combatants who find themselves on Spanish soil, including Riffish legionaries and military technicians, must be withdrawn so that the solution of the Spanish war be left to the Spaniards themselves, and that thus the spilling of blood be ended as soon as possible,

declares that, in awaiting this effective withdrawal, Spain must not once more be the victim of negotiations deliberately prolonged to its detriment, and that the Republican Government must have the full liberty of trade that is guaranteed by international law.

The Conference asks all peaceful governments to ensure this liberty, and it protests against the obstacles placed in the way of supplying food to the Republicans, by the closing of a land frontier at a time when control of the other land and sea frontiers is not assured. It protests against the fact that no air control and no control of ports has been organised.

The Conference declares that if the complete withdrawal of foreign combatants has not effectively been assured within the time set by the London Committee, the democratic governments must immediately reconsider the Spanish problem in accordance with the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

#### RESOLUTION ON CHINA

This Congress, which represents millions of men and women all over the world, sends its greetings to the Chinese people, which, in their heroic resistance against Japanese aggression, are defending the principles of peace and democracy, not only in China, but on behalf of the whole world, and protests against massacres of the civil population by aerial bombardments which have become a characteristic feature of fascist aggression.

This Congress pledges itself to:

(1) supply China with the help guaranteed under the Nine-Power Treat, the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand pact, and the resolutions of the Assembly of the League of Nations, and, to ensure this aid, to mobilise world opinion in favour of China's legitimate claims laid before the Assembly of the League of Nations;

(a) campaigns to bring pressure on all the national delegations at the next session of the Assembly;

(b) organise simultaneous meetings in all capital cities on the eve of the Assembly;

(2) oppose all attempts at settlement that are not compatible with the independence and integrity of China;

(3) demand aid for China by means of direct loans to the Chinese Government;

(4) give concrete expression to the profound feeling of international solidarity with the Chinese people by intensification of the campaign for aid for China;

(5) Congress recalls the decisions taken by the conference held by the I. P. C. in London in February, 1938, in favour of an individual boycott of Japanese goods, and notes that Japan has already felt the effects on her foreign trade of those individual efforts against Japanese aggression. It calls for an intensification of this boycott.

(6) Congress renews the appeal already made to peaceful governments to undertake a boycott of all military materials and, above all, of oil.

## RESOLUTION ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Congress notes with profound satisfaction that Czechoslovakia has, by her vigilance and energy on May 21 and thanks to the application of the principle of collective security, been able to safeguard her independence, liberties, democratic regime, which are conditions essential to general peace and liberty;

being of the opinion that the danger is not yet finally averted, invites public opinion in democratic, peace-loving countries to follow attentively the evolution of events in Central Europe;

protests against the threats of military and economic force which have been or still may be used against Czechoslovakia under the pretext that her minorities do not enjoy sufficient rights, although it is universally recognised that these minorities have a more satisfactory constitution than any in the majority of neighbouring countries.

It is also known that the Czech Government is prepared to make fresh extensions of the constitution in so far as this is in accord with her political independence and democratic principles.

The Congress considers as inadmissible and dangerous any attempt to reach a solution by means of secret diplomacy and without the participation of Czechoslovakia, so long as there exists an international organisation, the League of Nations, constituted expressly for reviewing the position of minorities and for guaranteeing a just fate for them.

The Congress recalls that every threat of aggression concerns the signatories of the Kellogg-Briand pact and the League of Nations as a whole, and that it is the duty of the latter to take prompt measures when called upon to safeguard the security of its members.

The Congress invites its sections throughout the world to make widespread celebrations of October 28, next, the twentieth anniversary of the independence of Czechoslovakia.

## III. WESTERN HEMISPHERE

## A. CANADA

In addressing the 41st Continental Congress of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Honorable Norman Sommerville, Counsel to the Crown, Toronto, Canada, quoted from exhibit 94 as introduced in evidence at the 1931 trial of certain Communists.<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Sommerville, B. Vassiliev was a prominent member of the organization department in Moscow. Vassiliev's pamphlet, part of which constitutes the present exhibit, was found to have come to Canada via the United States. It deals at considerable length with methods of illegal activity, gives directions as to secret codes, hiding places, etc. In this respect, sections 15 and 25 reprinted below deserve special attention. It should also be noted that Vassiliev insists upon a strong, but well concealed, line of communication between the illegal underground party and its mass—i. e., front—organizations. The more illegal the party, the greater the need for superficial respectability via dummy fronts. In 1952 the Akron, Ohio, police department uncovered a similar directive to the Communist Party of the United States.

From 1927 to 1938, the CPUSA published an "inner-Party organ" known as the *Party Organizer*. The February 1931 issue explained the purpose of the *Party Organizer* in the following Aesopian doubletalk.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of the 41st Continental Congress of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, April 18-23, 1932, p. 705.

<sup>2</sup> *Party Organizer*, February 1931, p. 1.

## WHO SHOULD READ THE PARTY ORGANIZER AND WHY

The *Party Organizer* should be read by every functionary of the Party, by every member of a Party Committee, Bureau, Commission and Department, and finally by every leading and active Party member.

The material and articles in the *Party Organizer* are of immediate practical value for the Party Committees departments, units and classes on Party Structure. The *Party Organizer* is a guide to action in the solution of tens of hundreds of day-to-day organizational problems confronting the Party. The *Party Organizer* must and will serve the Party Committees and Organizers as the practical guide in tightening up the Party apparatus and developing the structure of our Party on the basis of Bolshevik organizational principles.

## FOR PARTY MEMBERS ONLY

The *Party Organizer* is an inner-Party organ. It is to be read by Party members only. The practice of selling it to non-Party workers, especially at mass meetings, must be discontinued. While there is nothing conspirative nor confidential in the *Party Organizer*, nothing that we need to hide from the masses, we must, however, differentiate between agitational and propaganda literature for the non-Party masses and inner-Party literature for Party members written for the purpose of improving the Party.

Having reaffirmed the necessity for secrecy, the *Party Organizer* proceeded to publish a few "innocuous" excerpts from Vassiliev's pamphlet. In the March 1931 issue, pages 31-32, appeared section 7 of the exhibit reprinted below. And in the April 1931 issue, pages 29-32, we find section 19 and that part of section 25 which begins with the subhead, "The 'Active' of the Party." Other articles by Vassiliev appeared in the United States edition of *The Communist International* for September 1, 1931, pages 442-446, and March 15, 1932, pages 171-173. Vassiliev was also the probable author of exhibit No. 5 of this section.

On March 17, 1955, Eugene Victor Dennett testified before this committee with regard to the present exhibit.<sup>3</sup> Dennett had been an active member of the CPUSA from 1931 to 1947, when he was expelled.

The pagination indicated for the present exhibit is that of the typed copy given by the Honorable Norman Sommerville to Walter S. Steele, editor of the *National Republic* magazine and the *National Republic Lettergram*.

## EXHIBIT No. 42

[Moscow, 1930. B. Vassiliev, *How the Communist International Formulates and Present the Problem of Organization*. Pp. 1, 11-12, 15-27, 30, 33-41]

The Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. I. (February 1930), summing up the international situation, called upon all Communist Parties to fundamentally change the methods and pace of their work by concentrating their chief attention on the problems of the preparation and the carrying out of mass REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS OF THE PROLETARIAT—strikes, demonstrations, etc., while at the same time continuing as far as possible to promote their agitational and propaganda work. Consequently, in the present conditions, the Party apparatus, in response to the demands which the direction of the Comintern puts forward, should in the first place be fitted for the organization of demonstrations, strikes and other mass actions of the proletariat. Party leaders who are not capable of organizing demonstrations and strikes do not answer to the demands which the circumstances of the class struggle are now placing before the Communist Parties, and therefore should be replaced by others who have shown these qualities in the course of the class battles of the most recent period.

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<sup>3</sup> *Investigation of Communist Activities in the Seattle, Wash., Area, Part 1*, Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 84th Cong., 1st sess., March 17 and 18, 1955, pp. 249-292. Secs. 1, 15-22 of the Vassiliev pamphlet are reprinted in these hearings, pp. 280-290, and also in the *Annual Report for the year 1955*, Committee on Un-American Activities, January 11, 1956, pp. 38-47.

## 7. WHAT KIND OF WORKERS THE PARTY NEEDS AT PRESENT

The circumstances of sharpening class struggle which are growing up demand a new qualification of the leading Party workers. As before, we need speakers, writers, treasurers, drawers up of resolutions and so on, but above all we now need organizers closely connected with the masses, devotedly giving themselves to the cause of the revolutionary organization of the masses, not reckoning with any difficulties and hindrances, not reckoning with days and hours of holidays and generally with questions of personal comfort and well being. "It is essential to have a system of recruiting responsible comrades from those Communists who live the workers' life, know it inside out, know how to define without making mistakes in relation to any question, at any moment the mood of the masses, their real desires, the demands of the masses, who know how to define without any tints of false idealism the level of their consciousness and the strength of the influence of this or that prejudice or survival of former times, who know how to win for themselves unlimited confidence of the masses by comradely relations with them, by taking pains to satisfy their needs" (From the resolution on the trade union question of the 11th Congress of the C. P. S. U., point drafted by Comrade Lenin).

In the concrete conditions of the moment we must add to those demands put forward by Comrade Lenin another demand,—the ability unceasingly and mercilessly to struggle against Social-Fascism. Social-Democracy and the whole Second International at present acting as the fundamental force of the Fascist dictatorship and bourgeois reaction, as the open enemies of the working class. Further, more than was ever the case, the successes of the working class movement must now be measured by the degree of the breaking up and disorganization of the 2nd and Amsterdam Internationals. Party leaders incapable of guaranteeing the development of these successes must be changed for those who have given proof of their ability to carry out the tactic of the united front in winning over to the side of the revolution the masses of Social-Democratic workers and members of reformist and yellow unions, whilst at the same time, carrying on a merciless consecutive ideological and organizational struggle against the Social-Fascist leaders.

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## 10. ON THE COMPOSITION OF PARTY COMMITTEES

Naturally the question presents itself, what demands must be made in the Party Committees and on their work when the checking of their work is being carried out. The starting point is provided by the general conditions under which the Party Committees have to carry out their work in the circumstances of semi-legal and illegal situations, bearing in mind that in those countries where the Communist Parties, are still formally legal, as, for instance, in Germany, Czechoslovakia and France, they are in fact already semi-legal and if the directing organs of such formally legal Communist Parties should think of functioning as perfectly legal organizations, they would be quickly destroyed by police repressions.

The first question which has to be approached is the question of the numerical composition of Party Committees. In the last few

years there has been a tendency toward the increasing of the numerical strength of the Party Committees. At present the membership of the Central District and Local Party Committees in such parties as the German, Czechoslovak and French, consists as a rule of several dozen people. They take the C. P. S. U. as an example. We must state at once and the Communist International has already given the corresponding directions to the different Parties,—that in regard to the numerical composition of the Party Committees the fraternal Parties in the capitalist countries must at present in no case copy the C. P. S. U.; they must form Party Committees of small membership. With regard to the District and Local Party Committees of legal Communist Parties, such as the German or Czechoslovakian Party, nine to eleven must constitute the maximum, with a bureau comprising not more than three people. As for the Illegal Parties, the membership of the Party Committees should not as a rule be more than five people and there should be no bureau—its place being taken by a secretary. In place of the present Party Committees with many members, we must arrange regular conferences on Plenums of the Party Committee (which has a maximum of eleven members), with the lower Party active members, representatives of the factory cells with activists from the mass non-Party organizations—trade unions, I. L. D., for the consideration of all the big issues of Party work. But the Party Committee in present conditions should consist of but a few members, otherwise it cannot become a fighting organization, it will be impossible for it in any serious way to undertake conspirative work and combat provocation, it will be impossible to guarantee swift decision of the various fighting questions which arise in the circumstances of growing revolutionary battles, etc.

Another rule which must be brought into force in legal and semi-legal Parties: to discontinue using in Party work the real christian names and surnames of members of the Party Committee and of Party active workers in general. We must begin to use Party names instead and also stop publishing good life-like portraits of leading Party workers. For example, the French comrades are endlessly publishing portraits of leading members of the C. P. F. Why is that necessary? Why should we give the police the most recent portraits of leading comrades. I could understand it if distorted physiognomies were given in order to put the police off the track but good portraits are given. This must be stopped and in general all the leading active Party core should make a rule to stop getting photographs. The police in their good time will photograph them on all sides, even when the comrades don't want them to.

In some Parties the Central Committees have tried to introduce in place of names, numbers, but that is not quite a successful form of conspirative work. From the point of view of disguise, it is much better and as an aid to the memory is a good deal more simple.

## 11. DEPARTMENT OF PARTY COMMITTEES

The following are rules with regard to the internal structure of Party Committees. Party Committees must set up the most important department and besides the departments, the most important functions of the general apparatus of Party Committees should be distributed between members of the Party Committee. The departments which should be organized under the Party Committees are

those mentioned in the decisions of the 1st and 2nd International Organizational Conferences: Org. Department, Agitprop, Women's Department, Trade Union Department, etc. These departments should be constructed as commissions. One of the members of the Party Committee should undertake the responsibility for the work of the department. But every department should be made up of several comrades drawn in from the most active and capable rank and file workers from the factory cell. Such departments are necessary for two ends: first, in order to prepare proposals on any question for the meetings of the Party Committee. In accordance with the accentuation of repression and the introduction of illegality for the Party the preparation for the meetings of the Party Committee will take on a more and more serious importance. Already at the present time all Party Committees should assume the firmest course towards short sittings well prepared beforehand—half an hour, an hour, as a rule. In accordance with this, we must begin to work up a firm discipline on the tongue, to learn and learn over again to talk as little as possible, not to waste time in long speeches. It is also important to aim firmly at short resolutions, as in this respect a real scandal is to be observed in our Parties. Supernaturally long resolutions are written which in many cases, because of their length, are not put into force. As an example of the kind of absolutely impermissible relation to Party work, it is necessary to point to the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Plenum of whose C. C. in 1929 wrote a resolution 500 pages long. Naturally, even the members of the Central Committee can not remember what is written in these resolutions, and even more, these resolutions are inaccessible for the mass of Party members. How are they to be brought to the notice of members of completely illegal Parties? This is not to be thought of. As a result the Party remains without any resolutions or any directions. The Bulgarian example is quite an exceptional one because of its absurdity. But other Parties also write very long resolutions. If we look at the resolutions which the Russian Bolshevik Party wrote in their underground period, we can see that all these resolutions, including resolutions on the questions of armed uprising, on the question of a provisional revolutionary government, or relations with the bourgeois parties, etc., at the very most do not take up more than two pages each. It is true that all these resolutions were written by, or in any case, edited, by Lenin, and Lenin of course stands alone. Let us suppose that we cannot write so shortly, but by real honest trying we can manage to write not more than twice as long.

The departments should help the Party Committee to prepare the meetings of the Party Committee in order that the Party Committee may decide as quickly as possible the questions which are on the agenda. In addition, these departments help the Party Committee to educate new leading workers. Attending the meetings organized by the department and taking part in the consideration of the questions which are on the agenda, the members will in this way learn how to decide these questions thus training themselves for independent leading Party work. Through the departments the Party Committee may single out and prepare new workers and with them strengthen the leading cadres of the Party.

## 12. THE MEETINGS OF THE PARTY COMMITTEES

With regard to the meetings of the Party Committees it is still essential to have in view the following rule, which is absolutely binding for illegal Communist Parties. At the meeting of the Party Committee, or in any case at the Plenary meeting at which representatives of the rank and file Party activists take part, those members must not be present in whose hands are the connections with Party organizations, addresses, etc., because, if the police arrest such a meeting, then the whole Party Committee will be arrested and to reorganize the Party organization after all the addresses, connections and so on, have been lost is naturally very difficult. It is necessary that at least one comrade who keeps the addresses, connections, etc., should not come to the meetings of the Party Committee and that at the moment of the meeting of the Party Committee he should take special measures of precaution to avoid the arrests, which usually follow on the rounding up of a Party Committee by means of those addresses and connections which the police get hold of in the course of same.

Before big revolutionary demonstrations, and mass proletarian actions, which are being prepared by illegal Communist Parties, this rule must also apply to all legal Communist Parties. For example, in France on the eve of the 1st August last year the leaders of the Paris Party Committee arranged a meeting of the active members of the Paris organization consisting of several hundred comrades from local and borough committees, and attended also by several leading comrades from the Central Committee, right up to members of the Politbureau of the C. C. They all met together in one hall, preliminary announcements having been made through the press as to where the meeting would take place. The police came and picked them all up and as a result on the 1st August a whole number of comrades who should have directed the preparation for the demonstration were sitting in prison.

## 13. DISTRIBUTION OF WORK WITHIN THE PARTY COMMITTEE

What should be the distribution of work within the Party Committee? The following are the most important functions. First, the secretary of the Party Committee. Not only is it not necessary for the secretary of the Committee of a Communist Bolshevik Party to be the political leader of the Committee, but as a rule he *should not* be its political leader. At present in the Russian Party the secretary of the Party Committee is at the same time the leader of the Party Committee. But in the underground Bolshevik Party the position was quite different. Then the secretary was never the leader of the Party Committee. He was a comrade who was responsible for connections with the Party organizations above and below, for conversations with comrades who were in need of this or that advice or information from the Party Committee and so on. In the underground period of the Bolshevik Party the secretary of the foreign section of the Central Committee was Comrade Krupskaya, who, as is well known, was not the political leader of the Central Committee. When our Party became legal the secretary of the Central Committee in Leningrad was Comrade Menzhinskaya who also was not a political leader of the Central Committee: later when the C. C. was transferred to Moscow the secretaries were comrades Stasova and Novgorodsova.

Why is such a rule essential? It is important because the Secretary of the Party Committee in illegal and semi-legal conditions is the person on whom above all, the blow of action will fall. If that person is the political leader of the Party Committee then naturally his arrest will affect very harmfully all the work of the Party Committee. The political leader of the Party Committee should not perform secretarial work and in general, as a rule, should not be connected with the technical functions of the Party apparatus. I think that this rule of Bolshevik underground work should be now transferred completely into the practice of all our Communist Parties.

The responsibility for the publication and distribution of illegal literature, should be placed on one member of the Party Committee. This function should now be absolutely obligatory for all Communist Parties, including legal Communist Parties, beginning with the Central Committee and ending with the District Committee. We now have it as a general rule that on the eve of big revolutionary actions legal Communist literature is forbidden, confiscated or in the best case censured in such a way that all the Communism is washed out of it as, for example, in Czechoslovakia. Therefore, if the Party does not have an illegal printing press for the preparation of a political campaign and does not at the same time prepare the publication of illegal literature then at the most critical moment the Party remains without literature, as happened, for instance, with the Czechoslovakian Communist Party on the 1st August 1929 and was repeated on the 6th March 1930. All Communist Parties must without fail have an extensive apparatus for the publication of illegal Party literature: printing plant, various kinds of rotary machines, copying machines, mimeographs, and simple hectographs in order to publish illegal literature, newspapers, leaflets, etc. In particular it is absolutely essential that the local Party committees should guarantee the publication of the factory papers for the factory cells of the big enterprises, especially in connection with the carrying out of big campaigns like the 1st May, 1st August campaigns and so on. With regard to illegal literature, it is also necessary to have ready arrangements for its distribution. For that it is essential to have an apparatus for distribution, which must not, as a rule, coincide with the general apparatus of the Party Committee. Special comrades must be brought in to this end, there must be special addresses for the safe-keeping and conveyance of literature from the printing press to the District, and from the Districts and localities to the factories for distribution among the workers.

One member of the Party Committee must take on the duty of treasurer. That is a very important function for all Communist Parties especially if we take into consideration the circumstance that with regard to money and financial means, careless "evangelical," views are very widely spread throughout the Communist Parties. It was stated in the gospels: "Live as the birds of the air who sow not neither do they reap and your father which is in Heaven shall take care for you." Many comrades also think that you need neither to sow nor reap, nor pay Party dues and that some heavenly father, in the shape of the Comintern, will take care for you. It is impossible to build up a Party in this way. It is necessary to organize the collection of dues, to organize the collection of donations, to run all kinds of paying lectures, meetings, to organize the distribution and sale of literature, revolutionary postcards, etc., etc.

One of the members of the Committee should undertake the duty of the organization of proletarian self-defense. This is now beyond all doubt essential. There is a great deal of talk about proletarian self-defense, and if all these conversations were brought together they might annihilate the bourgeoisie by their sheer weight, but the practical results are not worth a halfpenny. There is a certain amount of work on proletarian self-defense in Germany the Chinese comrades work well too, they having quite different conditions of work, but about the other parties it is unfortunately impossible to say anything good. Resolutions are passed, but all the same there is no proletarian self-defense. So, it must become a rule that every Party Committee appoint a special comrade to take charge of this work. This Comrade, by the way, must definitely arrange special training for members of the organization of proletarian self-defense, in order that these organizations may be real self-defense organizations not the present meetings of comrades which call themselves self-defense organizations. The practice of the proletarian self-defense detachments during recent demonstrations shows that the comrades from the sections of self-defense do not have the slightest conception of any kind of self-defense. When the police attacked them they did not know how to resist. They don't understand the tactics of street fighting, don't even know how to box and as a result in certain cases one policeman broke up dozens of sections of proletarian self-defense, because our comrades waved their arms about aimlessly whilst the policemen were quite confident and used all the rules of well-trained boxers. In many cases the comrades from the proletarian self-defense units defended themselves with stones. But again here is evidence from those who were present at these operations showing that our comrades don't know how to throw stones. It is not enough to pick up a stone and throw it, but it is important that that stone should hit its target, and not merely hit its target but that some effect should be seen from the blow. But so long as our comrades don't go through any training in throwing stones they naturally throw stones more for the moral effect. But if meanwhile members of proletarian self-defense organizations, systematically train themselves in throwing stones and set themselves the aim, let us say, of each evening when they finish work and each morning, instead of going through gymnastic exercises, throwing stones at a target 25 paces away, we can say beforehand that in two weeks the results of such a training on any attack would be quite different.

Then one of the members of the Party Committee should be in charge of organization of work in the army.

Finally, one of the members of the Party Committee should represent the Party in the Young Communist organization.

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## 15. QUESTIONS OF COMMUNICATIONS

The most important element of successful working of the Party Committee—the one on which during the checking of its work the most serious attention must be concentrated—is the question of connections of the Party Committee with the higher and lower Party organizations, especially with the factory cells and the fractions of the mass non-Party organizations. This question now has a decisive importance, especially in the legal and semi-legal Communist Parties.

The illegal Communist Parties have already worked out a whole number of measures and methods in order to keep their communications with the lower organizations and with separate members of the Party, in spite of the severest police repression. But with the legal and semi-legal Parties there is bad work all the time along this line. In Austria during the last Fascist rising, the C. C. lost connection with the Vienna Committee, and the Vienna Committee lost connection with the enterprises. In Paris on the 6th March 1930, the C. C. lost connection with the Paris organization for six days. Such a state of affairs is absolutely impossible and the most important task of each of our Party organizers, of every instructor going to the locals to check the work of the Party Committee is above all to check how the connections between the Party Committee and other Party organizations are organized, and especially these with the lower Party organizations, and the factory cells. It is perfectly clear that the Communist Parties will not be in a position to organize any mass actions of the proletariat or mass strikes, or mass street demonstrations, if the Party Committees at sharp moments of struggle lose connection with the factory cells and mass non-Party organizations.

Which are the most important methods of communication it is essential to foresee? It is essentially important to have a well-laid out live communication. Live Communication is kept going by the help of the system of so-called appearing or reporting places. What is a reporting point. A reporting point is this: the Party Committee establishes special addresses of flats or other places where on certain days and at certain times representatives of the cells and fractions of the mass organizations must appear. There also representatives of the Party Committees appear. The representative of cells and fractions make reports on what has happened in the factory, what the cell has done, what it proposed to do and so on, and the representatives of the Party Committee, having received the report, advises the cell how it should act, passes on to it the directions of the higher Party organs and so on. This system of appearing places must without fail be established in all Parties without exception, legal and illegal, whilst in the legal parties a double system of reporting places must without fail be established—a system of legal and illegal appearing points. Legal reporting places in the legal premises at the Party Committee and illegal appearing places in case the legal premises of the Party Committee are closed, or a police ambush is sitting there, in order quickly to re-establish connection with the lower Party cell in another way through the illegal reporting place. For the latter, appearing points should therefore be prepared beforehand. In Germany, in Belgium, in France, Party meetings in cafes were at one time very widespread. This is a very bad habit because there are always spies in cafes in countless numbers and it is difficult to get rid of them. It is necessary to go over more quickly to the establishment of appearing places in safer localities. If the Party has already more or less seriously and fundamentally gone over to underground positions, and the shadowing of leading active Party members has begun, and Party members are being arrested in the streets, then it is very important that special signals should be established for the appearing flats, showing: in the first place, the safety of the flat, second, showing that exactly those people have come who were expected and that these comrades who have come are talking

with exactly those comrades whom the observer is coming to see. In order to show that the reporting places are in working order, in Russian conditions, for example, a flowerpot was placed in the window, the comrade came, saw that the flowers are there, knew that it is safe, and entered. It is necessary to say that these reception signals were very quickly learned by the police and that they therefore, when visiting any flat, carefully searched for signals before fixing an ambush. If they saw that flowers are in the window and that the person whom they have come to arrest has tried by all means possible to take these flowers away, the police insisted on putting them back in the place where they were. So, when arranging safety signals for reporting places, it is necessary to arrange them in such a way that they don't strike the eyes of the police and that they can be taken away without being noticed by the police.

For verifying those who come to the reporting places, a system of passwords is established. The comrade comes to the reporting point, and he says some agreed-upon sentence. They answer to that agreed-on sentence by some other agreed-on sentence. So both comrades check each other. In Russian underground conditions very complicated passwords were sometimes used in the central appearing places. This was called forth by the Circumstances that different workers passed through such reporting places: rank and file workers from the cells, district and Central Party workers. Accordingly, one password was fixed for the rank and file worker, a more complicated one for the district worker and a still more complicated one for the central worker. Why was this necessary? It was necessary for conspirative reasons, since only certain things could be said to the rank and file worker while perhaps other things could be said to the district worker, whilst you could speak with full frankness about the whole work of the illegal organizations to the representative of the Central Committee. Therefore, passwords were, as they used to say at that time of "three degrees of trust." This was done in this way. The first degree of trust: a comrade comes and says an agreed-upon sentence and is replied to by an agreed-upon sentence. The second stage: the comrade who has come in reply to the agreed-upon sentence spoken to him, says another agreed-upon sentence, in reply to which yet another agreed-upon sentence is spoken to him. The third stage of trust: to the second agreed-upon sentence the comrade replies by a third agreed-upon sentence. Then the keeper of the appearing place also replies to the third agreed-upon sentence.

Besides flats for reporting points, connecting link flats are also needed for communication by letter, and these flats must in no case coincide. And finally, there must be flats for the sheltering of illegal comrades, comrades whom the police are looking for, comrades who have escaped from prison, etc., etc. For all our legal communist Parties the question of addresses and flats now plays a role of the first importance. Last year, on the eve of the 1st August, when it was clear that the leading workers would be arrested in a number of countries, comrades did not know where to go, there were no flats. In any case, when it was necessary to shelter comrades hiding from the police in Germany, Czechoslovakia and France very great difficulties occurred, especially in the provinces. It is essential for all Parties to occupy themselves now in the most serious way with the solution of the "housing" problem.

Concerning communications by letter. It is also necessary to give the most serious attention to the problem of the organization of letter communications. In checking the work of the Party Committee it is necessary to consider this question specially. Does the Party Committee have addresses for communicating by letter with the higher and lower Party organizations, and how are these communications put into practice. Now, even for the legal Parties, the firmest rule must be established that all correspondence concerning the functioning of the Party apparatus, must without fail go by special routes guaranteeing letters from being copies in the post. All kinds of general circulars, general information reports on the condition of the Party in legal parties can go through the ordinary post to legal Party addresses, but everything concerning the functioning of the Party Committee even in legal Parties, must now without fail go by special routes. In the first place, the use of special couriers must be foreseen, who will personally carry letters, not trusting these letters to the State post. Here the Parties must make use of the connections which they have with post and telegraph and railway servants, connections with all kinds of commercial travellers for trading firms and so on. All these connections must be used in order that without extra expense responsible Party documents can be transported. Further, every Party should take care that every letter, apart from whether it goes through the State post or by courier should be written in such a way that in case it fall into the hands of the police it should not give the police a basis for any kind of arrest or repression against the Party organization.

This makes the following three requisites. The first requisite: the letter must be in code i. e., all aspects of illegal work are referred to by some special phrase or other. For example, the illegal printing press is called "auntie", "type" is called "sugar" and so on. A comrade writes: "auntie asks you without fail to send her 20-lbs. of sugar;" that will mean that the press is in need of 20-lbs. of type or a comrade writes: "we are experiencing great difficulty in finding a suitable flat for our aunt." That means that it is a question of finding a flat for the illegal printing press.

Second requisite: besides a code, as above, ciphers are used, illegal parts of letters being put not only into code but also into cipher. There are many different systems of cipher. The simplest and at the same time most reliable system of cipher is the system of cipher by the help of a book. Some book or other is agreed upon beforehand and then the cipher is made in this way; simple fractions or decimals are ciphered. The first figure of the first fraction shows the page of the book. Then further comes the actual cipher. For the numerator of the fraction we must take a line counting from above or below; for the denominator that counting from the left or from the right which it is necessary to put into cipher. For example, we need to put into cipher the letter "A". We look in the book and we see that this letter is in the third line from the top, the fourth letter from left to the right. Then we cipher 3 over 4 ( $3/4$ ), that is the third line from the top, fourth letter from left to right. You can agree also on this method; for example, counting the line not from above but from below, then the 3 will be not the third line from above but the third line below. You can agree to count the letter in the line not from left to right but from right to left. Finally, for greater complexity in order to keep

the sense from the police, you can also add to the fraction some figure or other. Let us say the numerator is increased by 3 and the denominator by 4. In this case, in order to decipher, it will be necessary first to subtract in the numerator and denominator of every fraction. A whole number of similar complications can be thought out in order to complicate the cipher. The advantage of such a cipher is that it is not only very simple but also that each letter can be designated by a great number of different signs and in such a way that the cipher designation of letters are not repeated. The book cipher can be used without a book. In place of a book some poem or other can be chosen, learned by heart and the ciphering done according to it. When it is necessary to cipher or decipher, the poem must be written out in verses and then the ciphering or deciphering done and the poem destroyed.

The third requisite which it is also recommended should be observed in correspondence, is writing in chemical inks, that is, with such inks that it is impossible to read them without special adaptations. If a secret Party letter falls into the hands of the police written in invisible ink they must first of all guess that it is written in invisible ink; the open text of such letters must be made perfectly blameless, for example, a son is writing to his mother that he is alive and well and of the good things he wishes her. Not a word about revolution. The police must guess first of all that under this apparent innocent text there is a hidden text. Having discovered this secret the police tumble against a cipher. If they succeed in deciphering the cipher, they stumble up against a code and they have still to decipher that code. But all this takes time in the course of which the police can do nothing. If the police succeed in reading it in the course of two or three weeks, then by that time the Party organization has been able to cover up all the consequences of the question which was written about in the letter.

What kind of invisible ink should be used? Invisible inks exist in a very great number. They can be bought in any chemist's shop. Finally, comrades must use the latest inventions of chemistry in this direction. The simplest invisible ink which can be recommended and which can be found everywhere, is, for example, onion juice and pure water.

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There are alien elements in the ranks of the Communist Party, including direct provocators, agents of the police and the employers, who specially creep into the Party for the purpose of carrying on disruptive work in the ranks of the Party. The Party must strictly observe each one of its members, verify in the most careful way every suspicious Party member, and if it is established that he is an alien element and even more a provocative agent, then of course, there is absolutely no reason to beat about the bush with him. But in ranks of the Communist Parties there are a large number of proletarians who sincerely sympathize with Communism but who at the same time are not strong enough to fulfill all the demands of Communist discipline. With regard to such proletarians, if they are not capable of being members of the Communist Party there is no need to keep them in the Communist Party, but at the same time there is no need to throw them out of the Party like a dirty rag;

they must be organized round the Party as sympathizers as members of non-Party mass organizations, in the Red Trade Unions, in the I. L. D., the W. I. R., and so on. In these organizations no such discipline is demanded as in the ranks of the Communist Party and they can work here in a suitable manner. At the present stage of development of the Communist movement, when the Communist Parties are ceasing to be organizations for propaganda and agitation of the Communist idea, and are turning into fighting organizations, preparing and leading revolutionary actions of the proletarian masses against the organized forces of the employers, police, State and the Social-Fascists, some members of the Party are showing themselves incapable of fulfilling the new fighting tasks of the Communist Party. But without doubt such Party members can be useful to the Party as sympathetic elements, and even as leading active elements in different mass organizations, as for example, in the I.L.D., Tenants' Organizations, W. I. R., and so on. Factory cells must be composed on proletarians who are really the advance guard of the workers of a given enterprise, devoted to the cause of Communism, ready to carry out the directions of the Party, grudging neither health nor strength, nor life, not being afraid if Party interests demand it to carry out such work in the enterprise as may cause the employer to throw them out of the factory, perhaps the police to arrest them, and the courts to condemn them to heavy punishment. In fact, only factory cells composed of such proletarians can do great revolutionary work even though they be very small.

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## 19. SHOCK GROUPS

The practice of the Y. C. L. has recently given rise to the method of so-called shock groups or brigades. This method of shock brigades could be usefully carried over into the practice of the Party. The term "shock brigade" is not in itself very good. Shock brigades are organized in the factories in the U. S. S. R., the Communists working in the factories organizing shock groups around which non-Party workers are gathered. But the Communist Party is the advance guard of the working class, i. e., it is in itself *the* shock group of the working class; to create within this shock advance of the working class yet other shock brigades is of course at bottom not correct. But this is what IS correct. In the Party organizations of capitalist countries, numbers of Party members are not drawn into the everyday work. Every Party member belongs to a cell, which meets once a fortnight or once a month, and in between these meetings Party members do not perform much Party work, in many cases, in fact, have no Party tasks at all. This happens because in the given cells at the given time, there is not much internal work, while other sectors of Party work may at the same moment have important militant tasks before them. It is for the Party Committee to keep on combining Party members into different groups for the concentration of forces upon the most important sectors. Having performed a given task such groups or brigades are broken up or reconstructed into other groups for taking up new work. The general aim in creating such groups should be the strengthening of Party

work in the big enterprises of the most important sections of industry. Here, on this problem the full attention of the leading Party organs must be sharply directed in the near future.

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## 22. ON WORK IN THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS

Mass organizations must be divided into two large groups; mass organizations supporting the Communist Parties and other mass organizations fighting the Communist Parties. To the first category belong the revolutionary trade unions, ILD, WIR, etc. Organizations of the second kind are in their turn divided into two groups; 1) formally non-Party mass organizations like reformist christian and other reactionary trade unions, sport organizations, etc. and 2) all kinds of organizations politically hostile to us, such as the Social-Democratic Party, various Fascist political unions, etc.

In all non-Party mass proletarian organizations, such as trade unions, sport organizations, tenants' organizations, etc. the Party should form fractions embracing all Communists and sympathizers. There are thousands of decisions about fractions in mass organizations, but up to now the position in all Parties with regard to fractions is bad. In the first place fractions are far from being organized everywhere. In the second place, organized fractions in the majority of cases work without the direction of the Party Committee. So, the Party Committees should before all find out whether fractions exist everywhere, where they should be established, and in the second place it is essential that Party Committees should direct the work of the fractions and that the fractions should in the strictest way carry out all the directions of the corresponding Party Committees. In the constitution of the Communist Party it is laid down that a fraction has the right to appeal against the decision of a Party Committee. A Party Committee is bound to examine the protest of a fraction against its decision in the presence of a representative of a fraction. The decision of a Party Committee is binding on a fraction and there is no appeal against it: It should be accepted without argument and put into life without delay. At present in practise directions of the Party Committees are frequently not carried out by fractions. The task of the Party is to see that every fraction carries out these directions in the strictest way. With regard to fraction members who avoid carrying out directions the most serious explanatory work must essentially be undertaken and in case of necessity, the strictest Party measures should be taken even up to expulsion from the Party, for otherwise the Party will be completely unable to direct the work of a fraction. There may be cases when swift interference of the Party Committee is called for, while it may be impossible to convene a full meeting of the Party Committee to give out such a new direction. For example, some trade union Congress or other is being held. Before the congress the fraction meets, called together by the Party Committee and jointly works out instructions. But during the Congress questions may come up which have not been foreseen in the direction of the Party Committee. What is to be done? Should the committee meet immediately? And how can this be arranged, when questions may arise at any moment which are absolutely unexpected and which must be reacted to at

once? For such cases the Party Committee must nominate a special group of three comrades or a plenipotentiary representative, who should decide in the name of the Party Committee. At the meeting of the fraction it should be explained that for the leadership of the work of the fraction the Party Committee has nominated a group of three comrades consisting of such and such comrades, or such a plenipotentiary, and that the intervention of these comrades, their propositions, should be looked upon by all fraction members as official directions of the Party Committee and carried out without any argument. In this way uninterrupted guidance of the Party Committee is guaranteed in the work of the fraction, and if during the session of a trade union congress or strike committee, etc., any question arises unforeseen in the Committee's direction, it is decided by the plenipotentiary representative of the Party Committee. Members of the fraction not agreeing with the actions of the committee representative can appeal against what they regard as incorrect actions, but throughout the congress they should without fail carry out all directions of the representative of the Party Committee, although they may completely disagree with those directions.

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## 25. ON LEGAL AND ILLEGAL METHODS OF PARTY WORK

We must distinguish between two ways of combining legal and illegal methods of Party work: One for the legal Communist Parties who are being driven underground and another for illegal Communist Parties who are able to use various legal opportunities.

If we consider legal Parties who are being driven underground, the question can be put in this way: The Party should fight to the very last for retaining all existing forms of the legal working class movement, for legal existence of the Communist Party, for legal Communist literature, for legal trade unions, for other legal unions of mass organizations. In the process of this struggle, the Communist Parties of those countries, however great "democratic freedom" is at the given moment, however easy at the given moment it may be for them to get permission to publish legal Communist papers, organize demonstrations, etc., must at the same time construct and strengthen their illegal apparatus from top to bottom. All legal Parties are now under the greatest responsibility in respect to the creation and strengthening of an illegal Party apparatus. All of them must immediately undertake measures to have within the legally existing Party committees an illegal directing core. The illegal part of Party apparatus must be separated from the legal apparatus of the Party Committee (addresses, archives, definite part of the correspondence and so on) and a part of the members of the Party Committee must already now be made illegal. Such comrades as Comrade Thalman cannot go underground. It would be completely stupid for him to be underground at the present moment. But Comrade Thalman and other prominent leaders of the Communist Parties must have the possibility of quickly passing underground at the necessary moment, must have the necessary living accommodation for this, must have facilities for quickly changing their name and all other means of swiftly avoiding the pursuits of the police so that the police should look for them in quite a different direction to the one in which they have gone. Besides leaders like comrade Thalman who are well known to the whole working class, there are a num-

ber of leaders in all Communist Parties who are less well known or completely unknown to the broad mass of the working class and in wide police circles, but who are well-versed in practical Party work. It is now very important to bring into leading work workers who are unknown to the wide masses and to the police, but who have been tried in the process of everyday Party work, as good organizers, good conspirators and completely devoted to the cause of Communism. Cells of illegal directing organs must be created from among these activists, and along with the increasing repression those sections of the Party apparatus which are most susceptible to repression should be handed over to their charge, as well as the more important Party documents etc. At the same time the legal existence of the Party Committee and the legal use of the names of members of the Central Committee and other Party Committees who can still legally speak in the name of the Party Committee, etc. must be preserved to the last. If this work is properly arranged, then the police on arriving and securing members of the Central Committee, District and other Party Committees who are known to it and seizing the premises of the Party Committee, will seize ONLY the premises in which there are no Party documents and only those comrades who do not any longer hold in their hands the most important threads of the Party apparatus. The Party apparatus carried underground in such cases, at once begins to function, guaranteeing uninterrupted direction of Party work.

So with regard to the legal Communist Parties it is a question of creating under the cover of a legal Party Committee, legal labels and premises, an illegal apparatus, preparing illegal Party cadres beginning with the Party Committee and extending with work to the mass organizations, bearing in mind that when reaction begins, not only leaders of the Party Committees will be arrested but also leaders of Party activity in the mass legal organizations. So within the trade unions, within the I. L. D. and other legal revolutionary organizations, certain cadres of an illegal apparatus must be prepared.

The question of an illegal Party press is especially important. First of all, the reaction will fall upon the legal Party press. Without its Party press the Party will be without arms. Therefore, all Parties must now without fail have illegal printing presses prepared for the production of illegal Party literature of illegal Party organs, and they must not only prepare the press but have arrangements ready beforehand for the distribution of illegal Party literature, and have editors in readiness. Illegal Party publications must come out with perfectly sharp, firm, clear Party slogans. We must remember that the workers look at illegal Party literature not as they look at legal Party papers. The workers look upon an illegal Party paper as a document of special importance, as a document where every word has special weight. Therefore if the Party does not ensure proper direction for illegal publications, it can do the greatest harm to the Communist Party. The moment the police destroy the legal papers and the Party calls upon the wide masses of the workers to resist, to undertake great revolutionary actions, it will be a tremendous setback for the Communist struggle if the illegal organs are issued with bad editors. We must speak of this because we already have had examples. The C. P. of Czechoslovakia issued an illegal organ of the C.C. in which was printed, evidently owing to the negligence of the editor, the slogan "More power to the working class, so that

it may successfully fight against capitalist exploitation and for higher wages, etc." This slogan, "MORE power to the working class is repeated in two numbers. But this is a Social-Democratic slogan, even a slogan of the Right Social-Democrats. "MORE power to the working class" instead of saying "ALL power to the working class." As far as can be seen this was not an ill-intentioned mistake because one number which contained this slogan had the words "ALL power to the working class" printed in capital letters at the top. An article followed explaining this correct slogan but not a word was in it about "ALL power to the working class", on the contrary, it spoke of "MORE power to the working class."

It is necessary to be especially careful with illegal Party literature. A political mistake in the legal Party press is extremely undesirable, impermissible, but an incorrect political slogan in an illegal Party paper is still more harmful, especially if this paper comes out at a moment of increased repression against the workers, when the Party is coming forward with fighting slogans, and instead of a fighting slogan an opportunist and even Social-Democratic slogan is issued. In this way a movement can be broken up and receives a setback.

With regard to illegal Parties, the question of combining legal and illegal work must be put in a different way. For illegal Parties it is not a question of building and strengthening its illegal apparatus under the cover of legality, but of breaking down the limits of illegality and creating different legal open covers; with the help of which mass work can be strengthened.

The fundamental deficiency of every illegal Party apparatus is that an illegal Party apparatus makes contact with the masses difficult, but the fundamental task of the Communist Party is to have close contacts with the masses. Therefore the most important task of an illegal Party organization is to find legal possibilities with the help of which the Party's connections with the wider masses of the working class can be strengthened. Among the legal covers of the illegal apparatus of a Communist Party comes first, a Workers' Party. Such Workers' Parties have partly existed, and do still exist at present in certain countries. There is only sense in these Workers' Parties existing if in the first place, they are legal, or at least semi-legal and next, if the Communist Party has strong fractions in all leading organs of these Workers' Parties. If a Workers' Party is as illegal as the Communist Party, then it is absolutely unnecessary. If anti-Communist elements have concentrated in the Workers' Party, the Communist Party must carry on a merciless struggle for the destruction of such a Workers' Party. It is another matter if there is a possibility of creating a Workers' Party, which the police more or less allows, and within which the Communist Party can carry out mass work, without harming its political line.

What are the organizational pre-requisites for this? They are as follows: the leading core of the illegal Party Committee and the leading core of the legal Workers' Party committee must coincide in personnel. In other words, if, for example, the committee of the legal Workers' Party is comprised of fifteen comrades, and the Committee of the illegal Communist Party numbers five comrades, then it is essential for guaranteeing correct mutual relations between the Workers' Party and the Communist Party that the committee of the Workers

Party, its Secretariat and Bureau should include comrades from the illegal committee of the Communist Party, and that these Comrades should play a leading part in the Committee of the legal Workers' Party. If this is not so then the following takes place; the Committee of the legal Workers' Party works in one direction, and the Committee of the illegal Communist Party in another. They have permanent difficulties in their practical, political and organizational work, with all the ensuing consequences including the inevitable losing of the conspirative character of the illegal leadership.

The progress of further development of the class struggle is leading up to the position that legal Workers' Parties as a form of cover for the work of illegal Communist Parties are becoming more and more illusionary and completely disappearing. Nevertheless wherever possible, the Communist Parties must make use of such a legal possibility.

The most important and fundamental legal or semi-legal cover for an illegal Communist Party is the trade union. Therefore, illegal Communist Parties must give the most serious attention to the trade unions and must fight with all their strength and by all means possible for their open (i.e., without the previous permission of the authorities) existence. Practice has shown that, for example, in Rumania and even in Yugoslavia, with its violent Fascist terror, the open existence of Red Trade unions under a strong Communist influence is possible. In the Russian underground movement the position for example was such, that at the beginning of 1906, the Bolshevik Party was again completely driven underground, but the legal trade unions existed throughout 1906 and almost the whole of 1907, and the Party used them in the widest degree for strengthening their mass work. In 1905-6 the legal trade unions were a most important level in the hands of the Bolshevik Party for establishing and maintaining close contact with the widest masses of workers. Especially important in conditions of illegal existence of a Communist Party is the organization in an open way (i.e., without the permission of the authorities) of factory committees, factory and revolutionary shop stewards. The practice of the class struggle in all countries shows that where there is good Party work done in the Party factory cell you can always have more or less openly working shop stewards and factory delegates.

Precisely this form of openly existing shop stewards and revolutionary factory delegates is the most important weapon of the illegal Communist Parties in the struggle for the majority of the working class, in the struggle for leading the revolutionary movement in the largest enterprises by the revolutionary movement. The famous Lodz textile workers' strike in 1928 was organized by the numerically small Lodz organization of the Communist Party, only thanks to these factory delegates. We must remember in this respect that in Lodz the Party had to begin by winning over the factory delegates, as they were supporters of the reformist trade unions. Thanks to persistent and bold work in the factories, the Party very quickly succeeded in winning the majority of the factory delegates, and then widening this institution, creating along with general factory delegates, shop stewards, who enabled the Party to gain the support of the whole mass of the workers of all the largest enterprises in Lodz, and secured for the strike movement such a strong internal organization, that neither police nor

Social-Democrats could break it. The experience of the Lodz strike in 1928 must be definitely learned by all Communist Parties, as it gives an excellent example of how in circumstances of complete underground work, the Party can in an open way create mass non-party organizations, which then turn into a powerful level for the direction of thousand-strong movements of the proletarian masses, even when there is a numerically weak Party organization.

#### THE "ACTIVE" OF THE PARTY

The most important question of all Party work is the question of the active core of the Party. Putting every Party member, every worker, in his most suitable place—that is the kernel of the question, as Lenin like to express it, and the Party organizer in order to hit the nail on the head must learn to put every Party member in his right place, whilst remembering the Party members cannot be shuffled around like pawns or children's bricks, which can be placed in any direction. One Party member is suitable for the organization of an illegal printing press—he must be used for this, but he may not be suitable as a propagandist, and if he is sent to carry on propaganda, this will prove of such a kind that two other propagandists will have to be sent to put his work right. Another comrade, a fine propagandist and agitator, who knows how to explain in the most popular way the most difficult political problems, or the most complicated political slogan, is a bad conspirator and if he is put on to conspirative work brings harm to the Party. Therefore, the Party organizer must in the most careful way study the human material with which he has to deal, in order to know for what concrete task that human material can best be made use of. In the first place all opportunists, laggards, phrasemongers, bureaucrats, etc. who are still present in the leading cadres of the Communist Parties must be shown their proper place, which is not leading work, and in many cases not even within the ranks of the Party. In the immediate future, if we are going to guarantee really a serious change in our Party work, we must carry out a serious renewal of the leading cadres by changing unsuitable workers for new forces, who have grown up, are growing up and will continue to grow up in the depths of the working class. In this direction we must be very bold, not being afraid to promote to leading work young comrades who have shown themselves capable organizers of strikes and demonstrations. We must be very bold in making use of the creative experience of the revolutionary proletarian masses; for this experience has been and will always be the most decisive in the work of the Communist Parties and the whole of the Communist International. It was not for nothing that Marx said that every practical step of the workers' movement is more important than a dozen programmes. Nobody can accuse Marx of underestimating the importance of theory in the working class movement, but if Marx with all his great demand for theoretical clarity on the fundamental principles of the working class movement, nevertheless said, that every practical step of the workers movement is more important than a dozen programmes, that must emphasize the deep importance of using the revolutionary experience of the masses. We must remember, for example, that the idea of the Soviet power is not the invention of genius of our great leader Comrade Lenin, but that this method and this form of organization of the working masses

and the organization of the working class State was created by the initiative and creative sense of the working masses. Lenin, the leader of genius, took this idea which had been given birth to by the creative powers of the wide working masses, explained it and developed it. The lesson of the Russian Revolution must be a lesson for all Communist Parties and for all Party organizations. Every Party organization in the most attentive way must follow what the mass of the working class creating in its revolutionary self activity, in the process of the class struggle, in order to put into motion these new forms which the working class creates, organizing around them, the rank and file workers who have come to the fore, place these workers in leading positions and in this way open new roads to the working class movement raising it to ever higher stages. A concrete example: The French proletariat without any directions from the C. C. of the C. P. F. brought forward as a method for preparing a strike, and leading a strike movement, Workers' Congresses. This was done first by the miners of the North of France in the autumn of 1928. Then the C. C. of the C. P. F. and the Unitarian Confederation of Labor considered the question as to whether this was good or bad and with the help of the workers from the congresses, carried through an excellent mass strike, with a clearly expressed political character. In every Party all such facts must definitely be seized upon and made use of in the widest possible manner.

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Exhibits Nos. 43 and 44 are typical of the Trojan horse tactic of the Seventh World Congress as it was applied in our sister country to the north. When by the latter thirties Communist front activity had become more "respectable," some professional people and intellectuals found it no longer embarrassing to appear on the same program with Communist leaders.

Sam Carr, who wrote the article dealing with the Congress Against War and Fascism, came to Canada from the Ukraine.<sup>1</sup> Five years later (1929), he returned to Moscow for an advanced course in insurrectionary activity.<sup>2</sup> In November 1931, he was convicted of criminal conspiracy against the Government of Canada. Upon his release he resumed Communist activities in Canada, the United States, and Spain—activities which he interspersed with excursions back to the Socialist fatherland. In June 1940, the Canadian Government issued another warrant for his arrest. Carr, however, had managed to cross over into the United States. On September 25, 1942, he surrendered himself, along with 16 other wanted Communist leaders, to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Because Canada was at that time allied with the Soviet Union in the war to defeat Hitler, Carr received a reprieve on condition that he abstain from Communist activities.

After he had regained his liberty, Carr went into espionage work, devoting special attention to the procurement of false passports for illegal entries to and from the United States.<sup>3</sup> In February 1946, he was again indicted by the Canadian Government (this section, exhibit No. 46). Once again he managed to escape to the United States. After 3 years of living quietly under his own name in New York City, he was apprehended in January 1949 and extradited to Canada.<sup>4</sup>

Exhibit No. 45 was the result of exigencies arising out of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. In this article Carr undertook the difficult task of explaining the revised meaning of the term "anti-Fascist." Finding the leaders of Canadian Labor to be "anti-progressive," he now advocated a return to the tactic of united front from below—that is, to a program of splitting labor organizations through agitation among the rank and file.

<sup>1</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, pp. 269-271.

<sup>2</sup> *Canadian Spy Report*, pp. 97-110. John Baker White, *The Soviet Spy System*, London, Falcon, 1948, pp. 48-50.

<sup>3</sup> Cookridge, *Soviet Spy Net*, pp. 84, 141.

<sup>4</sup> Oliver Pilat, *The Atom Spies*, New York, Putnam's Sons, 1952, pp. 109, 128.

## EXHIBIT No. 43

[*Inprecorr*, January 4, 1936. Pp. 15-16]

## SECOND CANADIAN CONGRESS AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

By Sam Carr (Toronto)

The Second Congress of the Canadian League against War and Fascism took place during the first week of December. The government of Mackenzie King repudiated the proposal of the Canadian representative, Dr. Riddell, who was the one to suggest formally oil sanctions. The greatest section of the Canadian Press hammers the government for treachery to the Empire and the cause of peace. Only the very catholic and liberal Quebec does not join in the chorus of condemnation.

While this goes on, the International Nickel Co., which owns the world's greatest nickel deposits situated in Northern Ontario (Sudbury), announces steadily growing profits, a programme of plant expansions to the tune of six million dollars, and an export of nickel to Italy in the month of October which was three times the volume of the total nickel purchases made by Italy in 1934.

To assure itself against strike struggles and trade union organisations, the company surrounded some of its main towns with barbed wire fences. Special police stop every entrant and search parcels. The company has, with the co-operation of the Government Post Office, obtained all addresses of subscribers to militant papers and warned them that, unless they produce proofs that they cancelled their subscriptions, they will lose their jobs.

Not only the Nickel Barons, but also the warmongers who deal in scrap iron are busy. In many localities, the Canadian National Railways had to hire night shifts to load scrap iron destined to Italy and Japan.

The great sentiment of the Canadian people against the twin menaces of war and fasicm was shown in the representation to the Second Congress. Though the impoverishment of the common people and the financial strain the recent elections placed on working class organisations curtailed the number of delegates, 285 official delegates and 250 registered observers attended the two days' congress.

One hundred and eighty-three organisations, with a total membership of 350,000 people, were represented. Among these there were 33 Trade Unions (A. F. of L. A. C. C. L. and W. U. L.), eight Defence Organisations, 84 Unemployed, Cultural and other workers' organisations. In spite of the opposition by the National Leadership of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, 13 local organisations of the C. C. F. sent delegates. Two members of the National Council and numerous members of Regional C. C. F. committees actively participated in the work of the Congress.

The Socialist Party, the Co-operative Labour Party of Montreal, the Dominion Labour Party, the United Jewish Socialist Party and the Communist Party were among the political parties participating in the Congress.

The Students' Peace Movement, Toronto University Social Science Club, organisations of Students in Toronto, Kingston and other cities, as well as the Young Communist League, groups of the

Co-operative Commonwealth Youth Movement and the Students' League of Canada, participated.

The Congress received numerous messages of greeting. The City of Blairmore sent its Mayor to represent it at the Congress; the City Council of Windsor endorsed the Congress and greetings came from Mayor George Bennett.

An important message was read from P. Draper, President of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, the Canadian section of the American Federation of Labour. The President of this Trade Union Centre, embracing in its ranks over 100,000 trade unionists, greeted the Congress, pledging his support in the struggle against war and fascism.

The Congress opened with a mass meeting in a theatre, where James Simpson, Mayor of the City of Toronto, welcomed the delegates to the city.

On behalf of the National Council, A. A. MacLeod, the League Chairman, greeted the delegates. Major Fred Fish, a member of the Regional Council of the C. C. F., greeted on behalf of the Ontario League.

Among the speakers at the opening session were: Reverend T. C. Douglas, M. P., a member of the National Council of the C. C. F.; Mr. S. A. G. Barnes, a Social Credit member of the Alberta Provincial Parliament; Reverend Doctor Salem Bland; George S. Mooney, of Quebec Regional Council of the C. C. F.; Tim Buck, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada; William Irwin, prominent Alberta C. C. F. leader; and Eleanor Brannon, representing the United States League Against War and Fascism.

In preparation for the manifesto issued at the conclusion of the Congress two sessions were devoted to symposiums. One participated in by Professor G. M. A. Grube, J. W. Philips, Tim Buck and Eleanor Brannon, dealt with "Danger Zones to World Peace." The other was devoted to the subject "A Peace Policy for Canada," and Rev. T. C. Douglas, M. P., Professor Morgan, Dr. Bertha Hamilton and Sam Carr for the C. P. put forward proposals for peace policy.

A special session of the women delegates discussed a number of important problems. During the last afternoon of the Congress, a packed hall listened to a masterful address by Professor Felix Walter, of Trinity College, who was the main speaker at a memorial meeting for Henri Barbusse.

The delegations from the various organisations represented listened with great interest to the address of Dr. Harry F. Ward, Chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, who made a brilliant analysis of "How Fascism Comes to Power."

Dr. Ward indicated that only the broadest unity of the common people can save the people from the twin menace of war and fascism. He quoted George Dimitroff's report to the Seventh World Congress and called for unity of Communists, Socialists, intellectuals and middle-class people.

The discussions that followed the various addresses resulted in a manifesto issued by the League to the people of Canada.

The League Congress, after exhaustive discussion, decisively rejected any isolation policies, the Congress declared in its manifesto

that: "The world is on the brink of a new world war. When it comes, Canada will be involved because it is an integral part of world economic conflicts."

So the Congress, while going on record for the collective enforcement of sanctions against Italy, demanded that the King Government should not only make a gesture for an independent policy by repudiating Riddell, but that it should completely break with the pro-Fascist and anti-Soviet plans of British Imperialism.

Pointing out the rôle of sanctions, the Congress calls for proletarian action, it states in its manifesto: "Independent action by the working class and all people united in opposition to war and Fascism should be encouraged to enforce working class sanctions, which can become a force for effective restraint of Italy."

The Congress manifesto ends with a stirring appeal for a united peoples' front against war and Fascism.

At the final session, the Congress decided to send a cable of greetings to Ernst Thaelmann, outstanding political prisoner in Germany and leader of the German Anti-Fascists.

The Congress also went on record on many burning Canadian problems. The delegates voted that:—

That the League support the campaign for extending the franchise to women in the Province of Quebec.

Endorse the proposal that a call be sent to all trade unions for a trade union conference against war and Fascism.

Protested the victimisation of workers, suppression of workers' rights and blacklisting of workers who read such workers' newspapers as "Vapaus," the "Ukrainian Labor News," "Borba," etc., by the special police of the International Nickel Co.

Advocacy of the repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code and support of a campaign for such repeal.

Seeking Christmas amnesty for political prisoners in Canada. That the League take action looking towards the lifting of the customs ban on certain working class and progressive literature now barred from Canada.

Protest the admission to Canada of Werner Haag, Nazi agent.

That action be taken against the holding of the 1936 Olympics in Germany.

That demands be sent to fascist governments by the League for amnesty for political prisoners, and that the Canadian Government cease the practice of deporting foreign-born political prisoners to fascist countries.

Protesting against the David Act in Quebec.

Protesting against the Trades and Industry Act in Alberta.

For the repeal of the Conscription Act.

Protesting against the increased expenditures in Canada on war preparations.

Against the continued maintenance of military training in the schools and the cutting down of school grants.

Seeking free use of the radio for peace propaganda.

Seeking the immediate dropping of charges against the Regina prisoners.

For the abolition of the relief camps.

Resolution that greetings be sent to the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon and Tom Mooney, and protests against their imprisonment be sent to the proper authorities.

In the spirit of the deliberations at the Second Congress, the new National Council of the Canadian League against War and Fascism was elected.

A. A. MacLeod was unanimously re-elected Chairman of the League, Rev. T. C. Douglas, M. P., and Jean Perron, both members of the National Council of the C. C. F. (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation) were elected Vice-Chairman. David Goldstick, Toronto barrister, was re-elected Treasurer.

Socialists, C. C. F.'ers, Communists, prominent church leaders, leading trade union figures, and prominent women workers compose the new Council, whose composition indicates a further step towards a real people's front against War and Fascism.

#### EXHIBIT No. 44

[*World News and Views*, July 9, 1938. P. 819]

### CANADIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Dave Kashtan (Toronto)

During the month of May, two events of importance to the Canadian Youth movement took place—the Third Canadian Youth Congress and the Eighth National Convention of the Young Communist League of Canada.

The Third Canadian Youth Congress (May 21–24) took place in the city of Toronto and was attended by 565 delegates and 700 observers. The credentials report showed the following representation:

Eighty-one young church people; 98 Y.M.C.A. delegates; 62 trade union delegates; 60 from Ethnic minorities (National groups); 64 students; 8 delegates from farm youth organisations; 26 from recreational, educational and cultural bodies; 16 from peace organisations; 37 delegates representing 22 Youth Councils; 62 delegates from political youth organisations; 5 from unemployed societies; 7 from co-operatives; 25 from various study groups; 11 miscellaneous and 3 fraternal delegates representing the American Youth Congress.

Two commissions were set up at the Congress, one on *Social Justice* and the other on *Peace and Democracy*.

The commission on social justice struck the keynote of the Congress when it emphasised the need for a *works programme and jobs for the youth*. It was for this reason that the Congress decided to send a delegation to interview the Federal Minister of Labour Norman Rogers regarding the "sit-in" strike of the 1,000 Vancouver unemployed boys who then occupied the Post Office and the Art Gallery demanding that the Government give them work. (Since then the unemployed have been evicted with tear-gas bombs, and have decided to go to Victoria where the Provincial Parliament buildings are located.)

#### WORK OF THE CONGRESS

The Congress welcomed the two and a-half million dollar grant allotted by the Federal Government for youth rehabilitation, and discussed ways and means to put this grant to the most practical use. The Congress passed resolutions against the Padlock Law (a law against "so-called" Communist propaganda passed in Quebec) and

one requesting an investigation into fascist activities in Canada. Resolutions dealing with wages, labour legislation, the extension of democratic rights were endorsed with great enthusiasm. The report presented by the peace commission to the general session declared its disfavour with the present foreign policy of the Canadian Government and stated: "The policy of the *Chamberlain Government* in tacitly assisting aggression by diplomatic assistance and loans to aggressor States does not, we submit, represent the desires of the British people." The Congress declared that peace can best be obtained through concerted action through the *League of Nations*, by the application of sanctions and by permitting shipment of arms to victims of aggression.

It favoured the *boycott of goods* against aggressor States, to assist in humanitarian aid to the victims of aggression in China and in Spain and to support the "International Youth Challenge." Congress also declared itself in "favour of the adequate defence of our coast, but oppose *Canadian rearmament* because of the failure of our Government to act for collective security." A highlight in the peace commission was the fraternisation of Canadian Chinese-born and Canadian Japanese-born youth.

#### APPEAL TO CATHOLIC YOUTH

At the close of the Congress an appeal to the Catholic youth was issued, which stated: "It is imperative in the face of the ever-increasing threat of war without and disunity within, that there be close collaboration between all phases of Canadian youth. The maintenance of peace and the preservation and extension of our democracy may well be dependent on the extent to which this collaboration is developed and the bonds of our understanding and friendship strengthened.

On the whole the Third Canadian Youth Congress was a great step forward towards the unification of all Canada's youth and also guaranteed that a large delegation will be present at the World Youth Congress at Vassar. It is expected that the Canadian contingent will consist of 50 delegates and about 100 alternates and observers.

#### YOUNG COMMUNISTS' CONVENTION

The Eighth National Convention of the Young Communist League of Canada convened in Toronto (May 27-30). 111 delegates were present from all parts of the Dominion. The Convention was attended by 14 French Canadian delegates and 35 per cent. of the delegates were girls. The Convention opened at the Massey Hall, Toronto, with a presentation of a "Pageant of Youth," the finest youth pageant ever organised by the Y. C. L. in Canada. 1,800 people were present at the opening of the Convention.

Greetings were read from the United Socialist Youth League of Spain, the Y. C. L. of France, and from the English Y. C. L. Four fraternal delegates were represented from the Y. C. L. of U. S. A. At the opening rally a banner was presented by Bob Kerr (former political commissar of the Meckenzie Papineau Battalion in Spain) for the good work done by the Canadian Y. C. L. in raising funds for the boys in Spain.

Tim Buck, leader of the Canadian Communist Party, greeted the Convention in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The main report of the Convention was delivered by Bill Kashtan (National Secretary prior to the Convention) which clearly outlined the policy of the League, and which was discussed during the four days of the Convention. The report outlined the successes of the League in helping to build the unity of Canadian youth, the work to aid Spain and the building of the anti-fascist youth movement in Canada.

#### CONVENTION DECISIONS

The main decisions arrived at the Convention can be summed up as follows: (a) to build and extend the democratic youth front in Canada; (b) to build the anti-fascist youth movement and to double the membership of the Young Communist League by January 1; (c) to increase the circulation of the *New Advance* (Canadian anti-fascist youth organ) to 10,000 by January 1; (d) to assist in the organisation of sport and cultural activities within the trade unions; (e) to sharpen the struggle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism; (f) great emphasis was laid upon the work for the "International Youth Challenge" to help the people of Spain; (g) to prepare for the World Youth Congress.

The problems of Canadian youth, jobs, unemployment insurance, peace action, the fight against fascism, was placed by the Y. C. L. Convention as the principle points in leading the young people in the struggle for greater security and democracy. The Canadian Y. C. L., although small numerically, has proven itself to be an effective force in the Canadian youth movement.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 45

[*World News and Views*, November 23, 1940. Pp. 669-670]

#### HOW CANADA'S RULING CLASS FIGHTS FOR DEMOCRACY

By Sam Carr

TORONTO (by mail).

A little more than a year ago the Government of Canada dragged the Canadian people into the second imperialist war. The Canadian ruling class began its new drive for profits with a general attack against the people, in the first place, against the Communist Party and militant trade unionists.

Under the Defence of Canada Regulations, not only the Communist Party, but also dozens of progressive, non-partisan organisations of the people, were outlawed.

The Canadian war-makers, professing love for "democracy" as against "Hitler terrorism," opened the first concentration camps in North America, with the result that today, to the name of Hitler's Dachau, we must add Kapuskasing and Petawawa of the so-called Liberal war government of the Dominion.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, acting under the Defence of Canada Act, have become a law unto themselves. Again and again the "Mounties" swoop down upon homes of militant Canadians and spirit them away to concentration camps. Imprisonment in the

camps without trial has become the new rule in dealing with all opponents of the war. It began when the courts reversed a decision to imprison two young Communists for possessing anti-war literature. As they were leaving the prison they were taken into custody and sent to the concentration camp for the duration of the war.

Since then the Canadian ruling class, not daring to face the prospect of continuous trials and the consequent publicity, dispensed entirely with constituted legal procedure. Today the press is even forbidden to print news of raids and kidnapping of prominent Labour people. In many cases relatives and friends find their loved ones in prison camps only after weeks of search.

In Winnipeg the Communist Alderman, Jacob Penner, four times re-elected to the city council of the third largest Canadian city, was kidnapped and imprisoned without trial.

Pat Sullivan, the militant leader of the Canadian seamen, the man who led the first large strike since the war began, was taken out of the union office and packed off to a prison camp without any regard for the rights of either himself as an individual or the 5,000 Canadian seamen who again and again elected him as their leader. Fearing the growth of dissatisfaction amongst seamen, in face of the growing exploitation and of the hazards of war-time shipping, the Government again struck at the Seamen's Union by sending to a prison camp Charles Murray, the young sailors' leader of Nova Scotia.

In Toronto, Fred Collins, Canadian International Vice-President of the American Federation of Labour Furniture and Upholstery Union, leader of the anti-war forces in the local Trades Council, and himself a war veteran of 1914-1918, was unceremoniously yanked out of bed in the early hours of the morning and sent to the prison camp at Petawawa.

In Montreal, S. Sarkin, elected leader of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union and militant opponent of Hillman's war policies, was, with the connivance of the Hillman machine, sent to a prison camp, despite the fact that he is suffering from a painful affliction in his limbs.

In their attempt to smash the Communist Party, the Canadian war makers have extended the forces of oppression. In each province, in addition to the Federal, provincial and local police, special squads have been organised to combat so-called "subversive activities."

For over a year the Government has been endeavouring to locate the political leadership of the Canadian Communist Party. During the last week of September the police forces succeeded in arresting the first member of the Political Bureau of the Party, Norman Freed, and the leader of the Toronto Party organisation, M. Erlick.

A well-known professor of physics in the University of Toronto, in whose home the two Communists were arrested, was placed on trial. Freed and Erlick were rushed off to a concentration camp.

Through the anti-fascist fog in which the war-makers enveloped their profiteering imperialist plans, there is breaking the resentment of the masses against the terrorism in Canada.

In a recent issue, the influential capitalist weekly, *Saturday Night*, declared:

*"We implore the Government not to imagine, because the daily newspapers pay no attention when labour leaders are withdrawn from circulation without visible cause, that nobody is paying any attention. In matters of this kind the*

*daily newspapers have long ceased to reflect the interests and attitudes of a large part of the population. The 'Montreal Gazette' and 'Le Canada' can be perfectly contented without their contentment affording any proof of a similar condition among the masses."*

Nowadays, indeed, one finds in most of the leading capitalist papers "sober" warnings as to the moods of the people "after the war." Fearing the day when the Canadian people will fully awaken, the *Toronto Globe and Mail* wrote editorially on October 5:

"Pent-up feelings inevitably will seek to release from war association. If the past is a guide, the party in office will be blamed for any conditions of discontent and uncertainty arising, and without a trustworthy anchor for aspirations there will be danger of chaos."

The people of the country are not responding to the agitation of the war-makers as they did in 1914-1918. The terror, apparently, has not been helpful in spreading pro-war patriotism. Hence all sorts of explanations are offered as reasons for the seeming lack of "dedent" enthusiasm, including insinuations of mass insanity.

Thus the *Toronto Globe* went on:

"The rapid growth in the practice of psychiatry and neurology indicates more than anything else the chronic state of uneasiness among the people. There is no beginning and no end to their spiritual and emotional lives. There is no guiding principle to regulate their conduct, no ultimate purpose towards which their energies may be directed."

The paper concludes the above observations by appealing to the clergy to help a "faltering and groping people to recapture the spiritual values which have eluded them."

Although there are signs that the bourgeois camp realises that all is not right amongst the people, there are clear indications that the vicious terror against the progressive anti-war forces will be further increased. In this respect the bureaucracy of the Canadian American Federation of Labour Unions assisted the war Government when, at their recently held convention, they endorsed wholeheartedly the terror and demanded bigger and better concentration camps, apparently discovering the prison camps to be convenient means of ridding themselves of militant opposition in the unions. Not to be outdone, the officials of the Committee for Industrial Organisation unions in Canada during their last convention engaged in a red-baiting spree.

The Communist Party, in spite of losses due to terror and to imprisonment, is improving its methods of work and extending its contacts with the masses of the people whom it fights to separate from the influence of the war machine of the Canadian ruling class.

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After passing 24 terrible hours trying in vain to get a newspaper and several Government offices to accept his story, the Russian code clerk, Igor Gouzenko, finally found refuge for himself and his family in the apartment of Sergeant Main of the Royal Canadian Air Force.<sup>1</sup> Still in his possession was the documentary proof that Soviet agents had stolen top secret information about such things as the atomic bomb and the proximity fuses which later figured tragically against American airmen in Korea.

<sup>1</sup> Igor Gouzenko, *The Iron Curtain*, New York, Dutton, 1948. Chapter XXI: Difficult Escape. White Soviet Spy System, p. 13.

Once Gouzenko's story was received, the Canadian Government acted with dispatch and competence. The *Report*, excerpts from which constitute the present exhibit, is a remarkably well prepared publication. Its contents have been attractively summarized by a British author. Like the *Report* itself, White's book devotes considerable attention to the role of Communist fronts in recruiting espionage personnel.<sup>2</sup> Back in 1930, Vassiliev had insisted that an illegal party must place much reliance upon "respectable" fronts (this section, exhibit No. 42). Although the Communist Party of Canada was outlawed in 1940, it continued to operate under the title of Labor-Progressive Party.<sup>3</sup> The more important comrades, however, went underground—only to show their hand indirectly through manipulation of front organizations.

At the time of the McCarthy-Stevens hearings, much merriment was had over the question as to how a dentist or doctor could facilitate espionage activities. The *Canadian Spy Report* described one very effective instance of this kind of operation.<sup>4</sup> In his autobiography, Whittaker Chambers narrated how a like service was performed by a New York City dentist.<sup>5</sup> In 1955, an Australian commission discovered that the Soviet MVD had carefully "studied" a Communist sympathizing dentist with a view toward assigning him to illegal work.<sup>6</sup> Earlier use of physicians in Teheran, Istanbul, and the Far East were revealed by a former Soviet Chief of Intelligence in the Levant.<sup>7</sup> In his account of the Sorge spy ring, Major General Willoughby has noted the espionage activities of an unlicensed physician who worked in the Orient.<sup>8</sup> The simple fact is that people can visit the offices of doctors, and especially dentists, without arousing suspicion. Even if the patient needs no work done, he can always have his teeth cleaned. While the doctor-dentist setup appears to be a joke to some people, it has served very effectively in getting valuable atomic and other information passed along to the Russians.

The following exhibit is reprinted in reverse pagination because pages 627-629 contain an official admission by the Soviet Government that it had actually received secret information about Canadian atomic experiments. Followup investigation of the data provided by Gouzenko established the fact that much more valuable atomic know-how had been unlawfully turned over to the Russians by British and American agents.<sup>9</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 46

[Ottawa, Cloutier, 1946. *The Report of the Royal Commission*, Appointed under Order in Council P. C. 411 of February 5, 1946. Pp. 627-629, 133-145, 89-95]

#### AUTHENTICITY AND ACCURACY OF THE RUSSIAN DOCUMENTS

Gouzenko carried away with him on the night of the 5th September, 1945, when he permanently severed his connection with the Soviet Embassy, the documents which have already been referred to in this Report.

No occasion was neglected throughout the inquiry to test their authenticity and accuracy. We were, however, steadily and increasingly impressed by the evidence as it developed during these numerous and lengthy sessions. It brought to light an unhappy but unfaded picture of organized and progressing spying activities in Canada.

We have before us certain admissions made by the Soviet Government; admission by conduct of certain members of the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa; and express admissions by certain persons in the service of the Canadian Government. We have before us other relevant evidence which we shall also discuss.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 100-110.

<sup>3</sup> *Ebon*, *World Communism Today*, pp. 268-269. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, pp. 273, 278, 286-287.

<sup>4</sup> *Canadian Spy Report*, pp. 544-548.

<sup>5</sup> Whittaker Chambers, *Witness*, New York, Random House, 1952, pp. 307-309, 319, 435-437, 466, 724.

<sup>6</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Espionage*, Sydney, Commonwealth of Australia, 1955, pp. 81-83, 266.

<sup>7</sup> Agabekov, *OGPU*, pp. 95, 179, 189.

<sup>8</sup> Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, *Shanghai Conspiracy*, New York, Dutton, 1952, pp. 18-19.

<sup>9</sup> Pilat, *Atomic Spies*, pp. 106-131. Cookridge, *Soviet Spy Net*, pp. 140-146.

## THE ADMISSIONS MADE IN MOSCOW BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

In the capital of the Soviet Union, on the 20th February, 1946, at 10.15 p. m. Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Solomon Lozovski, invited Leon Mayrand, Chargé d'Affaires at the Canadian Embassy in Moscow, to call at his office and then read to him a two-page statement from the Soviet Government in reply to that made by the Canadian Prime Minister of Canada on the 15th of the same month. A copy of this note recited in a telegram has been filed before us as Exhibit No. 519, the text of which is as follows:—

On February 15th this year the Canadian Government published a statement about the delivery in Canada of secret information to persons not having the right of access to this information, including certain members of the staff of a foreign Mission in Ottawa. On handing this statement to the Soviet Charge d'Affaires, N. D. Belokhovostikov, the Prime Minister, Mr. King, stated that the reference in the Canadian Government's statement to certain members of the staff of a foreign Mission referred to members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa.

In this connection, after appropriate investigation, the Soviet Government considers it necessary to make the following statement:

Soviet organizations have become aware that in the latter periods of the war certain members of the staff of the Soviet Military Attache in Canada received, from Canadian nationals with whom they were acquainted, certain information of a secret character which did not, however, present great interest for the Soviet organizations. It has transpired that this information referred to technical data of which Soviet organizations had no need in view of more advanced technical attainment in the U.S.S.R.; the information in question could be found in published works on radio location, etc., and also in the well-known brochure of the American, J. D. Smyth, *Atomic Energy*.

It would, therefore, be ridiculous to affirm that delivery of insignificant secret data of this kind could create any threat to the security of Canada.

None the less, as soon as the Soviet Government became aware that the above-mentioned acts of certain members of the staff of the Military Attache in Canada, the Soviet Military Attache, in view of the inadmissibility of acts of members of his staff in question, was recalled from Canada. On the other hand, it must also be borne in mind that the Soviet Ambassador and other members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Canada had no connection with this.

At the same time the Soviet Government finds it necessary to draw attention to the unbridled anti-Soviet campaign which began in the Canadian press and on the Canadian radio simultaneously with the publication of the Canadian Government's statement. In spite of the complete lack of significance and importance of the circumstances which gave rise to the Canadian Government's statement of February 15th, this anti-Soviet campaign is being supported by many Canadian organizations, and at the same time the position taken up by the Canadian Government is directly aimed at encouragement of this anti-Soviet press and radio campaign which is incompatible with normal relations between the two countries.

In this connection, surprise is occasioned by the unusual fact that the Canadian Government published its statement on February 15th instead of, as is customary between countries in normal relations, previously asking for an explanation from the Soviet Government. Inasmuch as the Canadian Government did not consider it necessary to approach the Soviet Government for a previous explanation, it must be admitted that the Canadian Government herein was pursuing some other ends having no relation to the security interests of Canada.

It must be admitted that the above-mentioned unbridled anti-Soviet campaign formed part of the Canadian Government's plan aimed at causing the Soviet Union political harm.

It cannot be considered a mere chance that Mr. King's statement was made to coincide with the ending of the session of the Assembly of the United Nations where the Soviet Delegate spoke in defence of the principle of democracy and independence of small countries. Evidently Mr. King's statement and the anti-Soviet campaign in Canada which has been developed in connection with it are something in the nature of an answer to the unpleasantness caused to Mr. King's friends by the Soviet Delegate at the session of the Assembly.

The fact that the Soviet Government made the admissions contained in this document within five days after the public announcement of the Canadian Prime Minister is cogent evidence that the documents taken from the Russian Embassy by Gouzenko were genuine and that the statements in them were true.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*            \*            \*

At first, Halperin did not seem sufficiently impressed with the *conspiratorial* nature of the work that was assigned to him, but Lunan says that he approached him frankly and that he was keen and willing to work.

Lunan, as he stated, was not a technician but a writer, and obviously had some difficulty in transmitting both Rogov's instructions, when not in writing, and the information received from the members of his group. His first report dated the 28th of March, 1945, a few weeks after his first interview with Rogov, does not contain any valuable information. He merely reports to Rogov that he has started his work, that Smith and Halperin were willing to co-operate, but that Mazerall has not yet been contacted. The report is as follows:—

Ottawa  
March 28

Dear Mother and Father:

General approach to work: Your written instructions are understood and some preliminary work has been accomplished on the specific tasks set. It should be understood that neither Bacon, Bagley nor Badeau are well known to me either personally or politically, nor I to them. Progress has been held up somewhat owing to one or other of them being out of town and by the caution displayed by Badeau (a good thing probably) in checking into my credentials. With the exception of Bacon, who is enthusiastic and politically experienced, it would be unwise to approach them point blank with all the tasks assigned. They already feel the need for maintaining a very high degree of security and taking abnormal precautions at their normal meetings (about once in two weeks), since they are definitely not labelled with any political affiliation. One or two have even opposed the introduction of new members to our group on the grounds that it would endanger their own security. I therefore believe it wise to approach them carefully and not to advance too great an assignment to them at one time. Also, for the time being, not to characterize the work for what it is, but merely to let it be understood that it is work of a special conspiratorial nature, without mentioning my connection with you. If I read your instructions correctly, you assumed that I would discuss the situation frankly with each separately. This I have not done. But I would like to discuss this aspect with you. Another slight resistance to be overcome is the strong sense of security about their work that these men have developed as war scientists.

We have experienced a little difficulty (which we shall, however, overcome, I believe) in making our initial arrangements to meet. There are several reasons for this. Bagley, lives quite far out of town in the country and is dependent on train schedules. Badeau lives at the furthest end of Hull and works during the day out of town and out of reach at lunch times and other times convenient to me. My house is out of the question for meeting (and typing) purposes as I have two others living with me. We shall probably solve these difficulties as we gain practice in the work.

The following notes describe in detail progress made with each individual on each task set.

*Badeau:* Warmed up slowly to my requests and remained non-committal until he had checked independently on my bona fides. Once satisfied, he promised to cooperate. He is preparing the report on his dept. as requested, *also* a full report on organization and personnel, interlocking depts. etc. of NDC plus any other information he thinks useful. These reports are promised to me for Apr 9, I am unable to get them any sooner.

Discussing the work of NDC in general, Badeau informs me that most secret work at present is on nuclear physics (bombardment of radio-active substances to produce energy). This is more hush-hush than radar and is being carried on at University of Montreal and at McMaster University at Hamilton. Badeau

thinks that government purchase of radium producing plant is connected with this research. In general, he claims to know of no new developments in radar, except in minor improvements in its application.

*Bacon:* I received an excellent report on Bacon, and approached him more frankly than the others. He seems anxious to be of help. His attitude is that most of the so-called secret work is a joke, and while it is officially on the secret list, those working on it can see no reason for secrecy. He undertook to provide the information requested on Valcartier. He suggested I obtain it direct from his chief in my official capacity, but I advised him that this was not wise as I do not wish to show any official interest in this field until and unless we decide to do an article on it. He claims there is no particular secrecy about the set-up, but I persuaded him to give me the whole report on the matter. I did not mention formulae and samples at this meeting, as I don't think Bacon is sufficiently impressed with the conspiratorial nature of the work as yet. But he is definitely keen and will be helpful. I shall see Bacon again on April to hear about his report and to take up our request with him further. He travels a good deal which complicates our arrangements for meeting.

*Bagley:* I have been unable to see him as yet. He has not been a very regular or enthusiastic supporter for several months although he is now showing more enthusiasm. He lives in the country and his wife is antagonistic to his political participation. He strikes me as being somewhat naive politically, and I shall take things slow with him for a start. I plan to develop his acquaintance as much as possible and gain his confidence by collaborating on some scientific articles. Will report on him next time.

With regard to photographs and biographical notes on Bagley and the others, Bacon and Badeau will provide them with their reports. I will supply Bagley's later. Bacon is a mathematics professor from Queen's University at Kingston, now a major in the army. Badeau is an electrical engineer who has worked in the engineering department of the Bell Telephone Company at Montreal. Fuller details later.

Back.

This document was written in Lunan's office, with his own typewriter, and the words *Dear Mother and Father* were written purposefully so as to baffle those in the office that might see him at work on the document.

For the purpose of the work that he had to perform, political opinions were of utmost importance, and the primary qualifications that had to be found in "agents", to use Lunan's own words, were "close cooperation with Russia" and "sympathy with the Communist Party program". Not being sure of how far Mazerall and Halperin would be prepared to go, Lunan had to act cautiously until he was satisfied of their attitude.

The second report made by Lunan to Rogov is dated April the 17th, 1945, and it reveals that some notable progress has been made with Halperin (*Bacon*), very little with Smith (*Badeau*) and that Mazerall (*Bagley*) has not yet been introduced to his assignment. It was typed in English by Lunan, and was headed in Russian, in hand-writing, *Organizational Letter of 18.4.45*. It reads:—

There is relatively little progress to report since last time because of a series of unfavourable circumstances which have made continuous liaison with my people impossible.

As you will have realized, I was out of town for several days last week and was unable to keep my appointment. Bacon was away from work for several days with a cold. It was inadvisable to see him at his home to discuss matter with him, although I did visit him there once to receive a report from him. Badeau also made a trip to Toronto during the one week when I was in town and relatively free to see him, and for the following week he was detained late at the office (laboratory) working on a special rush experiment. The prospect for myself over the next few weeks isn't any brighter, unfortunately. The announcement of the elections, earlier than expected by us, has involved me in a great deal of rush work which will keep me in Montreal all next week. This work, of course, has to be given priority; but it means that the time available

for seeing my people is very severely cut into—especially when they might be busy on those times when I am free.

This is not a very bright picture for the progress of our work. But it is the circumstances in which we find ourselves, and it is only to be hoped that work will ease up soon. Incidentally, I suggest that Jan's call to my office was not strictly necessary, since we already had the arrangement that the meeting would take place three days later if for any reason either party failed to turn up. However, it had this advantage, that it tested out the system of calling on the telephone, which was quite successful.

Reporting in general on the work done since last meeting:

Bacon has given considerable thought to my original requests and has given me the material for the attached report. He offers to fill in any details that may be asked for if he can. I have not had the opportunity to ask him about payment.

Badeau was very disturbed when I brought up the subject of payment. I think he felt that it brought the subject of his work into a different (and more conspiratorial) focus. He was to think it over and let me know, but we have had no opportunity to meet since I was in Montreal in the interim. He is very slow in giving me any information, largely because he actually has not time to sit down and make a report. He offered me the printed report of the Research Council, but I assume that all this information is known or can be readily obtained from a Government library. The latest report he could get was also considerably out of date. He reported to me in words the general details of his own work. He is in the radio engineering end of things, specializing in radar. Current work, on which there was an emergency rush last week, is in connection with a battleship radar device for use in the Pacific.

This is an extremely sensitive detecting device which has been successfully tried out on the East Coast. Present work is the designing and construction of a pilot model. Badeau has been largely responsible for this. Possibly there are specific questions which could be asked about this, as Badeau is a very difficult person to pin down to detail.

It has still been impossible to see Bagley and introduce him to his assignment. As I pointed out before, since I know very little of this person, it is my plan to become better acquainted with him and get some idea of his readiness for work of this kind. The time, however, has been quite beyond me as yet.

With regard to biographies: both Badeau and Bacon have promised to provide biographical notes. I was to have received these on Monday, but could not keep my appointments, being out of town. Will obtain them for next time. Badeau is married with 2 children—about 6 and 6 months old. He is about 33 years old and before joining the Research Council, worked in the Research Department of the Bell Telephone Company at Montreal. He is a graduate electrical engineer. Bacon is a man of about 35, married and with 2 children and a third on the way. He is a professor of mathematics at Queen's University, Kingston and intends to go back to that work after the war. He is at present a major in the Artillery.

#### *Bacon's report.*

Bacon has been personally responsible to a large extent for the preliminary work in connection with organizing C. A. R. D. E. (Canadian Army Research Division, Explosives). This is an organization which is in process of being created. It will have both civilian and military personnel, but will be administered by the army. It is intended to be integrated with the various arsenals in Canada—at least two of which will probably be maintained permanently after the war.

CARDE will contain the following:

**A. Pilot explosives plant.** This is being built by, and controlled by, National Research Council, but with army funds. The chemical branch of NRC will have very little or nothing to do with it. It will have a large capacity and will be capable of experimental work with new explosives, both HE and propellants. It is not yet being operated; will be taken over by CARDE when completed. Probable director will be Englishman, Harold J. Poole, who is now acting director. He is a permanent civil servant in the explosives field. Said to be slow as an organizer and executive, but a competent technician. Bacon believes that this plant can be of tremendous importance and can improve production methods to meet changing needs. Canadian raw material situation very good.

(Bacon gave some information on present explosives plants and their capacity. This is probably well known. Can produce information if desired).

**B. Ballistics Laboratory.** Under direction of Dr. Laidler. This is the only part of the over-all project which is at present in operation. This section is

working with the Department of Chemistry at Toronto University in experimenting with a variety of new propellants. They are using a new explosive "DINA" mixed with RDX as a component in propellants. DINA is intended as an alternative to nitro-glycerin. Americans are said to be very interested in one of these new propellants called "Albanite". This is a propellant containing DINA and picrite as an alternative to the standard British propellant containing Nitro-Glycerin and picrite.

**C. Designs Branch.** This will be mostly for designing small ordnance and will include a pilot plant.

**D. Field Trials Wing.** This will do the work which is now being done at Suffield and Valcartier by the Inspection Board of United Kingdom and Canada. They have a good scientific and do a good job of analysing faults and difficulties of manufacture.

Eventually the organization will consist of A, B, C & D. Dr. Don Chase (an NRC physicist) has already been appointed superintendent of CARDE. He will be responsible to the Director of Artillery (Colonel W. E. Van Steenberg) who is a biologist and who will in turn be responsible to the Master General of Ordnance, Army. Eventually, there will probably be a committee comprising representatives of the three services.

Bacon emphasizes:

The importance of CARDE in controlling factory production.

The laying down of a skeleton armaments research centre which could be taken over by the British in the future if it became necessary. It could take on assignments, and now has some on which to work.

After this second report, Rogov obviously met Lunan on several occasions. On the 6th of June, 1945, Rogov assigned to Lunan a list of "tasks" for his group. The original list, in Russian, has in the left column comments added later, with the dates on which the various tasks were completed. The text is as follows:—

*Assignment No. 1*

*Assigned to the group Back (Research)*

*assigned on 8.6.45*

**Back:**

1. To write out material on "The election to the Federal Parliament and the pre-election struggle", showing the role and the significance of each party in this. To give the characteristics of each party, its political platform and who finances it and whose circles it represents.

*Fulfilled*  
5.7.45

**Bacon:**

*On Points:*

1. *He promised to obtain it for the next time.*

1. To give instructions or any other kind of material on electroshells (V-bomb).

2. *Has no data whatsoever.*

2. To write down what new research work is being carried on and what is the latest right now with respect to explosive materials and artillery armaments.

**Bagley:**

*Fulfilled*

5.7.45

To establish closer contact and to obtain at least oral information.

**Badeau:**

*On points:*

1. *Fulfilled*  
5.7.45

2. *Partly fulfilled*

3. *Not fulfilled*

4. *Fulfilled*

5.7.45

1. To obtain [mat] any material on the American aeroplane radiolocator of the type "an/aps-10" and also on the radio navigation periscope.

2. To give more detailed information on the "Research Council" right down to the sections, their directors and what they are engaged in.

3. To obtain the telephone directory of the "Research Council".

4. On the works Mrs. Smith-Durnford; D. A. Keys; and I. S. Foster. To give a general description, what kind of apparatuses they are; where they are used, and what are their fundamental features. (See material No. 1 of group Back).

**Remarks:**

The whole material must fulfilled by 5.7.45.

Lunan's third report is dated July the 5th, 1945. It indicates that Mazerall (*Bagley*) has agreed to work and has promised his full cooperation. At this moment, Halperin (*Bacon*) does not seem to be very enthusiastic, and nothing is said of Smith (*Badeau*). The report reads:—

*Bagley*: I had a very successful meeting with Bagley and he agreed to participate to the furthest of his ability. I also received an explanation of what I took to be his early reluctance to meet me. His wife teaches music, and on the frequent occasions when she has to be away from the house, he has to stay home with the children. He is unable to plan his free time very much in advance, hence the difficulty in seeing him. *He is interested in the work and immediately promised to be of assistance.* I gave him a full quota of tasks, and he promised reports on his work and on various *other aspects of the general work at his place.* Since first seeing him, I have been in Montreal, and on the two occasions I tried to get in touch with him for a progress report, he was not available. He had promised to deliver his work in full in time for this meeting. *He now informs me, however, that he has not completed the work and will need another ten days.* He pleads extreme business as the reason. I know that they are very busy, and it most difficult to persuade these fellows to give up the time. *In fact, they are working to tight schedules and it is customary for them to work continually at a task until it is finished.* I shall keep after him, and try to get the material within the *ten days mentioned.*

*Bacon*: I spent a whole evening with Bacon, with most disappointing results, I put the tasks to him, and on both of them he assured me he had nothing to offer. He claims that the electro-bomb is common knowledge to the Germans and assumes it must be so to you. He is unwilling to take any risk in obtaining material which he is convinced is already obtainable. I tried to persuade him to meet the demand any way, but he was unwilling to do so.

With regard to the general question on explosive development, he assured me that he has nothing to add to his former report. He is himself curious about the *Chalk River plant* and the manufacture of Uranium. He claims that there is a great deal of talk and speculation on the subject, but that nothing is known outside of the small and carefully guarded group completely in the know. *He emphasized that he himself is as remote from this type of information as I am myself.* His work is at a virtual standstill; and in any case, his work has *been mostly in the field of development (field improvements) on ordnance,* and not in the realm of *explosive research.* *He maintains that there is a distinct division between research and development.* He expects his work to cease fairly soon, and wants to go back to teaching. This fellow is a mathematician, and not a chemist or physicist, which may account for his remoteness from the details of explosive research. I shall continue to see him but he gave me definitely no encouragement last time.

*Back*: There is a delay in time before the arrival of baby. X-rays reveal that event won't take place until close to end of July. *No information as yet as to future disposition in the army. Have just been promoted on account of present work. Expect to be at same job at least for another month and probably longer.*

Back.

On that date, the 5th of July, 1945, although Smith, Mazerall and Halperin had declared their willingness to furnish information, only Halperin (*Bacon*), as evidenced by the above report, had as yet given any material to Lunan. Halperin's report of 17th April had dealt with the Canadian Army Research and Development Establishment, called C. A. R. D. E., and the various plants and laboratories that would be operated by this organization. This included information about the Pilot Explosives Plant, the Ballistics Laboratory, the Designs Branch and the Field Trials Wing. Halperin emphasized the work done at the Ballistics Laboratory with particulars as to new explosives, and we have been told that this information conveyed to Lunan by Halperin was of a highly secret nature.

Halperin later furnished additional information, as is shown by the following document, written in Rogov's handwriting and found in his brief-case.

## RESULT OF THE LAST MEETING OF BACK'S GROUP (RESEARCH)

1. Bacon—categorically refused to give any kind of written information and also documents to be photographed. A possibility exists, but he is afraid. He only gives oral information, but this does not answer our demands, as Back is a writer and not a scientific worker. In an oral conversation he stated that in Canada and in the United States special electric shells are being produced by means of which the accuracy of hitting the target is automatically determined, based on the principle of reflection of radio waves. The electro-shell is called "V bomb" and it consists of a small high frequency transmitter by means of which there is produced a rebound of waves from the target. These shells are already in use at the fronts and there exist special instructions, about bringing which he made no firm promise.

The following document, written in Russian and probably in the handwriting of Levin (*Runy*), an interpreter at the Embassy, is based on a written report made by Lunan of the information given him by Halperin, and amplifies Rogov's notes:—

*Back's Group**Mat No. 1**Bacon.*

[He] It has become very difficult to work with him, especially after my request for Ur 235 (Uran 235). He said that as far as he knows, it is absolutely impossible to get it. Thus for instance he declared that perhaps it (Uran) is not available in sufficient quantity. Bacon explained to me the theory of nuclear energy which is probably *known* (?) to you. He refused to put down in writing anything and does not want to give a photograph or information on himself. [I believe] I think that at present he has a fuller understanding of the essence of my requests and he has a particular dislike for them. With such a trend of thought as he has, [we cannot obtain] it is impossible to get anything from him except with the exception of verbal descriptions, and I am not in a position to [unable to] understand everything fully where it concerns technical details.

I asked him what is taken into consideration in the construction of the very large plant (Chalk River, near Petawawa, Ontario), in the general opinion the principle of production of which is based on the physical properties of the nucleus; with regard to his expression of opinion that it is impossible to get Uran 235. He replied that he does not know. He believed that the project is still in the experimental stage.

Then he described to me the general principles of the electronic shell and the bomb detonator, which are being produced in plants in the U. S. A. and Canada, and which is the reason for the accurate fire in destroying rocket projectiles (V-bombs). It has the form of a small transmitter of high frequency the ray of which is reflected from the target. When the force of the reflected wave in the vibration of the radiated frequency *reaches a definite strength*, the charge is exploded electrically. I asked him if it would be possible to obtain instructions for it, he replied that it would be possible. I was not able to extract (incine) anything in any other way. In conclusion, Bacon (took the position) announced that he will talk to me but he will not write anything at all, and I do not think that he is ready to begin to work more deeply, as for example—to obtain samples. He says that he does not know anything about matters that are not already known to you.

However Rogov decided to continue to use Halperin, for we read, among the entries listed as *Task No. 2*, given by Rogov to Lunan, the following:—

*TASK NO. 2**Assigned 6.8.45*

Back:

1. Can Bacon after leaving for Queen's University, maintain connections with the Artillery Board in which he is working at present. If so, in what manner.
2. What possibilities may Bacon have in Kingston for our work?
3. . . .

It was the constant concern of Zabotin and his associates to make sure that agents would still be useful after their discharge from the Armed Services or Government employ.

Called before us to give evidence, Halperin was very unwilling to cooperate, although he had been advised to do so by his Counsel who told the Commission:—

“COUNSEL FOR WITNESS:—I think I ought to make a very short statement of explanation. Following the interview, this morning, I have had a long conference with Mr. Halperin, and I have gone over with him, as far as I know, the picture that presents itself here; and I have said to Mr. Halperin, and he agrees with me, that, as a civil servant, and as a citizen of Canada, in view of the serious nature of the allegations, the situation he is in, he is in duty bound to give all the assistance possible to this Commission. He has decided to do so.”

Later, Halperin refused to answer any further questions, and asked his Counsel, to withdraw, which he did.

\* \* \* \* \*

## SECTION II. 9

### CONCLUSION

As to the information sought by the networks, we are unable to report with any degree of conclusiveness. We have seen only the small selection of Zabotin's espionage documents which Gouzenko was able to collect immediately before he left the Embassy; among these the telegrams, in which *The Director* listed his instructions, were all dated within the last week in July and the month of August 1945. The Military Intelligence network had been functioning at least since mid-1942.

Moreover the documents outline only the work of the espionage system headed in Canada by Colonel Zabotin, although the evidence discloses the existence of other parallel networks, some at least of which have been functioning for many years.

The evidence we have shows that Zabotin's organization was particularly anxious to obtain technical information regarding devices which would be used in the post-war defences of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States; secret information regarding political plans and policies of these countries; economic information which would be useful in assessing the economic and military potential of Canada; details regarding the location of Canadian defence industries; information on certain telephone land-lines and tapping devices; and documents which could be used by Russian agents “planted” in Canada or elsewhere, plus information whereby such agents could enter Canada and acquire a base of operations here.

The following selection of extracts from the documents illustrates the variety of subjects on which material was sought:—

Supplement to No. 11923

N 11931  
22.8.45

To Grant

Take measures to organize acquisition of documentary materials on the atomic bomb!

The technical processes, drawings, calculations.

Grant  
22.8.45.

Director,  
22.8.45.

. . . Try to get from him before departure detailed information on the progress of the work on Uranium. . . .  
 . . . Badeau asks for permission to change to work on uranium. There is a possibility either by being invited or by applying himself, but he warned that they are very careful in the selection of workers and that they are under strict observation. . . .

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*ASSIGNMENT No. -----*

*Assigned personally 25.8.45*

1. Answer last letter regarding the new radio tubes, radio-locators (both for  $\Lambda = 1, 2, 3$  cm) and the other questions indicated in that letter.
2. Try to find out any particulars about the "Electron Shells".
3. For the next time bring the following books: LG 13853; GL 14017 and P(RAD) 13920.  
P.S.—burn after reading.

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*ASSIGNMENT No. 2*

*Assigned 6.7.45 directly : : :*

1. To give the basic description of the features of the contrivance transmitting and receiving radio tubes for  $\Lambda = 3$  and  $\Lambda = 1$  cm. and their technical manufacture.
2. The same with respect to tube "4j-33".
3. New work in the field of radio locators for antiaircraft artillery and aeroplanes with  $\Lambda = 3$  and  $\Lambda = 1$  cm.
4. What are the features of the "T-R Switch" on wave  $\Lambda = 3$  cm and  $\Lambda = 1$  cm.
5. The types of radio antennae for  $\Lambda = 3$  and  $\Lambda = 1$  cm.
6. What are they engaged in on the second floor at the "Boyd Station", there is a supposition that they study infra-red rays and develop cm. radio installations.
7. To give a more detailed technical description of "an/aps-10".
8. According to the latest literature indicate each graph (?) in it.

*Remarks:*

1. As the opportunity arises, to obtain samples of the radio tubes.
2. Also to give us documentary material for photographing.
3. If there is no opportunity in fulfilling certain requests, no special activity to be displayed.
4. After reading this material burn it.

---

*TASK No. 1*

*Badeau:* 1. In the month of June 1945 the Military Air Force of Canada jointly with the photographic Research Committee and also with the Optics Section of National Research Council, conducted tests of the new photo bomb (photo flash bombs bursting) of 750 million candle power, and of special lenses for aerial-photography by night. It is desired to have on these questions the following information:—

Assigned  
on 5.7.45

- a. What is the composition with which the photo bomb is filled and as much as possible write out its formula.
- c. What is the surface area lit up by the flare of this bomb and the duration of its flare.
- d. The maximum height from which it is possible to carry out practical photographing by means of this bomb.
- e. What are the features of the new photo-lenses and what are their basic technical data (focus, light power etc.).
- f. [What is the organization of the Photographic Research Committee and who are its directors.]

2. What new jobs are being conducted by the Photographic Research mittee in the sphere of altitude aerial-photography and in colour aerial photography and photographing through the clouds by means of infra-red rays.

Give the newest types of aerial-photo apparatuses used by the R. C. A. F. and by the R. A. F. and their basic data:—

- a. The type of the apparatus (the brand).
  - b. The maximum height of photographing.
  - c. The number of adapters and the size of the photographs.
  - d. [The methods of itinerary and level photographing.]
  - e. The types of lenses, their light power and the focal distances.
1. Tactical and technical facts of the naval and coastal hydro[-phonic] acoustic stations working in ultra-sound diapason. Common review on the "Caproni's" stability of the U. S. A. and Great Britain.
  2. Stability, type of "Asdic" which is used in a new submarines and other ships.
  3. Sets of the "Sonar's" type, working on the radio direction finding principle so-called hydro [direction] location finding sets.
  4. Situation of hydrophonic sets in the ships of different classes.
  5. Plants, workshops, Scientific Research Institutes and laboratories in England and in the U. S. A. which are making and planning the hydrophonic apparatus.
  6. Passing of the planning and the test of examples of new types of the hydrophonic apparatus.
  7. Knowledge of the battle utilization of the hydrophonic means.

266

To the Director,

We have received from Badeau 17 top secret and secret documents (English, American and Canadian) on the question of magnicoustics, radio-locators for field artillery; three secret scientific-research journals of the year 1945. Altogether about 700 pages. In the course of the day we were able to photograph all the documents with the help of the Lecia and the photofilter. In the next few days we will receive almost the same amount of documents for 3 to 5 hours and with one film we will not be able to cope with it. I consider it essential to examine the whole library of the scientific Research Council.

Your silence on my No. 256 may disrupt our work on photographing the materials. All the materials I am sending by regular courier.

Grant

27.8.45

N 11273

11.8.45.

To Grant.

It is very important to receive information on the following questions:—

- (a) To confirm the official data about the transfer of American troops from Europe to the USA and to the Pacific, also the headquarters of the 9th army, 3, 5, 7, 13 armoured Corps, 18 ADK, 2, 4, 8, 28, 30, 44, 45, 104th Infantry Divisions and 13th Tank Division. To establish the dates of their transfer.
- (b) Dislocation of the headquarters of the 8, 16 Armoured Corps, 29, (75), 89th Infantry Divisions, 10th Tank Divisions, 13th and 17th ADD. Also about the dislocation of the Brazilian Infantry Division.
- (c) Are the 6th and 12th Army Groups in Europe, what is their composition and their dislocation, the dates and direction of their transfer.
- (d) Has there been organized a headquarters of the American occupation forces in Germany, its location, who was appointed as its Commander.

- (e) The dislocation of the First Air Borne Army, the plans for its future use.

Hurry.

8.8. The Director.

Grant

11.8.45

To make known to Brent

11295

14.8.45

To Grant

In the mail of 23.8.1944 were received from you Gray's two materials—the monthly reports on the research of separate technical questions in the field of production of war supplies. On the basis of the short and fragmentary data it is impossible to judge the methods and work of the Canadian and English industry of war supplies, powders and chemical materials.

It is desired to obtain the following information:—

1. [37] methods [2507] and technical processes of the production of war supplies, VV and powders.
2. Deciphering of laminated BB, the production of T. H. and H. S. (composition, purpose, technology and specific qualities).
3. The application of picrate and nitrate-gushnidina. I repeat: picrate and nitro-gushnidina.
4. The technique of producing detonating capsules and igniting capsules. Wire to whom do you consider it possible to give this task. If Bacon still continues to work in the Artillery [Command,] Committee, this task should be assigned to him.

9.8.45 Director.

Grant

14.8.45

ASSIGNMENT NO. 3 of "1.8.45"

1. Requirements which a person living as an "illegal" must meet (nationality, citizenship, occupations, education, knowledge of languages, family and financial conditions etc.)
  2. Ways of legalisation (organization of a commercial undertaking, joining a business firm as a partner, what kind of firm, joining as a member any office, joining the army as a volunteer, accepting employment.)
  3. Documents which an "illegal" must possess (passport, different kinds of certificates, references, recommendation letters, etc.)
  4. More expedient methods to slip into the country.
  5. To provide for secure living quarters and financial means during the period when the "illegal" gets acquainted with the local set-up and conditions. [The possibilities of attracting]
  6. To reveal the channels of influence of the English government on the foreign policy of Canada.
  7. Conditions of entry into the country and of moving about in the country.
  8. Conditions of adaptation and living in the country.
  9. Methods of work of the counter-espionage. The organization of the Federal and provincial counter espionage services.
- Supplement to No. 11438

11436

14.8.45

To Grant.

Reference No. 227.

1. There can be no further delay in obtaining the passport. Therefore the signature on the new application form should be made by Frank's man himself.
2. Prepare for the next regular mail a short report on the procedure of obtaining and putting into shape of passports and of the other documentation for our objectives, indicating exactly who on Frank's side will be engaging in this work.

10.8.45. Director.

Supplement: The pseudonym "Sam" has long ago been changed to "Frank". In the future use the latter.

10.8 Director

Grant  
14.8.45

This list is not exhaustive, and other aims of Zabotin's network appear in various Sections of this Report.

Some of the objectives disclosed by the documents, such as lists of names, such as psychological and "political" reports, on the personnel of various sections of the Canadian Armed Forces Headquarters or of various Government Departments and Agencies, obviously refer to plans for further recruiting of agents. This subject is discussed in Section II. 5, above.

This report shows that Zabotin successfully fulfilled many of the tasks assigned to him. His superiors in Moscow were obviously satisfied with his work in Canada, for in August, 1954, he was awarded two Orders or Decorations, the Order of the RED BANNER, and the Order of the RED STAR, which, as Gouzenko said, "are given for good organization work". The Chief of General Intelligence telegraphed Zabotin to congratulate him on these awards and added: "I wish you further success in your honourable work". Gouzenko said that when this message arrived Zabotin said to Rogov: "I have nothing to be afraid now to go to Moscow".

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## B. MEXICO

The close interlocking character of the world Communist movement is clearly demonstrated by Ruthenberg's foreword to the following early Comintern directive sent to the Communist Party of Mexico. As far as local conditions permitted, the general strategy was to be everywhere the same. In 1923, this involved application of united front tactics as dictated by the Third World Congress of the Communist International (sec. C, exhibit No. 7). Not only Mexican, but also American, comrades had to understand that the pursuit of "partial reforms" was not for their own sake, but only as clever steps in the direction of full-scale revolution.

Like the Communist Party in this country, the Mexican Communist Party came into being in 1919 as the result of a split within the Socialist movement.<sup>1</sup> Extensive intervention on the part of "Yankees" from New York City may have helped to retard its development.<sup>2</sup>

According to William Z. Foster, Charles E. Ruthenberg, who wrote the foreword to the present exhibit, must be reckoned among the founders of communism in the United States.<sup>3</sup> He died in March 1927 before his deviations had gotten him into serious trouble.<sup>4</sup>

## EXHIBIT No. 47

[Chicago, Workers Party of America, n. d. (1923?). *Strategy of the Communists: A Letter from the Communist International to the Mexican Communist Party.* Pp. 1-5, 14-16.]

### FOREWORD

The letter which appears in the following pages was addressed to the Communist Party of Mexico by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Under ordinary circumstances a communication to a party in another country, dealing with the problems of that country, would

<sup>1</sup> William Z. Foster, *Outline Political History of the Americas*, New York, International Publishers, 1951, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, p. 300. Gitlow, *I Confess*, p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 264-265.

<sup>4</sup> Gitlow, *op. cit.*, pp. 410 ff.

not be of sufficient interest for publication, but this is not true of the document contained in the following pages.

In advising the Communist Party of Mexico as to the policy it should adopt in the class struggle in that country the Communist International has outlined the strategy of the Communists in all countries.

The united front policy explained in detail to the Mexican party is a problem of the Communists in this country as well. In the form of the struggle for a labor party this question presents itself as one of the most important questions of policy of the Workers Party.

How Communists must make use of the different interests of groups within the capitalist class and the clashing interests of big capitalists and the small business men and professional groups is another problem which is dealt with at length in this letter. This question is of particular interest to Communists in this country in view of the developing third party movement in the United States. What shall be the policy of the Communists if the small business men and well-to-do farmers form a third party to fight the old capitalist parties? The Communist International answers the question in advising the Mexican party what it shall do in a similar situation.

American imperialism has reached out into the West Indies, Central and South America and is subjugating the countries of these parts of the Western Hemisphere in the interest of Wall Street. How the workers shall fight against American imperialism is outlined by the Comintern.

Since this letter deals with the actualities of the struggle rather than a theoretical situation the policies laid down are all the more illuminating. No worker who wishes to understand the fundamental strategy of the Communists should omit it from his reading.

C. E. RUTHENBERG.

Letter from the Executive of the Communist International to the  
Communist Party of Mexico

MOSCOW, Aug. 21, 1923.

Comrades:

We received your communication with reference to the Second National Congress of your Party, and the verbal report of your delegates to the Session of the Communist Youth International.

The resolutions adopted at your Congress indicate that the process of securing ideological clarity within the Party is progressing favorably. But we deem it our duty to go into some detail with reference to certain concrete problems on which we do not find that a clear attitude has been adopted on your part.

### The Question of Parliamentarism

The break with the policy of anti-parliamentarism, and the decision to participate in the elections, is a decisive step forward, not only for the development of your Party, but for the development of the whole Mexican labor movement. But this very fact makes it necessary that the Communist Party should examine and prepare with the greatest care, everything that is undertaken in connection with this question. The parliamentary struggle must not tax the strength of the Party to such an extent that the work of organiza-

tion and education among the wide masses suffers, or that the activity of the fractions within the trade unions is hampered. The daily struggle of the workers against the employing class, and the struggle of the peasants against the landlords, must be the basis of our revolutionary activity from first to last, and must be the point on which the organization and guidance of the revolutionary class struggle must focus. We want to remind you of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International on the question of parliamentarism, and we expect you strictly to adhere to them. It is important, above all, that you make concrete plans for parliamentary activity. Discussion on the attitude to be taken by your future representatives in the Chamber of Deputies and on local government bodies on the various questions on the agenda of the next session, or on the proposals the party will make, must be opened immediately in your meetings and in your Party press, and must be conducted from an exclusively revolutionary point of view. The parliamentary struggle of the communists is not one of reforms, but a struggle against the bourgeois system of society, a struggle to unmask bourgeois democracy, the entire spirit of which is to deceive the workers and peasants. The communists do not intend to "capture the Chamber of Deputies;" bourgeois parliaments do not allow themselves to be captured. The aim of the working class, on the contrary, is to smash parliament and to substitute proletarian organs of power (Factory Councils, Councils of Peasants and Soldiers, etc.).

But it would make the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the communists much easier if the latter did not send class enemies of the bourgeoisie to the parliamentary institutions. Of course, the Communist Party must not content itself with a purely opposition policy. The representatives in the district organizations especially, must do everything possible to help the poor sections of the population. They must make practical proposals for the protection of workers, housing, free education, etc. They must show that the bourgeois government sabotages every earnest attempt at fundamental change, and refuses to carry it through; they must "develop the keenest revolutionary propaganda on this basis without fearing to come in conflict with the State power." (Thesis of the Third Congress).

The Party must not undervalue the dangers of opportunism that confronts its representatives in the chamber of Deputies. These dangers are extraordinarily great, owing to the existing anarcho-idealistic mentality of your Party comrades and because of your inexperience in parliamentary struggles. Your representatives may be unconsciously dragged in the wake of the so-called socialist parties, labor parties, or agrarian parties. This danger will be especially great if the Party is already participating in the elections for provincial governments. Of course, the results of elections indicate our strength and influence over the masses, but we must on no account sacrifice our communist principles and the revolutionary class struggle in order to obtain a victory at the polls. Therefore, the choice of comrades who are to represent the Party in the national or provincial parliaments must be made very carefully. Before a comrade can be considered as a candidate, he must have behind him at least a year of activity within the Party itself or within a revolutionary trade union organization, and, in his attitude in general and his participation in the

struggles of the labor movement in particular, he must have demonstrated his loyalty and discipline toward the proletarian revolution. The members of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies draw extraordinarily large salaries; the communist representatives must relinquish a considerable part of their pay to the Central Committee of the Party, even to the extent of retaining for themselves only as much as a good worker can earn. A comrade who cannot agree to this decision unhesitatingly must not even be considered as a candidate of a revolutionary labor party. The entire parliamentary activity must be under the guidance of the Party, which must have unlimited right of control over the representatives. Against comrades who either consciously or unconsciously sabotage the decisions and instructions of the Party, or whose general demeanor shows that they dare not venture to raise the demands of the Communists in the face of the bourgeois or socialist parties, the Party Executive must immediately take energetic proceedings, and, if necessary, must expel them from the Party. It will be easily understood that the parliamentary struggle in the rural districts will not assume the same form as in the industrial cities. Among the peasants the struggle must center above all on the control of the "Municipios" and the "Comites Ejectivos Particulares." Besides the decisions of the national agrarian programme of the Party, you must work out detailed instructions for the activity of the sections depending upon the local conditions prevailing in the various regions concerned. One of your most important problems concerns your activities with reference to the agrarian question, and your influence among the wide masses of peasants who live in poverty and misery. In a country where 75% of the population consists of poor peasants, the working class can carry through a proletarian revolution successfully only by allying itself with these peasants and recognizing their interests as its own class interests. At this very moment the peasants are being threatened by the Government. Obregon, with the tacit support of all the left bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, is trying to deprive the peasants of their arms. The slogan of the Government: "Our national forces guarantee land to the peasants," is nothing but the beginnings of petty-bourgeois democratic betrayal. To counteract this, the communists must proclaim that "The only guarantee the peasants have for the security of their land is the weapons they hold in their own hands." Therefore, fight against bourgeois militarism and demand that the peasants be armed and that communal peasant corps be formed.

In the cities the Party will fight for seats in the Ayuntamientos, for representatives in the "Juntas de Conciliacion y Arbitraje," and for the control of the Labor Department by organized workers. On the question of the regulation of Article 123, the Party must work out concrete proposals. This is a question on which you must force the laborites to follow suit. You must call upon Morones and Company to advocate our revolutionary proposals on the subject of labor legislation. Under no circumstances must the Party resort to compromise in this matter. We repeat that the entrance of your Party into the arena of the parliamentary struggle signifies a triumph of revolutionary class policy over the anarcho-petty-bourgeois ideology and tactics of the syndicalists; but bound up with this victory is the danger to which all the so-called revolutionary parties of Mexico have hitherto succumbed, i. e. of "reforming" a party, which is struggling for the class interests of the poor peasants, into a Party

of "superior" proletarians and petty-bourgeois intellectuals, seeking for careers; a Party pursuing a policy of continual compromise with bourgeois democracy at the expense of the workers and peasants. The Communist Party must therefore exercise continual self-criticisms of the work and tactics of every worker in the Party. But, at the same time, every comrade, as soon as the Party has decided on a definite tactic and has resorted to action, must observe the strictest discipline, and as long as the need for action lasts, must renounce adverse criticism. A Party can fight only when it is united. The Communist Party will gain decisive political importance when it is able, within the frame-work of the nation, to work out a united class policy of the workers and peasants, and to organize a united struggle for the realization of this policy. The Party must be conscious of the historic role of the working class, which consists in supplanting the bourgeois social system by that of the proletariat, i. e., a communist system. The proletariat forms the overwhelming majority of the population and only when the Communist Party understands how to fight and pursue a policy on behalf of the daily needs and the class interests of this majority, will it become the leading party of the proletariat and of the proletarian revolution.

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### The Communist Party of Mexico and the Oppressed Countries of Central America

In conclusion, we want to say a few words about the significance of the nationalist and revolutionary struggle for freedom in the Central American countries. The capitalist development of North America and the backward economic and social development of the countries of Latin America, determine the political attitude of the United States towards the countries of the South. The drying up of the purchasing power of Europe is forcing American products into the South American markets. In the American capitalist press one notices a stronger imperialist tendency towards the South than ever before. What has been done in the West Indies and in Central America, can be tried in Mexico and South America as well. In Cuba, Haiti, San Domingo; in Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras and Panama, the American "system," the most ruthless exploitation of the proletariat, reigns supreme. Revolutionary workers are persecuted and thrown into prison. Such organizations as oppose Gompers are disrupted, betrayed and violently crushed by the agents of the local and American governments. The peasants, who are held under conditions of Medieval slavery, are stripped to the bone and controlled by cudgel and whip. The workers' press is suppressed, the frontiers are controlled, the censorship is severe, for the world must not discover how American capitalism is murdering the Negroes and Indians of those countries. The America which advocated Wilson's Fourteen Points has been violating for years the national freedom of the West Indian and Central American Republic. The most primitive rights of existence of these people are being trampled underfoot. The United States hopes "in time" to parcel out Mexico into single "independent" territories. It is already openly advocating the annexation of fruitful Lower California to the United States as a territory. In Yucatan and in the State of Chiapas, the Americans are fanning the flames of the

separatist movements. But times are changing. Even in these backward areas, the proletariat is awakening, is organizing, and is beginning to understand its class condition. In Cuba the revolutionary trade union movement is again raising its head after the defeat it suffered in 1921 at the hands of reaction. In Guatemala a Communist Party of Central America has been founded; in Mexico the revolutionary labor movement has such strong roots that neither the claws of American capital nor of any other capital can tear it to pieces. But the conception is still lacking of the fight for freedom for all the oppressed masses in the West Indies, in Central America and in South America, against the imperialism of the oil magnates and industrial barons of Wall Street. The workers and peasants of Mexico and Central America especially must stand colse together. The aim of the common struggle must be to create a League of Central American Workers' and Peasants' Republics. It is the duty of the Communist Party of Mexico to announce this slogan with all revolutionary fervor to the oppressed masses of Central America. The Mexican Party must treat exhaustively the question which we have roughly sketched here. In conjunction with the Communist Party of Central America and the communist group in Cuba, a programme of work and action must be prepared. But the communists must be conscious of the fact that this is not only a most difficult and dangerous matter, but one of grave responsibility. The American capitalist will not look on in silence. They will mobilize all their bourgeois hangmen, their hirelings, spies and agents, to stifle your voices. The best of you will be thrown into prison or murdered treacherously. But your fight is the fight of the dawn against the night; it is the fight of the near future, which belongs to the proletariat.

In the most important industrial countries of Europe, the working class is being confronted with a decisive struggle. The European revolution may at any moment develop into a reality. The American bourgeoisie will not sit quietly by while the mastery of capitalism in Europe is smashed by the fist of the working class. Hundreds of transports will cross the Atlantic Ocean, loaded with the cannon fodder of counter-revolution, with thousands of tons of munition and weapons, with barrels of plague and cholera bombs; in order to put an end to the world revolution. The United States will swing the lash of starvation over the countries where the European revolution is victorious. But the European revolution shall triumph.

We expect the workers of all American countries to contribute to this victory. We expect you to fight against the efforts of the counter-revolution to recruit the white and colored fascisti and unemployed of America; to fight against the attempt to set the machinery in motion for the defeat of the European revolution; we expect you to control the railways and ships in order to prevent them from coming to the assistance of European reaction.

Agitation on these lines must be organized by you immediately. The workers of America must be prepared when the workers of Europe rush into battle.

The Russian Revolution is the heroic prelude to the World Revolution. The victory of the working class in the most important countries of Europe assures the victory of the proletariat in all countries. But the destruction of the last stronghold of capitalist imperialism, the

overthrow of the North American bourgeoisie, is the task of the workers and peasants of all the American countries.

The Communist International, the World Party of the revolutionary proletariat, is convinced that the workers and peasants of Mexico will fight shoulder to shoulder with the international working class until the victory of the world revolution is achieved.

#### FOR THE EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

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At the Fifth World Congress (June-July 1925), the Moscow leaders promulgated the doctrine of bolshevization (sec. C, exhibit No. 9). In brief, bolshevization meant that all Communist Parties had to become Stalinist Parties. Bertram Wolfe, the author of the following article about efforts to bolshevize the Communist Party of Mexico, failed to get himself adequately brainwashed. In 1929, he was expelled from the CPUSA on the charge of having defended "American exceptionalism."<sup>1</sup> From outside the CPUSA, Wolfe continued to agitate for "genuinely Marxist Leninism." As late as 1948, his competent criticism of Stalin overflowed with adulation of Lenin and other Marxists.<sup>2</sup> See, however, his *Six Keys to Soviet Power*. (1956).

#### EXHIBIT NO. 48

[*Inprecorr*, June 18, 1925. Pp. 697-698]

### BOLSHEVISATION AND IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

By Bertram O. Wolfe

Three things stand out in the third Congress of the Communist Party of Mexico which terminated on April 13: the fight against American imperialism; the bolshevization measures; and the firm grasp of the immediate tasks of the Party, particularly in the Trade Union and peasant problems. All three of these represent great steps forward in the history of the Mexican Party.

Situated in a country of continuous turmoil, loosely called "revolutionary," it was nevertheless until a year ago, one of the most opportunistic parties in the Communist International. Its opportunism was due to three factors; its then leadership, the policy of corruption by subsidy which characterises the Mexican government in its dealings with labour organisations, and the absence of a social democratic party which might absorb the opportunistic elements. The bolshevization of the Mexican Communist Party began somewhat before the slogan was adopted in the Communist International. At the meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee called in April of 1924, one year previous to the Third Congress of the Party, all of the old Executive Committee, with one exception, was thrown out of office or resigned. The Party had fallen to pieces under its guidance, had failed to take a resolute communist attitude in the De la Huerta revolt, had no press, no dues system, no meetings and no longer any of its one-time influence in the labour movement. Nothing remained but the influence it had in the Peasant movement, principally in the State of Vera Cruz. As a result of this situation, the masses of the Party had lost confidence in their leadership and the enlarged executive named an entirely new committee, with one exception.

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 270. Gitlow, *I Confess*, pp. 564-568.

<sup>2</sup> Bertram D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, New York, Dial, 1948.

The leader of the youth, Rafael Carrillo, was, in view of the emergency, taken from the Youth League and installed into the secretaryship of the Party. Without funds, without, press, without organisation, the new executive committee set to work to rebuild the Party. The third Congress was both the summing up of their work and the small beginning of a real Communist Party in Mexico. The delegates from revived locals, once more accustomed to meet, pay dues, obey discipline and carry on communist tasks, surveyed the work of the emergency executive and expressed their approval of it. Four of the five members of the executive were re-elected, including its young national secretary; and two new ones were added.

The theses on bolshevisation included, in addition to such points as reorganisation of the Party on the nuclei basis, education of the Party in Leninism and Marxism etc., precisely this concrete proposition: that all governmental support, whether local or national, shall cease, that all political trading with the "revolutionary" politicians of certain States terminate, and that the principal attack be leveled against just these "revolutionaries", as being the most dangerous misleaders of the proletariat. Such is the central core of the problem of bolshevisation in the peculiar conditions of Mexico.

The executive had already made good headway in the fight against Imperialism, having founded, in co-operation with the American Party, the Anti-imperialist League, begun the publication of the anti-imperialist united front organ, "El Libertador" and established connections and sections of the League in Cuba, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Venezuela and connections of a preliminary nature in Peru, and Colombia. It had marched far ahead of the membership in this matter, and one of the tasks of the Congress was the orientation of the delegates from the locals on the importance of the fight against imperialism.

The third question, the question of the immediate tasks of the Party, took up the major portion of the time of the Congress and caused the most important discussions. Decisions were, in almost all points, unanimous. In no case was there more than one negative vote on any matter.

Some of the more important points in the programme of immediate tasks are:

1. "Expose the Calles government as the Left arm of American imperialism, the right arm of which is fascism and intervention. Slogan: The labour government is the gendarme of the yankee bankers and petroleum companies."

2. Fight against the payment of the debt provided in the Lamont-De la Huerta Treaty and the indemnities for damages caused by the revolutions. This debt recognized by the Obregon government and then by the present "Labour" government of Calles, consists of over half a milliard dollars, and with its interest accrued and to accrue, for payment is impossible, it will saddle Mexico with a perpetual debt and make the financial domination of the Mexican proletariat sure.

3. "Fight for the retroactivity of article 27 of the Mexican constitution and its extension to the socialisation of the land and the instruments of production." Article 27 is the semisocialist core of the constitution adopted in 1917. It provides that the soil and the

subsoil (oil and minerals) of Mexico is the property of the nation and all alienation of such property by former governments is declared null and void.

4. In the peasant field, the immediate tasks are: a) The formation of a national peasant league, or rather a federation of the already existing state leagues, the most important of which are under communists leadership, and the affiliation of such federation with the Krestintern; b) Fight against the disarmament of the peasants, which the federal government is attempting to carry out; c) peasant aid to all workers organisations on strike; d) practical detailed campaigns among the peasants to force the government to make more land distributions; e) To relate all such concrete campaigns expressing the immediate practical peasant needs with the slogan: "Only the workers' and peasants' government can solve the land problem"; f) Alliance of the peasant economic organisations with all workers organisations but organic independence from them.

5. The Trade Union question: a) Expose the leaders of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM) as paid agents of the government and instruments of American imperialism in Mexico. (All leaders of this, the principal labour organisation of Mexico, are government employees and draw their salaries not from the workers dues—they pay none—but from the government payroll. Of this they make no secret whatsoever. Through their connection with the American Federation of Labour they serve the aims of the American State Department, not only in Mexico but also in Central America where they are now attempting to organise.) b) Campaign against their sowing of division in labour ranks, their attacks against the independent unions not affiliated with them, their betrayal of all strikes against American capital, their class collaboration and anti-strike theories and their servility to the government. Slogans: Independence from the government; leaders controlled and paid from below by the workers, not from above by the government; war on expulsion and splitting tactics; united front of the masses of the CROM with the other organisations.

As a general policy with reference to the CROM and the CGT (anarquo-syndicalist) was offered the slogan of Internal policy "Attacks on the leaders but never on the organisations or their masses".

For the communist activity in the railway Federation where the leaders are not always well-orientated and courageous but in general are of good faith, was adopted the policy of united front from above and below.

Plans were adopted for the construction not merely of Communist nuclei in the various unions of the three federations (CROM, CGT, Railroad) and the possible forthcoming fusion of all not in the CROM, but also a national organisation of all left wing elements similar to the Trade Union Educational League in the United States. Struggle for the Red labour International and for Latin-American labour organisation, free from the control of the American Federation of Labour.

6. The electoral question. The theses on immediate tasks include a declaration that the party has not yet, neither nationally nor locally entered under its own banner in a truly communist spirit into the electoral campaigns. They provide for strict control of such cam-

paings by the national committee and offer the slogan that would be taken for granted in most parties of the Comintern: "No participation in local elections without previous consultation with the national committee.

Other significant sections in the theses on "immediate tasks" are: "No subsidies from or collaboration with bourgeois politicians. Slogan: Absolute break with the bourgeoisie and its "revolutionary" servitors."

Independence of all proletarian organisations from local and national governments.

Formation of an illegal framework.

Campaign for recruiting of new members. Slogan: "Every meeting is a failure which does not attract new members.

Formation of a department of education.

Proletarianisation of the press. "The communist press should be written and sustained by the workers and peasants."

Reorganisation of the Party on the basis of nuclei of shops offices, farms and agrarian communities.

Strengthening of the Pan-American Anti-imperialist League and support for the calling of a continental congress of the League at the end of this year in Buenos Aires.

The executive named by the congress consists of Rafael Carrilo, Executive Secretary, Xavier Guerrero, Bertram D. Wolfe, Alfaro Siqueiros, Carlos Rendon, and Manuel Ramirez. The first four are re-elected from the previous Executive.

Dolores Ibarruri's appeal to the women of Mexico and other Latin American countries was typical of the Seventh World Congress "new look" propaganda as modified to meet the changed situation arising out of the Nazi-Soviet pact. Her eulogy of the carefree condition of women in the Soviet Union was echoed by other propagandists, but not by the facts (sec. B, exhibit No. 75).

Ibarruri, known also as La Pasionaria, was one of the two outstanding Communist leaders of the Spanish Civil War.<sup>1</sup> Through a cleverly fostered legend she became a sort of revolutionary angel. Several former Communists, however, have exploded this myth and shown her to have been a thoroughly despicable creature.<sup>2</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 49

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, February 1941. Dolores Ibarruri, *The Women Want a People's Peace*. Pp. 56-60]

#### THE WOMEN OF LATIN AMERICA

With the development during recent years of the Popular Front movement in the Latin American republics, the woman's movement there has also gained in vigor. The women who were oppressed for decades under the yoke of reactionary dictatorships and were condemned to a life of misery and ignorance are today valiantly entering the ranks to fight by the side of their menfolk for the independence and integrity of their countries and for the rights of the common people menaced by imperialism. For imperialism has condemned the masses working in the factories and on the farms, as well as the middle class, to live in a state akin to serfdom, and has compelled them to accept a policy of oppression and imperialist rule.

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> Borkenau, *European Communism*, p. 164.

The conditions created by the present imperialist war stimulate still more the ravenous appetites of the imperialists, thus endangering the peace and security of Latin America.

The masses have begun to react to this danger. They loudly voice their protest, at times in an organized manner, at times spontaneously.

Here is a letter from a peasant woman from Camajuani, Cuba, who wrote to the Havana daily newspaper *Hoy*:

"If we must shoulder guns it will be to get land and farm implements, to win the rights which those who till the land should enjoy . . . . We dirt farmers have nothing to gain by this war, waged in the interests of those who exploit us."

The women's section of this daily is carrying on an extensive campaign for militant action against the imperialist war. Its columns publish hundreds of protests received from Cuban mothers who fear that their sons will be sacrificed in this imperialist slaughter.

"I am the mother of four sons and six daughters," writes Librada Hernandez from Limones, Rodas, in Cuba. "Only those who are poor and have had to raise large families in this semi-colony of the United States, where we the common people live in such need and distress, can imagine what my husband and I have suffered and endured to raise our children.

"And have we, the mothers of Cuba, gone through all this only that the imperialists should send our sons, the flesh of our flesh, to the European shambles? No, a thousand times no!

"My sons will not go to war and there are many other mothers in Cuba who think the same, who teach their sons rather to die fighting for popular liberty in Cuba than bear arms in this terrible war, which benefits no one but the imperialists. My sons will not go to Europe to defend the moneybags of plutocrats, whose gold was wrung from the toil and sweat of the working people; their profits were amassed from the exploitation of the same human beings who are today being barbarously employed for the mutual massacre of the finest sons of humanity. Those bandits yonder did not help me raise my sons. And they shall not destroy them in their war.

"I suffer at the mere thought that those rascals want to snatch them away from me! If they take them away they will not return; and if by chance one does come back he will not be sound in limb or body—perhaps without an arm or leg, his health shattered, his heart forever sad.

"Let the criminal warmongers who have plagued us like malignant tumors go to war themselves! Let *them* go! That would be much better. Let them go, then they may cease making the common people of Cuba unhappy. And perhaps we shall be fortunate enough to live to see them never return. Let them go, all of them; let them go—to blazes!

"Fraternally yours,

"Librada Hernandez."

Numerous groups of farm women—mothers and wives from San Nicolas de Güines in Havana; El Cristo in Oriente; the El Brujo Farm in de Vueltas—from every corner of the Island are firmly resolved not to let their sons and husbands be transformed into cannon fodder in the imperialist war.

"Neither with the Germans nor with the Allies! Let us keep Cuba out of the imperialist war," says Alicia Mercadé from Pupo in Oriente, voicing the collective sentiment of Cuba's toiling women.

At the end of 1939 the Cuban women held the Third National Women's Congress. This was a notable event in the struggle against the imperialist war, in the fight to keep Cuba out of the war. Huge masses of women were mobilized all over the country in support of the slogans: "Neither with the Germans nor with the Allies! Keep Cuba Out of the Imperialist War!" They succeeded in linking up the anti-imperialist war struggle with the demands of the working women, and are carrying on educational work within the various women's organizations, the trade unions and political parties.

Somewhat later the National Women's Congress formed a "Keep Cuba Out of the Imperialist War" committee which has been assigned the mission of channelizing and leading the indignant protest of Cuba's women against those who gamble with the lives of the peoples.

Together with the women of Cuba, the wives and mothers, sisters and sweethearts of Argentina, Chile and Mexico, of all the Latin American republics, are also vehemently protesting against the imperialist war. They see their sons sweat and toil to enrich the insatiable appetites of the imperialists, these same imperialists who would drag the American youth into the internecine struggle to make secure their riches, to pile up new wealth on top of the old.

Last May, the women of Buenos Aires organized a women's demonstration which exposed the true character of the European slaughter and demanded that Argentina stay out of the war. Organized by the Women's Federation of Argentina the demonstration launched the slogan of fighting to keep the country at peace. All the women who spoke demonstrated that the present conflict in Europe was contrary to the interests of the wide masses. They insisted that it was the women who, as mothers, daughters and as members of the toiling masses, were the first to suffer the frightful consequences of an imperialist war.

Speaking in the names of their organizations, the women denounced the perilous implications made in certain war-like speeches by those in whose interests it is to plunge Latin American into the vortex of war on the side of the Allies.

This anti-war meeting was supported by other important groups of women—the Women's Democratic Movement, the Women's Suffrage Association, and the International Women's Alliance for the Political Rights of Women.

### "Help Us Defend Our Liberties, Our Homes and Our Sons"

The valiant women of Mexico, these stalwart veterans of anti-imperialist struggle, are ready to defend their country, and have proved their will to fight against internal reaction and foreign imperialism. They fought the Almazan gangs who sought to provoke civil war which would have carried grist to the mill of the American oil companies expropriated by the Mexican Government.

The Mexican girls have enrolled in the ranks of the militia, which was organized by the Confederation of Mexican Workers, to defend themselves, if need be, from the attacks of Yankee imperialism and from its agents within the country.

Aware of the imperative necessity of establishing fraternal ties with the women of North America in order to receive their assistance in the struggle against reaction within and without, the Communist

women of Mexico sent the following message to Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, the veteran champion of the American working class, whose name is known to all progressive people of the continent. Their message was worded as follows:

“Dear Comrade,

“We, the women of Mexico, take this opportunity to tell you of the sufferings and the problems of the working women of our country so that you may help us explain to the American women the imminent danger that threatens our homes. For the reactionary forces in Mexico are fomenting civil war which will bring death and distress to wide sections of the working people.

“We want to tell you that the reactionary Mexicans who, without any legal right whatever, have kept the Mexican women in a state of inferiority expect to defeat our magnificent people because they count on the support of the imperialists of the U. S. A.

“During the month of May the American army held maneuvers in Texas and Arizona trying to engineer a *blitzkrieg* on a small scale. These maneuvers were viewed by us, Mexican mothers and wives, with great anxiety and fear, because they lent color to the schemes of various American Senators and Congressmen to tear our country apart, to wrest away from us Lower California and other territories.

“We earnestly beseech you to lend us your aid in the coming struggles for the defense of our liberties, our homes and our children. . . .”

This outline of the anti-imperialist war activities of the working women, of toiling womanhood, in the capitalist countries shows clearly the enormous reserve which the women represent in the revolutionary struggle.

In this brief sketch, I purposely omitted all mention of the women of the Soviet Union, because they are not plagued by any of the difficult problems that beset the women of the capitalist countries.

The Socialist Revolution of October, 1917, opened up the road of peace and happiness to the Russian women. A new life became theirs, a life of happiness, with no worry for the morrow.

LaFerte's speech was taken down in shorthand at a secret meeting held in Mexico City on May 18, 1944. It was made public by the Mexican Journal, *Manana*.

Part of the urgent business which brought LaFerte to New York City was attendance at the 1944 National Convention of the CPUSA. At the time, he was president of the Communist Party of Chile which he had helped to found in 1922 and which, 9 years later, he had salvaged from the Trotskyites.<sup>1</sup>

Translation of LaFerte's speech was made for the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California.<sup>2</sup> “Corporation Carp” apparently refers to the Carp Export & Import Co. headed by Sam Carp, brother-in-law of Molotov. “Lombardo” is Vincente Lombardo Toledano who in 1944 directed the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL).<sup>3</sup> In the original stenographic copy LaFerte's name was erroneously spelled with two “t's.”

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *History of the Americas*, p. 378. Ebon, *World Communism Today*, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> *Second Report, Un-American Activities in California, 1945*, Sacramento, Assembly of the State of California, 1945, pp. 104-115.

<sup>3</sup> Vincente Lombardo Toledano, *What Does the C. T. A. L. Mean?*, Mexico City, Latin American Confederation of Labor, 1944.

## EXHIBIT No. 50

[Mexico City, *Manana*, June 24, 1944]

“C. Blas Manrique: Due to the absence of Comrade Livinson the lecture is postponed. Comrade Lafferte has the floor and will dictate his lecture as the final act of our Congress. It is requested that the comrades who have not yet received their *stipend* for expenses, will report to the offices of Licenciado (Attorney) Livinson in the Workers' University from 6 to 8 at night, bearing their corresponding receipts and expense accounts. It is requested of the comrades that before leaving the hall, they will come by and get their supplies of propaganda and final instructions for their respective zones. The comrades of the Federal District, Jalisco and Nuevo Leon, have been designated to accompany Comrades Lafferte, Duran and Davies Ben to the airport tomorrow when they will leave on urgent business for the United States. The delegates only, will accompany the Presidium on a courtesy visit to the high functionaries of Mexico—which was solicited and granted by them—the Generals Maximino Avila Camacho, Lazaro Cardenas, Antonio Villalobos; then all comrades must attend the banquet at Pena Montanese in honor of Comrade Lafferte. On the 19th and 20th, the secretary of the Party will receive and dispatch the Zone Chiefs dealing with local affairs. Comrade Lafferte now has the floor.

## ADDRESS OF COMMUNIST LAFERTE

“C. Lafferte: In a few words, in order not to tire the Assembly's attention I shall refer to the general situation of the American Continent, of England, and of Russia, for what it is doing to our World Communist Party. To clarify concepts it is necessary to point out that the U. S. S. R., the government of Marshal Stalin continues faithful to the legitimate orientations which you have just listened to. She continues being faithful a hundred per cent, and it is not convenient among ourselves to attach any importance to the tactics of the fight which from time to time is promulgated from Moscow and other places controlled by Marxism, with the purpose of appeasing the distrust and suspicion of the capitalist system. In these moment in which the war effort of the United Nations must be harmonious in order to end the might of the Axis, the opportunities for the infiltration of Communism throughout the world are superb, not only the proletarian field, but also in the intellectual and cultural field, *in the military field*, in the field of finance and international commerce. In regard to the proletarian field, our base consists of the Union of Soviet Syndicates which maintains relations with some countries such as the Workers' Congress of England, the labor organizations of India, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, the C. I. O. of the United States, the Railroad Brotherhood of that country, and the C. T. A. L. in Latin America. Within these organizations the Communist units have a sufficient control to permit us to have hopes of triumph. If it is true that the English labor leader is not adapted to ideological orientation in our cause, we have in Hillman and in Lombardo two prominent authorities on this continent. In order to succeed in Latin America we have contingents in the General Federation of Labor organized in Argentina through councils and national feder-

ations of industry. We all know what the present situation in Argentina is, and for that reason it is clear to say nothing. But their Marxist chiefs have succeeded in escaping from the persecution of the government, and only a few of the most prominent have been taken prisoner as have been a few of the workers' leaders. Nevertheless the crisis which will be provoked by the Argentine expropriations by the Anglo Saxon governments will favor Communist infiltration. It is to be studied in the case of Argentine how hatred of the Anglo Saxons can be taken as an advantage in favor of our cause when they see they must fall under the domination of the Anglo-American arms. Other countries which have fallen under the influence of the present nationalistic Argentine government are Paraguay, Peru, Bolivia, and in part the Government of Chile, my own country. Nevertheless all this wooden frame will crumble when when the Argentina Government falls. *The revolution which is being germinated under our direction and aid in those countries will be aided by the United States, England, and Brazil.* The directive elements of the federation of workers in Paraguay are at present in-exile because of the persecution dealt them by the new government, *but there as in Bolivia we have succeeded in having the Anglo Saxon diplomacy not recognize the new government, placing it in the same position as Argentina.* In Chile the Communist Party and the Federation of Labor work in open cooperation, and we take part in the government. Economic necessity has forced the Rios Government to recognize Argentina. Nevertheless, we have great hope that the very government of Rios will aid the communistic revolutions which will take place in those countries utilizing the above mentioned conditions. *The case of Venezuela and Colombia, countries perfectly controlled by Anglo-American Imperialism, are difficult because there we do not, as yet have the situation very well controlled.* It has been necessary to insist that the present President of Colombia not renounce his office because new elections could be fatal for the liberal regime which permits the existence of the Communist Party. The Colombian Federation of Labor is organized by Communist councils and we have the control of the organization. Not so in Venezuela where the laws which have lately been promulgated are contrary to us; but are unable to make an open fight against the present government of Venezuela by virtue of the fact that it would signify our complete defeat in that country. In Ecuador we have organized the National Committee of Ecuadorian Labor which is in the phase of agitation and union propaganda. Also in Peru, there only exists a National Committee of Unification of Workers, formed by our units, but which has found a very strong resistance from government and the other social classes.

### Communist International Intrigue

“The revolutions set for El Salvador have placed the plutocratic government on the alert, and I have information that the persecutions against our clubs have intensified. Notwithstanding, in the United States I shall utilize this information to get the Department of State, in Washington, to intervene in favor of our units, designating them as democratic revolutions struggling for democracy and in favor of the United Nations. The same gestures were successfully obtained here

in Mexico, and we have been assured that Mexico will intervene in favor of revolutionists seized in Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela.

“In respect to Costa Rica the government will be organized by elements in sympathy with our ideology in union with President Picado P.; and the strengthening of our cause has been favored by the establishment of relations with the USSR. I consider it convenient to indicate that the activities of the units in all these republics of the South are being favored by the diplomatic activities of the Minister of Foreign Relations of the Government of Moscow, supported by the Department of State in Washington, and the Secretary of Foreign Relations in Mexico, because at the time of establishing diplomatic relations, the cultural missions, the commercial and financial missions which now have their main office in the embassy of Oumansky and in the financial offices of Corporation Carp and Agency Amtorg of Washington: and those which possibly may be installed in Canada favor the Communist infiltration in Latin America. As fighting tactics, there has been installed a branch of both agencies in Canada, in order to place in competition the American industrialists and business men against the industrialists and business men of the Federation of the British Nations. All the English business interests of Latin America will try to sell in the U. S. S. R. through the offices of Carp Corporation and Amtorg Agency of Canada. All North American interests will do the same in the respective offices in Washington. On the other hand, the financial, industrial, business Russian experts will travel throughout the American continent accompanied by Canadian, English and American financiers, business men and industrialists. Thus our work will be facilitated for controlling the countries of this continent.

### Communist Infiltration

“With reference to the cultural tasks, the infiltration of units in the student masses of all countries will permit a sweep toward the Russian culture, supported by the diplomatic offices. The intellectuals, who by monetary necessity will accept collaboration with the Government offices of the USSR on this continent and with the newspaper agencies of our propaganda parties in all countries, also will give a cultural character to Communist infiltration. We have societies of friends of the USSR in Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, El Salvador Mexico, the United States and Canada. The intellectual groups which are working in favor of the liberation of France, Germany, Poland, Spain, etc., also will become agents of our Cause as are those which are already organized.

### Military and Religious Opposition to Communism

“Let it not be believed that the success which we have attained in the proletarian, cultural, and financial fields is placing triumph within our grasp. The military and religious organizations, the same as the capitalistic interests, are our strongest enemies. In Argentina and in Brazil, the military and the Catholics are strongly united in power. There, only the cultural and financial missions are working tranquilly in our favor. In Chile the military question is serious enough, although the religious is very weak. In Colombia,

the reverse is true, the religious question is very strong and the military is almost in our favor. But, while in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, the capitalist interests do not pay much attention to social struggles, in *Colombia and in Venezuela where there are elements prepared for the struggle against our cause*, we find interests alert to anything which signifies the infiltration of our ideology and they will fight us to the bloody finish. Of that we have proof by the way in which our comrade Lombardo has been treated in his visits to those countries. The press became enraged against him. Nevertheless, *at least as far as Colombia is concerned the Government is on our side*. In the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Costa Rica the government sympathizes with our cause, and we can say that the military problem does not exist for us; but there does exist and in a form quite strong, the religious problem and the capitalist interest, specially the Anglo-American investments which have already permitted at their costs our triumphs. The capitalistic interests which are most against us are the petroleum interests of all continents, for they guard jealously against Communist infiltration. But we are opposing our enemies, in the first place the Democrats and the Republicans, since our tactics have always been to accuse the capitalists of being imperialists, *whether they are or not*; afterwards, we oppose the Socialist Democrat political parties and the labor unions. In many cases we have utilized the governments, themselves, showing them the danger which can exist for the nation in which foreign enterprises, especially Anglo Saxon can take advantage of national wealth. These tactics have served us to place in a disadvantageous position throughout the American continent capitalistic Anglo-American investments. Now we have proceeded in the very government of Argentina in such a manner that some elements disguised as nationalist have succeeded in expropriating the Anglo-American interests. (laughter.) It is true that many elements will consider that we have given arms to a totalitarian and Fascist enemy such as the present Argentina government; but it must be remembered that one of our fighting principles consists in attaining for the Latin American countries full economic and political economy, and in liquidating the semifeudal vestiges which characterize those Latin countries through the existence of Anglo-American interests which have always looked upon them as colonies. At the same time it is fitting to insist that we are obliged to provoke situations which can favor the expropriation of all enterprises which currently belong to the bosses, especially in a time of international crisis of those bosses whose nationality can be a future danger for our fighting program. It is for this reason, although it may seem and averration, that the disappearance of English and North American capitalists from Latin America means a triumph for our cause, and in this way, we shall fulfill one of the postulates of the *World Communist Party*, which postulate is becoming synthetized also in one of the principles of the Campaign Program of the Federation of Workers in Latin America, when it says in its declaration No. III that: The Manual Laborers and the Intellectual Workers of Latin America declare that the principal task of the working class of Latin America consists in attaining full economic and political economy for the Latin American nations and in liquidating the semifeudal vestiges which characterize their countries, with the purpose of

raising the economic, social, and moral conditions in which the great masses of the people are found. This declaration of principles which is fixed in the Postulates of our *World Communist Party* in the campaign program of the workers of Latin America must be explained in two parts: first, that on trying to point out that the principal task of the working class is to attain full economic and political autonomy, this means that the working class must liquidate the economic oppression which exists in each nationality; at this moment, those economic pressures on the Latin American countries are represented by Wall Street and by the City of London, for French and Spanish capital since it is not invested in the principal national wealth never will be a danger for the Communist movement nor for the workers' social movement; however, our attack must be, even though we are in favor of the United Nations' struggle against Hitler and Japan, our attack and our watchword in regard to Latin America must be to liquidate Anglo-American capitalism and to obtain full economic autonomy and with it full political autonomy. Later, when the State shall have expropriated for itself all those natural resources and all enterprises of the Anglo-American countries we shall take control of the State by means of political movements. In the second place, when our declaration of principles refers to liquidating the semifeudal vestiges which characterize the Latin American countries, we are referring especially to the spiritual and political power of the Catholic Church, Apostolic and Roman. The more than 400 years of spiritual control of the people can not mean for us an easy overthrow of the Catholic Church which has always been characterized as an enemy of our Cause. Campaign tactics make it necessary for us to appear as sympathizers of Religion and even in the U. S. S. R. the Soviet Government has been itself obliged to ease up on religion.

### Catholics Not Deceived by Communists

“But it is not possible that either we or the Catholics are deceived. It is very dangerous to make declarations of this nature in countries where the political and spiritual power of the Church is above the government but in the case of Mexico, where the government is our ally and where there have been bloody struggles with the Church with the Church left in defeat it is necessary to convert this country basically to the Communist and ideological socialist struggle against the Church.

### The United States and Catholicism to Be Attacked

“In the course of my constant travels through Latin America, studying in detail the general problems and the problems of each nation which are obstructing us from reaching the triumph of our Communist cause, I have been fully convinced that these two are our worst enemies: (1) American capitalism which has dreams of imperialism and colonizing in South America; English capitalism which feels itself strongly supported by the war machinery of the imperialistic and totalitarian Federation of British Nations; and (2) the Catholic Church which has its strong control both spiritual and political over the majorities in each country, especially in the lower classes where we will have to displace the Catholic Church with the purpose of making proselytes to our cause.

“These two factors are our international and inter-American problems which we must attack. Already I have spoken of how capitalism must be displaced; also our illustrious comrade Sokolov has already explained our campaign tactics, making a brilliant comparison between the historic struggles of our Bolshevik Communist Party in Czarist Russia and our present and future struggle on this American continent in order to bring to an end socially the capitalist ideology, and to bring to a finish politically the governments which protect that capitalist ideology. It is necessary now to refer to the problem of the Catholic Church because it is not a problem of one single Latin-American nation but rather a problem of all this Continent, especially *in the key countries, which are Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia.*

“We have explained that in Argentina the coalition of the military, or the capitalist, and Catholics are our principal enemy; we have explained that in Brazil the coalition equally tripartite of the Catholics, the military, and the capitalists are obstructing our path, in spite of the initial intentions of some of our elements and units which have infiltrated themselves into the intellectual and student class, just as there are some also among the workers and natives especially among the latter, who are perpetuating the brilliant memories of the famous acts of Carlos Prestes in his revolutionary march toward the high States. In Venezuela and in Colombia only the capitalists and the Catholics are confronting us, and the same is happening in Mexico. But here we have the resurgence of the Catholic spiritual power being sufficient to organize two parties which although they are not to be feared because of the insignificance of the personality of their leaders, they can present us future problems by which I consider that this chosen group of units and leaders of the Communist Party here gathered will review their knowledge of the weakness and defects of the spiritual power of the Catholic Church, and I hope that also you may be able to say you are increasing your knowledge of the same. In all my travels through the Continent I have been sharing my knowledge in lectures similar to the present, either in gatherings, or in watchword circles, with all our campaigners of each city, of each village, or each ranch large or small, of each Indian community, of each union, of each factory, of every city or rural school, of every university; let this knowledge be repeated in articles, bulletins, books, motion picture plots, plots of the legitimate stage, etc., all of you protecting yourselves by having it deal with advanced studies in science or civilization, of the future order, and for the good of learning and culture, as a struggle against ignorance, and as a struggle against fanaticism, for the good of the people.

### Campaign Against the Catholic Church

“These watchwords I have divided in three parts, as follows: Roman Catholicism is essentially immoral; Roman Catholicism is idolatrous; and the Catholic Priesthood is an agent of immorality. It is urgent *as campaign tactics that we infiltrate in the mind of the children, in the mind of the natives, in the mind of the workers, in the mind of the students, the worst accusations against the Catholic Church, in order that they draw away from her and enroll in our ranks as fervent sympathizers of the*

cause of the future of the world, which we ourselves must present as the cause of Communism protecting the cause of humanity. We must say that the system of iniquities, held, taught, and practiced by the Catholics, has no equal. It is audacious, aggressive, intolerant, and cruel, blind obstinate and blasphemous; nevertheless, it is also insidious, adaptable, and at times conciliatory; it is pompous, servile, royal, and a cheat. There is no other religion or philosophy which is launched on a task so tremendous of corruption, or universal degradation, no less.

“In the study of the Roman evil, one thing we must always keep in mind, the iron authority of the Pope, the theologians, and the saints. In Romanism the individual must give account to his masters, authorized in spite of the consequences, and the base of the Catholic system of morals rests on the iniquitous teachings and the immoral example of the saints, converting to that religion by a virulent code of laws, a priesthood that is wicked and a power blood-thirsty and cruel.

“We must say, shout, and insist that with a celibate priesthood, the Catholic leader never will be able to live a normal religious life, nor even a normal human life, and that it is *impossible* for him to set an example of good living. We must say and shout, we must insist that the plan of Romanism in the life of each country is to hold supremacy over the civil government in order to enslave all the inhabitants, and that in order to acquire that control over the civil government, it has to use fraud, deceit, and injustice; we must insist that the Catholic notion of universal dominion requires that its leaders adulate and protect these politicians who are ready to sell their soul, their honor for money and power; that the Romanists have taken on themselves the task of fighting free men in a manner most impious; that they can not alter that policy; the pretension that the salvation of the soul by which they deceive the inexpert, depends on ceremonies, and not on the faith of humanity gives rise to the discredit of morality in favor of the ritual; that the confession degrades the confessor and the penitent; that the channel of worldliness which passes continually through the mind and the heart of the Catholic priest, almost necessarily carries him to his corruption, insofar as his instructions relax the moral level of the devoted; that the necessity imposed by the confessional on the priest, of labeling and classifying sins according to superficial appearances brings him to all sorts of difficulties and contradictions. If the priest would allow that all powerful God, which they say exists (invention for fools), to take sole charge of his most delicate work, free from the bad practice of the spiritual quacks, a great number of difficulties would be spared and several million sick souls which the Catholics have sunk in darkness would have the opportunity to be cured. That the shame of having to confess ones sins to a corrupt man frequently results in a real sadness and humiliation plunging a free soul into inferiority complex, converting his life into an eternal suffering. That this is a shame especially in respect to women. That the theologians have elaborated a system of specious reasoning which is not only ridiculous and vile, but terribly corrupting. That the first frightful effect which the system produces is the corruption of the priests themselves. That the fact

that they hide, evade, deny, and are infuriated when this said system of specious reasoning is exposed is clear evidence that they are already corrupted. That the system of specious reasoning is argued out because it is founded on the so-called notes of saintliness. That Catholicism must prevail or fall with its pretensions of saintliness and because its vaunted saintliness is only the blackest of evils. That the very fact that the Catholics give themselves free rein in their confusion on the revelations of the intrinsic evils of their doctrines constitutes a death clink for the impious Christian Catholic Church of Rome. That the ultimate plan of Romanism is not moral character or salvation from the power and exercise of sin, but salvation from a hell and an imaginary Catholic purgatory.

“We must add that it is not certain that Catholic theologians authorize universal evil; for example, they do not teach that every good Catholic has the privilege of stealing everything that he can lay hand on, that they have certain rules for robbery, and that everything must be practiced in accordance with these rules. Moreover, they do not hold that faithful Catholics can or must lie all the time; it must be for a worthy motive. That Catholic theologians will frown on a rash prevarication if it has no motive. But that these limitations serve double purpose: to establish the authority of the holy fathers as specialists in the art and science of lying and stealing, and at the same time they give a place to a vestige of conscience which even the Catholic spiritual guides cannot exterminate absolutely.

“We ought to say that if anyone doubts the practical effects of the Catholic system of immorality, he has only to observe the fanaticism, the pride, the obstinacy, the savage obduracy of the devout Catholics when confronted by genuine iniquities taught them by their leaders with ostentation of authority and with perfect clarity. It seems that the typical Catholic has some kink in the brain. This is his argument: Catholicism cannot contain any error; therefore, it has no error. Besides, if a thing is erroneous, it is not catholic, because Catholicism cannot teach error.

“The refined hypocrisy of the Popes and Bishops of Catholicism date from epochs quite remote. More than 200 said in substance the following: ‘Another of the papal skills is that after having founded their own cause on so many falsehoods and having sustained them with so many lying allegations in order to make the people believe that we cultured and free men are liars and that nothing we say can be believed, they accuse us of slandering the priests and of bearing false witness to Catholics and for that reason no man must read our books and converse with us nor believe us well-intentioned. They forbid us free men from quoting their own Catholic writers, by teaching ignorant people to say that we are slandering them. Although we quote the book, the page, and the line and tell them that those books are printed in Rome and not in the French University or in the Sorbonne, and that they were written by Catholic writers, they do not believe us because the ignorant have been instructed from the pulpits to take us for liars and incapable of doing good. If we quote any one of the priests, they say we change or corrupt what they have said or that they do not say such a thing. If we show them the books published by their own doctors and licensed by their superiors and printed by the papists, they force the ignorant not to believe us, accusing us of falsification.’

“This situation which seems unreal, I have found in my journey throughout Latin America. I have had conversation with cultural elements which seem not to be contaminated by religious fanaticism, and in all seriousness they have wanted to oppose my ideas with these futile arguments. I have come across workers and farmers, women, comrades, and even professors, in whom one should expect a certain degree of culture. These were in Valparaiso, Buenos Aires, Quito, Antofogasts, and after listening to my lectures and after reporting them to the priests in the confessionals, instructed by the priests, they would approach me in all seriousness, and in blind faith ask me for the salvation of my soul, requesting that I stop slandering the poor old priests, that I cease corrupting their wholesome predictions, that I leave off counterfeiting their texts, stop attacking the Catholic Church and that with resigned repentance I go to ask pardon from the parish curate or district priest. What must be done with cases like these? Ignorance and credulity thus united on purpose are a brass wall opposed to our efforts. With what hope will we be able to speak to those who do not wish to hear us? Against that wall there are no other arms except tenacity and patience. Avoid brusque attitudes, persevere in faith, and work as if the obstinacies of those minds submerged in a fanatical lethargy did not strike us. Already I have said that it is no easy task to bring to an end a labor like the Catholic which has lasted 400 years in the soul and the mind of the people. Fortunately, utilizing books, schools and all propaganda facilities, infiltrating ourselves tenaciously in the fields, the unions, seeking out the Indian even to his refuge in the forest or on top of the mountains, entering the mind of the ignorant worker by means of bulletins, of books, of leaders’ speeches, taking advantage of their economic struggles, we must little by little go *killing in them* the heritage of fanaticism which they received from their parents, from their grandparents and their great grandparents. *Under the pretext of culture, of learning, of civilization, of philosophy, and of the modern sciences, we must launch attacks against religion.*

“Fortunately for some time now there has been a change favorable to our plans. That is to say, one half of the Catholics of the world are more or less heretics. We must thank God for that. (Laughter.)

“In addition to those Catholics more or less susceptible to our arguments, we have already a great number of free thinkers, of atheists who are very susceptible of falling in the ranks of our subordinates as Communists *because now they have no religious defense.*

“Our people ought to know that the extensive evil which is found among the Catholics is not the incidental result of abuse of a good religion, but is a logical and necessary product of a religion whose heart is rotten. Some of the possible consequences of the Catholic moral theology would be tragic if they were not amusing. We take for example, the doctrine of venial sin in stealing. The Catholics give the rule that stealing, except what would be necessary to sustain the family one day, is a venial sin for one who falls thus a victim, and he goes to purgatory. (Laughter.) To steal more would be a mortal sin, for which the delinquent one would go to hell, and never would get out of there.

“Let us suppose that a good Catholic on a dark night steals and kills the goat of his neighbor in the belief that the animal is of ordinary breed; that the owner of the goat on the same night kills instantaneously the thief without giving him a chance to confess or to receive that extreme unction of which the innocents boast so much. (Laughter.) And let it be said that the goat was one of the finest Angoras, and that it had a value greater than that necessary to sustain for a day the family from which it was stolen. The poor but faithful Catholic would be eternally lost, but without his knowing it, and without having been able to repent before his priest. How would the village priests answer this problem? Surely they would be unable to decipher it. This has happened on many occasions. I set these simple examples before you *because they are the best arms to cast doubt*, among the Indians, the workers, and the ignorant. I suggest that you use simple examples like these, to sow doubt, because they are the ones that give the best results.

### Communist Conquest of the World

“It is conspicuous that the governments of Catholic countries almost always are enemies of priests, because they know that they are perfectly imbued with the theories of the Jesuits. Their idea (the Jesuits) is that the Church is good although the priests are bad. The governors and the presidents of Mexico and other Latin American countries generally consider the Catholic priests as one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of education and morality. In Spain the same thing almost is true, in spite of the fact that Franco is considered one of the pillars of the Church; but the Jesuits consider him an enemy. In all South America there is sustained also the same ancient struggle of freemen, of the laymen against the priests. The group of ignorant and degraded priests has much to do with the weakness and illiteracy of the American Indians and since the United States threw off the Spanish yoke, that country has demonstrated the superiority of democracy and socialism over those countries dominated by a conservative Catholicism and Jesuits. But, to conclude, I wish to point out a very special case which may come to our aid. The laws of the republics of this continent permit the freedom of worship. In this form it is convenient for our authorities to permit the entry into our countries of bodies of other religion, as the Mormons, the Angelicans, Protestants, Buddhists, Jews, Mohammedans. These sects are allowed to have their temples open and free. They will help us to sow confusion in the minds of the Indians and workers. They will help us to lose respect for religion. In this manner, little by little, we shall infiltrate our theories of positivism and individual and collective economy in order that the new generations will consider that all these religions are no more than garbage, and must be cleared away as soon as possible in order to permit a better life. It is suitable then, comrades, that we keep in mind these orientations in order that when you return to your zones, you may give instructions to your units on the form of combatting the power of the Catholic Church, assisting the rest; and that you may prepare yourselves for the crusade which must carry us to triumph. The road of salvation of Mexico only has one sure road. Let us prepare

ourselves for Mexico and Latin America to be ready to play a dominant role in the *future Communist conquest of the world*. From this Nation let there go out the conquistadores (conquerors) to other countries less prepared. Let Mexico convert herself into a centrifugal force for all this continent; let Mexico be the country of freedom for the proletariat and the American Soviet. Let us launch from here the first shout of freedom, and on hearing this battle cry, this daring voice of our people, all the other peoples of America may run immediately, raising very high the red and black banner of social revindication. Our work is to aid, to aid more and more all those in the Americas who fight for our Cause, to integrate all their forces to the contribution of the struggle; to organize a great political movement of unity, which consolidated with the struggle of the people and the *Communist Patriots, faithful to the Fatherland of the World Proletariat, faithful to the U. S. S. R.*, will impel us and draw us to that glorious happy day which is about to arrive; the radiant day of liberation for all the World which will arrive with the overthrow of capitalism. Comrades, cheerio! (Applause and shouts.)”

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### C. BRAZIL

According to Eudocio Ravines, former member of the Comintern and organizer of the popular front in Chile, the 1935 Communist uprising in Brazil was carefully planned the year before in Moscow.<sup>1</sup> At the time, it was decided to execute third (1928-34) period tactics in Brazil, apparently because Dmitri Manuilsky wanted one successful armed rebellion before relinquishing control of the Comintern to Georgi Dimitrov.<sup>2</sup> The latter preferred popular front tactics with the understanding, of course, that they were only a temporary expedient (sec. C, exhibit No. 14). Such divergence of opinion among Comintern leaders was possible because Stalin had not as yet (1934) decided which line of action would be most effective in meeting the challenge of nazism.

Exhibits No. 51, 52, and 53 present the Communist version of the plan for the armed rebellion in Brazil and of the alleged reasons for its failure.<sup>3</sup> Apparently, insufficient attention was given to the role of intellectuals. Writing in 1953, Luis Carlos Prestes declared that the Communist Party of Brazil still suffered from exaggerated leftist tendencies.<sup>4</sup>

Prestes, also known as the “Knight of Hope,” had spent 3 years in Moscow undergoing special training in revolutionary tactics.<sup>5</sup> Consequent upon the failure of his November 1935 revolution, Prestes spent 9 years in prison. Shortly after his release, he made a political alliance with Getulio Vargas, who had sent him to jail in 1936.<sup>6</sup> In recent years, Prestes has been striving to make the Communist Party of Brazil more respectable and less sectarian. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has noted the fact that Communist activities in Brazil have tended to concentrate upon “nonconstitutional” tactics.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eudocio Ravines, *The Yenan Way*, New York, Scribner's, 1951, pp. 145-146.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *History of the Americas*, pp. 419-420. John Francis Bannon and Peter Masten Dunne, *Latin America*, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1947, pp. 502-504. Lawrence F. Hill (Ed.), *Brazil*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1947, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Luis Carlos Prestes, “On the Program of the Communist Party of Brazil,” *Political Affairs*, April 1955 p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, p. 315.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 316-322. Hubert Herring (Pomona College), *A History of Latin America*, New York, Knopf, 1955, pp. 731-732, 771. James Francis Bannon (St. Louis University), *History of the Americas*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1952, vol. 2, 528.

<sup>7</sup> *Strength of the International Communist Movement*, 83d Cong., 2d sess., U. S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. 58-59, 72-73.

## EXHIBIT No. 51

[*The Communist International*, May 20, 1935. Pp. 577-588]

## THE EVE OF REVOLUTION IN BRAZIL\*

By KEIROS

The National Conference of the Communist Party of Brazil took place in July, 1934, with 45 comrades participating. After hearing the reports of the Party leadership, the Conference recognized that Brazil is rapidly moving towards a deep revolutionary crisis. The next few months may be decisive for the unfolding of great events in Brazil.

These conclusions were drawn, not merely on the basis of the analysis made by the Thirteenth E.C.C.I. Plenum, but chiefly on the basis of the analyses of the struggles organized by us, as well as the spontaneous activities which have broken out and which the Communists are not leading as yet.

At the present time so many strikes are taking place in Brazil, that it is impossible to give accurate figures. It is even difficult to count the strikes which take place in the course of one week. These strikes are extremely stormy. But the trouble is that we very often lag at the tail end of the movement. The transition to the depression of a special kind is felt very little in Brazil; unemployment is growing in almost all branches of industry.

The consequences of the crisis in Brazil are horrible. When we read of the poverty of the Chinese, it seems to us that we are reading about the population of Brazil, because the same situation exists here. A large number of the workers eat meat only once a week. The peasants who have made annual contracts for work on the coffee plantations receive such low wages, that they are unable to exist on them. The plantation owners keep special overseers who force the peasants to work. But the poverty of the masses is so great that they are prepared to work on the plantations for any wage, for the alternative is starvation.

There can be no question of any mitigation of the crisis in Brazil. Armed struggle of the proletariat, of the peasantry, of the soldiers, is developing. The movement against imperialism and the central federal government in developing; in all parts of the country the struggle is increasing.\*\*

The government, realizing only too well this militant mood of the masses, has prohibited strikes and made the trade unions illegal. But by prohibiting strikes and trade unions, the government only discredits itself in the eyes of the working masses.

How did the proletariat reply to this prohibition?

In less than a month 56 strikes in the chief enterprises and on the railways took place. Simultaneously, in spite of the restrictions, the workers called a congress for trade-union unity at the initiative of our Party.

The nature of these strikes has changed as well. Now, if the struggle once begins, it does not stop until the workers have won some concessions.

\*Speech at the Third Conference of the Communist Parties of the countries of South and Caribbean America, held in the fall of 1934 in Uruguay.

\*\*The number of strikers in Brazil in 1934 reached close to a million.

After several strikes in the winter and spring of 1934, in which we took part, the Plenum of the C.C. of the Communist Party was convened.

At the Plenum 37 workers participated—representatives of shop nuclei. The delegates were filled with enthusiasm. Having summed up our work and made an analysis of the conditions of the masses, we came to the conclusion that on May 1 a broad mass strike could be organized. And this was done. In the second half of April, the sailors, of whom there are 140,000 in Brazil, carried out the decision of the Plenum. They launched a powerful strike, putting forth demands for "naval assistance" and for pensions. We also organized a struggle of the doctors on the ships.

We prepared for struggle in other branches of industry as well. We launched the struggle in Nictheray,\* where a thousand railway workers appealed to the workers of a large railway company, Leopoldina, to call a strike. Eleven thousand railwaymen responded to the call and declared a strike. The strike spread to other branches of industry. Twenty-five thousand workers participated, and strained every effort to keep the struggle going. But the strike was betrayed, and one member of our Party took part in the negotiations with the government. We expelled him from the Party as an enemy and traitor to the masses.

On May 1 we called upon the broad masses of Rio de Janeiro to put up a fight. A conflict occurred between them and the government forces, 6 persons were killed and over 20 wounded. The authority of the Party is very great. In Rio de Janeiro we are leading a mass struggle.

In Santos a mass strike was developed for the release of one of our comrades.

After the events of August 23,\*\* the Party appealed to the workers to declare a strike in defense of the Party and on behalf of its legal existence. Over 40,000 workers took part in the strike. The bourgeoisie mobilized not only rifles and machine guns, but heavy artillery as well.

Sixteen mass trade unions are demanding that the government recognize the legality of the Communist Party—the leader of the mass movement. One can judge how great is the role that the Party is playing, by the enthusiasm created in parliament by the speech of the Communist deputy, when he put forward our demands. Nothing of the kind has been heard for many years. It was met with colossal enthusiasm, and considerably raised the authority of our Party.

However, our cadres are still very weak; they do not yet know how to develop the struggle and cannot raise it to a higher level. Many of our comrades are in prison (true, during strikes we are able to get some of them released).

We are paying more attention to the raising of the political level of the Party. In spite of all difficulties, we have been successful in organizing political schools. Still, we do not have as yet comrades who are capable of making good reports on the crisis, on current topics, etc. Our strength consists in the contacts which our leaders have with the masses, in the fact that they are really the leaders of the mass movement.

\*Main railroad center near Rio de Janeiro.

\*\*An Anti-War Congress opened on August 23. Demonstrations of many thousands of workers took place, demanding legality for the C. P., during which demonstrations many were killed and wounded.

We are fighting under very difficult conditions, but in this struggle the workers are displaying great organizational capabilities, and new cadres of leaders are forged in the course of the struggle. For example, we explained to one worker how Communist groups should be created in the army, how workers' detachments should be organized. And this absolutely illiterate worker, in a short space of time, organized an armed detachment of over 100 men.

At the national conference of the Party, we made an analysis of the situation and worked out a resolution and program of action for different parts of the country. This program we fulfilled to a considerable extent, and certain parts of it were even fulfilled entirely.

At the same time we turned to the offensive, so to speak, on the trade-union question and gained big successes. The S. G. T. B.\*, which previously did not even have sufficient funds to publish a manifesto, in a few days had 100 reis in the treasury and was able to give support to the masses, and henceforth felt no financial difficulties. We are fighting for a truly mass S. G. T. B. In the autumn of 1934, more than 50,000 workers were already organized in the S. G. T. B. In Rio Grande du Sul 75 trade unions are turning in their membership cards to the Ministry of Labor\*\*, and are joining the S. G. T. B. The same is the case in Minas Jerapa and other provinces. The Trade Union Congress in Rio Grande du Sul sent greetings and declared itself in support of our Party program and sent greetings to the Soviet Union. We are fighting for a united trade-union movement, and we think that we shall fulfill our task, because the Communists are connected with the masses which are within the government trade unions. We prepared the Party platform for the October elections. This platform was made public not only in the form of leaflets, but it was read at meetings of the workers and supported by the masses with great enthusiasm, especially in the trade union of the railwaymen of the Central Railway of Brazil.

We must bring about a united revolutionary front in the trade-union movement. The reformist V. K. T. can create many difficulties for us, but at present we have favorable opportunities of establishing a united trade-union movement.

The struggle that the revolutionary trade-union movement will wage in convening regional congresses, unity congresses, etc., will play a revolutionizing role. There are big possibilities of organizing the proletariat in Brazil. The railwaymen, under our leadership, are preparing a national congress of railwaymen and a national strike. We have formed a seamen's union on a national scale, which for three years the Ministry of Labor has been trying to smash without success. We must win over the textile workers' organization, with its 35,000 members and great fighting traditions. In Rio Grande du Sul a "Proletarian Congress" is being convened. The replies concerning the convening of the congress, sent to us from all workers' organizations in the state, shows that there we can certainly realize our task of uniting the trade-union movement. Already all the workers of Brazil, all the trade-union members, know that there exists a central trade-union leadership in Brazil. Correct tactics on our part to bring about a united front with all the workers—reformist,

\*General Confederation of Labor, affiliated to the Profintern.

\*\*Trade unions of the Ministry of Labor. The Ministry of Labor was set up for the purpose of creating government trade unions and subordinating them to the reactionary government.

anarchist, travailist,\*\*\* etc.,—can give good results. But we must extend considerably the struggle for the partial demands of the workers, and imbue it with a truly mass character. Only then shall we win over the majority of the working class of Brazil, and shall we be able to create a central trade-union organization, embracing not 50–100,000 members, as is the case today, but hundreds of thousands of members.

We know that there are activities among the peasants in other countries in South and Caribbean America: in Mexico, Peru, and Colombia, and that an ever-increasing number of the masses are involved in these activities. But in Brazil these activities are of a special character. For a revolutionist who understands anything at all about revolution, it is not difficult to convince himself, not on the basis of words, but of deeds, that great perspectives are opening up before us.

What is new in the peasant movement of Brazil? The agrarian crisis is rapidly sharpening. The peasant masses are taking up the armed struggle. These struggles in the village meet with response in the towns, link up with the movement of the proletariat, and, in its turn, the urban movement is meeting with response in the villages of the Northeast.

Not so long ago a strike of agricultural laborers, which was linked up with strikes of textile workers and paper workers, took place. On two plantations workers won satisfaction of their demands. As the result of a strike under our leadership, their example was followed at 19 other plantations. These strikes, called forth by the struggle of the peasantry, had the support of 7,000 workers in the towns.

We are all from the Northeast of Brazil, and although we are townsmen, we feel very keenly the consequences of drought. We know the situation in the Northeast, we know what insufficient activity of the Party in this respect can lead to, and we know how great is the responsibility of the Party at such a moment.

We know that the peasants live far away from each other, but the drought has united the village, united millions of the peasant masses. The Government has organized a concentration camp in order to prevent the influx of masses of the peasants into the towns. In the Northeast, 70–90,000 peasants are confined in these camps.

The peasants, hard hit by the drought, are beginning to utilize the armed struggle. Had the Party in 1929, when the drought began, understood its tasks and really taken measures to head the struggle of the peasantry suffering from the drought, we would have been able to record big successes. Because they have no means of paying their taxes, very many peasants are forced to go into hiding in the forests from soldiers or representatives of the State. This causes sharp conflicts between the government representatives and the masses of the peasantry. If the newspapers were willing to publish information concerning all these conflicts, there would be insufficient space in their columns to do so.

Our task is to make contact with these masses, to organize them and lead their struggles. You cannot imagine the poverty in Northeastern Brazil. People go a distance of 20–30 kilometers in order to

\*\*\*Travailist—workers' party affiliated to the Second Internationalist. It does not have wide mass influence, and supports the policies of the Ministry of Labor.

get water. The population is actually dying out. Previously the peasant did not protest, made no effort to fight. Now, not only do they raid warehouses where food is stored, but State construction jobs as well, demanding that the engineers give them food. The population of the Northeast is 16,000,000. Very strong illusions still exist among them. For example, they nourish the hope that a priest, Ciceru, a mystic, a fanatic, a humbug, who speculates upon the backwardness of the masses, will bring them salvation. Just as in Rio de Janeiro, so in the Northeast, formerly the masses fell victim to the demagogy of the priests and liberal landlords; but now they are beginning to refuse to believe in them. These priests and landlords promised that truckloads of food would be brought to the peasants, but instead, truckloads of soldiers arrived.

However, four years of drought have passed, and we have not made use of it to organize the struggle of the masses.

In the Amazon, as well, poverty is on the increase. Feudal exploitation is extraordinarily strong there. People tramp along the banks of the Amazon, in search of any kind of work on the plantations of the landlords. Previously in years of drought there was a way out for the peasants: they could go to San Paolo, to the coffee plantations or to gather rubber—now there is no way out for them. They are faced with one road only: to arm and to seize the land. And the broad masses are being set into motion.

The partisan movement is also growing, but here also new methods are employed in the struggle. Now the partisans are not alone in their struggle. The struggle has the support of the toilers in the villages. The Partisan Kangaseiros are calling to struggle, are uniting the poor peasants in their battle for bread and for life. The government can no longer successfully deal with this movement. It is no longer a small peasant uprising against which it was enough to dispatch a hundred soldiers. In the Bahia province alone, the partisans represent a detachment of approximately 1,500 men, armed with machine guns, equipped with motor trucks, etc. Tales about the Lampeoni,\* those defenders of freedom, defenders of the peasants, are carried from mouth to mouth.

The struggle of the peasantry is spreading, embracing one province after another. For example, in the state of Rio de Janeiro, the peasants, armed with weapons, are coming out for the right to set up their own local authorities. In Bara du Pirahy, the peasantry fought under the guidance of our Party for their own partial demands, and won satisfaction. The peasants are fighting against being driven off the land. There are cases when the peasantry travel over 2-3,000 kilometers in order to get in touch with the Communist Party and be given leaders for their struggle. But we are unable to serve them to a sufficient degree.

We are very backward in developing our work in the villages. However, it cannot be said that we have accomplished nothing in the villages. We have a few nuclei, there are district organizations, there are bases which we can use as a starting point. It is the same in San Paolo and in other states. At our conference, we recorded that in all districts we already have a base in the village—true, as yet not a large one. We must do our utmost to develop work in the village. Actually, we began this work only some 7-8 months ago, when

\*Lampeoni, leader of peasant partisan detachment, who became a popular leader in Northeastern Brazil.

for the first time the question of the tasks of our work in the village was raised seriously.

Nevertheless, the peasants are already seeking to make contact with the Communist Party. The authority of the Party in the village is growing. We no longer hear our rank-and-file comrades say that the masses understand nothing and want nothing; on the contrary, they now say that the masses have really entered the path of revolution. We have heard declarations of this kind both in the factories and in the villages. A comrade from San Paolo informs us that he has been successful in creating three peasant nuclei per week.

We see that parallel with the struggle that we are developing in the towns, a struggle is also developing in the village. And, vice versa, the struggle in the village calls forth a response in the town. Our lower Party organizations are already beginning to understand the role of the Party. Our lower organizations are beginning to understand the basic points upon which we must touch in our work. The comrades understand how important it is to establish and strengthen our organizations at the Rio de Janeiro electrical power station, because it is the main strategic point in winning over the workers in Rio de Janeiro. And this in itself means a lot, when the comrades begin to understand the role of our strategic points.

The railwaymen propose that a conference of railwaymen be called jointly with the peasants, in order to link up the movement of the railwaymen with that of the peasantry.

Let us call to mind the past. The peasantry expected much from the heroic campaigns of the Prestes\* detachments. The peasantry took part in the uprisings of 1924 and 1928. This campaign was unable to satisfy the demands of the peasant masses. I think that our Party is capable of, and should utilize the revolutionary traditions in the village connected with the Prestes movement as a real force, since the peasant masses up to the present have expected that their liberation is to come at the hands of Prestes.

During the coup d'état in 1930, the Alliance Liberale\*\* actually succeeded in mobilizing the masses with promises of a distribution of the cattle and a distribution of the land. The peasants also heard that after the "revolution" they would get land. In the capital of Sergipe state it was said that the 1930 revolution would at least give the land to the peasants. The authorities of the state, fighting against the workers, were unable, despite the fact that they had greater forces at their disposal, to check the movement of the peasants who were seizing the land. But the peasantry was deceived by the Alliance Liberale, which in place of the old bourgeois landlord government, set up a new one of the same type.

In 1932, when peasant masses both in San Paolo and in the Northeast were being mobilized during the war between the Paolists\*\*\* and the Central Government, they were once more promised land and again deceived. The peasants began to turn to the Communist Party because when tens of thousands of peasants went to fight against the Paolists only the Party told the truth to these peasants

\*The Prestes detachments developed in 1924 as revolutionary organizations, consisting mainly of military elements. It embraced about 2,000 people and carried on a revolutionary war against the government with the support of the peasantry. The Prestes detachments carried on their campaign over an area of 25,000 square kilometers, but in the end were forced to go to Bolivian territory.

\*\*Alliance Liberale—Party of the bourgeoisie and landlords, linked up primarily with U. S. A. imperialism. In 1930 it came to power during a government coup d'état.

\*\*\*Paolists—the Party of large coffee plantation owners. In 1932 led the war in San Pablo against the feudal government.

and many of them began to fight against the bourgeois landlord regime and against war.

But today the masses of workers and peasants are already disillusioned; they understood that neither the advent to power of the Alliance Liberale in 1930 nor other attempts of the same kind can improve their position. The disillusionment that the masses feel in the government is extremely great. Now the masses know that these people will give them nothing whatsoever.

I want to refer to one fact which occurred during the coup d'etat of the Alliance Liberale in 1930, when the masses of the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie came out on the streets.

How did the masses of the people interpret this action?

In the majority of cases they began to fight against imperialism. It was absolutely in vain that we tried to get the Party to enter the struggle at the time, when the masses in Bahia set fire to the street cars. It is important to bear in mind that Bahia is populated by Negroes, the most oppressed of the population. The broad masses of the towns took part in this struggle, and the government was absolutely unable to do anything against this force. On that day I participated in the demonstrations. I saw the town in darkness, saw the crowds running from place to place, setting fire to street cars. The entire town was enveloped in flames, and no force—neither the government nor the troops—could beat back the rebels. The masses shouted: "Long live the Communist Party. Long live Communism." But after the masses had smashed the police and army units, the workers asked themselves the question: what should they do next? Had there, at that moment, existed a Party, linked up with the masses, enormous perspectives would have been opened up before us.

And now on the situation in the army. The army in Brazil is demoralized from the top to the bottom. It is not an army like that in the Argentine. In no other army is there such bad discipline as in the Brazilian army. This army does not resemble the German, the French nor the army of any other country. This army has behind it traditions of revolutionary struggle. Military schools were always strongholds of the revolutionary struggle for democratic liberty. In 1922 I myself was a soldier. At that time our discipline was such that we had only to be given a few cartridges, and we would immediately ask for a light from the officers. The soldiers took part in the uprisings.

The majority of the officers are from the petty bourgeoisie. They are young people who were unsuccessful in becoming officials, unsuccessful in winning their bachelor degrees, and who entered the army, because officers are paid salaries.

What has been happening in the army recently? There has been a strike in the military school, organized by our youth nucleus. The young men protested against compulsory drill, for better food, etc.

Now we have Communist organizations in the majority of the corps. The army is sympathetic towards strikers. The soldiers came to a textile factory and said: "We are not against the workers and will support you, have no fear".

A constant struggle is going on in the barracks. In the North the soldiers are reading the Party manifesto calling upon them to organize soviets and telling them about the Soviet Union.

In Pernambuco in 1931 the soldiers organized, arrested their officers and took the government into their own hands. They seized the

palaces and banks, took control of the tax apparatus, the post and the telegraph. And then they did not know what to do next. They then appealed to the officers who claimed to be in solidarity with the soldiers and released some of these officers. But the officers organized the forces of counter-revolution and despite their strong resistance the soldiers were crushed. Many of them were arrested and shot. The government, realizing the sympathy felt towards these units, disbanded them and the arrested men were transferred to the south, into other units. However, they continued to struggle even there and the struggle came to an end only when all the arrested men had been crushed. Information came to us that they had all perished. In Recife, when the struggle broke out on the streets, the masses had become so accustomed to the fact that the soldiers would be solid, that they immediately set out for the barracks to get weapons. In 1931 the soldiers themselves distributed weapons among the people, going from street to street and from house to house. But all of them were defeated, although many workers took part in the fighting.

In San Paolo of late the soldiers have been struggling for better food, better uniforms, and against the abuse of military drill. The recent uprising (in the beginning of 1934) was conducted under our leadership. Seventy per cent of the army consists of people who join the ranks to avoid death by starvation, and peasants who have been thrown off the land by the landlords or have sought refuge from the drought. This is the situation in the army of Brazil—the largest army in any of the countries of South and Caribbean America.

The same situation exists in the police force of Brazil. The Communists have their sympathy. There are cases when policemen go out of their way to shake the hand of a Communist.

On whom, then, does the government rely? Who defends the government? It is defended by the "special police", a specially selected, well-paid corps, the Integralist\* forces.

To characterize the existing situation, I will give no less significant examples from the struggle of the petty-bourgeois masses. The petty merchants of Brazil participate in the strikes against taxes, this struggle being led by petty-bourgeois leaders. Another fact. In Blumenau the population is German, and constitutes a national minority. The government wanted them to learn the Portuguese language, wanted to prohibit the German language in the schools. But the masses of workers, petty bourgeoisie and peasantry, rose up against this, organized big demonstrations and made preparations for a fight. We see the same thing in San Paolo, where the peasantry fought for local self-government in order not to pay taxes. In Rio de Janeiro bank clerks participated in a strike led by our trade-union center, and came out victorious. In the same way the court employees also went on strike.

The petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia are in a terrible situation. The wages of the dockers of Rio de Janeiro are higher than the earnings of the majority of the doctors. Journalists earn incomparably less than workers employed on government construction jobs. Bank clerks are referred to as "gilded paupers". They are forced to go to work in silk shirts, but in actual point of fact they are paupers, who are unable to pay for their apartments or to support their families.

\*Integralists—Brazilian fascists.

All this causes great dissatisfaction among all strata of the population. The workers are anxious to fight.

The Communist Party of Brazil does not as yet understand how to use united front tactics in order to win over the majority of the proletariat and to bring broad masses of the people into the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. Some activities were conducted successfully, but we made several mistakes. We launched the strike in Rio de Janeiro and other districts of Brazil, but strikes alone do not decide the problem as a whole. Our task is to mobilize wider masses.

With this as the starting point—and this should be clear to every Communist—we must create an independent class-conscious Party, a truly mass party of the proletariat. We must stand at the head of the movement of the workers and peasants as a whole and of the movement of the petty bourgeoisie. And this compels us to approach the question of the united front seriously.

In our united front tactics we cannot offer a recipe that can be applied in all cases. In each concrete case we should put forward concrete demands. In the struggle against imperialism, in the struggle against reaction and against the fascist bands, it is necessary to put forth demands which will serve to mobilize the broadest masses in the towns and villages.

We are beginning to understand better how to apply the united front tactics, and this gives us important results. These results are the big meetings and demonstrations which have taken place in Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande du Sul, and San Paolo. In Rio Grande du Sul, we have mobilized not only our own trade unions, but have made a proposal for a united front to the government trade unions, as well as to the small trade unions of the bank clerks. This gave us an opportunity to organize a big mass demonstration on August 3. The police answered the demonstrations of the workers with machine guns. Many were killed and wounded. But in spite of the terror, the masses boldly joined in the demonstration. According to our calculations, as many as 20,000 participated in this demonstration. Representatives of the peasantry from Barra du Pirahi also participated. An anti-war committee was set up composed of representatives of the trade unions, including also doctors and representatives of the petty bourgeoisie. All this is a result of the adoption of the united front tactics. The fact that the proletariat responded by developing strikes and extending the revolutionary movement only confirms the fact that the united front tactics were successful. These are all only small examples demonstrating our mistakes and successes.

In analyzing the question of the united proletarian front in Brazil, it is essential to underline the fact that contrary to the position in the Argentine, there is no centralized Socialist Party in Brazil nor any other party of that kind. Neither is there any centralized, reformist confederation of labor. We have no agrarian federation (as in the Argentine), or any organization resembling it. The only party on a national scale which united all the provinces, embracing 17 district committees, is the Communist Party. We can say that there is fertile soil in Brazil for our work. We can make our proposals for the united front, to such parties as, for example, the labor (Travailiste) party, and the "Tenientists"\* But until only recently the question has not arisen in Brazil of unity of action on a national scale. Proposals for

\*Party of middle officers, composed mainly of petty-bourgeois revolutionary elements.

unity of action were of a casual kind, while, as a matter of fact, there are extensive possibilities in Brazil for launching the united front. We have nothing to be afraid of in the united front with the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, the kangaseirus (partisans) and even with certain national reformist elements from the bourgeois parties.

At the present moment, the main question in Brazil is the struggle against imperialism, against the latifundia owners, against imperialist intervention in the Northeast. It is necessary to create a broad people's front, for the task confronts us of struggling against imperialism, of fighting against fascist bands, against integralism, against reaction, on behalf of democratic liberties, for the confiscation of the lands of foreign latifundia owners, and national traitors, for the distribution of land among the peasants, for the eight hour working day, for national independence and the unity of Brazil, for the overthrow of the Vargas government—the agency of imperialism—and for the creation of a national revolutionary government.

This is the situation in Brazil. The Communist Party has grown up side by side with the growth of the mass movement.

We have no rank-and-file Party members, and no members of the Central Committee, who do not carry on daily work in nuclei. Every week we control the work of every comrade, and discuss all that he has done for the nucleus. We are not impressed by, neither do we fall victims to, the influence of those red speeches which he may have uttered in the Central Committee, but we check up on his local work, look into what results he has achieved in the nucleus.

The present position is very different from that of a year ago, when we had leaders who were not seen in their nucleus for six months at a time. Now the Party controls and puts to the test the work of every one of its members.

We are reconstructing the Party. Previously 90 per cent of our organizations was composed of street nuclei. Now we are conducting a big campaign to convert these street nuclei into shop nuclei.

We no longer have small nuclei in the factories consisting of only five or six persons. In the factories our nuclei rely upon committees of struggle. We have nuclei with over 100 members, which have already won for themselves a definite position in the trade-union movement, and especially in the railwaymen's union of the Central Brazilian Railway, which is composed of 15,000 members.

How do we recruit new members into the Party? The entire organization as a whole, as well as responsible comrades especially attached to the nuclei, is responsible for this work. They are responsible to us also for the organization of conferences of sympathizers, for the mass organizations under the leadership of the nuclei.

In this respect we are very backward in San Paolo. In San Paolo we have used up more forces than elsewhere; provocation has taken from us our best cadres. But we have taken determined steps and have begun to form our cadres in the heat of the struggle, during the strikes which have been taking place there recently.

How did we begin to make contacts with the masses? We explained to our Party membership that if the nuclei are not linked up with the masses, if they do not guide the work of the strike committees, then they will be mere groups of monks, of sophists—anything you like, but not Communist nuclei. In the nucleus we also discuss the demands of the workers, discuss the work of those mass organs

which work under the guidance of the nuclei. We interested sympathetic workers in the work of the nuclei and began to overcome the colossal fluctuation of members which previously existed in our organizations. We did all this in the heat of a severe ideological struggle, in a struggle against Right opportunism, which was particularly strong in our Party, against the survivals of the renegade group of Ostrajild. For example, we gave the nucleus of the big Lloyd factory, where the leadership was very weak, an opportunity to lead a strike. The strike was carried through, and—what is most important—the workers elected a broad shop committee consisting of 90 persons.

What is the composition of the Party leadership today? All of us have behind us years, decades of revolutionary struggle, true, many years outside the ranks of the Party.

There are many hostile influences in our Party, the level of ideological development is not high enough; we have too few comrades among the leaders who have read more than five Marxist-Leninist books, and many of us cannot read at all. But we have all had experience in the struggle, and we are all in contact with the masses.

We still have many chatterboxes, honest chatterboxes. We don't want to listen to them "hailing" the political line in their empty reports. We want to see people who can put the line of the Party into actual practice. We want to know people who are capable of creating nuclei, who are able to convert these nuclei into truly mass organizations; we want to know leaders who are able to organize and lead the struggle.

Recently, as the results of the struggles we have led, new cadres have been acquired. These are really leaders, leaders whom the masses know.

What must we say in summing up? The landlords and the bourgeoisie feel the acuteness of the situation. They say that a cruel fate awaits them, that Brazil is facing a national revolution, a revolution of the Russian type. It is impossible to hold back the struggle of the peasants and workers of Brazil any longer: the troops cannot be relied on, the police are weak. It is said that the police sometimes even sympathize with the workers and peasants. For this reason, the bourgeoisie are seeking a strong government. They are training special police, which are already concentrated in the key positions. The bourgeoisie are compelled to admit that the constitution and the constituent assembly were compromised in the eyes of the masses with the very day they were created.

A great responsibility lies upon us. We must go into the villages with slogans that the masses will be able to utilize properly. We must change our methods of agitation and propaganda in the village. Our manifestoes go into the villages, and the peasants, reading them, say: "Let us seize the land!" They come together and say that they no longer want to pay taxes. They say, "In your manifesto we read about exactly that which we already intended doing ourselves." And the peasantry are beginning to make the transition to actually carrying out our call to struggle.

What will happen if we link up with the broad masses of the Northeast? We must not fear that we shall be called golpists\*, putschists. The peasants want to fight with arms in hand. The soldiers want to

\* Golpists—groupings which prepare coup d'état.

fight for a better life. The broad masses of the people are joining the struggle. We shall fight, arms in hand, for the improvement of their material conditions, against imperialism, against the reactionary government of Vargas, against the latifundia owners. Enough of this trailing at the tail end of the movement! The movement must be properly organized!

We know our weaknesses, but we must nevertheless state that the revolution will come in Brazil. And if the Party does not win positions for itself in Brazil, it will be discredited in the eyes of the mass of the workers and peasants, who are waiting for their leader to arise in the form of the Communist Party.

Jose Americu\* threw in our faces the statement that the Northeast is a force, which, if thrown into battle, no other force will be able to check. This is exactly what Getulio Vargas\*\* said, when he drew therefrom the conclusion that preparations must be made for violent reaction. Getulio and the ruling clique are preparing for reaction, for terror. Do you not agree that in the face of these prospects it would be gross irresponsibility on our part not to take proper measures? We must head the struggle of the people. And in the course of this struggle, we shall grow into a mighty force capable of leading millions in the struggle for national liberation, for land, for bread, for freedom.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 52

[*Inprecorr*, December 21, 1935. Pp. 1718-1720]

### THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY UPRISING IN BRAZIL

By G. (Rio de Janeiro)

In Natal and Recife, the two capitals respectively of the Brazilian states, Rio Grande do Norte and Pernambuco, the military forces which were stationed in the two cities rose, on November 22, supported by broad masses of the people, and in particular by the entire working class of those places.

While the revolutionists in Natal succeeded, after a twenty-four hours' battle with the military police, in capturing Natal and several other towns in the State of Rio Grande, and in setting up the first national-revolutionary people's government (which, however, was able to retain control for only four days), a like success was lacking in Recife. The revolutionists were not able to gain the centre of the city and the port against the military police. But the workers, after occupying the Villa Militar and the most important working-class suburbs, did however, gain a most advantageous strategic position along the railway line which leads inland. This enabled them later to retire inland with all their arms and munitions.

The main revolutionary forces in Rio Grande do Norte were enabled to make a similar move, after the national-revolutionary government had been forced to retire by the much stronger forces of the federal government and of the government of the State of

\*Jose Americu—the secretary of state of Parahiba who made use of demagogic slogans to draw the peasants of Parahiba into the government coup d'etat in 1930.

\*\*Getulio Vargas—the President of the Brazilian Republic, who came to power through the government coup d'etat in 1930. He was the leader of the Alliance Libérale and pursues a reactionary policy. Vargas is connected with American imperialism, but frequently makes concessions to the supporters of the English orientation.

Bahia. The first organised, armed national-revolutionary forces, consisting of soldiers and workers, have unfolded the banner of the national-revolutionary rising in Sertao—far within the land. They are rallying the peasants and rural workers to the banner of Luiz Carlos Prestes and the “Allianca Nacional Libertadora” (National Alliance for Liberation). The first national-revolutionary people’s government in Brazil has fallen, but the national revolution has set out along the path of struggle, and has undergone its first battles with great concrete gains.

The reactionaries of Brazil, South America and all capitalist countries, refer to the “great conspiracy” of the Communists and of Luiz Carlos Prestes, who are supposed to have planned a national revolution in Brazil on the basis of the resolutions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.

What are the actual facts? In North and North-East Brazil a series of strikes took place, starting in October, which in certain States assumed the proportions of a general strike. The workers of the Great Western Railway were granted a thirty per cent wage increase, as soon as their strike began, more and more, to assume the nature of an uprising. It was, in fact, this particular strike which gave the definite motive for the rising. The soldiers were ordered to fire upon a workers’ demonstration. As one man, they refused to carry out this order, and proceeded to fraternise with the strikers. Against the orders of their reactionary officers, the soldiers withdrew to the barracks, together with the striking workers and their families, where the fraternisation proceeded apace and a strong alliance was formed between them. The reactionary governments in Natal as in Recife, sought to disarm, dismiss and remove the revolutionary troops. Thereupon, the soldiers and workers rose together in rebellion, under the leadership of the National Alliance for Liberation, in whose ranks both Communists and non-Communists fought together, shoulder to shoulder.

During recent months, also, three other local general strikes took place—in Espirito Santo, Bahia and Recife—against the holding of Integralist (fascist) congresses in those places.

A strong partisan movement of the peasants arose in four States in the North and North-East. Antagonisms within the camp of the ruling class assumed ever more acute form. Under such circumstances, conditions favourable to the national revolution and to an uprising matured more rapidly in the North and the North-East than in Central and South Brazil.

But the extent and the prospects of the revolutionary movement in the North-East brought urgently to the fore the question of support elsewhere for the national-revolutionary struggle for liberation. Really decisive support, which would influence the development of the revolution throughout the whole country, could, at this juncture, only come rapidly enough from Rio de Janeiro. In this situation, the national-revolutionaries were of the opinion that neither demonstrations of protest nor even strikes were an adequate form of support, that nothing could avail except an uprising, having as its object the overthrow of the government of Getulio Vargas—a government sold to imperialism—and the establishment of a national people’s government with Prestes at its head. After a most careful consideration of the situation, and in view of the extremely short time at their disposal, the national-revolutionary leadership came to the decision to launch

a general rising of the people by means of a revolt in the barracks at Rio de Janeiro. The revolutionary forces here were considerable in number and were armed, and the organized active participation of the working class of Rio de Janeiro (both of the capital and the State of that name) in an extended struggle on behalf of the national-revolution could be depended upon. Revolutionary officers and soldiers examined the situation together with working-class leaders, and they were mutually agreed on the decision for the uprising. They hoped to seize the initiative by a bold stroke, and then to develop their full forces in the struggle. In the event of victory, or of a struggle with good prospects of victory, in Rio de Janeiro, the other centres of the national-revolutionary movement were to swing into the struggle.

Undoubtedly, here we had a case of the over-estimation of the strength of the national-revolutionaries, and an under-estimation of the forces still at the disposal of their opponents, in the capital.

The revolutionary troops of the Third Infantry Regiment and of the Flying School were beaten by superior forces after a battle lasting from seven to nine hours. Despite the heroic efforts of revolutionary officers and soldiers, they were unsuccessful in winning over to their side other important military units, such as mechanised artillery, and so on. By the early morning of November 27, the revolutionary leaders realized clearly that the uprising would be unsuccessful, even with the aid of the workers' shock brigades. They had, then, no choice but to surrender to their opponents, as the particular circumstances in Rio de Janeiro rendered it impossible to break through and make for the interior. The government took prisoner 2,500 soldiers and 50 officers, ranging from lieutenants to colonels. But the government did not dare shoot any of them. Amidst cheers by the prisoners and the crowds for the Prestes government, the arrested soldiers were taken off to islands just off the coast from Rio de Janeiro. As they were led away, thousands of workers and petty-bourgeois, men and women, lined the streets, escorted the heroic fighters on their way, presented them with food, clothing and cigarettes.

A mass movement of considerable proportions, in favour of the release of these prisoners, is now developing.

In the North-East, the vengeance of the feudal governments was directed against the workers, after the withdrawal of the armed revolutionary forces. In the two States of Rio Grande do Norte and of Pernambuco alone, where the risings took place, 1,500 workers and intellectuals—among the latter, Brazil's most famous scientists—have been arrested.

The "victorious" generals then met in conference to discuss the establishment of the death penalty for the revolutionists. But so strong was the solidarity of the masses of the people that, only a few days after the conference, the minister for war was compelled to explain that the conference of generals had not demanded the imposition of the death penalty but only a prompt sentencing of the revolutionaries within the provisions of the existing Security Laws, which impose penalties of from six to ten years' imprisonment. So the fascist clique on the general staff did not succeed in putting through their demands.

The government is seeking, by means of pressure upon parliament to have the Security Laws made more drastic, but is encountering numerous difficulties.

For no one expects the present government to last long. A few weeks ago, the federal parliament passed by 80 to 73 votes the proposal, put forward by the leaders of the National-Liberation movement, to demand that the government dissolve the organisation of the Integralists. Of course, the Vargas government, which is coming ever closer to the fascists, is in no mind to order this dissolution.

The government will not succeed in representing the national-revolutionary struggle for liberation as "the work of Moscow" or a "Communist revolution." And the masses of the people know well that the Communists are the most active fighters in the national-revolutionary movement and recognises in the beloved leader of the movement, Luiz Carlos Prestes, the assurance that the national revolution in Brazil will follow a different path from that of previous uprisings and "revolutions."

Supported by the affection of the Brazilian people, surrounded by a solid mass of thousands of soldiers and officers who have been tried and tested in battle, recognised as a leader who will realise, through the revolutionary activity of the people and the troops, the slogan—which he himself launched—"All Power to the National Alliance for Liberation," Prestes is to-day more than ever before the great national-revolutionary popular leader of Brazil.

For months now, the government has been planning the dismissal from the service of thousands of non-commissioned officers, and hundreds of officers, accompanied by a strengthening of the police and of the military police and the saturation of the two latter bodies with fascist elements. However, the government will not succeed in preventing these dismissed revolutionary officers and non-commissioned officers from remaining in touch with the Brazilian army and navy which have great revolutionary traditions. The basis of the army will remain the same: workers and poor peasants, among whom revolutionary sentiment will grow ever stronger and revolutionary tactics will be more widely adopted.

Great national-revolutionary organisations, and a strong general staff of the national revolution, embracing the whole country, have come into being under the leadership of Luiz Carlos Prestes. Workers, peasants, petty-bourgeois, soldiers and officers have fought shoulder to shoulder in the uprising in the North and North-East. It is well worthy of mention that the non-Communist national-revolutionary officers also fought with all their power and without vacillation; that after the defeat in Rio de Janeiro they boldly confronted their opponents and tried to evade no responsibility. Among them, even after their imprisonment, the resolution was strongly manifested to stand by the idea of the national liberation of Brazil and of a Prestes government. The Brazilian people will soon secure the release of these heroes.

A new series of working-class struggles is approaching. The peasants are organising. Dissatisfaction and militancy are growing everywhere, even including the middle farmers. Armed groups of partisans are being formed. Three armed revolutionary forces, already numbering several thousand, are bringing the revolution to the interior in the North and North-East. In considerable sections of the country, the revolutionary forces within the army are intact; in those areas where the uprisings occurred, they are being

reorganised. The illegal organisation of the Communist Party has not been materially damaged, although the losses in Natal and Recife were large. A broad popular front is now for the first time really coming into being, even if certain vacillating elements are contemplating retreat. Profiting by the lessons of those great revolutionary struggles, the national revolution of Brazil will continue on its way—better prepared, more assured, and with greater success.

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EXHIBIT No. 53

[*Inprecorr*, April 18, 1936. Pp. 503-504]

The Intellectuals of Argentina Against Reaction in Brazil

A group of Argentine intellectuals have published an appeal against reaction in Brazil, in which they state, inter alia:

For five years Brazil has suffered under the dictatorship of Vargas, who has usurped the position of the will of the people, and is treading underfoot the people's dearest rights. Since 1930, the finances of our great sister nation have been squandered, its economy ruined, war expenditure increased, the total deficit of the budget has risen, the national debt has increased beyond all bounds. 30 million pounds sterling are swallowed up every year by the imperialist dragon. The taxes increase from day to day, and the prices of the necessities of life rise steadily. The people of Brazil are suffering starvation and privation.

The situation in Brazil is unbearable; the dissatisfaction of the people has crystallised in the National Liberation Alliance formed at the beginning of 1935, and gathering around it the whole of the working class, the peasants, the Indians, the middle classes and the soundest elements of the bourgeoisie, the parties of all tendencies, the Labour Party members, the Socialists, the Communists, the Lieutenants, the Liberal-Alliance, the organisations for sport, education, etc., the trade unions, the intellectuals' associations, etc.

One concrete question unites all these apparently diverse forces: the striving for better conditions of living, for higher wages, for the repudiation of the monstrous foreign debt which the people can never pay under the humiliating conditions of imperialist and colonial oppression. This powerful liberation movement enjoys the support of the majority of the population, and raises the flag of a brilliant leader: Prestes, the liberator.

General Luiz Carlos Prestes, the Knight of Hope (the name under which he is known and loved in Brazil), was elected President of the National Liberation Alliance at the great Congress held in the Stadium in Rio de Janeiro.

Prestes gained his revolutionary experience in the fire of the revolutions of 1922 and 1924. Leader of the "Prestes Column," a mighty movement formed by thousands of soldiers and civilians, he led his column over 15,000 miles, thereby rallying all the forces in the people opposed to the exploitation of the large landowners and industrialists, the confederates of foreign capital. This march is remembered as a masterpiece of military technique and strategy, according with the purest traditions of the history of Brazil.

Prestes, an excellent general and an unwearying fighter for the welfare of his people, is more than an individual human being; he is the symbol of Brazil fighting for its freedom. He represents the Brazil of to-day and of to-morrow. Therefore, the people expect their freedom at the hands of the National Liberation Alliance and its heroic leader.

At a moment when the reactionary offensive was rapidly intensifying, revolution broke out in Brazil, the first step towards the sharp conflict of the civil war.

The kept press has done its best to stamp this movement as a Communist insurrection or a military mutiny. These are lies. The movement is deeply rooted in the people, and this outbreak was an expression of the profound discontent among the broad masses of the people of Brazil. It has proved that dissatisfaction has reached the point at which the people rise against their oppressors at home and abroad; it has shown the degree of solidarity among the different strata of the population. It is possible that the spontaneity of the movement itself, and other accidental factors, were the cause of the defeat of this first attempt. The police and soldiers sent to quell a railwaymen's strike at Natal fraternised with the strikers.

Vargas resorts to barbarous and bloody suppression, for he feels the ground slipping from beneath his feet. But the struggle has been resumed with full force. Prestes' Column was victorious over wild beasts and primeval forests, over swamps and mountains, and over the fighting forces of the government. The National Liberation Alliance, representing the whole people of Brazil welded together in one determined fighting force, is still fighting, and will continue to fight till victory has been attained over the greed of the imperialists and over the allied forces of the reactionaries of America, headed by Justo, Terra and Vargas.

History always shows us two forces combatting one another: progress and barbarism, the past and the future. In 1815, the absolute monarchies combined to hold up the advance of the democratic principles proclaimed by the French revolution. A century later reaction and fascism armed mercenary troops to crush the uprising of the Russian peoples, who had broken the fetters of the Tsarist regime. To-day the imperialists sign mutual aid pacts in America with their colonial agents, in order to ensure the suppression of the urge to freedom of the broad masses.

Justo, Terra and Vargas have signed a pact promising mutual aid and intervention with armed forces should they find the security of their governments threatened by the advance of the people in their struggle for the reconquest of their land and liberty. It is thus intended that the Argentine army shall be employed as an instrument for the suppression of our brothers in South America.

A burning wind of insurrection is sweeping across Latin America. The peoples are waking, are grasping the fact that the wars and the frightful exploitation under which they suffer are the work of foreign capital and its agents, the tyrants at home in their own countries.

We Argentinians support all who are fighting the anti-national elements, the imperialist forces, and the governments which do not represent the real will of the people. We deem it our duty to prevent by all available means the sending of troops and arms in the event of inner struggles in our neighbouring countries, precisely as we should reject with indignation the interference of foreign forces in a similar

case in our own country. Comprehensive and far-reaching solidarity of action is the force which we oppose to the alliance of anti-national reactionary forces.

### The Programme of the Brazilian People's Government of National Liberation

Luiz Carlos Prestes, in his appeal "To the whole Brazilian people" on July 5, 1935, drew up the programme of a future Brazilian People's Government of national liberation:

1. No payment nor recognition of foreign debts.
  2. Denunciation of the anti-national agreements made with the imperialists.
  3. Nationalisation of the most important public utilities (gas, electricity, town transport, etc.—Ed.), and of those undertakings under foreign control which do not submit to the laws of the People's Government.
  4. Eight-hour day as maximum, social insurance (pensions, etc.), higher wages, equal pay for equal work, guaranteed minimum wages, fulfilment of the other demands of the proletariat.
  5. Fight against feudal and slave conditions of work.
  6. Allocation of land to poor workers and peasants, and expropriation without compensation of the land held by the reactionary large landowners and the reactionary elements of the church (those who oppose the emancipation of Brazil and of the people).
  7. Return of the land taken from the Indians by force.
  8. Complete freedom of the people, liquidation of all legal differences between races and nationalities, complete religious liberty, separation of church from state.
  9. Against all imperialist war. Promotion of close collaboration with such organisations as the National Liberation Alliance in other Latin American countries and with all oppressed classes and peoples.
- Prestes Exposes the Role Played by Vargas During the Past Six Years

In 1930, Vargas and his political bloc, the Alliance Liberal, organised a coup d'état with money and arms supplied by the imperialists, overthrew the reactionary government of Washington Luiz, and proclaimed Vargas dictator of Brazil.

Thirteen days after the victory of Vargas, on November 6, 1930, the leader of the Brazilian national liberation movement, Prestes, issued an appeal to the "Revolutionists of Brazil," exposing the coup d'état staged by Vargas. The following are a few passages from this appeal, subsequently fully confirmed by events:

"The hour in which I once more confirm my complete solidarity with the toiling masses of Brazil is the hour when these masses are experiencing the replacement of one dictatorship by another, and it need not be said an even crueller and more bloody dictatorship."

"A characteristic example of the influence exercised by the imperialists on the formation of the Alliance Liberal is the manner in which the 'united front' was brought about in the State of Rio Grande do Sul. The bank of Rio Grande do Sul was established with foreign capital, and by means of its loans to the cattle-breeders of Rio Grande two political groups were united which had been combatting one another for 40 years."

"In Brazil, as everywhere else in Latin America, the mystifiers misuse the word 'revolution' for grossly deceiving the toiling masses. These are the natural tactics of the agents of imperialism."

"In Rio Grande do Sul the putschists came out in their true colours at once, for they threatened to shoot without trial anyone who criticised their coup by word or deed."

"The purpose is obvious: a military putsch has been carried out, and autocracy overthrown. The coup d'état carried out with the aid of elements not yet corrupted by power now pursues the aim of intoxicating the masses by means of an illusion of victory, thus extending the inner basis of imperialist rule. In this way another autocracy is being prepared, one much more decided, brutal, and violent, but enjoying a prestige which the last dictatorship did not enjoy—the prestige of a 'revolutionary' power. Thanks to this prestige, the imperialists can carry on their business with much greater ease, and the new rulers can bargain away the land, the mines, the public works, anything and everything that London and New York fancies."

"What will the victors do next? Of what will the work of reconstruction consist, of which they talk so vaguely?"

"It need not be said that they will endeavour to solve the present economic crisis at the expense of the workers. Wages will be reduced, and the lower civil servants who have no patrons or relations in the new government will be dismissed. The workers on the coffee plantations will work 'patriotically' for nothing for the landowners . . . On the cattle ranches of Rio Grande do Sul and Matto Grosso and on the sugar plantations in the North, the conditions of the workers will remain unchanged or be rendered still harder by increased taxation."

"Comrades! The new tyranny will attempt to solve the present economic crisis at your expense. The rationalisation of the production of coffee will bring with it general starvation. In order to satisfy the magnates in London and New York, the tyrants will ruthlessly persecute the revolutionary vanguard, following the example of the dictators of Peru, Bolivia, and Argentina. All who refuse to accept the new creed will be arrested, deported, even shot."

"No doubt there will be an amnesty, and freedom of the press and propaganda, but only in words. The real revolutionists will still be persecuted and will not be allowed to circulate or read their press."

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#### D. CHILE, PERU

The story of the establishment of the popular front in Chile has been told by Eudocio Ravines, who spent considerable time in Moscow training for this specific assignment.<sup>1</sup> One of his leading mentors was no less a Communist authority than Mao Tse-tung. According to Mao, the Yen-an way would work as well in Latin America as in China. The core of this Yen-an way consisted of the correct use of Trojan horse tactics among the "liberal" bourgeoisie. Mao explained to Ravines that exclusive reliance upon the proletariat had brought ruin to the Communist Party of China. In the spirit of the Seventh World Congress, Mao intended to broaden the base of his own party to include middle class and professional people, either as party members or as gullible sympathizers.

When Ravines returned to Moscow in 1938 for the third time, Dimitrov supervised his education, particularly with regard to Communist exploitation of sympathizing university professors and writers.<sup>2</sup> And Manuilsky added the

<sup>1</sup> Ravines, *Yenan Way*, ch. V and VI.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 265-268.

observation that those professors and writers who censure the Soviet Union must be blacklisted and in every conceivable manner demoralized.

William Z. Foster has noted with approval the success of the popular front in Chile in 1938.<sup>3</sup> Considerable progress was also made in the united front Latin American Confederation of Labor (CTAL).<sup>4</sup> Only in Brazil and Colombia have Communist organizers tended toward a more radical third (1928-34) period strategy.<sup>5</sup>

Ravines also had considerable personal experience with the Communist Party of Peru.<sup>6</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 54

[*Inprecorr*, April 18, 1936. Pp. 504-505]

### REPRESSIVE MEASURES AND GROTESQUE FALSEHOODS IN CHILE

By Horacio

At the beginning of February the strike of the railwaymen in Chile commenced. In the course of a week this strike spread to a large number of the industries of Santiago, Valparaiso, Concepcion, Valdivia, and other towns. The President, Alessandri, proclaimed martial law in a number of provinces, and instigated savage persecution against his political opponents. In a few days over 1,000 arrests had been made, and dozens of the arrested persons were sent at once to the remote group of islands in the South.

It is obvious that the government, in taking these measures, aimed at more than merely suppressing the strike movement. Among those arrested and banished are the most energetic leaders of the opposition parties, editors of newspapers, lawyers, former military leaders, many of them without the slightest connection with the labour movement.

Here once more the police made an idiotic attempt to "justify" their action on the grounds of a "Communist conspiracy." The public of Chile laughed when they read the names of many of those supposed to have taken part in this "Communist conspiracy"—Ismael Edwards, Colonel Berrios, and ex-president Ibanez, to give a few instances.

Alessandri proclaimed martial law and prorogued Parliament before its time without venturing to risk its decision, although he has the majority in Parliament. The Chilean government is opposed not only by the workers' organisations and parties, but by all the democratic and people's parties; it is not only hated by the small tradesmen and small industrialists, but is opposed by the old and powerful Radical Party, which represents strong forces in the industrial bourgeoisie and among the large landowners; at the same time it is opposed by the parties of the agrarian and Catholic elements, by a section of the army, by the craft organisations, the students' and other associations.

This national opposition can certainly not be an imported product of the Communist International. At the Pan-American Conference convened in Santiago by the International Labour Office, Solis, a workers' delegate from Chile, quoted convincing figures showing the

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 402-403; *History of the Americas*, pp. 383-384, 419, 421.

<sup>4</sup> Herring, *Latin America*, p. 380. Bannon and Dunne, *Latin America*, p. 715.

<sup>5</sup> *International Communist Movement*, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, pp. 58-63, 72-73.

<sup>6</sup> Ravines, *op. cit.*, ch. IV.

want and misery suffered by the workers and peasants of his country (Alessandri has caused Solis too to be arrested, and ignores the repeated demands made for his release by the International Labour Office). But the unbearable economic situation is not confined to the toiling masses of the population, and if even a considerable section of the bourgeoisie which is not collaborating with foreign imperialism is in opposition to the policy of the government, this is due to the fact that it is an anti-national government.

For the past twelve months the revenue authorities have not received a single penny of the profits on saltpetre and copper, formerly their chief source of revenue. This is the consequence of the agreement regarding payment of the foreign debt, by which the national wealth of the country is completely alienated from its people and flows into the pockets of the capitalists of the U. S. A. and Great Britain. A few months ago the American-owned electricity monopoly forced the government to return 192 million pesos, which it owed the taxation authorities and which it had been ordered by the courts of justice to pay. Chile is becoming a vassal of imperialism, and the process is proceeding with increasing rapidity under the "expert" guidance of the Minister of Finance Ross, who at once took steamer across the ocean after concluding the agreement with the electricity company.

The wealth of Chile, its raw materials lying conveniently to hand on the coast of the Pacific, tempts the appetite of the imperialists; the imperialists of Germany and Japan, ignoring the monopolies claimed by the U. S. A. and Great Britain are attempting to grab them. Special activity is being shown by Hitler's hordes, who are receiving support in Chile itself from the national socialist movement there.

The imperialist colonisation oppresses not only the toiling masses, but is imposing intolerable burdens on those broad strata of the bourgeoisie represented by the above-named oppositional parties. Alessandri seems to believe that the accusation of engaging in a "Communist conspiracy" will suffice to crush this opposition. The government has brought forward old forged "documents" in defence of its policy, but the only thing proved by these "documents" is that these petty dictators are ready to resort to the clumsiest methods in their endeavours to deceive public opinion.

Alessandri has declared himself to be in the possession of letters proving that a conspiracy, instigated from abroad, has been organised by the Communists. On February 16, these letters were published by one of those Montevideo newspapers which have supported the policy of Terra, the "cheese" president of Uruguay. The letters were ascribed to Luiz Carlos Prestes, the national hero of Brazil. This newspaper asserted that these letters were written from the Soviet Embassy in Montevideo, where Prestes fled after the uprising in Brazil.

The fellow-countryman of the "cheese" president who penned these letters wrote on notepaper bearing the heading "U.S.S.R.," followed by the title: "Executive Committee of the C.I." Should any gullible person have really believed in the genuineness of these letters, he must have wondered at the carelessness with which the C.I. uses paper with this heading for its famous "instructions." And he must have been even more surprised to read that L. C. Prestes, allegedly writing these letters, gives the names of his supposed col-

leagues, the distributors of the "Moscow gold," and adds, without any reason and quite unnecessarily, the key to all these connections!

Alessandri had sharply brought forward these accusations in Chile, when the Left Bloc, comprising three parties of the opposition, and with the approval of Grove, who is involved in the affair, demanded from Alessandri that the letters should be submitted to a court of justice, to which the Bloc would prove that they were forgeries. The week given Alessandri to give up the letters elapsed, but he refused to take up the challenge of the Bloc, thus admitting his guilt.

At the same time ex-president Ibanez, who was named in the clumsy Montevideo documents, published in the newspaper "La Prensa" in Buenos Aires, a statement denying any connection whatever with the Communists. He proved that the documents were a forgery by the following fact: It was stated that he had had an interview with a "Deputy Prestes" in Buenos Aires on a day when he was in Montevideo, which can be proved by the registers of the shipping company and the police.

Everywhere the true countenances of these comic-opera presidents, these oppressors of the people, these traitors to their fatherland, these forgers, must be exposed. Overwhelming pressure must be brought to bear in order to secure the release of the best sons of the people of Chile who are being persecuted and calumniated because they are eagerly striving for the independence and progress of their country.

#### EXHIBIT No. 55

[*Inprecorr*, March 13, 1937. P. 306]

#### THE SITUATION IN PERU

By Octavio Brandao

The American Revolutionary People's Alliance, at its foundation in 1924, had adopted a programme of struggle against Imperialism. This programme assured its influence over the toiling masses. The A. R. P. A., which claims to have 600,000 workers, Indian peasants and urban petty bourgeois, in its ranks, put forward its leader Haya de la Torre as candidate for the Presidency of the Republic. In addition, it put forward as candidates for Vice-President an Indian who is a textile worker, and for many years trade union leader, serving at present a prison sentence, and a colonel of the army, who, for political reasons, has emigrated abroad.

These candidates were received with great sympathy by the masses, who have suffered terribly under the yoke of the imperialists and their agents, among whom the present President Benavides is the worst of all. Everywhere pamphlets and leaflets were distributed, secret wireless stations conducted propaganda, the walls were covered with chalked slogans.

The Benavides government became uneasy in view of this agitation. Using as a pretext a revolt provoked by the government, but conducted by the A. R. P. A., the government postponed the elections four times before September, 1934. The government crushed the revolt, arrested 5,000 followers of the A. R. P. A., exiled 100, killed numerous insurgents, and banned the A. R. P. A.

In the year 1936 the Government, in view of the election agitation, again staged "revolts" and "attempts" which it attributed to the A. R. P. A., and used them as a pretext to exclude the A. R. P. A. from the election.

The Communist Party of Peru had proposed to the A. R. P. A. the formation of a broad anti-imperialist people's front. Among the rank and file there were cases of spontaneous formation of a united front between the followers of the A. R. P. A. and the Communists. Unfortunately, the leaders of the A. R. P. A. rejected the proposal of the Communists, asserting that the A. R. P. A. itself represents the best possible united front, and that it would be drawn into illegality if it were to form a bloc with the Communists.

As the A. R. P. A. could not put forward its candidate at the election, it appealed to its followers to vote for Eguiguren, who was supported by all the Left parties and groups. In all, four candidates were put forward in the Presidential elections: Flores, Villaran, Prado and Eguiguren.

Flores is the representative of the extreme Right wing of the ruling classes and of the imperialists.

Villaran is the representative of the Right bloc of several reactionary parties; he is the lawyer of some imperialist joint stock companies.

Prado is the representative of the "centre," a bloc comprising reactionary and liberal groups formed by a number of parties under the name of "national front." Under the pressure of the rank and file of his bloc, this candidate attempted several times to make a rapprochement to the A. R. P. A., but the A. R. P. A. refused even to negotiate with him.

Eguiguren, member of the town council of Lima, leader of the Social Democratic Party, had joined the "national front," but left it at the last moment and put forward his own candidature.

In spite of the fact that he was late in coming into the field Eguiguren polled the majority of votes. The Government staged fresh provocations (attempt to storm a barracks, robbery of 67 ballot boxes in Huancayo, etc.), stopped the counting of votes throughout the whole country, declared the election invalid, formed a cabinet consisting of army officers, and established a military feudal dictatorship which is supported by the imperialists. In short, it carried out a coup d'etat.

Benavides, the present President, instead of handing over his office to the candidate who had been elected, induced Congress (the parliament) to re-elect him as President until the end of 1939.

The Constituent Congress, which approved of all these violations of the constitution committed by the government, in no way reflects the desires and aspirations of the people. It was elected in 1931, and held its sessions with only 50 members present, whilst 145 members is the minimum number required to constitute a proper session.

The army is split into various groups, adhering either to the A. R. P. A., Prado, Flores, and the government.

The newspapers under the influence of the government are carrying on a campaign of slander against the republican fighters of Spain, whilst the mass of the people only demonstrate their abhorrence of fascism (demonstrations in Lima, stoning the German Consulate, etc.). Just as in the whole of Latin America the people of Peru are following with intense sympathy the magnificent struggle conducted by the Spanish people against the fascist.

Benavides' coup d'état is a dangerous call to the other governments of Latin America to follow his example. In Brazil, President Vargas is making preparations to this end.

Important events are ripening in Peru. The people are discontented. The Indians are terribly oppressed. More than ever is it necessary to establish and strengthen a broad anti-imperialist People's Front. All anti-imperialists, all anti-fascists will welcome any step the A. R. P. A. may undertake in this direction.

#### EXHIBIT No. 56

[*Inprecorr*, May 1, 1937. P. 462]

### PEOPLE'S FRONT VICTORY IN CHILE

By Hal Clark (New York)

The first functioning People's Front in the Western Hemisphere will be represented in the next Chilean Parliament, meeting on May 7, by 10 Senators and 66 members of the Chamber of Deputies.

Total membership of the Senate is 25, and of the Chamber, 146.

Both the Communist and Socialist Parties, as well as organised labour, definitely gained legislative representation by participation in the Popular Front's electoral campaign, climaxed by the March 7 elections.

An outstanding triumph in the elections was achieved by Elias Lafertte, former head of the Chilean Federation of Labour. In exile at the time of the elections, Lafertte was elected Senator, the only Communist to be chosen for the upper house. He ran on the Communist Party ticket, part of a People's Front slate, and polled more votes than any candidates in the region he had chosen to represent—the important industrial zones of Tarapaca and Antofagasta provinces.

Seven Communists were elected to the Chamber of Deputies, including Carlos Contreras Labarca, general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile.

The Socialist Party representation in the Chamber rose from five to 16.

The Popular Front parties included Radical Republicans, Socialists, Communists, Democratic Party, Radical Socialists, and in the various provinces a number of other petty-bourgeois organisations voted with the Popular Front, including semi-religious groups, liberal organisations, tenants' leagues, small shopkeepers guilds.

The one thing that united them all was the basic minimum programme of anti-fascism, anti-war and anti-imperialism, reinforced by special election slogans calling for lower prices of consumers' goods, economic recovery measures, and extension of democratic rights.

The People's Front gains were all the more notable in view of the conditions under which the elections took place—bitterly repressive electoral laws decreed just 20 days before the elections, mass unemployment and misery, and a huge election fund of the "National Front" around which the conservative parties were loosely grouped.

A decisive blow was dealt the Chilean Nazi Party, which succeeded in electing only one member to the Chamber, despite expenditure of vast sums of money on the campaign.

Heaviest spending, however, was carried on by the reactionary parties supporting the imperialist-dominated regime of President Arturo Alessandri, tool of American interests.

The reactionaries raised an election fund of 30,000,000 pesos, and bought votes openly at 300 pesos each. The average worker earns that amount in return for a month's labour.

It was estimated that each representative in Parliament cost the reactionary interests 300,000 pesos.

Brutal repression was carried on under the electoral law which made it a crime against the state, a direct attack on the state, to have even the remotest connection with an opposition party. Among things prohibited were possession of books or leaflets relating to party programmes, renting or permitting use of homes or halls, donating funds.

The election definitely showed that the greatest strength of the People's Front is in the industrial regions, and that the petty bourgeois groups are the close collaborators of the proletariat that forms the nucleus of the People's Front. For instance, in the Communist Party's representation in Parliament are five workers, two professional people, and one small business man.

The Popular Front will figure even more strongly in the presidential elections, in October, 1938, which will be carried on along more or less the same issues as the Congressional elections. The new President will have to work for two years with the present Chamber—which includes 66 People's Front candidates. The Chamber is elected every four years, and the Senate every eight.

As a result of the elections, the reactionaries are tightening their forces for an even stronger fight against the People's Front which they now recognise as a powerful united front opposition.

The Chile elections are bound to have important repercussions in such countries as Argentine, Peru and Mexico, where various degrees of headway have been made toward consolidation of People's Front forces in a unified bloc.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 57

[*World News and Views*, November 19, 1938. Pp. 1264-1265]

### THE VICTORY OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE'S FRONT

By R. A. Martinez

During recent years there has been a growing movement of the Chilean people towards unity. Confronted with a national wave of terror during the railroad strike of January 1936, and a direct threat to the existing constitutional regime, the Radical, Socialist, Communist and two smaller parties united in a People's Front which today, has been raised to power.

The *People's Front* scored its first success in the parliamentary elections of February 1937. In the municipal elections of April 1938 its success was still more strikingly expressed. In the presidential elections, held in October 25, the Chilean people defeated Gustavo Ross, candidate for Chilean and international fascism and elected *Dr. Pedro Aguirre Cedra*, outstanding leader of the Radical Party, as the president.

Never in the history of any Latin American country have the forces of reaction made use of such a variety of resources to defeat the democratic forces as in the recent election. Long in advance,

thousands of workers were being moved from one end of the country to the other so they would be deprived of residence and therefore voting rights. Bribery and corruption were used on an unprecedented scale. All tricks known in election stealing were put to use. The final days of the election campaign were under martial law.

In addition to these direct terror methods the reactionaries put in motion their Trotskyite agents within the People's Front as their demagogic Nazi Party.

The *Trotskyites* did everything in their power to wreck the People's Front and obstructed in every way possible the election of candidates who would be acceptable to the broadest mass. They carried on a campaign to promote narrow partisan sentiments based on the misunderstanding of the stage of the national struggle that prevails in the ranks of the leadership of the *Socialist Party*. This campaign expressed itself principally through the slogan "Grove to Power." *Grove* is the outstanding leader of the Socialist Party and the slogan meant to create a rift in the ranks of the People's Front on the demand of all power to the S.P. At the time of the convention of the People's Front, when Dr. Aguirre Cedra was named as the candidate, the Trotskyites within the S.P. tried to disrupt the unity that was expressed there.

The *Nazi Party*, at one time organised as an image of the Nazi Party of Germany, tried to develop a mass base for itself and advanced a "nationalist" and an extremely demagogic social and economic programme of fascism, in order to create division in the ranks of the people. But because the People's Front has been winning from Nazi ranks (limited as they were) the misled elements, the Nazi strategists were forced to abandon their fascists trimmings and adopted an extremely demagogic position. The Nazis abandoned the salute and the shirts. They came out for democracy, against Hitler, and even for collective security. Some of their spokesmen in the Chamber even threw in a few words of praise for the Soviet Union.

As the presidential elections neared, the Nazis built up the candidacy of *Carlos Ibanez*, former president, who, though lacking a political party had an important following in the parties of the People's Front and among the masses generally. The strategy of the fascists was to promote the third candidacy so as to give an impression that democratic forces are divided and have no chance to win. Also it was figured that the Ibanez military tradition and the known putschist tendencies among some of his followers, would create a situation of expectancy of a putsch. This was designed to play into the hands of the government. This did happen, when the ill-fated putsch engineered by the Nazi agents of Hitler took place. It was intended as a provocation to justify martial law and a general attack against the People's Front.

In defeating the candidates of fascism, the Chilean People's Front also defeated their supporters the Trotskyites. The Nazis never really belonged to the People's Front but did all they could to help the government against it. If at the last moment the Nazis did not come out against the People's Front candidate it was only in an effort to maintain a certain popular base so as to be able in the future to continue their "Fifth Column" work in collaboration with the Trotskyites.

The battle just won in Chile is, therefore, more than of national significance for that country but part of the world-wide struggle between fascism and democracy. Chile, Mexico and Brazil have become a concentration area for international fascism. The defeated candidate Gustave Ross, spokesman for the Conservative and Liberal parties, the great landowners and the most reactionary sections of the Chilean bourgeoisie and the church hierarchy, openly boasted of his fascist leanings.

Prior to his campaign, Ross made a trip to Berlin, Rome, Burgos and Tokyo, ostensibly to "learn" of the systems in operation in these countries. But such trip was really not necessary for him, as when Minister of Finance, he proved himself a master starver of the Chilean people, and a loyal friend of fascism. Germany became the first exporting country to Chile. Japan made great trade inroads. Despite League of Nations sanctions, Italy obtained all the copper and nitrate it needed in the war upon the Ethiopian people.

Ross trip was more likely for the purpose of learning more concretely how Chile is to be fitted into the world scheme of fascism. Chile it should be noted, is important for its geographical situation and for being the foremost country in nitrate deposits. It is rich in coal, iron, and copper.

The Chilean people have, therefore, delivered a severe blow to international fascism, coming at the moment when the blow against democracies delivered at Munich was still fresh. It came as a reassurance to the Latin American people that in their unity fascist encroachment would meet defeat. It cleared the fog of defeatism that might have begun to set in as a result of Munich. It will strengthen Latin America as a democratic force in world events. Furthermore, it strengthens democratic sentiment in the United States and gives stronger impetus to President Roosevelt's good-neighbour policy—a new step towards making the western hemisphere a united force for democracy.

Victory has been achieved. But victory must be defended and consolidated. A manifesto of the Ross followers declared: "our defence *for the present* is the ballot box." The fascist forces in Chile are busy organising a civil war. They reckon to-day not only with enormous help from Germany, Italy and Japan, as in the past, but also upon the aid of Chamberlain. The Chilean People's Front has issued the slogan "All united in defence of our victory," and declared aloud "we are determined to defend the electoral result with our last atom of energy, with our last drop of blood."

## IV. EUROPE

### A. GERMANY

Down to the triumph of National Socialism, the German Communist Party was the best organized outside the Soviet Union. Unfortunately for many German comrades, they showed too much independence and too much internationalism to suit Stalin. Those who refused to be bolshevized—i. e., Stalinized—were expelled or liquidated.<sup>1</sup>

Several German ex-Communists and former members of the Comintern have thoroughly described the various crises which arose in their party as a result of Stalin's interference.<sup>2</sup> Like Lenin before him, Stalin was much impressed by the

<sup>1</sup> Jules Monnerot, *Sociology and Psychology of Communism*. Translated by Jane Degras and Richard Rees, Boston, Beacon, 1953, pp. 97-111.

<sup>2</sup> Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*. Borkenau, *World Communism*. Ypsilon, *Pattern for World Revolution*.

efficiency of the Germans. On the other hand, he never forgot that they were entirely expendable in promoting the interests of the only true Socialist Fatherland (sec. B, exhibit No. 65). One version of the destruction of the German Communist Party, together with a program for its postwar revival, was written by the Soviet agent, Gerhart Eisler, and two others.<sup>3</sup>

### EXHIBIT NO. 58

[London, Communist Party of Great Britain, July 1928. *The Communist International: Between the Fifth and the Sixth World Congress, 1924-28*. Pp. 97-99, 105-110]

#### THE LEFTWARD DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The situation in the trade unions and in the parties, as well as in the whole domain of internal politics, is largely determined by the strong general leftward development. This leftward development was revealed with particular force in the course of numerous national and municipal elections which have taken place in recent months. This leftward development takes the form of the desertion of large numbers of petty bourgeois voters from the German Nationalists to the Social-Democrats, and of a similar move towards the Left of the working class elements, who eventually go over to the C.P. In the course of the elections in Hamburg, Königsberg, Hessen, Anhalt, etc., and lately in the Saar district, there was to be observed in the proletarian centres the partial transfer of voters from the S.D.P. to the C.P., which nevertheless did not always find expression in the final count of the ballot, since the S.D.P. losses in proletarian votes were almost invariably compensated for by the gaining of votes from the German nationalists and other bourgeois parties.

The growth of Communist votes in the trade union elections is also quite substantial. In the Freethinkers' organisation of Berlin, in March 1927, the C.P. received for the first time a majority of 43,000 votes. This election was particularly remarkable since over 80,000 members of the Freethinkers' organisation took part in it, whereas in previous years only a few thousands had taken part in the elections. Similar phenomena have been observed in the workers' sports organisations.

Finally, the increased leftward development of the working class is shown by the steadily growing activity in the course of the fights conducted by the workers.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT AND ACTIVITY OF THE C.P.

The Communist Party has practically overcome the prolonged difficulties with the ultra-Lefts, which have frequently crippled the whole of the party activity. Among the important results of the Eleventh Party Conference (1927) should be mentioned the closing of the internal party discussion. The Maslow-Urbahns group, the German branch of the Trotskyist opposition, has completely collapsed ideologically. This group has completely fulfilled the prediction made by the Essen Conference; it has become the main support of the German bourgeoisie and its Social-Democratic lackeys in the struggle against the C.P. in Germany, against the Comintern, and the Soviet Union. Its "official organs," the daily "Volkswille," published at Suhl, as

<sup>3</sup> Gerhart Eisler, Albert Norden, and Albert Schreiner, *The Lesson of Germany*, New York, International Publishers, 1945.

well as the "Fahne des Kommunismus," provide the arsenal from which all the enemies of the proletarian revolution borrow their poisoned weapons. The total collapse of the Trotsky opposition in the C.P.S.U. has deprived this group of its ideological basis, and it is already turning towards the Social-Democracy. The loss of the Parliamentary seats in the coming elections, in spite of a vigorous election campaign for its own list of candidates, should deprive it of any vestige of importance. This is the only reason for the formation of its new party, the "Leninbund." Where they still have a following of valuable proletarian elements, e. g., in the Suhl and Pfalz districts, the party has succeeded, by persistent and untiring activity, in winning back these elements.

The Essen Conference had also to fight against Right deviations. A group of comrades had set its face against the thesis adopted by the conference to the effect that the "Left" leaders in the S. D. P. were the chief enemy. These comrades demanded an improvement in the tactics in the trade union struggle, the elaboration of a programme of action, and a centralised struggle against trustified capital under the transitional slogan of "control over production." Their proposals were rejected by the Party Conference, particularly the slogan of "control over production" which was denounced as Left wing opportunism in the actual circumstances. The article of Comrade Brandler in the "C. I." on a programme of action, and, above all, the activities of this group in some organs of the party against the decisions of the Essen Conference somewhat hampered party activity, and, finally, the remnants of fractions, as well as a series of grave opportunistic mistakes, have prompted the party to devote greater attention to the dangers of the Right wing.

Nevertheless, the Eleventh Party Conference did not spend too much time to the discussion of the ultra-Lefts, but applied itself from the very outset mainly to practical work. The reports contained relentless self-criticism, and in the discussions the problems of practical party work were put in the foreground of the speeches.

For the first time the Essen Conference of the C. P. dealt fully with the problem of winning the workers from the Centre Party and of combating the Centre Party.

The following tasks were set down by the conference as essential to the party: The campaign against the war menace (supporting the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, the Chinese revolution, and the international revolutionary movement); the struggle against the capitalist offensive and the cutting of wages; the struggle against the Government of the bourgeois bloc, against the reaction and Fascism; the struggle against Social-Democracy; the formation and consolidation of a Left wing in the German Labour movement; the strengthening of activity in the trade unions; the revival of the factory council movement; the conduct of the struggle of the unemployed; the alliance with all toiling elements; the strengthening of the sympathising proletarian mass organisations; increased activity among the proletarian youth and among the proletarian women. Further tasks are: The struggle against the petty bourgeois deviations in the party; inner party consolidation, raising the level of theoretical knowledge in the party; and increasing revolutionary mass activity.

### *The Campaigns.*

Outwardly, of course, the activity of the party was most strongly demonstrated in the big campaigns. Each of these campaigns continued for several weeks, culminating in an intensified campaign on a given day (the C. P. campaign in connection with the Toilers' Congress; the campaign in favour of the Soviet Union on November 7th, etc.), and were conducted upon the broadest basis. The campaigns were supported by the Press, preliminary action was taken in Parliament, meetings were held, demonstrations were organised, house-to-house agitation was carried on, and so forth. Nevertheless, all the big campaigns of the C. P. were handicapped by one drawback: at the height of each campaign, which meant also its close, it disappeared entirely from the Press and from the party activity. The party did not sufficiently realise how important it was to follow up the big campaigns by further party activity, and still less how important it was to link up the numerous campaigns.

Thus it happened that most of the campaigns in which the party had mobilised large masses under its slogans, e. g., in the plebiscite on the compensation of the ex-ruling houses, or, in connection with the Toilers' Congress, the party failed to take advantage of the situation to draw large numbers of workers into the party organisations. All these defects were revealed with particular clearness in the campaign for winning large masses by the application of the tactics of the united front. In this connection there were revealed many other defects, with which the party has also to contend in its regular Parliamentary and trade union activity. These defects may be summarised as follows:—

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### *Factory Papers and Worker Correspondents.*

On the whole, the factory newspapers have developed fairly well during the last year, and their contents given a more live character, their importance as political organs as well as their role in industrial fights and in the organisational activity of the party has increased.

The worker-correspondents have developed more in the provincial press than in the central organ. The "Ruhr Echo," the "Kämpfer" of Chemnitz, the "Klassenkampf" of Halle, and the "Hamburger Volkszeitung" have had their well-trained staffs of worker-correspondents for years, and these are being continually enlarged. Systematic work in this respect has been taken up only lately by "Rote Fahne."

### *Co-operative Work.*

The activity and influence of the party in the Co-operatives is still rather weak on the whole. One of the reasons for this is the underestimation of the importance of this work which still persists among a good many comrades and officials in the party. There is also a lack of a sufficient number of experienced and trained party officials in this field of work. The Co-operative Department of the C. C. has carried on systematic and intensive activity in this respect; nevertheless, owing to the circumstances referred to, the work is slow in bearing fruit. During the period when the party leadership was dominated by the ultra-Left tendency, there was even an appreciable retrogression in the general activity in the co-operatives, whilst the

organisational structure and methods of this work were severely impaired. During the period which followed the "Open Letter" a slow but steady improvement took place. The party apparatus for work in the co-operatives has been strengthened, both centrally and in the districts; substantial progress has been made in the activity of the fractions and in their structure, even if the present state of affairs is still far from satisfactory. Since the beginning of 1927 there has existed a national fractional leadership which co-ordinates this work throughout the country, and has already proved very useful in working out concrete instructions for this line of work. A beginning has also been made with systematic educational activities (courses and instructive conferences). The party press, and particularly the central organ, have generally devoted too little attention to co-operative questions.

The improved activity in the last two years has resulted in the party regaining most of the positions lost to the Reformists in past years. New positions have been won, and the old positions extended and consolidated. At the same time there has been a tremendous growth of the aggressive attitude of the co-operative bureaucrats towards the Communists. At the present time the Communists dominate 30 middle and small co-operative societies with a total membership of 100,000, whilst the central association has a membership of 3,000,000. At the last Co-operative Congress the Communist fraction had 51 delegates out of a total of 933. So far there has been little success in getting large masses of revolutionary co-operative members to rally around the Communist fractions as sympathisers.

#### *Work Among the Peasants.*

Rural activity is no longer considered by the party as a side issue, but rather as part and parcel of the general party activity. Nevertheless, the influence of the party among the peasants is still relatively weak.

In the big peasant demonstrations in the spring of 1928 the C.P. was the only party whose activity was generally lacking in the districts, although in 1926-27 some peasant demonstrations of this kind had already taken place, and the party had then realised its mistake in not having taken part in them. It ought to be noted that a great many of these demonstrations have passed almost before the very gates of Berlin. In some districts the party distributed leaflets which were eagerly read by the peasants. The peasant organisations friendly to the party did not take part in these movements.

An intensive campaign was conducted by the party in the various Parliaments, under the slogan of "Alliance between the working peasants and the working class," and "Workers' and peasants' government." There were also resolutions moved in favour of the peasants by the C. P. fractions in regard to taxes, credits, mortgages, land tenure, and colonisation. In connection with the campaign in connection with the property of the ex-ruling houses, excellent work was carried on by the party throughout the country. It also organised campaigns on the bad harvest and floods, which led to conferences with the victims and to the establishment of connections with peasants of all political tendencies.

In this connection there were established auxiliary committees of peasants, which are still functioning very well in conjunction with some of the Landtag fractions. Sympathising peasants are attracted

and induced to take part in the meetings of the fractions irrespective of their political and trade affiliations, and current legislation is jointly discussed with them and reported upon before meetings in their respective localities.

The party has also established contact with the rural youth movement, which is of tremendous importance.

At the Wurzburg Conference of Communist Parliamentarians on March 12-13th, 1927, the party decided on the line of policy to be followed in Parliament in regard to the peasant question, and with regard to the Parliamentary demands to be made on behalf of agricultural workers. These decisions are to be published in a special booklet, entitled "Parliamentary Policy of the C. P."

The "Rote Fahne" now gives more space to agrarian and peasant questions. It is to be regretted that not all the provincial newspapers have as yet introduced peasant supplements, in the Brandenburg province a special "Village Newspaper" is published, which has met with a good reception.

### *Non-Party Organisations.*

Party work in the different mass organisations was increased by the extension of the party fractions. Great importance attaches to the Red Front League and its companion organisations, the Red Women's and Girls' League. Both are mass organisations with more than one-half of their membership made up of non-party elements. The attempts of the German Trotskyists to carry their fight against the party and against the Soviet Union into these organisations were frustrated by the party. Both of these organisations take an active part in all the big campaigns of the party.

An abortive attempt has also been made by the ultra-lefts in Germany to destroy the International Red Aid (I. C. W. P. A.). The International Red Aid has been very active, particularly in the amnesty campaign, whilst the Workers' International Relief was largely responsible for organising the intellectuals' delegations to the Soviet Union on the Tenth Anniversary, and in many strikes it rendered aid to the strikers by the distribution of foodstuffs. The "Hands Off China" campaign, particularly the International meetings, was jointly conducted with the Anti-Imperialist League.

The party has to record considerable progress also in the other mass organisations. Thus, it has succeeded in capturing important local and district organisations of the Freethinkers, and generally to increase its influence among them. The same can be said about the workers' sports organisations, which have aided the party in its fight against the yellow sports movement.

### *Work Among Women.*

After the almost complete cessation of activity among the women under the Maslow-Fischer regime in the C. C., the Women's Section of the C. C. was strengthened in 1926 by the attraction to this work of a body of regular women workers. The women's sections in the districts and in important local branches were revived again, whilst in the sub-districts, notably in Berlin, new groups of women officials were trained, particularly among the circles of working women in the factories. In the second half of 1926 the first women's delegate meetings were organised at Berlin, Chemnitz, Stuttgart, Hamburg,

and in the Ruhr district, by which the party extended and consolidated its connections with the working women in the factories. Finally, in November, 1926, the party succeeded in publishing a new paper for working women in place of the "Kommunistin," which had ceased publication. The "Kämpferin," in the six months since its publication, has, by its close contact with the life of the working woman, grown into a valuable weapon for drawing working women to the Left wing of the trade union movement.

At the close of 1925 the "Red Women's and Girls' League" was formed, which grew rapidly in the first year of its existence under Communist leadership. This was, unfortunately, attained largely at the cost of the women's sections of the party, since, in consequence of a lack of ideological clarity, the tasks of the party in its activity among the women and the rôle of the R. W. G. L. as a subsidiary organisation of the party were misunderstood by many. Lately, a certain stagnation has set in in the R. W. G. L.

After the Essen Conference an attempt was made by the C. C. to strengthen political activity among the women. Nevertheless the old deep-rooted weaknesses of party activity among the women have been so far only slightly overcome. The political importance of activity among the women has not yet been fully realised by the party as a whole, nor by the central organs. Typical in this respect is the attitude of "Rote Fahne," which persists in practically ignoring the masses of working women, at a time when in Berlin alone there are tens of thousands of working women playing an active rôle in strikes. Equally unsatisfactory is the activity in the factories and the trade unions, despite some progress which has been made. The women's delegate movement is generally at a standstill throughout the country. The experience of systematic activity in Berlin seems to indicate that the women's delegate meetings can be successful only when organised in close connection with activity in the trade unions. In its trade union activity the party has gained considerable influence among the women during the various strikes capturing important positions in the unions and attracting considerable numbers of working women into the unions, above all in the textile, metal, and footwear industries. The party has begun the formation of women's trade union commissions in the unions which are led by the Left wing, and also the organisations of Left wing conferences of working women for the preparation and conduct of fights.

### *General Organisation.*

In the field of organisation the C. P. of Germany is among the strongest sections of the C. I. It was among the first to take up the re-organisation of its ranks upon the basis of factory nuclei. By 1927 this transformation had been completed. Nevertheless, among the members of the C. P. of Germany there are still a good many workers who do not belong to the existing factory nuclei, while it is also frequently the case that members of factory nuclei merely attend the nuclei meetings to pay their dues, doing their party work in their residential districts. Another defect in the organisation of the C. P. in Germany is the weakness of the organisations in the large factories. However, the elimination of this defect constitutes the central task of organisational activity. The statistical data given above in the chapter dealing with trade union activity goes to show that (in 1927) out of a total of 124,729 party members there were 58 per cent. factory

workers, but only 8 per cent. in the large factories. In order to grasp the significance of these figures one must bear in mind the tremendous difficulties which hamper the activity of the C. P. in the large factories, the extremely well-organised system of espionage as well as the class-collaboration of Social-Democracy in the process of weeding out the Communists from the factories. Lately the reactionaries have conducted a bitter campaign against newspapers published by the factory nuclei.

In the period between the Fifth and Sixth World Congress the numerical strength of the C. P. membership in Germany fluctuated as follows:—In 1924 there were 121,394 members, in 1925—122,755, in 1926—134,348, and in 1927—124,729 members. At the time of the Party Conference of 1926 there were 145,000 members. The figures for 1926–27 show 20 per cent. less than the real strength of the membership in the C. P. of Germany, the reason being that only members in good standing were included; but even with this reservation the figures show during this period the membership of the C. P. of Germany has practically remained at a standstill. At the same time it should be noted that there has been a steady growth in the number of votes given to Communist candidates in various elections.

The circulation of the party press is twice as large as the strength of the party membership. The number of regular readers of the party press is estimated by the C. C. at 280,000. The question of the organisational consolidation of the influence of the C. P. in the trade union organisations is a particularly acute one. The weakest point in the whole organisational activity of the C. P. in Germany is the activity of the trade union fractions of the C. P. The German party has accomplished a big task in organising the party apparatus in conformity with the model statutes worked out by the First International Organisation Conference. Among all the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, the C. P. of Germany has the best and strongest apparatus. The work of this apparatus has still many serious defects, e. g., the insufficient guidance of the activity of the nuclei and of the trade union fractions by the local party leadership; but the C. P. in Germany is systematically and persistently removing all these defects and rectifying the errors which have been committed.

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According to the introduction written by the publisher, Alfred Lange's *Road to Victory* deals with only one of the more important aspects of Marxist doctrine—that, namely, of the fine art of armed rebellion. Naturally, the occasional use of force and violence does not preclude skillful exploitation of deceit and subterfuge (sec. A, exhibit No. 7). As a matter of fact, cold-war tactics have sometimes brought greater Communist gains than any amount of violence. There arise situations, however, when the latter can accomplish more complete results. In such moments, Lange's manual becomes a must. Toward the close of World War II, French Communists actually tried to carry out the battle plans outlined in the present exhibit as well as those recommended by Heinz Neumann (this section, exhibit No. 6).<sup>1</sup>

Alfred Lange's real name appears to have been Hans Kiepenberger (Kippenberger?).<sup>2</sup> From early service in the Communist Student Organization of which he was the leader, Hans graduated to director of the German Communist underground apparatus (1929–33). Having managed to escape arrest, he got himself elected to the Reichstag in 1927. Soon he became a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, in which capacity he made good contacts with top-ranking

<sup>1</sup> Possony, *Century of Conflict*, p. 284. See also pp. 177–188 for an analysis of several Comintern textbooks dealing with the art of violent uprisings. Kintner, *The Front is Everywhere*, pp. 47, 109, 260.

<sup>2</sup> Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, pp. 17–19, 73, 88.

officers.<sup>3</sup> He used his influence as a member of the Military Affairs Committee to put Communists in sensitive positions within the German Government. Naturally he gave top priority to military installations. Naturally also he carried on much espionage activity.

Kiepenberger's close contacts with German military leaders proved to be his undoing. In 1936, he was arrested in Moscow on the charge of being a Nazi, British, and French spy.<sup>4</sup> As in the case of Marshal Tukhachevsky (sec. B, exhibit No. 50), there can be little doubt of his collaboration with the Germans. No less a person than Stalin himself had ordered high ranking Communists like Kiepenberger and Tukhachevsky to explore the possibilities of a Soviet-German alliance. When circumstances prevented its realization in 1936, Kiepenberger had to die. Dead Communists tell no more tales than other dead people. Walter Krivitsky, former chief of Soviet Intelligence in Western Europe (who himself died under mysterious circumstances: sec. B, exhibit No. 50, note 1), declared that Kiepenberger was subjected to "questioning" for a period of 6 months.<sup>5</sup> Word leaked out that Kiepenberger constantly complained of the feeling that there was a nail in his head. By the end of 1936, the NKVD gave him a permanent cure for his headache.

If Kiepenberger believed his own theory of violence, he should not have been surprised at his own fate. In section IV of the present exhibit, he made this pertinent observation: "How much terror should be used must be determined on the basis of each individual situation."

#### EXHIBIT No. 58A

[Berlin, Ernest Schneller, 1927. Alfred Lange (Hans Kiepenberger), *The Road to Victory*]

#### INTRODUCTION

This brochure attempts to summarize and clarify in theory the experiences of the revolutionary movements of the last few years. There exists in wide circles of the proletariat and the workers, even among those sympathetic to the Communist Party, often a distorted and "petit bourgeois" conception of the revolution and the armed uprising. Besides the inbred conception of the petit bourgeois state as a "God given institution," the revolution is regarded as something of a crime, as something that is not "properly" permitted. Furthermore, many conceive of the revolution as an elemental event, something that happens by itself. A clear realization of the fact which Karl Marx proved over 70 years ago, that the revolution is an art, is too often lacking. This brochure will point up the correct way to bring about the Marxian revolution on the basis of the events and experiences of the last few years.

Marxism does not take any phenomena of the present society for its examination, much less such an important event as a revolutionary upheaval.

If the brochure treats only with a portion of the whole subject, namely the problem of the armed uprising, it should be understood from the beginning that thereby it hopes to stimulate the reader to study and investigate Marxism and Leninism in all its aspects.

For understandable reasons it has not been attempted to augment the purely theoretical analysis with practical discussions and suggestions.

This brochure will only be a theoretical clarification based on all available material.

Berlin, March 18, 1927

Ernest Schneller.

<sup>3</sup> Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, pp. 325, 510-511. Ypsilon, *World Revolution*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>4</sup> Dallin, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Krivitsky, *Stalin's Secret Service*, pp. 39-40.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## The Road to Victory—The uprising as an art.

- I. The particular art of the uprising.
  1. What is the armed uprising.
  2. Art of the uprising and the art of war.
  3. The rules of the art of uprising.
- II. Choice of the right moment.
  1. Precipitate or belated appearance.
  2. Prerequisites for victory.
  3. Concerning the calendar-determination of the uprising.
- III. Concentration of forces.
  1. Necessity for numerical superiority.
  2. Some historical examples.
  3. Wrong and correct concentration.
  4. The decisive point.
- IV. Attack at all costs.
  1. Only attack will lead to victory.
  2. The question of the terror.
  3. Significance of the first victory.
  4. Defense is the death of the uprising.
- V. Prevention of the concentration of the enemy.
  1. Surprising the enemy.
  2. Tactics of the enemy.
  3. What if the enemy does not let himself be shattered.
- VI. Some conclusions.
  1. The daily work of the masses.
  2. The unity of the party.
  3. Above all the party should work.
  4. The bloodless capture of the armed forces of the enemy.

## THE ROAD TO VICTORY—THE UPRISING AS AN ART

## I. THE PARTICULAR ART OF THE UPRISING

## WAS IT THE ARMED UPRISING?

To clearly define the idea of "uprising", the terms "uprising" and "Civil war" must be differentiated.

The armed uprising in the Marxian sense is the rising of the masses of the people against the reactionary regime, the beginning of the armed collision between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary classes, the direct fight for the capture of the political power through a revolutionary class.

The concept of "civil war", on the other hand, includes not only the fight for the capture of political power, but also the fight between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary parties for power in general, that is to say, for the retention and the defense of the power once it has been captured.

The armed uprising, therefore, is only the initial stage, the first phase of the civil war.

The differentiation between the concepts of "uprising" and "civil war" has a practical significance because the conditions for the initial stage of the civil war—the uprising—are totally different from the conditions for the later phases of the civil war, and because of these different conditions, the means, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary class during the armed uprising should in many ways be different from those used in the later stages of the civil war.

Whereas in the later phases of the civil war the revolutionary mass can count on the existence of more or less organized armed formations—and, what is more important, can count on the maintenance of more or less contiguous fronts, one side of which is commanded by

the revolutionary troops, and the other side by counterrevolutionary troops—the armed uprising is generally characterized by the lack of a continuous front line between the rebels and the counterrevolutionary forces. It is inconceivable that the oppressed class could succeed in mobilizing and arranging an army into a front before the armed uprising. The revolutionary army, the revolutionary mass, is compelled, for better or worse, to be scattered all over the country at the moment of the uprising. The forces of the counterrevolution—the members of the reactionary classes, their organizations, as well as the greater or lesser part of the army and police—will also be distributed all over the country at the crucial moment. Friend and foe will find themselves face to face everywhere. Even if there should be points where the forces of one side or the other are more or less concentrated (for example the middle class section of a city and eventually whole rural areas will be comparative strongholds for the counterrevolution, so-called “vendees”, while the working quarters and large industrial areas will be strongholds for the other side), a clear dividing line, a front line, between the opposing forces will still be lacking.

From this objective fact it must be concluded that during the uprising, in the initial stage of the class war, the front is everywhere.

While the usual war, including the civil war, is generally associated with a firing line, the armed uprising, which is based on an overall mass revolutionary movement, can be better compared to a firebrand. People talk of “rebellious masses” and “rising districts”. These expressions attest the existence of an uprising.

There are, to be sure, more or less clear-cut sectors of a front during an uprising also—such as fighting lines in a city between the workers’ and the middle class’ sections—but these sectors are isolated from each other and not connected with another so as to form a long, united front line.

The term “armed uprising” we understand to mean, therefore, the first phase of an armed clash between the classes before the formation of the one or the few contiguous fronts of the civil war.

It follows from the fact that the uprising is the first phase of the civil war that the revolutionary mass before the seizure should prepare itself not for a civil war but for the uprising. This phase cannot be passed over. And in any conflict, victory can be achieved only if all the strength and watchfulness is concentrated on the immediate task. Moreover, the right preparation for the armed uprising is at the same time preparation for the subsequent phases of the civil war because, whether the advanced phases are reached and in what condition they are reached will depend on whether the armed uprising succeeds and how far it succeeds.

#### ART OF THE UPRISING AND THE ART OF WAR

In order to make clear the existence of an art of uprising, it will be well to compare the art of insurrection with the art of war and to underline the differences.

The expression “art of uprising” comes from Marx, who in 1852 already was concerned with questions of the uprising. That year he writes in an essay “Democracy at the Helm” the following:

The uprising is an art, just like the art of war and the other arts, and as such must follow certain rules, an ignorance of which will lead the party to annihilation.

These rules, a logical result from the existence of the party and of circumstances, are so clear and simple that all Germans should have become acquainted with them during their brief experiences in 1848.

According to Marx, the art of the uprising is a special art, and as can be seen from the above quoted extract, a different art from the art of war.

The following assertion is frequently heard: "There can be no separate art of uprising because it is like the art of war anyway. The machine gun and the hand grenade are used in the insurrection on the same principle as in any other type of war."

This assertion is not a rare but quite a characteristic one for those who see only the technical, military side of the uprising. Those who see only the technical side of the matter are completely overlooking the circumstances under which the machine gun and hand grenade are used.

The specific circumstances under which the armed uprising takes place and which necessitate a special tactic, a special skill, are characterised by the following: first, the front of the armed uprising is everywhere, and second, the size of the revolutionary army cannot be exactly predetermined and will consist of more or less primitive troop formations. "The uprising is a calculation with many unknown, whose value can change from day to day." (Marx) That means that the rebels attract and must win and organize their army in the course of the fighting.

This circumstance brings out the importance of the choice of the right political moment for the uprising. Everything depends on the mood of the broad masses of the people—whether the revolutionary forces can be formed, whether they will be strong or weak, whether they will receive the necessary support from the people, whether they can hold out for a long time or a short one, whether they can even begin to fight. The mood of the great mass of the people is the deciding point of the uprising. If popular opinion is favorable to the uprising, this will not only guarantee the support of the masses, but also affect the morale of the insurgents. It will bring courage and self-confidence to the revolutionaries and uncertainty and dissolution to the counterrevolutionaries.

For that reason the molding of popular opinion is above all part of the art of revolution. This molding is not just a problem of verbal and written agitation, which should be gradually intensified up to the crucial point, but a problem of mass emotion which is a prerequisite for successful military action and is completely interdependent with the outcome of each individual episode of the armed conflict. As a result, definite action of a military nature will also be an effective influence on popular opinion. The military and political aspects of the uprising, therefore, are perpetually interdependent. This inseparability of the military from the political aspects is one of the basic peculiarities of the armed uprising.

Although the military aspects of the armed uprising are not the most important, it would nevertheless be a mistake to underestimate the value of purely military knowledge in the leading of the uprising. After all, the uprising is an armed conflict and as such has a certain similarity to other armed conflicts. At the moment of the uprising, the revolutionary masses will not possess much military and technical knowledge. During the period of immediate preparations, therefore,

it will be necessary to work feverishly for some degree of military education of the revolutionary forces. A complete mastery of the art of uprising demands above all some strictly military knowledge. It would be useful, for that reason, if the largest possible number of the members of the revolutionary party could be given a thorough military education.

The customary art of war in an armed conflict—the mechanical application of the methods of an ordinary war—is, not only inadequate but also absolutely dangerous if no attention is paid to the special circumstances of an uprising.

For example, the Muscovite workers during the Russian uprising of 1905 complained that the few officers of the Czarist Army who joined the uprising were practically useless because they understood only their own narrow military field and could not comprehend the circumstances and needs of an uprising. They did not know how armed soldiers could be disarmed by bare hands and drawn into the ranks of the revolutionaries. They did not know how to fight with only a few bad pistols and arms and opponent who is armed with machine guns and artillery, etc.

A few fateful mistakes of the conflict in Finland of 1918 can be traced back partly to the fact that the leaders of the Red Guard permitted themselves to be persuaded by a few military experts into taking stands which from the military point of view were flawless but from the revolutionary point of view were wrong. One such mistake was the attempt to build as soon as possible a regular Red Front in order to carry on the civil war “according to the rules of the art of war”, which was exactly to the advantage of the counterrevolution. The people are strong in the customary art of war for that reason, the leaders of the uprising should try to prevent the formation of a regular front with all available means.

#### THE “RULES” OF THE ART OF WAR

Marx not only requested that the uprising be regarded as an art but also drew up definite principles to guide the behavior of the revolting masses. The crucial passage in the already mentioned essay states as follows:

The uprising is an art, just like the art of war and the other arts, and as such must follow certain rules, an ignorance of which will lead the party to annihilation. These rules, a logical result of the existence of the party and of the then prevailing circumstances, are so clear and simple that all Germans should have become acquainted with them during their brief experiences in 1848. First of all, you should not toy with the idea of an uprising unless you are prepared and determined to endure and defy all consequences. The uprising is a calculation with many unknown, whose value can change from day to day; the opposing forces have the advantage of organization, discipline, and obedience on their side; unless you can bring overwhelming forces against them you will be defeated and annihilated. Second, once the uprising is started, you must act with the utmost decisiveness and grasp the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed revolt; it is lost before it even has met the enemy. Surprise the opponent when his troops are scattered be sure to win daily small victories, maintain moral superiority which your first successful rising will bring, draw each vacillating element, which always goes over to the strongest and the one who is most apt to win, over to your side, force your enemies to retreat before they can gather their forces, in short, follow the word of Danton, the greatest master of revolution up to now: “De l’audace, de l’audace, encore de L’audace (Courage, courage, and more courage).”

The insurrection in different countries, or in the same country at different times, always takes place under different conditions. That is the reason that a truly basic revolutionary condition is always pictured as a chaos, as great confusion. Because of this, it is impossible to lay down exact rules, which attempt to be a overall plan of action for the management of any uprising; it is impossible in this sense to draw a "master blueprint" of an uprising. The rules which would be valid in each and every case can only be of a very general nature. This does not mean that it would be useless to concern oneself with such rules. The significance of these "rules", just as the significance of the correct theory of the armed uprising, lies in the fact that they illuminate the nature of the armed uprising and that they offer the correct attitude to the problem of the uprising, and thereby present a key, a means of deciding the practical problems.

It must be pointed out furthermore, that Marx called the rules of the revolution "clear and simple." And at the Close of his essay, he summarized the art of revolution in a simple rule; courage, courage and more courage.

The fact that this simple rule is really the most important rule of the art of revolution is attested by the experiences not only of the revolution of 1848, on the basis of which Marx made the rule, but of all other uprisings since Marx. The experiences of the postwar years offer altogether too many examples of situations where a favorable opportunity for revolution existed and was taken advantage of despite the lack of highly qualified military experts, while many other opportunities were missed because of indecision, hesitation, and weakening of the political leaders of the revolutionary masses.

And the other way around, the experience of the first successful proletarian revolution—the Russian October Revolution—is proof that victory is caused by decisiveness and courage of the revolting proletariat and its foremost leaders, who did not hesitate at the crucial point.

It is impossible for a party to educate qualified military experts. But it is not impossible to drum into the great majority of party members and, at the right time, into the great mass of the revolutionary class, the few clear and simple rules for the armed uprising.

## II. THE CHOICE OF THE RIGHT MOMENT

### PRECIPITATE OR DELAYED ACTION MEANS DEFEAT

"First of all, you should not toy with the idea of an uprising, unless you are prepared and determined to endure and defy all consequences." (Marx)

That means that when you begin the uprising, it should be absolutely clear to you that you have to carry it through to the bitter end. Revolution is a serious game, in which there is no room for compromise, and there are only two possible outcomes: utter victory or utter defeat.

The demigod of all military experts, Napoleon, considered this the most important principle in the conduct of war: You should think it over ten times before undertaking a battle, but once undertaken you can do nothing but win or die.

This is true in an even greater degree in the case of an uprising. In an ordinary war the possibility of retreat remains. It is possible

often to get free of the enemy without a battle and to regroup one's forces and save one's strength for a more opportune moment.

In an armed uprising, however, retreat is always connected with deep destruction and sacrifices. Retreat during an uprising, once begun, leads inevitably to ruthless destruction and annihilation of the best forces of the revolutionary class through the White Terror. It does not matter whether the retreat is the result of a bitter battle or the result of a peaceful capitulation of the armed workers. The counterrevolution knows no mercy.

The facts stated above can be proven by many concrete examples of the last few years. There is not one single instance where a mis-carried attempt to revolt has not resulted in the most gruesome White Terror against the workers. Germany alone offers many evidences of this, to say nothing of Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. One need only to remember the White Terror after the March fighting in the Ruhr district of 1920. In spite of the understanding of Bielefeld, in which the representatives of the Government gave their sacred promise that the participants in the fighting would be "pardoned", hundreds of workers were simply murdered by the blood-thirsty bourgeoisie.

The history of class warfare offers numerous instances where the outstanding causes for severe defeat of a revolution was always the untimely choice for the exact moment of the uprising. Sometimes part of the revolutionary fighters can be provoked by sheer desperation to openly revolt at a time when there is not the slightest chance of victory; other times a precipitate uprising is the fault of misjudgment by the political leaders of the oppressed classes. Then the favorable moment for a victorious uprising and seizure of power by the revolutionary class will pass and the inevitable conflict be postponed to a moment which by that time will be favorable for the counterrevolution.

A good example of a provoked uprising is the infernal and abortive attempt in Sofia in the spring of 1925, which was reported to be the signal for a general uprising, and as a result of which hundreds and thousands of Bulgarian workers were hanged. This rising of only a small part of the Bulgarian revolutionaries can only be called an act of desperation.

The Central German action in March 1921 was without doubt a premature attempt at revolt. Although it was fermented by the workers of Central Germany, the overall situation in Germany was not ready for a victorious rising of the proletariat. To call upon the worker at such a moment to start an armed conflict and to launch an offensive at any price was a gross mistake of the leaders, a mistake which could only result in certain defeat.

The wave of revolutions which began in November 1918 in Germany reached its high point in January 1919. During the days of January, thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers, full of revolutionary spirit and spoiling for a fight, ready and eager to battle and die for the proletarian revolution, were waiting in the streets of Berlin, waiting for the signal from their leaders for a general uprising. The situation was the same elsewhere in Germany. But the signal was not given. The "big shots" of the Independents, who because of their revolutionary slogans had the greatest influence over the masses, revealed themselves as whining braggarts and

traitors of the revolution at that crucial point. The great opportunity for a successful proletariat revolution was missed. Noske was given the chance to reorganize the shattered forces of the counterrevolution and to wipe out the pockets of spontaneously revolting, disconnected forces of the proletariat. The days of January 1919 in Germany offer a truly "classic" example of a missed opportune revolutionary situation.

In July 1917 some revolutionary troops in Petersburg demanded an immediate open revolt against the Kerensky regime and a seizure of power by the Soviets. The leaders of the Bolsheviks realized clearly that at the time the prerequisites for a successful uprising were lacking, refused to support the demand of the impatient troops, and warned them against a premature revolt in order to prevent a bloody defeat. Instead of agitating the masses to rise in armed revolt, they presented as a solution a peaceful demonstration. However, this demonstration resulted in a bloody clash in the streets of Petersburg. The misled uprising was suppressed by counterrevolutionary troops brought to the city for that purpose.

The restraint shown by the Bolsheviks in July 1917 is a good example of the self-control which a party should have. They realized that in those circumstances they had to act as a brake on the revolutionary masses since, in their opinion, victory at that time was absolutely beyond reach.

But in October, when the moment for capture of power was favorable, the Bolsheviks did their revolutionary duty. It can be seen from the essays and letters of Lenin on the eve of the October revolution that he believed that the prerequisites for victorious action were present, and he pointed out with emphasis that victory would be impossible if the peak of the revolutionary condition be passed without taking advantage of it, and that further hesitation and waiting would be a crime against the revolution. "History will not forgive us if we don't seize power at this very moment," write Lenin in those fateful days.

All these examples show clearly that the correct timing of the uprising is of supreme importance and that the problem of the choice of the right moment is one of the most important questions of the strategy, of the art of uprising.

This problem points up the role of the leader of the revolutionary mass. To evaluate conditions correctly, to test the power relationships, and to call upon the masses to open the battle at the right moment—not too soon and not too late—all these are problems of political leadership. The most noted mistake in the choice of the right moment are always mistakes or shortcomings of the leaders, or the result of some weakness in the political leadership.

#### THE PREREQUISITES OF VICTORY

Marxist-Leninist theory provides a sure-fire method of judging the political situation and choosing the right moment for the revolt, in that it lists the prerequisites under which a successful armed revolt is possible. These prerequisites are set forth with extraordinary clarity in the works of Lenin. (See the essay "Letter to a Comrade", "Marxism and the Revolution," and the brochure "Children's Diseases," etc.)

We are quoting the following from the "Letter to Comrades, which discusses these prerequisites exhaustively:

"... A military conspiracy is Blanquism, if it is organized not by a party of a definite class, if its organizers have not analyzed the political moment in general and the international situation in particular, if the party has not on its side the sympathy of the majority of the people, as proven by objective facts, if the development of events in the revolution has not brought about a practical refutation of the conciliatory illusions of the petty bourgeoisies, if the majority of the recognized "lenipotentary" or otherwise expressed organs of revolutionary struggle like the Soviets have not been conquered, if there has not ripened a sentiment in the Army (if this is going on during a war) against the government that protracts the unjust war against the whole of the people; if the slogans of the uprising (like "All power to the Soviets," "Land to the peasants," or "Immediate offer of a democratic peace to all the belligerent peoples, coupled with an immediate abrogation of all secret treaties and secret diplomacy," etc.) have not become widely known and popular, if the advanced workers are not convinced of the desperate situation of the masses and of the support of the villages, a support proven by a serious peasant uprising or by an uprising against the land owners and the government that defends the land owners; if the economic situation of the country inspires one with earnest hopes for a favourable solution of the crisis by peaceable and parliamentary means."

The following quotation goes into more detail of the three main requisites of the uprising, as enunciated in Lenin's essay, "Marxism and Uprising":

To be successful, the uprising must be based not on a conspiracy, not on a party, but on the advanced class. This is the first point. The uprising must be based on the revolutionary upsurge of the people. This is the second point. The uprising must be based on the crucial point in the history of the maturing revolution, when the activity of the vanguard of the people is at its height, when the vacillations in the ranks of the enemies, and in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted, undecided friends of the revolution are at their highest point. That is the third point.

The very first prerequisite of victory, according to Lenin, is therefore in other words the active participation of the most advanced and most revolutionary classes, or at least a large part of it, in the uprisings. It is of course presumed that broad masses of this class are willing to fight and are ready to take up arms and die for the cause. Such a warlike ardour cannot be expected of the masses at all times.

In July 1917 Lenin considered victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia unattainable because the bitterness of the masses against the Kerensky Regime was not great enough to make them want to fight and die for the revolution.

It is possible, however, to also underestimate the warlike spirit of the masses. If, for instance, "revolutionary leaders" of the type of Richard Muller assert that the German working class was not ready to fight in January 1919, such statements are nothing but rotten lies to cover up the personal cowardice of the leader. (See R. Muller: Civil War in Germany.) After the "muffed German October revolution", the assertion that the masses were not willing to fight was repeated in July 1923.

A revolutionary party and its leaders cannot await the appearance of a ready-made, 100 percent, "classic" fighting spirit everywhere but should judge the situation by this question: is it possible for the party to mobilize the greater part of the revolutionary class through its own example and through complete utilization of all its strength and forces? The role of the revolutionary party does not consist of just sitting by and waiting calmly for the news that the masses are in the

perfect fighting spirit and then giving the signal that the right moment for the "rising" has come. The role of the revolutionary party is to march at spearhead not at the rear of the masses. It must know how to judge and intensify the warlike mood of the masses.

When the problem is stated in this manner it becomes evident that the assertion that the German working classes were not ready to fight in January 1919 and in the Fall of 1923 is not correct. In regard to the Fall of 1923, it is a proven fact that the Communist party did not know how to increase the bellicosity of the masses. The stern ban against strikes and other actions resulted in the opposite: a lessening of the warlike mood and a loss of faith in the leadership.

On the other hand, an overestimation of the fighting spirit of the people may result in the party, the vanguard of the people, fighting in isolation from the people, and thus laying itself open to annihilation. An example of this is the uprising of 1924 in Reval. The Revaler fighters had counted on the fact that the Communist-led uprising would find immediate support among the masses of workers. This was not the case and the uprising was quelled in a matter of hours. The cause of this defeat was not only inadequate organization to prepare the masses for active participation in the conflict, but also overestimation of the war spirit of the people.

Correct estimation of the bellicose spirit of the masses is only possible through daily, close touch with the masses by the party who is organizing the uprising, so that the party is completely identified with the masses and is, in the words of Lenin, "welded together with the class in a sense." Speaking in terms of organization that means that the party must have strong roots in the masses, especially in places where the daily life of the masses takes place—the factories and the working-men sections.

Just before the October uprising Lenin wrote that the best forces of the party should be sent into the factories and barracks to explain to the masses their tasks, to weigh the mood of the masses, and to select the right moment for the decisive battle. (See the essay "Marxism and the Uprising," and the "Theses on the upper parliament and on the solution," and "All power to the Councils.")

The second most important prerequisite of victory according to Lenin is a revolutionary upsurge of the people. The party organizing the uprising must possess the outwardly visible and proven sympathy of the majority of the people. This means that in October 1917, success of the revolution in Russia would have been impossible without a powerful peasant movement. Specifically this meant undoubted support of the proletarian revolution by the peasantry, which constituted by far the largest class of the Russian people. It can be said that in Germany the workers form the largest class and therefore their conversion is the only thing necessary for the revolution. This statement, however, is not correct. Even in Germany the proletariat must and needs to win adherents from among the other classes, such as the lesser peasantry and, above all, the petty bourgeoisie of the cities. As a matter of fact it is easier to win over large sections of the petty bourgeoisie in the cities than to win the aristocracy of the workers, which thanks to its reformistic traditions is very hard to stir up. The petty bourgeoisie, on the other hand, has recognized and learned through experience that it only has a choice between the revolutionary proletariat and most extreme reaction, and that the

revolutionary worker's party has shown that it will protect its interests against the reactionaries.

The third most important prerequisite for victory is, according to Lenin, the presence of a weakening and disunity in the camp of the opponent. The uprising will have little chance of success if the ruling class stands united and strong and armed with all the means of power of the state opposite the revolutionary class. Before the October revolution Lenin discovered that the disunity among the enemies of the revolution and the indecisiveness among the petty bourgeoisie was tremendous. The principal enemy of the revolution, the imperialist allies, vacillated between a war to the victorious end and a separate peace for Russian. The petty bourgeoisie Democrats, the so-called Social Revolutionaries, weakened themselves seriously when they split from their bloc with the reactionary Cadets. Furthermore, the whole imperial army was shattered and it was possible to win large portions of it over to the revolution.

In the Fall of 1923 there appeared also among the German bourgeoisie the first signs of disunity. These found expression first in the vacillation of the Stresemann regime, which itself recognized the hopelessness of its situation ("After us will come either the Communists or the Fascists"), and then in numerous instances of weakening of the army and the police (as openly evidenced by the half-hearted handling of the Hamburg uprising and the signs of splitting in different sections of the Reichswehr).

#### CONCERNING THE CALENDAR-DETERMINATION OF THE UPRISING

A tendency to fool around with revolutions can be seen from the assertion that the events of the revolution and the armed uprising can be plotted and determined in advance, that a date can be set more or less in advance, and that the revolution can be unfolded according to a timetable. Lenin himself definitely set out to fight such a tendency before the October revolution and branded it as "trifling". The tendency towards such trifling betrayed itself in the belief that the uprising could be postponed until the moment when the all-union Soviet Congress would be assembled, so that this Congress could officially decide to begin the uprising. Lenin wrote in opposition to this idea:

"To await the meeting of the Soviet Congress is a childish formality, a betrayal of the revolution . . ." To connect the tasks (of the uprising) with the Soviet Congress and to make the uprising dependent on the Congress betrays a tendency to toy with the uprising, since it would place the uprising at a definite date, and make it easy for the Government to prepare the army and to delude the masses with the illusion that the Soviet Congress can by passing a resolution solve a problem which really can only be solved the power of a rising Proletariat." (Theses about the Upper Parliament).

The theory that the events of the revolution can be plotted beforehand with a calendar comes from a tendency to overestimate the administrative and mechanical power of the leaders of the revolution. A revolutionary mass movement cannot be developed from a calendar. It would be impossible for even the best of parties to awaken such a mass movement at will. Like the uprising, the revolution is also "a calculation with many unknowns, whose value can change from day to day." (Marx.) For that reason the greatest sort of political

leadership conceivable could not take it upon itself to predict and determine the development and events of the revolution by calendar. Such an action would be a presumptiveness, a misconception of the role of the leader in a mass movement. The only demands that can be made of the leaders of a revolutionary party are that they understand clearly the direction of the movement; that they foresee the approach of the revolutionary crisis in time to prepare for and warn the party and the masses of the decisive battle; and that when the revolutionary situation has reached its peak, they realize this fact and call on the masses to rise at the right moment. All this has nothing whatever to do with the timing by calendar of the uprising.

Lenin, the greatest theorist and practitioner of the armed uprising, has never attempted such exact plotting of the events of a revolution in advance by dates. It is not an accident that in his works the determination of an exact date for the uprising is never mentioned, but always the "choice of the right moment for the uprising." is spoken of. This manner of expressing himself shows that he was not an adherent of the school who believes that the timing of an uprising can be determined by the calendar.

### III. THE CONCENTRATION OF FORCES

#### NEED FOR NUMERICAL SUPERIORITY

"The opposing forces have the advantage of organization, discipline, and obedience on their side; unless you can bring overwhelming forces against them, you will be defeated and annihilated." (Marx)

Lenin expressed the same thought in his article "Advice from an outsider" with the following words: "It is necessary to gather a great preponderance of forces in a decisive place at a decisive moment."

In the same article, which was written as a letter on the eve of the October uprising, Lenin shows how this principle could be applied to Russia in October 1917, namely: simultaneous offensive against Petersburg from within and from without, from the workers quarters in the city, from Finland, Reval, and Kronstadt—an offensive from the massed fleet and a concentration of gigantic armed superiority over the counterrevolutionary forces.

Although in individual cases, in isolated episodes, in rare instances, it is possible for small determined groups to win brilliant victories over far superior forces, it must be admitted that as a whole the oppressed classes cannot be compared to the opposing forces in respect to military matters. In other words, the purely military quality of the revolutionary forces are undeniably far inferior to the enemies'.

This qualitative inferiority can only be offset by quantitative superiority. The rebelling forces must realize that they need to gather a tremendous preponderance of power and to make up their lack of education, organization, and armaments through sheer numerical superiority wherever the battle rages, especially in those places where the outcome is of particular significance.

The armed uprising can succeed only if broad masses participate actively in it. The reason why broad masses are necessary for an armed uprising and, even prior to that, for the mobilization, is that only this way can the most essential and greatest possible numerical

superiority be achieved. In this connection, the importance of extensive mass organization must be mentioned and the outstanding role of the trade unions, the Soviets, and the industrial councils in the organization of the Red Guard in Moscow and Leningrad in 1917 emphasized. (See the article by Podwoiski and the article "October 1917 in Moscow" in No. 2 of "October".)

Thus, one can clearly and definitely show the importance of winning over the broad masses and of setting up a mass organization for the armed uprising, and one can, thereby, underline the interdependence of the political side of the armed uprising on the military side and determine the revolutionary significance of the workers in the broad mass organizations, especially in the trade unions.

#### SOME HISTORICAL EXAMPLES

Here follow a few historical examples which bring out the fact that the concentration of overwhelming forces is only possible in a ripe revolutionary situation, when the necessary mood of the wide masses is present, and the fact that even in such a favorable situation this concentration of forces may fail if the organization is inadequate.

All the uprisings of Blanqui were shattered because on each occasion he attempted to fight the Government troops with a distinctly inferior force. This mistake can be accredited to the fact that Blanqui did not grasp the necessity of numerical superiority in an uprising because he did not understand the role of the broad masses as an active participant in the armed revolt.

In Reval in December 1924 a small group of Communists was fighting against a force of Government troops many times greater. The concentration of the necessary overwhelming preponderance was lacking because the masses had not been prepared.

Hamburg offers an example where the accumulation of an numerical superiority failed for the simple reason that the worker's party did nothing to organize or mobilize the people for war and that only a small section of the total party was preoccupied with questions of the armed uprising.

There are also many positive examples of the concentration of forces in the armed revolt. The instance of the Petersburg uprising in October 1917 where Lenin visualized before the outbreak the concentration of forces in a manner in which they were later used, has already been cited. Already long before the actual moment of revolt preparations for the uprising were carried on on a large scale, so that the uprising became not just a matter of concern to a party or even the whole of the Communist party but a matter of concern to the great masses and wide mass organizations like the worker's councils, the trade unions, etc. In such way it became possible to muster a preponderance of force at the crucial moment of the uprising. (See article by Podwoiski, "The Red Guard and the Preparations for the October Revolt," in No. 2 of "October.")

The preparations for the uprising in Moscow had the same mass characteristics, especially after the reverses of the first days of battle. It must be noted, however, that the organization of the broad masses for armed conflict before the October revolution had not made as rapid strides there as in Petersburg and that even under the most ideal circumstances it could not have made as rapid strides. All the masses of people were by far not utilized. Until the beginning of the

outbreak there were only about two thousand armed workers in Moscow, which was appallingly few. That is the reason also, that the Moscow proletariat suffered defeat in the first days. Only after the first reverses was the organization of the broad mass of people undertaken with such zest that it was possible to muster the overwhelming preponderance of power necessary to defeat the counter-revolutionary forces, which were militarily much better qualified. The support of the neighboring communities helped to achieve this concentration of forces. From all directions of the nearby small towns, armed contingents of Red Guardsmen poured into Moscow. (See the article "October 1918 in Moscow" in "October", No. 2.)

The battles in Germany also, especially the battles in the Ruhr in March 1920, afford a number of examples of the concentration of forces in the uprising. In almost all battles against various Reichswehr troops (in Wetter, Herdecke, Dortmund, etc.) the same phenomena can be observed: after the arrival of the Reichswehr becomes known a stream of more or less organized and armed workers, all spoiling for a fight, comes pouring from the nearby villages and towns to join the battle against that particular Reichswehr regiment. Through such a gathering of the forces of the environs, the necessary superiority of strength at the place of the uprising is achieved.

#### CONCENTRATION OF THE STRENGTH OF THE PARTY

The principle of the concentration of forces at the crucial moment and the crucial time means that the revolutionary party must direct all its energies and its structure towards the armed uprising. This does not mean literally that every party member should physically storm barricades with a gun in his hand, although he should be prepared to do so. There are other tasks also to be performed at the moment of the uprising, above all the agitation, and the questions of food supplies under those circumstances. However, all the activities of the party should be directed solely and exclusively in the interest of the armed uprising. It is a mistake to allow oneself to be diverted in such moments by questions of the organization of the economy or the proletarian state machinery and to devote more attention and strength to such problems during the uprising than is absolutely necessary. The mistake can result in the situation where the best forces of the party are concerned with abstract questions, while the leadership of the revolutions falls in the hands of random personnel. The German experiences give many examples and warnings of this mistake.

#### RIGHT AND WRONG CONCENTRATION

A wrong conception of the concentration of forces, which in its practical application has led to many fateful mistakes, is the conception that the revolutionary class must concentrate its efforts and forces in that part of the country where its strength is the greatest and the strength of the enemy is the weakest, and let the rest of the country be neglected in the preparations for the conflict. This sort of mistake was made by the Brandler Central in Fall of 1923, when it concentrated its attention almost exclusively to Saxony and neglected the rest of the country.

The logical consequence of such a conception of the concentration of forces is that the revolutionary class first wins the consolidates the power in one part of the country, then tries to liberate the "important" districts of the enemy with its concentrated forces, and lastly must liquidate the "vendees" in the areas where the enemy has its greatest strength.

Such a "concentration" of forces is in reality no concentration at all, but a scattering of the forces of the revolution. Correct concentration means not only concentration of forces at the right place, but above all at the right time. A correct concentration of forces of the revolution means, first of all, that these forces be capable of rising all at the same time and entering the conflict simultaneously.

It is unthinkable that it could be possible for the German proletariat to rise in arms in Saxony or the Ruhr and win powers there at different times. The practical result of such an attempt would be that the proletariat in each district would fight alone; that instead of the whole proletariat rising, only a small part of it rises; that, therefore, the forces of the proletariat would be concentrated neither in area nor in time; so that the contrary result would be achieved, namely that the conflict unfolds piecemeal, and the enemy has the opportunity to suppress it piece by piece.

The defeat of the March 1920 workers' uprising in the Ruhr district after brilliant initial success can be explained because the conflict raged only in the Ruhr area and the support of the rest of the country was lacking, so that the overwhelming forces of the counter-revolution could concentrate against the Ruhr area.

The Bulgarian revolt of September 1923 is noteworthy in this connection. A strong spontaneous revolution broke out there; but since the necessary leadership of a strong revolutionary party was lacking, it was inescapable that the movement would not start up simultaneously all over the country but start with considerable time lag between each outbreak, so that the uprising in one part of the country had been liquidated by Government troops by the time the uprising spread to another part of the country. The Government troops had the opportunity to suppress the movement piece by piece, and turn their concentrated strength on one uprising after another.

The uprising of the Moscow workers in 1905 could be suppressed because the workers lacked the support of the peasants, and what was even more important, the support of the Petersburg workers which enabled the Czarist regime to turn its concentrated strength on the Moscow workers.

In contrast to this, the victory of the Russian proletariat in October 1917 was only possible because the fighting broke out simultaneously not only in Petersburg and Moscow, but also in all the rural districts, where—this is important—the great mass of the peasants conducted an active, revolutionary war against the landowners.

On the basis of these examples it can be proven absolutely that the concentration of forces of the proletariat during an armed uprising should consist primarily of the simultaneous use of these forces all over the country and an proportionate strength in each revolting district. Of particular importance is the appearance of revolutionary forces in the strongholds of the counterrevolution, in the "vendees", not just because it is necessary to exert the last ounce of strength at the outbreak of the uprising and not overlook one unutilized battalion,

but more because a handful of determined fighters in these districts at the rear of the enemy can do more damage than a hundred at the front.

In discussing this question of the concentration of forces, the role of the party in the uprising becomes very clear. Experience has taught that a purely spontaneous uprising can never start simultaneously everywhere, that the peak of the revolutionary movement is reached at different times in different areas. A fair chance of success of the revolt however demands a simultaneous outbreak. This can be achieved only through the leadership of a strong party, which understands how to choose the right moment for the uprising in the overall situation, how to speed up the course of development in backwards areas, and how to keep the more advanced revolutionary forces in check.

#### THE CRUCIAL POINT

As regards the concentration of forces in space, "at the crucial place", the experiences of the uprising in Russia and Germany show that such a concentration of forces was not only effective but also possible, though on a relatively small scale. Generally applicable rules cannot be drawn up without reference to a concrete situation.

One of the important, often the most important point, is always the capital of the country, because of its role as center of the enemy's state machinery. For this reason, it will always be correct to pay particular attention to concentration of gigantic preponderance at this point. The significance of the administrative centers of the provinces is equally important. Which objective is of the greatest significance—whether a political one or a military one—depends on each particular situation. The choice is relatively easy to make. To attempt to form some all-applicable rule would be a waste of time. The only general statement which can be made is that the crucial point should always be the one where the enemy is the weakest and where the crippling blow is to be struck.

#### IV. ATTACK AT ANY PRICE

##### ONLY ATTACK CAN LEAD TO VICTORY

"Once the uprising is begun, it is necessary to act with the utmost decisiveness and to grasp the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed revolt; it is lost before it has even met the enemy." (Marx.)

In his article, "Lessons from the Moscow Uprising," Lenin wrote that the principle rule of the art of uprising consists in the desperately daring attack, taken without regard to the consequences—the offensive at any price.

This rule of the armed uprising, laid down by Marx, has been proven by subsequent experiences to be not only figuratively but also literally true. And if Lenin in 1905 after the Moscow revolution determined that the Bolsheviks at that time had not absorbed sufficiently the truth of the rule "offensive at any price" and misled the masses, then we must determine on the basis of the experiences of the last years that the severe defeats of the proletariat, despite the favorable opportunity for the seizure of power, can be laid to the fact that in most

cases this rule of the offensive at any price was not grasped and observed.

The German October of 1923 offers a good example of this. The need for decisive, armed combat, of an offensive against the bourgeoisie, was not announced and the word spread among the masses—a fact which mirrored the indecision of the party leadership.

A comparison of the October battles in Petersburg and Moscow will show convincingly the necessity of taking the offensive right at the start. In Petersburg, where the preparations for the uprising were conducted with decision, intensity, and full awareness of the problem, and where the combat was under the vigorous and decisive personal leadership of Lenin, the offensive and initiative was seized at the very beginning, and the uprising was victorious in a matter of hours, without much bloodshed. In Moscow, on the other hand, the battle lasted longer, almost ten whole days, and was relatively bloody. This can be explained not only by the fact that the peak of activity of the workers in Moscow was reached at a later date but also by the result that preparation for the armed uprising followed a planless and less intensive course and that as a consequence of this and of the hesitation of the leadership the proletariat found itself on the defensive during the first few days. This gave the counterrevolution the opportunity to gather its forces and to win back its self-confidence.

These, as well as other experiences of uprising in world history, leave no doubt that the rule is right, that determination and enterprise are of primary importance in the success of an uprising. Victory can be counted upon only when the revolutionist manages to seize the initiative. This initiative, determination, and enterprise can only be expressed by a daring, desperate, reckless attack. The defensive is a sign of passiveness, recognition of weakness, and refusal to grasp the initiative.

The uprising according to Marx is a "calculation with unknowns, whose value changes from day to day." Just how many are won to the side of the revolution and how well they fight depends mainly on the activities and determination of the shock troops of the uprising. The revolutionary must organize the main part of his army in the course of combat and must win—this is important—the greater part of his reserves. This is a matter of "retaining the moral superiority and of winning over the hesitating elements which always swing over to the strongest and join the side which is surest to win." (Marx.) In order to win over these vacillating elements and make them available as reserves, it is necessary, according to Marx, to provide for "daily new, small victories." Such little victories can be won only through an unbroken, continuous offensive. New victories cannot be won through defense and passivity; the status quo can be barely maintained through defensive.

The part of the leadership of the masses and the role of the party and its leaders in the uprising is becoming clearer. Only a firm and determined leadership, which knows how to gamble everything on the revolution and how to act accordingly, can organize for victory. Half-measures, vacillation, indecision, passivity are a sign of indecision, vacillation, mistrust, and confusion among the fighting masses and, consequently will push those who are wavering into the camp of the enemy, thereby giving him courage.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE TERROR

The question of the terror must also be touched in this connection. The history of all armed warfare between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie from the Paris Commune until the present day shows without exception the same phenomena. Whenever the proletariat succeeded in gaining the power it showed moderation and mercy to the defeated enemy. But whenever the bourgeoisie succeeded in suppressing the revolutionary uprising of the working class or just eliminating any danger of such uprising, it has celebrated this success by the most horrible sort of White Terror. While it cannot be denied that there have been isolated instances of terror on the part of the workers, this fact does not change the veracity of this general picture of humanitarianism, moderation, and mercy.

This humanitarianism on the part of the workers attests to the superior morals of the working class. There is, however, also a danger that it will be interpreted by the enemy as a sign of weakness.

A great lesson of all the previous experiences with revolution has been that the enemy can never be influenced or defeated through humanitarianism. Only brute strength and power can convince him. He knows no chivalry, and if you show him chivalry he will only use it to surprise you at an opportune moment.

For this reason it is a mistake to show your avowed enemy mercy. Humanitarianism should be shown to your friends only and to those wavering elements who can be won over to the side of the revolution.

The avowed enemy of the uprising should be shown only the strictest revolutionary discipline, yes, even terror. How much terror should be used must be determined on the basis of each individual situation.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INITIAL SUCCESS

Although the significance of the offensive at any price has been treated up to now only in its political and moral aspects, it can also be defended on military grounds.

It is appropriate to begin examination of this question by analyzing a few false and muddled beliefs, prevailing at the present.

On such belief is expressed in an article with the words: "Only the end result, not the initial and partial successes, count during a civil war, as during a regular war." As proof of this assertion the instance of the German army is cited which won amazing victories in 1914 and yet lost the war.

Aside from the fact that this assertion can be proved wrong from the "ordinary war" angle (one needs only to remember that without these initial successes the position of the German army would have been infinitely worse and the defeat would have come sooner,) it is an error to apply it to the armed uprising.

In regard to the armed uprising the opposite from the above assertion is correct: namely, during the uprising only the initial successes matter. The outcome of the first days, yes, even the first hours, is decisive. On the outcome of the battles of the first moments and days hangs the future of the rising, whether the situation for further advance is favorable or hopeless.

A simple and clear example to illustrate the above statement on the significance of the first days of the uprising are the experiences of the Finnish civil war in 1918.

The power passed into the hands of the revolutionary regime almost without bloodshed in the outspokenly proletarian south of Finland. But the Reds, instead of pushing with all haste the lines of the uprising farther north after this initial victory, rested for a few days to reorganize their forces for the next effort. The counterrevolutionary forces were enabled by this breathing spell to assemble their forces in the north and to push their lines far south through a well-organized, fast race. This southward movement of the white front gave it control over  $\frac{5}{6}$  of surface land of the country, including space for maneuvering and great populated areas, and assured it of all the requisites for continuing the civil war to a successful end.

When the Reds tried to push north after a few days during which they organized the Red Guard more or less, it was already too late; they ran up against a well-organized opposition from the White front everywhere.

As a result, the Reds were left with only a small strip of land in their control which lacked space for maneuvering and supplies of all sorts. The Red side was confronted with the necessity of waging war in the regular manner. This situation was most unfavorable, and could be improved only with a great amount of bloodshed, if at all.

An immediate push northwards after the initial victory along the whole Red Front would unquestionably have resulted front line much farther north, which situation would have been more favorable for the Reds.

#### THE DEFENSIVE IS THE DEATH OF THE UPRISING

Another wrong belief, which sounds very philosophical and even Marxist, runs approximately as follows: "The strongholds of the proletarian revolution are the factories, the workers' councils, the workers' sections. The fighting proletariat is the strongest there. For that reason the conflict should be waged there, and only there, and the temptation to be lured in to the bourgeois quarters and counterrevolutionary districts of the city should be resisted because defeat in those places is likely. Therefore, the revolting masses should remain in their own industrial and working sections and await the enemy there, where he can be more easily beaten."

It is easy to point out that the error of this assertion is the gross under-estimation of the counterrevolutionary forces. By staid put, the proletariat is leaving the initiative in the hands of the counterrevolutionary forces and voluntarily offers him the opportunity to group his forces leisurely to his best advantage. Under those conditions it would be naive to suppose that the enemy will allow himself to be beaten in the workers' quarters and industrial districts. He need not fear defeat because he has the advantage of greater force and the opportunity to turn this force concentrately on one proletariat stronghold after the other.

To beat the opponent one must strike on his weak and vulnerable side. The enemy certainly is not going to show and offer us his weak points. We have to search for these points. This means that an active attack and the ultimate liquidation of the enemy can only be successful if we can liquidate the camps of the opposition. And this can be done only by a direct attack on those camps.

For this reason the slogan is: "Under no circumstances remain in the workers' quarters, in the proletarian strongholds, in the already

conquered cities, but march out from them to the enemies' own camp, the bourgeois quarters, the 'vendees,' and there liquidate the enemy." Marking time and remaining on the defensive means the death of the uprising; only a continuous pushing forward can bring victory.

A third variation of the same conception is the following theory of defensive: What Marx has written about the offensive, should not be interpreted literally. To be sure, ultimate victory is possible only through an offensive and not a defensive, for the former alone will lead to the annihilation of the enemy. However, nothing could be accomplished immediately after the initial success, for instance the seizure of power in the proletarian stronghold, and pushing ahead towards the enemy, because he has a militarily superior force. To succeed, an excellent organization of the forces of the proletariat is first necessary. To win time for this organization, the proletariat should remain on the defensive for some time and organize and concentrate its forces in some degree and then seize the offensive. This theory is further refined through the phraseology that this defensive should not be passive but active. ("Tactical attack, strategic defense.") This fancy phraseology does not alter the fact that the theory in reality is a theory not of attack but of defense since it advocated not attack at any price, but stalling, waiting, etc.

The only valid reason for stalling and waiting would be the expectation that this would improve the power relationship and lead to a consolidation of one's own strength and a weakening of the enemy's. While this expectation could conceivably be fulfilled before the uprising, it could never be true once the attack has begun. Then the power relationships could be made more advantageous for the revolutionaries only through a vigorous offensive, which will spread the firebrand of the revolution as far as possible, increase the number of rebels as much as possible and thereby win as many new districts and adherents away from the influence of the enemy.

The weakness of the above mentioned theory of "active defense" consists in the fact that it is based on the belief that in the field of military organization and military specialization the proletariat can compete with the bourgeoisie. The exponents of the theory completely overlook the fact that this "active defense" nonetheless gives the enemy a breathing spell during which he can get more districts under his control, and influence the opinion of the wavering elements to his advantage; and that as a result of these circumstances he will have the opportunity to strengthen his organization through compulsory mobilization carried out by the thousands and tens of thousands of officers who are at his disposal.

Military organization is one of the strength of the ruling classes. For that reason it should be the goal of the revolutionary classes at the outbreak of the revolt not to attempt to "overtrump" the enemy in this respect, but to attempt to disorganize him with all available means. However intensively the revolutionists work at organizing their forces, waiting and stalling for time will only worsen their position and not improve it.

There is only one theoretically possible situation in which stalling, after the uprising has once begun, could be beneficial to the revolutionists and change the power relationships to their advantage namely: the possibility of military support from a foreign country, in which the revolutionary class has already seized power. In the midst of the

conflict help will be welcomed by the fighters no matter where it comes from. It would be a mistake, however, to make a theory out of this and to rely on such a remote possibility for success of your uprising.

But in spite of this theoretical possibility the fact that the defensive, even active, on the part of the revolutionaries once the uprising has broken out is not likely to improve the balance of forces in favor of the insurgents remains totally unchallenged.

#### WHEN CAN THE DEFENSIVE BE CONSIDERED?

The principle of attack at any price is not shaken by the fact that it is possible to pick out of all the accumulated experiences single instances where the defensive was useful to the insurgents. Thus for example it is unthinkable to reproach the Essen proletariat for not literally joining the attack at the very same moment that the uprising began in other parts of the district, and for waiting defensively in the face of the overwhelming opposition for the arrival of support and weapons from the workers of other sections of the district.

Such a temporary defensive after the beginning of the armed uprising is excusable in such cases where it is clear without a doubt that an immediate revolt could result only in a bloody defeat by the overwhelming strength of the enemy, and that therefore such action would not hurt the enemy but only oneself. But on the whole, defense even temporary, is useless once the uprising has begun. Even in those exceptional cases where a temporary defensive is necessary, where an immediate uprising is impossible, it is often possible to fight and shatter the enemy effectively with other more peaceful means, that is to say to conduct an offensive in a different manner or to send some of your forces to support the revolutionaries in other quarters.

#### CONCERNING THE DEFENSIVE THEORIES OF THE YEAR 1921

Marx's rule concerning the offensive at any price has nothing in common with the offensive theory of 1921. Marx and Lenin have never recommended that an uprising, a decisive battle should be undertaken at any price under any circumstances. Marx and Lenin clearly state: once the uprising is begun, then the offensive must be seized at any price. But to commence an uprising, when the necessary prerequisites for success are lacking, is branded by them as foolishness and treason.

Once an uprising is started under conditions where victory is impossible then it is the duty of the revolutionary party to urge the masses not to attack at any price but to retreat, and to lead this retreat.

#### V. PREVENTION OF THE CONCENTRATION OF THE ENEMY SURPRISE OF THE ENEMY

“Surprise the enemy while his troops are scattered.” (Marx).

Lenin expressed the same principle in the following words: “You should strive to surprise the enemy and to use advantageously the period during which his troops are still scattered.”

The exact moment of the surprise attack, of the unexpected blow, plays an important role. The problems of how and in what sense surprise can be used in an armed uprising shall be outlined below before we pass to the real problem of the prevention of the concentration of the enemy.

The uprising of Reval, as the Hamburg uprising, has counted on the effectiveness of surprise. To be sure, the enemy was surprised in both instances, the blow came unexpected by him, and this allowed the revolutionists to win some initial victories. Thus far the tactics of the revolutionaries were correct.

The fateful mistake in both instances was that not only the enemy was surprised, but also the friends, the workers and the greater part of the members of the revolutionary workers' party, were unprepared. The result was that the attempted coup d'état was not supported by the workers and the uprising was suppressed.

These two examples each us the following: under no circumstances should the surprise attack on the enemy lead also to a surprise of the great mass of the revolutionary fighters, and to an isolating of the fighting forces. To start an armed uprising without warning the masses that the signal would be given, without "shouting from the bell towers the need for a brave offensive and attack with arms in hands," is sheer madness and could lead only to utter defeat. "The masses must know that an armed, bloody, and desperate conflict will be begun." (Lenin: The Moscow Uprising of 1905.)

The question might arise whether under these circumstances it is worthwhile to attempt to use surprise in an uprising because what is told to the mass of people will not remain a secret from the enemy.

Without further ado it can be stated that the surprise of the enemy is impossible in the sense that the whole uprising should be a surprise to him. Surprising the enemy can be done only in the sense first of all that while the approach of an uprising cannot be kept a secret from the enemy, the exact moment chosen by the leaders of the conflict, can be kept a secret and, therefore, can constitute a surprise; second, that the tempo and the determination on the part of the revolutionaries will be unexpected by the enemy; and third that the tactics used shall be a surprise (such as a battle within the city).

#### THE PECULIARITIES OF THE ADVERSARIES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

The rule that the insurgents should always strive to attack and beat the enemy when his forces are scattered and to prevent with all means the concentration and massing of the troops of the enemy is based on a recognition of the peculiarities, the weaknesses and strengths of the oppressed classes on the one hand and the insurgents on the other.

The strength of the insurgent class lies in the activation of the great masses, in the support of the people, in the overwhelming moral impression, which a powerful mass movement makes not only on the revolutionary fighters but also on the forces of the enemy, who will first be amazed and then depressed. Its weakness lies in the lack of military knowledge and organization, which makes it impossible for it to do great military maneuvers, troop movements, to fight in well-organized and coordinated troop formations—in short, to fight a regular war. The insurgents are undeniably weak in the art of fighting a regular war with long continuous fronts.

In contrast, the counterrevolutionary side is strong in military matters, in military organization and maneuvers, in the ability to handle large groups, in the leadership of a regular war. Its weak point is in the political "moral" aspect and in the relatively small number of the counterrevolutionary forces. The counterrevolution always needs gun fodder from classes which are not specially interested in the counterrevolution. For that reason the fighters of the counterrevolution—the army and police—who undeniably come from the proletariat, are always exposed to the danger of disintegration. The danger of disintegration is even greater the more the counterrevolutionary troops are scattered, and the closer their touch with the mass of people is. For this reason the front line war is a strong point of the enemy since he can protect and isolate his troops from the revolutionary disease.

Recognition of this fact means that the art of uprising consists in a large measure in a prevention of the concentration of the enemy's forces. That means the first moment of the uprising must be used at all costs to surround the individual, greater or lesser portions of the enemy's forces, to decompose them with all available means, be it through speeches, through physical contact ("Kill the leaders" etc.) or through direct attack on these groups. The important thing is to cut off the enemy's retreat and communications with the outside world under all circumstances and to prevent his contact with other counterrevolutionary forces.

After the above statement, it is possible to rephrase a fact which has already been mentioned in another connection—namely that in the uprising the front is everywhere: in an armed uprising the front is everywhere, even there where small groups of counterrevolutionary forces remain alive. The principal thing is to attack every morsel of the opponent's troops. The concentration of a tremendous superiority of forces against an important and dangerous objective of the conflict is necessary, but such a concentration must never be allowed to result in a situation where an enemy troop remains unmolested and retains the possibility of contacting a nearby fellow troop. It is always correct to concentrate enough force on an enemy pocket that he is kept busy fighting off partisan attacks, even if he cannot be kept in one place. Such partisan activities, even from very small groups, are useful in confusing the enemy and slowing up the speed of his movements and preventing his prompt contact with other enemy forces.

#### TACTICS OF THE ENEMY

The enemy knows very well that he should prevent his forces from being beaten one by one by concentrating his forces even before the uprising (which cannot be kept a secret from him) in order to present a solid front to the revolutionaries at the moment of the outbreak and force them to fight a regular war. It is even possible that he will evacuate whole cities and districts without a fight only to recapture them later with concentrated forces.

All this does not alter the fact that it is by far the best tactic for the revolutionist to use all their strength to prevent the concentration of the opposing forces, to destroy the communications between their various parts, to scatter the already massed forces, all of which can be done only through a relentless offensive by the insurgents.

The capacity of the enemy to concentrate his forces can also be exaggerated. Imagine the situation of the counterrevolutionaries in the face of a powerful revolutionary movement. It is easy to understand that he cannot abandon some important districts without a fight. It is inconceivable that the counterrevolution would withdraw voluntarily from Berlin, the Ruhr, the coasts or central Germany without a fight and thereby help the workers to capture power. It must not be forgotten that the enemy shall try to strangle the uprising in its inception first of all. This will force him to deploy his forces until the last moment. Only when it becomes clear that he shall not be able to stifle the revolt in its growth will he decide to leave the insurgent horde alone. Once he makes this decision, he will try to stall for time in order to amass and concentrate his forces. The insurgents must see to it that he will have no time to do this. Stalling and defense is the death of an uprising.

It cannot be foreseen if the enemy will abandon whole cities and districts without fight before the uprising. It is important, however, that he should attempt to amass strongly concentrated reserves outside of the strongest insurgent hold, and that he tell his troops not to allow themselves to be defeated piece by piece, and that, in case he does not succeed in suppressing the uprising before it breaks out, he succeeds in forming regular fronts against the insurgents and liquidating the insurgent forces, one or the other, with this concentrated force.

#### WHAT IF THE ENEMY WILL NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE SCATTERED?

The measure of success of disintegrating the enemy force depends not only on the subjective will of the revolutionary class, as could be presumed in the purely military sense, but also on many other factors, for example the more or less correct estimation of the situation by the counterrevolutionary leadership, the greater or lesser determination and agreement on the various concrete problems, the greater or lesser signs of disunity among the mass of their soldiers, and over all the degree of activity of the revolutionary mass and the tempo and the determination of the offensive of the revolutionary forces.

The assertion that the enemy may not react to the offensive of the insurgents and not let his forces be split up but calmly proceed to amass his troops in order to be able to open the battle systematically against the revolutionaries at whatever time seems most favorable to him—this assertion expresses not just a military state of mind but but an ultra-military conception of the uprising. Apart from the fact that such is impossible in a revolutionary situation, where a few or more troops cannot help but be lost in the wave of the revolution and where the means of transportation and communication, which are vitally necessary to the enemy cannot possibly function without some serious mishaps, this assertion is untrue from the purely military standpoint also. Every sensible military leader in a war will always keep some small number of troops in reserve for the security of main forces and this not just in places where a real threat exists but also in places where danger might conceivably arise. The closer and more real the danger, the more troops will be detailed for security reasons. This actually then results in a decentralization of the main force of the enemy and a diversion of a greater or lesser part of the troops from the main tasks.

If in the armed uprising a part of enemies troops is attacked from all sides, it is also forced to defend itself on all sides. If you divide the forces of the enemy, this will make it easier for you to scatter them even further and to defeat them one by one, which in turn will force the enemy to even greater decentralization of his forces. A great lesson in this is the example below from the March actions in 1921.

The goal of the uprising should be to defeat the enemy before he has a chance to form a front line. If it should get as far as the formation of a front line (when for example, a fertile ground for the counterrevolution has been created through the neglect of political agitation in one or more rural areas) the least that should be striven for is the force the enemy to form the line in the most unfavorable spot, a spot where he will have as little room as possible and as few resources, human or otherwise, as possible with which to rebuild his army, and to see to it that his hinterland does not stay "calm" but is agitated and torn apart by partisan forces behind the front lines, etc.

The truth of the above statement concerning enemy concentration and its prevention is proven by the experiences of Germany in 1920 and 1921.

The March actions in the Ruhr offer some brilliant examples of an active, determined, untiring attack by spirited masses of workers against isolated troops of the Reichswehr. The battles of Wetter and Herdecke, in which the counterrevolutionary troops were disarmed and liquidated by enthusiastically fighting workers, who poured in from all sides, belong to the most beautiful experiences in the history of class warfare. But it was a mistake after this triumph to let other enemy troops pass in peace and join unmolested the front that was being formed along the Lippe River against the Ruhr proletariat. It must be admitted, however, that the formation of the front on the Lippe against the fighting proletariat of the Ruhr was not the fault of the Ruhr workers but the fault of those in other parts of the country who failed to support the Ruhr workers and permitted the building of the White front by not attacking its rear.

The generals of the counterrevolution have learned from the Ruhr conflict that the conduct of the military there had been wrong, that it should not have let itself be scattered and beaten one by one, that an uprising must be fought by closely knitted, concentrated, large forces according to regular plan of attack. For that reason it is interesting to observe how the military forces of the counterrevolution acted in the March uprising of 1921 after they had time to absorb the lessons of the Kapp Putsch during which the leading military experts realized that next to the creation of large reserves the most important thing is the prevention of disintegration. (Official memorandum of the Ministry of Interior, p. II.) From this memorandum it can be learned that out of 37 police squads (100 members) which were available for the suppression of the uprising in the Merseburg area, only 12 were used against the Leuna Works although they had been recognized as the focal point of resistance, and 2/3 of the rest of the squads were left in the various cities around Halle, Merseburg, Ammendorf, Weissenfels, Eisleber, etc., as security reserves, to protect the forces fighting at Leuna from a possible action on the part of the workers of these cities. This circumstance is proof that the enemy must react to an offensive and split up his forces when he is threatened from various sides.

## VI. A FEW CONCLUSIONS

### THE DAILY WORK OF THE MASSES AND THE FINAL CONFLICT

A study of the principles of the art of the armed uprising emphasizes at every turn the need of a revolutionary party as the most important prerequisite of victory.

The need for such a party in order to win victory is urgent because a revolutionary mass movement without leadership is chaotic, blind, muddled, and aimless. For every successful uprising a firm, clear, and farsighted leadership is first needed. Such a leadership can only be provided by a party which encompasses the best, bravest, most active and aware elements of the revolutionary class. That every member of the oppressed class should be able to reach this highest point of class consciousness is too much to ask. For that reason it can only be a matter of gathering together the best, most conscious, and most disciplined elements of the class.

Otherwise, the uprising is above all a political action. The military aspects of the uprising are an subordinate but inseparable part of the political aspects—it is an armed political fight. Because of this, the leadership of the armed uprising can be provided only in the form of a political party.

The first and most important requirement for victory in the final conflict is that the party be closely knit to its class, that it possess the greatest possible confidence of the people, and that it be recognized by the people as its leader. Only under these conditions will it be possible for the party to mobilize the broad masses, to bring them under their leadership, to concentrate the overwhelming superiority for the success of the final struggle, to judge the mood of the masses correctly, to give them the right command at the right time, and to choose the right moment for the uprising.

In order that the masses will follow the leadership of the party during the revolution, the party must take care to win popularity among the masses. This popularity can be won only through years and tens of years of defending and protecting deftly and materially all the big and small interests in the life of the masses through daily contact. A party which has not succeeded in winning the popularity of the masses will find itself inescapably isolated at the moment of the uprising—and the leadership of the masses which alone can bring success to the uprising will be lost.

The fact points up the great revolutionary importance of the daily work among the masses by the party, especially the work among the trades, where the greater part of the revolutionary class is located and already more or less organized.

For this reason, the revolutionary party must demand from each of its members active work among the independents and the proletarian elements which belong to other parties. A real revolutionary is above all a leader of the masses.

### THE UNITED OF THE PARTY

In the second place, victory demands a united appearance among the revolutionary forces. These forces must not only be prepared tirelessly for the uprising, but also must be put into the field simultaneously and effectively.

During a spontaneous uprising, piecemeal and ineffective appearance of the revolutionary is inescapable. This, however, gives the counterrevolutionary forces the opportunity to liquidate the uprisings one after the other.

Only with effective leadership is it possible to get the masses to start fighting simultaneously and in unison. Only effective leadership can bring an element of order out of the chaos of a mass movement by dividing the masses into closely-knit groups, by pushing ahead the more backwards elements of the revolutionary mass, by holding back the too advanced sectors of the mass.

A prerequisite, however, is that the party itself be united and well organized. The unity of the revolutionary party must be a precondition of success of the final conflict. Hence, the great revolutionary significance of the battle within the revolutionary workers' party for unity, the significance of discipline and the principles of the democratic centralism, which means the subjection of the individual to the whole, of the minority to the majority.

The Social Democratic parties can afford the luxury of allowing factions and groups within their ranks because they are not revolutionary parties, because they want to organize the worker not for war but for the renunciation of war.

#### THE TRADES AND THE FINAL CONFLICT

For the same reason, the Social Democrat parties do not consider it important to build up their organization among the workers. The Social Democrats mobilize the workers not for bullets but for ballots, by which to win their majority in the parliamentary elections. The old organizations have exerted themselves sufficiently in this direction.

A revolutionary workers' party, however, which wishes to organize the workers for the actual final end of the armed conflict, must be vitally interested in building up the foundations of its organization in the factories.

The usefulness of the factory organizations from the standpoint of the armed conflict will be briefly outlined here. It is easiest to reach the forces of the proletariat through the factories. Because their jobs are located there, they are more or less naturally concentrated in those places. Add to this their common experiences in the battles with their employers. The workers in one general trade to get to know each other more or less well and understand each other more easily. This mutual acquaintance makes the choice of the most capable for post of leader much easier, whereas in other circumstances the braggarts, the shouters, the provocateurs would be the most noticeable on the surface. The battle against spies and provocateurs which plays a large part at the beginning of the uprising, is relatively easy among the workers in one and the same trade.

All these factors are positive elements in the building up of a solid organization and are extraordinarily important from the point of view of the armed uprising. They must be fully utilized for that reason.

The importance of the reorientation of the parties in the factories for war is thus clearly portrayed.

#### ABOVE ALL THE PARTY MUST WORK

The Social Democratic parties, whose aim is to win parliamentary elections, strive only to win the largest number of adherents, without

regard to particular efforts in part of the country, where their electioneering has little prospects of success.

A revolutionary party, however, must be orientated not only towards winning a numerical, but also a territorial preponderance of the masses. The prevention of the concentration the shattering and splitting up of the forces of the enemy on which the course of the revolution depends in the final analysis—demands that the attack be started everywhere with whatever size forces are available. It is significant that the revolutionists have no hinterland where they can feel secure and unmolested and can build up and organize their forces unmolested.

The revolutionary workers' party must see to it that the backwards areas of the country are not neglected and that their revolutionary forces are organized and strengthened. It would be a mistake if the revolutionary party should concentrate their daily work only in the districts in which the proletariat is the strongest and neglect the rural areas.

Even in Germany the proletarian revolution needs to find supporters among the peasants in order to succeed.

#### PEACEFUL CAPTURE OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE ENEMY

From the military point of view, the art of uprising consists in the prevention of concentration, disintegration, disunity, disorganization, splitting up of the armed forces of the enemy.

An effective fight for the destruction of the armed forces of the enemy demands that it be waged not just from the outside but also from the inside. "It is natural that there can be no question of a serious battle if the revolution does not become a revolution of the masses, and does not touch the military." (Lenin.) The revolutionary party should therefore see to it that there are forces at work within the territory of the enemy which strive for this end.

This is also the purpose of the "peaceful" propaganda in the stronghold of the enemy's forces, the army and police. It is not hard to see that this task is the best preparation for the armed uprising. This work, which is not easy but can be done, is much more valuable from the standpoint of the armed uprising than the playing around of the "fighting or propagandizing organizations" when such organizations have no specific task.

All those who believe that altogether much too little is being done for the preparations for the armed uprising, should actively busy themselves with propaganda work among the armed forces of the bourgeoisie.

At the moment of the final conflict, "peaceful" propaganda work is not enough. Needed is an armed fight against the police and the military and a physical battle for the military, that is to say, a active, desperate fight with the counterrevolutionary elements for the winning over of the mass of soldiers. "Peaceful" work means only work in anticipation of such a battle.

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Buchner's pamphlet about the methods Communists use against police informers was advertised in the London edition of *The Communist International* for May 1, 1932, p. 290, and in the New York edition for February 1, 1934, p. 119. While objecting to police interference with Communist activities, Buchner insisted that illegal work must be carried on even where the party is not outlawed. There are many points of similarity between this directive and that of Vassiliev (this section, exhibit No. 42).

## EXHIBIT No. 59

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, n. d. (1932?). Johannes Buchner, *The Agent Provocateur in the Labour Movement*. Pp. 3, 16-18, 43-44, 46-47, 48-51.]

In the "Spitzel Almanach" (Spy's Almanac) which we published some time ago, we German Communists gave a list of the names of a whole number of police spies in the ranks of the workers' movement and warned the revolutionary workers against them.

The main purpose of this booklet is to summarise one or two general points with regard to the means of *combating provocation and spying*, those methods by which the class enemy seeks to break up the ranks of the Communists in all countries. Considering the many different forms which the revolutionary class struggle and the Communist movement take, and the various stages of development which they have reached, in different countries, and the manifold nature of the methods of suppression employed by the bourgeoisie, it would be a futile undertaking to attempt the drawing-up of a fixed and comprehensive code of rules in this connection. This is not the object of the present pamphlet. In the pages following, we would merely draw the attention of the Communists of all countries to the fact that it is a highly important task for them to fight with all possible vigour against the system of *agents and provocateurs*. This system does considerable damage to our Communist movement, especially in the present period which is characterised by an extreme aggravation of the class struggle; for the Communist Parties are now the sole champions of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses; they alone are organising and directing the mass struggle of the workers for a revolutionary way out of the world economic crisis. It remains for each one of our brother Communist Parties, and for every individual Communist, to concretely apply the general aspects of the question which are summarized in this booklet, so that they may suit the circumstances in which this Party or that individual is placed.

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### THE NEW METHOD OF THE POLITICAL POLICE

In order to carry on the struggle against *agents provocateurs* with success, we must first be clear as to how up-to-date provocation and police espionage go to work and under what peculiar conditions they do their mischief.

In old memoirs we find the *agents provocateurs*, police spies and spies painted in highly romantic colours. The classic *agents provocateurs* of Tsarist Russia in particular, such as, for example, Asev, Landesen, Zubatov, Gapon, etc., have been described hundreds of times. These descriptions often read like regular adventure novels. Things have changed now, however, and the methods which formerly characterised the Russian Ochrana are about as different from those of the political police in the capitalist countries of to-day as a simple work bench is from the modern conveyor. One can often read in the memoirs of old revolutionaries, how they carefully looked round, took to flight to escape the police, hid themselves and so forth. While police espionage and provocation have now assumed quite other forms, many of the Communist Parties still remain on a very primitive level in their struggle against police spies and *agents provocateurs*. The Communist Parties have lagged behind their class enemy in this respect.

What has changed in the methods of the political police? The political police of the pre-war period made it their principal aim to get sufficient information to enable them to frustrate the activity of the revolutionaries, of whose designs they had no knowledge—whereas the activities of the modern political police are marked by the fact that they are not content with obtaining the most scrupulously exact information, but are at pains to see that their agents *enter actively*

*into the political life* of the organisations under their supervision. The political police thus try to alter and to distort the line of policy pursued by these organisations. Many facts prove this.

Secondly, the modern political police possess in the fascist organisations, not only reliable supporters, but inexhaustible reserves for espionage service, a sort of voluntary organisation of *agents provocateurs*. That means that the police apparatus have been reinforced to many times their normal strength.

A third circumstance is that Social-democracy, continually by means of its propaganda of "class reconciliation," which it has carried on for many years, and by its daily practice of class betrayal, has deeply demoralised some sections of the working class, and thus created the psychological basis for mass espionage in the shops and factories, and for the direct participation of "Socialists" in the police force. In the German capitalist republic, for example, all trace of difference between the apparatus of the Social Democratic Party, and that of the police, has been almost completely obliterated. Whereas in former times it was deemed a heinous crime to betray a striker to the employer, and the most violent struggles were waged in every enterprise against the "stool pigeons," at the present moment the functionary of the Social Democratic Party calmly denounces any Communist he pleases, and has him thrown out of the works without more ado. Workshop espionage to-day finds its main support in the factory councils of the reformist trade unions and their confidential officials.

Fourthly, there is the circumstance that modern police espionage in the ranks of the revolutionary workers' movement and of the Communist Parties can draw upon the rich supplies of experience acquired during the world war. Just as the technique of war made great advances during the world war and the period immediately after it, so too the art of espionage has developed and progressed enormously. A book by the American war-correspondent, Johnson, "Our Secret War," contains abundant descriptions of the various methods employed by spies during the world war for the communication of news. Everything imaginable was called into service for the conveying of news. Packages of fruit and flowers carefully wrapped in tissue paper and properly packed up in boxes with important news written in invisible chemical ink on the paper and even on the flowers and leaves. Newspaper advertisements, business insertions and "innocent" items in the agony column served to convey information to those whom it concerned. Sometimes an elegant *vignette* of a lady's head in a newspaper advertisement, in reality conveyed information with regard to military positions. The way in which postage stamps were stuck on letters and parcels in neutral countries, served likewise as a means of communication and signalling. A simple customer in a restaurant would play unnoticed with a toothpick on the table, but had in reality left behind news in chemical form for a later visitor who would decipher it in a single instant by "carelessly" spilling a glass of wine or water. Another form of transmitting information; two guests enter a restaurant at different times, sit down at different tables and have, apparently, nothing to do with each other. They have exactly similar hats and as they leave the place, one of them takes the other's hat. The

exchange of information is thus achieved. We can all remember how active the so-called "patronesses" were during the war in the various belligerent countries, sending letters and charitable gifts to soldiers at the front. It has, lately however, been learned from a German source that this "patroness" movement, which arose in France, was not only utilised, but actually started by the German espionage service, in order to get news regarding the location of the various detachments of troops at the front. These few instances are alone enough to show what great advances have been made in the technique of espionage during the war. And all this progress and experience is now being used in the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement.

Finally let it be said that the police, especially those of the great imperialist states, have collected a great fund of experience in the struggle against the movement for national liberation in the colonies.

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The Communists have still to learn how to organise their work in the enterprises. Many Communists in countries where our movement is legal, think that they would be unjustified in undertaking illegal work in the enterprises. It is unfitting, they believe, not to make an open profession of one's membership of the Communist nucleus. A member of our French brother Party who was advised to disappear for a time in order to avoid being arrested, declared: "I am not a coward and I won't hide from the police!" We will give one more instance of the thoughtlessness and rashness which prevails among many Communists in this respect. One of our legal brother Parties publishes in its central organ on January 1st New Year's greetings from all Party cells giving the exact names and addresses, so that the police are thus provided with a complete list of all Communist cells.

The first duty of the Communists in their struggle against workshop espionage is therefore to organise illegal work in industry on the right lines. In many legal Communist Parties, not to mention the illegal ones, the membership changes very rapidly. New members are constantly entering the Party. Before the police despatch a "novice" to his work, they give him the most exact instructions, arrange their own courses for the study of the tactics and strategy of their opponents, etc. But when a young and inexperienced worker of 18 or 19 years old comes to join the Communist Party, how is he to assume the correct behaviour and be saved from making false steps without the necessary instruction and preparation?

The Communists must therefore instruct their members and arrange courses dealing with the organisation of illegal work in the factories. All cases of workshop espionage which are discovered must be dealt with in detail by our factory newspapers in order to warn our comrades and protect our Party nuclei from disaster. Every case of discharge must be examined with a view to ascertaining if it was not the work of an *agent provocateur*. We must publish special pamphlets in a popular style on workshop espionage and the methods of combating it. The most radical means of combating workshop espionage is and will always be, of course, well-organised mass work in the factory—work in which the Communists are unfortunately not yet up to standard. If we Communists can succeed, on the basis of well-organised mass work, in mobilising the sentiment of the industrial workers against

workshop espionage and in kindling again the fire of proletarian indignation which the demoralising influence of Social-democracy has recently caused to die down, we will have dealt a decisive blow at the system of workshop espionage.

#### IV. HOW TO COMBAT THE AGENT PROVOCATEUR

Too many Communists think of the struggle against political provocation mainly or exclusively as a form of reprisals against individual traitors and police spies. Such an attitude is fundamentally wrong. What is required is a number of preventive measures to paralyse treachery and police espionage; and in the struggle against political provocation our attention must be focussed on this point.

Preventive measures for combating the *agent provocateur* must take three forms:

Firstly, the correct co-ordination of legal and illegal work. The arrangement of the whole work of the Party along correct lines makes it more difficult for the *agent provocateur* to get in and practise his trade.

Secondly, the drawing up and exact observance of the rules of conspiracy work, that is to say, practical technical measures to ensure that confidential decisions and documents, illegal persons, addresses, etc., are kept a close secret.

Thirdly, exact rules for the conduct of comrades under arrest, with regard to their statements in court and before the police.

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In combating the *agent provocateur* it is of special importance to pay careful attention to the correct co-ordination of legal and illegal activity. Sound combination of legal and illegal work makes the work of the *agent provocateur* more difficult and not infrequently leads to his being unmasked.

“In many countries, some of them the most advanced countries”—wrote Lenin in his “Infantile Sickness (Left Wing Communism)” — “the bourgeoisie is undoubtedly sending, and will continue to send, its *agents provocateurs* into the Communist Parties. One method of struggle against this peril is the skillful co-ordination of legal and illegal work.” With reference to one of the greatest *agents provocateurs* in the Bolshevik Party, the notorious Malinovsky, Lenin wrote: “He betrayed scores of the best and most devoted comrades . . . That he did not cause more mischief, was due to the efficient co-ordination between the legal and illegal forms of our activities. In order to gain our confidence, Malinovski was forced . . . to aid us in establishing daily papers which, even under the Tsarist, knew how to carry on the fight openly against the opportunism of the Mensheviks and to teach the fundamental principles of Bolshevism . . . With one hand Malinovsky sent scores and scores of the most active Bolshevik functionaries to prison and to death, he was compelled, with the other hand, to aid through the legal press in the education of tens of thousands of new Bolsheviks.”

It is an important and necessary factor to avoid excessive concentration in the illegal work of the Party. This is particularly true of the countries where the white terror prevails. It still frequently happens that a great number of different illegal functions, such as the direction of an illegal printshop, communication with organisations abroad and with underground organisations and so forth are all

concentrated in the hands of a single comrade. Illegal Party work calls for a strict division of functions so that the arrest of one person may not cause the dislocation of several spheres of illegal Party work. A comrade who has the direction of some special province of illegal Party work ought not at the same time to know all the details of all the illegal activities which go on.

Besides this it is necessary to work out a system by which every individual Party member may be carefully checked up. Such a thorough checking up must be undertaken when a comrade is to be entrusted with a responsible and confidential post, or with some duties which bring him into contact with the different branches of illegal Party work and with illegal organs, printshops, keys to secret codes, etc. The same applies to comrades who are to be active in the sphere of colonial work, anti-militarist activity and such like. All symptoms of personal feelings, sentimental considerations, or superficial friendliness in the selection of such comrades must be rejected as something essentially petty-bourgeois and unproletarian. Such a checking-up should include a serious examination of the moral and political personality of the comrade concerned, his strength of character, militant experience, personal courage, his connections and social intercourse, way of life, family relations, etc., must all be taken into account. A comrade whom the Party has not yet had time to get to know properly, whom the Party is not yet quite sure of, had much better be kept in legal or semi-legal spheres of activity than be transferred to a post where a false step on his part might do our whole cause unspeakable harm. All this is of course particularly true of the countries where the white terror is most violent such as Yugo-Slavia, China and so on. The Communist Parties must subject all their leading functionaries to a checking-up in respect of their reliability and trustworthiness under the above-mentioned heads. It must be remembered in doing this that besides the old and tried cadres of functionaries whose ranks are thinning with the years and under the blows of the police, the Communist Parties also have cadres of young functionaries at their disposal. Under the conditions of an intensified class struggle and terrorisation such as the Communist Parties are now faced with, the composition of the active Party cadres changes extremely rapidly. Young Party members come into leading positions within the space of one year or even more quickly and not by any means all persons in whom the Party reposes the greatest confidence, are really carefully examined and selected, as is in fact necessary in such cases.

Under present conditions the Communist Parties must make it their general rule to adopt precautionary measures against individual comrades in any case of suspicion, serious or otherwise, even when there are no adequate proofs by which the suspicion can be corroborated. It only occasionally happens that the Party is in the fortunate position of being able to produce all the necessary evidence against an *agent provocateur*. Without such general precautionary measures the Communist Parties will always be having unpleasant surprises and making the work of the police more easy for them. There are many cases in the history of the revolutionary movement in Tsarist Russia, where Party functionaries were suspected of being *agents provocateurs* and where the

Party commissions after long examinations and cross-examinations arrived at the conclusion that there was not adequate proof for the charges which had been brought or that the aspersions of suspicion were wholly unfounded. Yet later on, when the secret archives of the Ochrana had been made accessible by the October Revolution, it turned out that a great number of those who had once been suspected, had in fact really been in connection with the police. From which we may draw the moral that, whereas all cases where seemingly tried and reliable comrades are suspected of various offences, should be most carefully dealt with, a thorough examination carefully pursued to the very end, must also be regarded as indispensable in such cases.

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The most essential measures for combating the *agent provocateur*—measures which must be quite systematically put into effect—may be summed up under the following heads:

1. Thorough analysis of every case of arrest, examination and comparison of all circumstances and incidents accompanying the case.

2. Exact analysis and control of the work carried out by Party functionaries in regard to the correctness of the political and organisational line. Increased vigilance in cases of distortion or misrepresentation of the Party line.

3. Exact analysis of the various proposals and formal motions brought forward by the suspected person over a given period of time.

4. Extreme caution towards people who display excessive curiosity, who offer themselves for the execution of confidential tasks and who want to learn at any price all that has to do with the illegal work of the Party.

5. Special attention and vigilance to be paid to Communists whose behaviour in private life is not in accord with Party ideas (e. g., cases of alcoholism, embezzlement, extravagance, sexual excesses, etc.).

6. Strict and continual financial control over all sums of money expended by the organisation and over every penny of Party funds. Where carelessness and irregularities occur in the administration of money, a favourable atmosphere is created for moral decay and political provocation to creep in.

7. Special courses of instruction in methods of combating political provocation and in the most elementary methods of illegal work and conspiracy must be conducted in the Party schools. These courses must be based not merely on the many years' experience of the Russian Bolsheviks but also on the more recent experience gained in the struggle of the modern Communist Parties in the various capitalist countries and in the colonies. For this purpose the publication of a descriptive and agitational mass literature is required, dealing with the methods and tricks employed by the police and giving concrete instructions as to how to combat the *agent provocateur*. Pamphlets must also be published describing typical cases of arrests, betrayals and provocation.

8. A struggle must also be waged against *agents provocateurs* who have been unmasked, by making their names known and publishing their photographs and descriptions of their persons in the press. The Communist Parties of other countries should follow the example of the Communist Party of Germany in publishing special

almanacks and booklets with lists of names, personal descriptions and photographs of police spies and *agents provocateurs* who have become known as such.

9. In combating workshop espionage it is especially necessary to mobilise the public opinion of the employees against the activities of workshop spies. Direct action on the part of all the workers of the whole enterprise or of a given department so as to discover and forcibly eject all spies, is no bad remedy. A most suitable method is also the organisation of a mass boycott against the agent provocateur. A spy can often be got rid of by this means, for in the first place his activity as a spy is made considerably harder and less productive by the fact that all workers cut him and secondly he feels himself so uncomfortable in the enterprise where he is being boycotted that he prefers to fade out of the picture. In any case the organisation of the masses forms a decisive link in the struggle against political provocation.

10. Every Communist Party should constantly hold in view the possibility of having to change quickly to illegal work and should take such preparatory measures as may protect them against surprise in the case of sudden interference by the police or state executive.

A further group of measures may be classified under the head of improving the technique of illegal work and the methods of practical conspiracy. We may here adduce another example which goes back to war espionage as practised in the time of the imperialist world war. A famous school of espionage which the German general staff established in Antwerp during their period of occupation, gave its pupils among other things the following instructions as to the behaviour and methods of work to be employed by them in practice:

“Do not show too obvious curiosity when collecting news and doing reconnaissance.”

“Train your facial expression so as to appear always uninterested and indifferent.”

“Never discuss confidential matters in a coffee-house, on the tram or in the train.” “Conceal your knowledge of foreign languages: this makes it easier for you to overhear conversations.”

“Don’t leave papers, envelopes, newspapers, hotel or business bills lying about anywhere. Don’t throw them in the waste paper basket either, even if they are torn in small pieces.”

“Always arrange meetings with people from whom you intend to learn something, at a great distance from your and their place of living. If possible they should have to make a railway journey of several hours to arrive at the meeting place. When tired, especially after a night journey, the client is less capable of offering resistance and is more ready to let things out.”

“Rather learn five or six facts, even if they be insignificant ones than a hundred opinions.”

The revolutionary, especially under present-day conditions, must constantly observe certain rules of behaviour. The contemporary revolutionary lives and works under the perpetual danger of police terror, of capitalist class justice, political provocation and police espionage. He must always be on his guard, must never talk at random, never be guilty of carelessness; he must know how to govern himself and hold himself in check.

In executing confidential conspiratorial work he must set about it with circumspection, prudence and consideration and always let

himself be guided by the revolutionary aims in view. He must fight systematically against all distractions and tendencies to lose hold over himself, against talkativeness and against curiosity. He must evolve a number of strict rules of life for his daily existence and his intercourse with men and affairs. Among these rules, the following may be mentioned:

1. Tell him who *ought* to know what you have to say, not he who is *permitted* to know it. Special attention should be paid to this in the illegal parties, for not everyone is able to stand torture, if it comes to that.

2. A revolutionary must not talk at random or use superfluous words. Avoid discussing Party affairs in public places where there are many people about; in a coffee-house, on the train, in the street, etc.

3. Only ask what it is your concern to know.

4. Be on your guard in telephoning and in letter-writing. Letters are read at the post office, talks on the phone are listened to.

5. Don't take unnecessary things with you.

6. Look round you. See who is following you and who is watching you.

7. Don't pose! Don't attract attention by acting the conspirator; act and behave simply.

8. Avoid all frivolity and care-free behaviour. Consider every step and every action.

9. Adapt your way of life to the environment to which you belong according to the documents you carry.

Albert Mueller's warnings against the Nazi secret police came much too late to do the German Communists any real good. Walter Krivitsky, former chief of Soviet Intelligence in Western Europe, has described how Stalin abandoned the Communist Party of Germany in the hope of placating Hitler.<sup>1</sup> After World War II, the places of those who had been liquidated by the Nazis were filled by German comrades who had spent a long exile in the U. S. S. R.—a fact which made them more trusted than "ill-informed natives."<sup>2</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 60

[*Imprecorr*, September 28, 1934. Pp. 1345-1346]

### ORGANISED MASS FIGHT AGAINST SPIES AND PROVOCATEURS

By Albert Mueller

In the period immediately following Hitler's coming into power, the Nazis succeeded by means of furious incitement and threats and by means of a well-organised spy apparatus in getting their supporters and the petty bourgeois strata to engage in wholesale denunciation of persons holding Communist opinions. The petty bourgeois masses supported the fascist police apparatus because they believed that it was necessary to help the police to suppress the Communists in order that Hitler might carry out his programme undisturbed. The bold work of propaganda and agitation of the Communists, which was carried on in spite of the terror, the ever-increasing discontent of the broad masses with the fascist system,

<sup>1</sup> Krivitsky, *In Stalin's Secret Service*, Chapter I: Stalin Appeases Hitler.

<sup>2</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, p. 155. Borkenau, *European Communism*, p. 514.

restricted the wholesale denunciation. But the denunciation of revolutionary workers was restricted not only as a result of these two factors, but also through improved methods of illegal work, as well as by the fight of the C.P.G. against spies and provocateurs.

Lenin set the Bolshevik Party in tsarist Russia a task which applies also to-day to the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Comrade Lenin wrote:—

We must endeavour to create an organisation capable of rendering spies harmless by exposing them and tracking them down. Spies cannot be exterminated, but we can and must create an organisation which detects spies and educates the workers to take an active part in combating them.

It follows therefore that the fight against provocateurs and spies is a task which must be participated in by the whole of the Communist Parties and the whole of the working class.

Goering took over from the social-democratic police presidents a powerful police apparatus which was well organised for the fight against the Communists. Goering reorganised this apparatus, introduced a large number of Nazis into the police apparatus, and together with a part of the former social-democratic police officials built up his State Secret Police (Gestapo), which together with the special troops (S.S.) and storm troops (S.A.) proceeded ruthlessly against all persons suspected of holding Communist opinions.

Other spy and provocateur organisations were created, which work in close co-operation with the Gestapo and have the task of keeping a watch on the slightest communist activity. These organisations are:—

(a) *Reichssicherheitsdienst (Reich Security Service).*

This organisation includes the officials of the S. S., the intelligence department of the S. S. and the officials of the Air Defence. They have to report every two weeks on their activity and give answers to the following questions: how many inhabitants are there in the blocks of houses under their control, any changes, how many sub-tenants are there and who are they, how many are in work and what is their trade, whether they receive many visits, who the visitors are, etc. They must also ascertain whether the inhabitants hang out Nazi flags, whether they take part in collections, whether they are members of the national socialist organisations, of the Reich Air Defence, etc.

(b) *The S. A. courier service.*

This service is employed above all in effecting wholesale arrests. It is known that these people know all the former Communists in their districts. They have to give a monthly report on the former Communists.

(c) *Factory spies.*

The factory police have their sections in all the big works and factories, above all in the munition factories. In the firm of Siemens in Berlin, for example, there is a department of the factory police comprising 200 men. The I. G. Farben works have over 3,000 men. Some of these police wear the uniform of factory police, the greater part of them are employed as workers and clerks in the process of production. These agents are given not only a military but also a political training, so that it is possible for them to develop into good "workers' functionaries" in the factories. The intelligence department of

the Reichswehr also has its agents in the munition works. The hotel and café employees, particularly those working in big hotels and cafés, from time to time receive written and verbal instructions to keep a watch on their guests and customers. The N. S. B. O. (national socialist factory organisation) has a special department which organises and conducts espionage work.

One of the most important preconditions for the successful building up of Party work is that the Party takes care that its ranks remain free of Hitler's agents. It is impossible absolutely to prevent spies and provocateurs from finding their way into the party. So long as the class war exists between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie will always endeavour to smuggle spies and provocateurs into the Communist Party. It is for us, however, to make it so difficult for these elements to creep into the Party that only in rare cases will they have the possibility of doing so. We must also take measures to ensure their rapid exposure.

Of importance in the fight against the penetration of police agents into the Party was the checking up of all new members and keeping a constant check on the work and activity of every member of the organisation. Each member must carry out his work strictly in accordance with the instructions and under the control of the Party organisation. The observance of this Bolshevist principle must play a special role in conditions of illegality. Experience has shown that the Party organisations have not been vigilant enough when admitting new members into the Party. Experience has shown that traitors and deserters are to be found above all among the declassed and petty bourgeois elements. If a larger number of factory workers had been drawn into the Party, the number of spies, traitors and deserters would have been greatly reduced. It is easy for the Party and the whole of the working class to keep an eye on the activity of the factory workers, but it is more difficult in the case of other strata of the population to ascertain their antecedents and their activity. Practice has shown that a constant examination of every person before and after admission into the Party is necessary. By examining and testing the work and by observation, collection of material in cases of suspicion, spies, provocateurs, swindlers, etc., are discovered and exposed. The Party membership must be regularly instructed in this matter by the press and by special literature. Not only the functionaries of the Party and mass organisations, but all members of the Party, all workers must be informed who has been exposed as a spy or provocateur.

The Communist Party of Germany, both in the period of legality and illegality, is able to record successes in this sphere. From the year 1919 up to the present time the Party has regularly issued lists of spies and black lists. The black lists, which appeared once or twice a month, have a fairly large circulation. These lists were issued both by the Central and the District Party Committees. The black lists from the years 1929 to 1931 show how far the Party succeeded in rendering harmless elements which otherwise would have been injurious to the Party. In addition to numerous defrauders, swindlers and petty spies, about 150 important cases of exposed spies and provocateurs were published.

Many members of the C. P. G. were and are of the opinion that whilst spies must be removed from the organisations, it is not expedient to make a set-out about them, as otherwise honest workers will

be afraid to join an organisation in which there are spies. The C. P. G. has waged and is waging a struggle against this incorrect view within the Party. It is of the opinion that not only must there be no secrecy maintained regarding these provocateurs and spies in the organisation, but that the revolutionary workers must be brought into the fight against these police elements; that the Party must organise a mass fight against them which will intimidate them. The honest workers, the former social-democratic workers who are afraid to join the C. P. G. on account of the danger of spies and provocateurs, must be told that the C. P. G. is the only Party which is conducting an inexorable fight against these elements, that the social-democratic party of Germany could not conduct this fight, because its leaders, the police presidents and others, hired spies and provocateurs, who were ruthlessly fought by the C. P. of Germany.

The C. P. of Germany is able to record successes in mobilising the broad masses of workers in the fight against spies and provocateurs. The following examples from the period of illegality show the methods of mobilising the workers. A strong spy apparatus was set up in the . . . munition factory. All workers who were known to hold Communist opinions were closely watched and dismissed. The spies did not remain constantly in this factory, but were sent when necessary to a sister undertaking in order to continue their activity there. By careful investigation a large part of the spy apparatus was exposed. The factory newspaper of our Party organisation took care that not only the staff of the main undertaking, but also the staff of all sister undertakings, learnt whom they had to be on their guard against and whom they had to fight.

In . . . photographs of three spies were obtained, reprinted on postcards and distributed in large numbers among the population, together with the inscription: "Take a look at these rascals and treat them as they deserve."

What results can be achieved by well-organised participation of the masses in the fight against spies and provocateurs is shown by the following two examples: In . . . an arrested Communist, as a result of mishandling, went over to the class enemy. He betrayed a number of workers, including a functionary of a mass organisation, who was then murdered by storm troopers. When the Party organisation got to hear of this treachery they took the following measures: (1) published a street newspaper containing a picture of the traitor and an article dealing with him, (2) issued a circular to the tenants of the house in which he lived, (3) had slogans against the traitor painted in the surrounding streets, (4) sticky-backs describing the traitor were issued and stuck up everywhere.

The result was: (1) owing to the protest of the neighbours the traitor got notice from the landlord to vacate his flat, (2) in face of the attitude of the workers of the district he found it advisable to move to another neighbourhood, (3) the traitor has not ventured to betray any further comrades.

In . . . there was a spy who went about for a long time and caused comrades to be arrested. When he again came to . . . the Party comrades organised troops of children who called after him in the street: "police spy! scoundrel!" and other unflattering epithets. The spy left the neighbourhood as he was boycotted everywhere and could not appear on the street without encountering hostility.

As a result of mass boycott, which is employed very frequently, spies are not only hampered in their work in the factory, but they themselves feel unsafe and therefore "voluntarily" withdraw from their field of activity.

The intensified fight of the working class against the fascist dictatorship, the approaching fight for power, demands increased vigilance on the part of the Party organisations and greater participation of the masses in the fight against spies and provocateurs.

### B. FRANCE

Like many other Communist Parties, the Communist Party of France came into being as the result of a split within the Socialist Party.<sup>1</sup> From the outside, the CPF was troubled with factions which kept it relatively weak and isolated until 1934.<sup>2</sup> Early in that year, the threat of a Fascist coup drove the Communists into closer collaboration with the Socialists whom they had savagely attacked during the Third (1928-34) Period.

The ultimate decision, however, was made by Stalin who urgently desired French rearmament as a counterbalance to rising Nazi power (see. B, exhibit No. 65).<sup>3</sup> According to the most approved principles of democratic centralism, leading French Communists handed down directives insisting upon "unity" with the Socialists. In October 1934, this new look acquired the title of People's Front.<sup>4</sup> Nine months later, the Seventh World Congress recommended it as a model for other Communist Parties.

Exhibit No. 61 summarizes French Communist achievements during the 18 months preceding the Seventh Comintern Congress. Following the example set by the Soviet Union in mid-1934 (see. B, exhibits Nos. 42 and 43), French Communists now eulogized the national traditions of their native country. The 150th anniversary of the French Revolution provided a natural opportunity for the comrades to clothe themselves in tricolored glory. How effective this new use of Trojan horse strategy proved to be among the middle class and professional people of France has been excellently analyzed by a former Communist.<sup>5</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 61

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, November 1935. *The People's Front in France*. Speeches by Marcel Cachin, Maurice Thorez, Andre Marty. Pp. 3-7, 21, 45-47, 55-57, 65-7, 71-73, 81-83, 87, 88, 94-96]

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE FIGHTS FOR THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

### Speech Delivered at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International

By Marcel Cachin

Comrades, the French delegation this time presents a favorable balance sheet to the Congress of the Communist International. Our Party has grown numerically and morally. The membership of the Party has almost tripled. Our Young Communist League has increased its membership fivefold within the past year. The sport organizations, to which our Party is now giving very much attention, have realized the united front with the Socialist sport organizations, and at the present time number 40,000 members. (*Applause*).

<sup>1</sup> Ivor Thomas, *The Socialist Tragedy*, New York, Macmillan, 1949, p. 73. Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, pp. 172-178. Borkenau, *European Communism*, pp. 108-162.

<sup>3</sup> Philip Williams (Oxford University), *Politics in Post-War France*, New York, Longmans, Green, 1954, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 384-386.

<sup>5</sup> Rossi, *Communist Party in Action*, Chapter V: The Communist, the Intellectuals, and the Principles of 1789.

*L'Humanité* has increased its circulation by 50,000 during the last twelve months (*applause*) and our provincial press distributes more than 200,000 of its local papers every week. (*Applause.*)

Our election victories last May and June were considerable throughout France. But here we must mention our particularly brilliant successes in the Paris region. First of all, in Paris, where the Communist Party tops all the political parties. (*Applause.*) In the Paris suburbs there live, as you know, the workers forced out of the city by high rents; in the suburbs we won half of all the seats against all the other parties united. (*Applause.*) Thus we have encircled Paris. The day after the recent elections, the reactionary newspapers wrote: "From now on Paris is surrounded by a Red belt." That is true, comrades—this is the blockade of the bourgeoisie's Paris by the proletariat of the Paris region. (*Applause.*)

And let us not forget that the Department of the Seine, where we now hold first place, has 5,000,000 inhabitants, and that it has always played the decisive role in the history of our country. I must add, in truth, that our results in the provinces are still far behind what we achieved in Paris and in the region around Paris, but, nevertheless, we feel a peculiar commotion there. I do not need further proof than the last election in Toulon for the seat left vacant by the death of Renaudel. It was a Communist who succeeded the head of French reformism. (*Applause.*)

Thus the political role of our Party has grown considerably during the past few months, and it has played a prominent part in the political life of the country. Our Party was the initiator of a very wide united front, which today has been extended into the People's Front. And the French Lefts particularly feel that the progress of fascism in France can be stopped only upon one condition: that the Communist Party and the revolutionary proletariat enter the battle to the full.

We can say, comrades, that there is no other Party in France at the present time that enjoys the confidence of the proletariat as much as the Communist Party, even beyond the limits of the Party.

Within the Party we observe a cohesion, a maturity, an activity, and at the same time a self-possession, of which we could give you many proofs. Here is one of them:

All of you here know Doriot. You know the role played by this man ever since the formation of our Party. You know that he was in some degree a spoiled child of the Communist Party. And when he left the Party under the conditions that you know, he doubtless thought that a large part of the French Communists and of the working class would follow him in his adventure. Well, the Party was not shaken in any of its nuclei by the departure of this man.

Comrades, I should like to give you an idea of the admirable devotion of the proletarians to the French Communist Party.

We have set up very many Committees for the Defense of the *L'Humanite*. We ask our comrades to become distributors of the paper every Sunday, as well as whenever great events take place in France. At the present time there are 15,000 men and women in Paris and the Paris region who defy the fascists and the police every Sunday, in all kinds of weather, without any pay—in front of the subway entrances, in the markets, and in the streets.

But besides these numerous and daily deeds of individual and collective devotion, our Party has furnished many proofs that it has become the leader of the masses.

Tremendous demonstrations took place in the streets of Paris after February 6, last year, after the first fascist venture: a veritable state of siege, with barricades. The night of February 9, ten of our comrades fell in battle, but the Communist Party found behind it tens of thousands of Parisians, sons of the Commune. It was this day, followed by the 12th, that stopped the first assault of fascism in France. Thenceforth, our Party placed itself at the head of the proletarian masses. It owes this mighty prestige to the loyalty that it has always observed towards its International.

I must mention here the great benefits that our French proletariat has received from its affiliation to the Communist International. The Communist International remains our guide, our star; we have absolute confidence in it. This is not a mystical confidence; it is a confidence founded on an experience of fifteen years by now, the years that have passed since our entrance into the Communist International.

\* \* \* \* \*

### THE SUCCESSES OF THE ANTI-FASCIST UNITED FRONT

*Speech Delivered at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International*

By Maurice Thorez

Our Communist Party has not hesitated to make use of the revolutionary traditions. In a letter of September 21, 1890 to Joseph Bloch, Engels writes:

*Among these [conditions] the economic ones are finally decisive. But the political, etc., ones, and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds, also play a part, although not the decisive ones.\**

Up to recently the bourgeoisie had made us of these traditions against the working class to justify and consolidate its rule. Now the revolutionary traditions are becoming an additional weapon in the hands of the working class in its struggle against the bourgeois state in its fascist form. We draw from the past to prepare for our future.

In the name of the working class we claim the intellectual and revolutionary heritage of the Encyclopædists of the Eighteenth century, who paved the way for the Great Revolution of 1789 with their works and with their writings. We show that their materialist doctrine, made more profound, developed, and enriched by the genius of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, has become dialectical materialism, Marxism-Leninism: the theory and the practice of the revolutionary proletariat, the great builder of socialism, already the master of power in one-sixth of the globe.

We show how the Communist proletarians, following Lenin's recommendation, try "to assimilate the treasures of knowledge accumulated by all humanity". (Lenin's "Speech to the Youth".) And we do this at a time when the bourgeoisie, and fascism in particular, are trying to throw us back into the barbarism of past centuries, are foresaking the work of the Encyclopaedists, are refusing to teach the theories of Darwin, are burning the works of Marx, and are fostering credulity, superstition and brutalization.

\*The Correspondence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, pp. 475-476, International Publishers, New York.

In the name of the working class we claim the heritage of the Jacobins' audacity and revolutionary energy.

Lenin often said: "The Bolsheviks are the Jacobins of the proletarian revolution." He wrote:

The bourgeois historians see in Jacobinism a downfall. The proletarian historians regard Jacobinism as the greatest expression of an oppressed class in its struggle for liberation. The Jacobins gave France the best models of a democratic revolution; they repelled in an exemplary fashion the coalition of monarchs formed against the republic. . . .

It is natural for the bourgeoisie to hate Jacobinism. It is natural for the petty bourgeoisie to fear it. The class-conscious workers and toilers have faith in the transference of power to the revolutionary oppressed class for that is the essence of Jacobinism, and it is the only escape from the present crisis the only way of stopping economic disintegration and the war.\*

We glorify the memory of the Commune of 1793 and of the Paris Commune of 1871. As against the chauvinism and fascism and the patriotism of the munitions merchants we proclaim our love of country, of our people.

We express our pride in its past of centuries of struggle against enslavement and oppression. And we, the great-grandsons of the sans-culottes of 1792, of the soldiers of Valmy, deny the aristocrats—the descendants of the emigrés of Coblenz, who returned to France in the train of the foreign counter-revolution, M. Colonel de la Rocque, president of the Croix de Feu, whose great-grandfather was in the army of Condé and of the king of Prussia—the right to speak in the name of our country. We denounce them as the traitors of yesterday and of tomorrow, ready, like their sires long ago, like the Russian whiteguards of today, to bear arms against their own country in order to maintain or recover their privileges and their profits.

\* \* \* \* \*

And now? The Party has influenced considerable masses of the middle classes, drawing them towards the Left, towards the working class. Based upon the drive of the masses, the Communist Party has contributed to the overthrow of two successive cabinets. New problems arose before our Party. The question arises of an eventual united front government or a government of the anti-fascist people's Front.

Of course, parliamentary combinations analogous to those of Brandler in Saxony in 1923 are out of the question for us. Nor does this mean a "labor government" of the kind we have witnessed, or are still witnessing, in England and in various Scandinavian countries, and, even less, coalition governments as in Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Spain. It is not a question of managing the affairs of the bourgeoisie. What is involved is fighting fascism, barring its road to power at any price, basing ourselves upon the urge of the masses and upon extra-Parliamentary action.

We Communists are fighting for Soviet power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. We know that this is the only way to put an end to the crisis, to poverty, to fascism, and to war forever. But we also know that *at the present time only a minority* of the working class, and above all, only a minority of the people of France share our convictions *and are fighting with the firm desire to establish Soviet power*. That is why Soviet power cannot be the immediate goal of our present struggle. But although we are in a minority, we

\*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book II, p. 278, International Publishers, New York.

can and we must lead the majority of the country, which today is already determined to avoid the establishment of a fascist dictatorship at all costs. We can and we must convince the masses, in the struggle and on the basis of their own experience, of the necessity of attaining a Soviet Republic.

The discontent that is accumulating and making itself felt in numerous demonstrations against the emergency decrees can explode and lead to the overthrow of the Laval government. The development of the People's Front and its constant reinforcement can cause it to become the successor of the National Union governments.

A new cabinet crisis will mean the beginning of a serious political crisis. Laval is said to have told Herriot: "If I resign owing to the opposition of the Radicals, the Parliamentary recess will end the dictatorship of the Croix de Feu." The Communist Party, moving spirit of the People's Front, can cast a decisive weight in the scale of events. If the People's Front lacks cohesion and boldness, a political formation still more reactionary may follow the Laval government, the government of National Union; it may even be succeeded by a fascist dictatorship. We must keep in mind the steps which led along apparently legal roads from the Mueller government to the Hitler government, via Bruening, von Papen and Schleicher.

If, on the contrary, under the conditions of revolutionary crisis, the Communist Party launches, propagates, popularizes and gets adopted, in time, a minimum of measures of a transitory nature that can "*shake still more the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie and augment the forces of the working class*" the drive of the mass movement can impose a People's Front government, which our Party would support and in which, if necessary, it might even participate.

The anti-fascist battle would become fiercer, since the reactionary and fascist assault would be brutal and immediate. But the People's Front and the Communist Party would have occupied new positions, which we would have to utilize to prepare for the establishment of Soviet Power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is no doubt a bold policy, which demands much firmness and prudence. Our Party can put a policy of this sort into effect. It no longer runs the risk of confusing itself or of being confused with the other parties. In severe struggle, by fifteen years of battle, we have conquered our place in the political arena. It is not merely the Communist Party, its members and its militants, as well as its sympathizers, that are conscious of the Party's unique role and of its own goal which it is pursuing in an absolutely independent fashion, but the allies and the opponents of Communism now acknowledge, each in their own fashion, our specific proletarian and revolutionary character, and they take into account our own strength and our own activity.

In particular, we owe this independence to the application of the "class against class" tactics that has caused us to appear on an absolutely different plane, distinct from all other parties, including the Socialist Party. Our action of February 9, 1934, was guided by these principles of independence.

Adopting an absolutely independent mass policy strictly conforming to the interests of the proletariat, our Party regarded it as its duty to

fight energetically for the establishment of the unity of action of the working class itself.

\* \* \* \* \*

We added: the working class of France and its Communist Party resolutely continue their struggle against the French bourgeoisie; they remain opposed to any "sacred union", opposed the eventual use of the army against the working class, opposed to the yoke imposed on the colonial peoples by French imperialism. We do not have to support the class policy of the French bourgeoisie. We continue to denounce and to fight at the head of the working class against the enslavement of the people, and against the return to the two-year term of military conscription.

But we Communists of France, who do not judge war in the fashion of the bourgeois, reformist or pacifist parties, take a stand on war as Marxists, declare that in case of aggression against the Soviet Union, we shall know how to rally all our forces and defend the Soviet Union in every way. (*Applause.*)

After this report a resolution was unanimously voted by the audience of 5,000, with only one dissenting vote. The Communists went into meetings and mass meetings organized by the Party in connection with the cantonal elections. They developed the content of the big poster that we had immediately placarded on the walls under the title "*Stalin Is Right*". In this poster we had reproduced and commented on the wise words pronounced by the leader of the international proletariat, our Comrade Stalin.

The proletariat, the toilers of the Red suburbs and the whole people of France approved Comrade Stalin's declaration. The results: in the cantonal elections that took place a week later, our Communist Party made a gain even over the municipal elections, securing 25 out of the 50 seats in the General Council of the Seine. (*Applause.*)

For a long time the Socialist leaders advocated unity as opposed to the united front. But our Party replied: "The united front will prepare for the united party." When, thanks to our efforts and to the masses' support, unity of action began to be realized and to spread, we ourselves formulated our concept of a united proletarian party.

Last November we proposed to the National Council of the Socialist Party that a national unity conference be called, that joint meetings, open to members of the Communist and Socialist Parties, be held, and that in these joint meetings the problems of immediate action and the question of a single party of the proletariat be discussed.

We renewed our proposal last May in a document entitled: "The Unity Charter of the Working Class."

In the introduction, which gives a brief analysis of the situation, we developed Stalin's thesis: "*The idea of storming capitalism is maturing in the minds of the masses.*"

The principles formulated in our proposal are as follows:

- (a) No class collaboration.
- (b) No "national" unity.
- (c) Transformation of the imperialist war into civil war.
- (d) Defense of the Soviet Union *in all cases and by all means.*
- (e) Support of the colonial peoples.
- (f) Preparation for armed insurrection, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviet power, as the form of the workers' government.

- (g) Consistent internationalism.
- (h) Affiliation to a single world party of the working class.
- (i) Democratic centralism.
- (j) Nuclei within the factories as the basis of organization.

We ended with a general exposition of the program that the proletarian state would carry out, what it would give the various categories of toilers.

The leadership of the Socialist Party has not yet replied, although our Central Committee asked it to be so good as to let us have its opinion on the question of unity.

The united front has been very useful for the working class; it has enabled it to offer better resistance to the offensive of fascism, to the offensive of capital. The united front has brought the sections of the petty bourgeoisie closer to the working class. Certain Socialist leaders said: "If we accept the united front, the middle classes will withdraw from the working class." Facts have given the lie to this assertion.

The united front has also strengthened our Communist Party. That was not the essential aim. It was one of the consequences of unity of action. The influence and the authority of the Communist Party have grown. Its membership has grown considerably. The role of the Communist Party as a political factor has grown.

Cadres have been trained. Yes, there have been great difficulty, hesitation, groping. Everything was not all right; everything is not all right yet. But what tremendous changes! How the spirit of responsibility and initiative has grown in our ranks!

We are recording excellent results, not merely for our Party, but for our Young Communist League as well. We set before our League the task of winning the young, of saving them from fascist demagogy, of satisfying their need for activity, of working to create an organization of youth that does not narrowly copy the slogans and the formulas of the Communist Party. Our Young Communist League has increased its membership fivefold; it has played a big part in the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement; it has rallied around its united front platform the Young Socialist organizations and the Republican and secular youth organizations. It has concluded a united front pact with the Young Socialist League, in spite of the prolonged resistance of the Socialist Party.

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**FOR PEACE! FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION!**

*Abridged Speech Delivered at the Seventh World Congress  
of the Communist International*

By Andre Marty

### I. THE TWO POLES OF WAR AND PEACE IN EUROPE

I shall begin by reminding you that on the eve of the last imperialist war we in France used to compare Europe to a powder magazine in which maniacs were walking around with lighted torches, in Jaurés' words. Today the whole world is the powder magazine, and it is the fascist criminals who are walking around with lighted torches.

In our opinion, four essential factors characterize the international situation at the present time:

1. *The unprecedented economic crisis*, which for seven years has held the imperialists by the throat, by that very fact compelling them to increase their efforts to conquer new markets.

2. *The coming of fascism to power in Germany*, with all that this event implies in the way of chauvinist incitement and intensified preparation for war.

3. *The development of the Soviet revolution in China*, and parallel with it, Japan's predatory war in China, also aimed at the Soviet Union.

4. *The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Soviet Union*. Hence a constantly growing contradiction between the two systems: socialist and capitalist.

And thus it is that *hotbeds of war*, some of them already aflame, are appearing all over the imperialist world which is in full decline.

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### *The U. S. S. R.—a Force for Peace*

Some renegades, with the miserable Doriot at the forefront, are trying to injure the Soviet Union by repeating exactly what Hitler says against it. They accuse it of wanting war.

As if the Soviet Union could be anything else than a force for peace!

Lenin quoted this phrase of Clausewitz's: "War is the continuation of politics by other means." Now, what can the policy of an imperialist state be? Evidently the policy that is fixed by the only law ruling it, the law of the quest for profits, *i. e.*, the policy of imperialist expansion which fatally leads to armed conflicts.

Now the quest for profits does not exist in the Soviet Union, because it is the land of socialism. If a capitalist country had constructed one-hundredth part of a Magnitogorsk or a Turksib, the speculators would have made millions! That is why the U. S. S. R., by its very economic and social structure, cannot want any expansion, any war.

Capitalism has disappeared in the Soviet Union. The general aims of its policy are fixed in a clear and precise manner both by the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by the Congress of Soviets. They are published, broadcast over the radio, printed in millions of copies. And our great Comrade Stalin does not let an occasion pass for calling them to mind. He himself sees to it that they are realized. These aims are the steady raising of the well-being of the whole toiling population, the building of classless society, the advance towards Communism, with our old motto as its highest goal: "To each according to his needs, from each according to his abilities."

That is why the Soviet Union, all of whose forces are concentrated upon these basic goals, cannot help wanting peace, which assures it the opportunity of continuing its tremendous social transformation, unique in the history of mankind.

By its socialist construction the Soviet Union aids the world proletariat, aids the colonial peoples. That is why it has become the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world, the free federation towards which so many oppressed peoples are turning, that is why it is so violently hated by the imperialists of all the world.

Yesterday Ercoli called to mind the decisive steps of this peace policy, starting with the appeal by the Second Congress of Soviets,

“To All Peoples and to All Belligerent Governments,” the very night power was seized, November 7, 1917.

Moreover, has not the Soviet Union often demonstrated its desire for peace? I shall content myself with adding two arguments to those given yesterday by Ercoli. Was not the Soviet Union the first to make a concrete and precise proposal for universal, simultaneous and controlled disarmament in 1927 at Geneva? After this was rejected, did it not again on several occasions make proposals for partial disarmament, always received with sarcasm?

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### *Revolutionary Defense*

As for the Soviet Union, no toiler can doubt that it is the essential duty of the Soviet proletariat to organize its security. Defense of the revolution is the first elementary duty of the proletariat in power. Ercoli reminded us of what Lenin wrote on this subject long before the imperialist war. Was it not Jaurès himself, a reformist but devoted to the working class, and a sincere enemy of war, who wrote:

The people that first enter socialism will immediately see the frantic reactionary powers hurl themselves upon it. It would be lost if it were not itself ready to take up the sword, to answer shell for shell, in order to give the working class of other countries time to organize and rise in their turn. . . . (Petite République, July 24, 1897.)

*The need for a workers' and peasants' Red Army, armed and powerfully equipped for modern warfare is obvious to every honest toiler. The bourgeoisie, the French bourgeoisie in particular, is wasting its time in heaping sarcastic comment upon the fact that the Communists of all countries and the French Communists admire the development of the Red Army.*

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### V. OUR TASK

Such, then, is our position in the face of the present threats of war, and, more particularly, in view of the threats to the Soviet Union.

Of course, we well know that only the final overthrow of capitalist domination will abolish wars. But if we know how to mobilize the masses, we shall be able to retard and prevent an imperialist war, and first of all a military attack upon the Soviet Union.

Preventing this attack, smashing it if it should break out, by assuring the victory of the Red Army, does not mean for the toilers of the whole world, and for those in France particularly, participating in an ordinary anti-capitalist action. The defense of the Soviet Union is the defense of the proletariat's future, of its very life. And that is why we shall do everything we can successfully to assure this defense.

The past gives us the greatest hopes for the future. In the years 1918-20 the toilers of the Soviet Union, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army repulsed the aggression of fourteen imperialist nations. The heroism of the Red Army, of the partisans, of the Red Guards, was admirable. But all of them learned in the struggle the military technique that they had not known. The arms of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army were often archaic, its means of transport primi-

tive, its commissary intermittent. The enterprises behind the front were almost entirely disorganized by the imperialist war and the Civil War. Moreover, industrial equipment was extremely reduced. As for the soldiers, the commanders and the political commissars, like the soldiers of the Year II of the Great French Revolution:

*They marched along singing, their souls without fear, and their feet without shoes.*

And it was under these conditions that our glorious Red Army defeated enemies ten times its size, a thousand times better armed, the leading armies of the world! Why? Because the tremendous prestige of the October Revolution was shaking capitalism in every country in the world, and as a result, its armies composed of workers and peasants!

And that took place when there were practically no Communist Parties in the capitalist countries! The proletarian revolution, moreover, acted through its prestige rather than by its concrete achievements, which could not yet be manifest. Today the Soviet Union is a formidable power. Today the advance of the well-being of the toiling masses liberated there is unprecedented, undeniable and undenied.

Today our Communist Parties exist in sixty-five countries in the world, Parties many of which have already been tempered in great heroic struggles. Today a mass movement exists around the French Party, the like of which has not been seen since the Great French Revolution. That is why each Party, and the French Communist Party, in particular, faces obligations still heavier than those at the end of the first period of wars and revolutions.

We know that the Red Army will accomplish scientifically and with absolute devotion its duty of defending the country where socialism is being built. What matters, therefore, is that we, in the capitalist countries, be able to accomplish our heavy, our very heavy tasks, as well.

Armed with the decisions of the Seventh World Congress, enlightened and guided by our great Comrade Stalin, we shall redouble our efforts to correct our weaknesses in the shock tempo called for by the present grave situation, in order to be ready to conquer new positions that will assure new victories for socialism!

*(The delegates rise. Stormy applause.)*

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#### EXHIBIT No. 62

[*World News and Views*, July 15, 1939. P. 804]

#### *150th Anniversary of the French Revolution—Interview with Maurice Thorez*

*The following is a report of an interview given by Comrade Maurice Thorez to a correspondent of the New York "Sunday Worker."*

**M. THOREZ.** I am very pleased to be able to talk with a comrade from the United States about the French Revolution. We should be lacking in fidelity to the spirit of 1789 if we failed to cherish the memory of our forefathers who liberated France from the yoke of feudal rule, the memory of the heroes of that great struggle for inde-

pendence which forged the American nation and created the foundations of your democracy.

Even at that time the people of France felt that your struggle for freedom was their struggle, and aided this struggle materially and morally. Later, when our revolutionists drew up the constitution, they were inspired by your example above all others. They were well aware of the ties which united the French with the American revolution. Thus Paine, for instance, was honoured by the Convention, and was declared honorary citizen of France. And the great names of Franklin and Washington are still written on the hearts, then as now, of all true Frenchmen.

*Question: What is your opinion of the historical role of the French Revolution?*

M. THOREZ. It was the French Revolution which fought to end the struggle which had gone on for centuries against feudal oppression, both in institutions and minds. The French Revolution destroyed the aristocracy as an economic power and as a ruling class in society. At the same time it thereby shattered the ideological influence of the aristocracy.

The French Revolution gave the land to the peasants, gave personal liberties to the citizens. It proclaimed the fraternity of all men and their equality before the law. At the same time its object was to ensure that human consciousness, freed from superstition and mediæval obscurantism, should now be illuminated by the light of science.

*Question: What do you think of the reproaches made by Hitler and Mussolini against the principles of 1789?*

M. THOREZ. The voices of Hitler and Mussolini are the voices of the most reactionary section of big capital. The parasites of society are anxious to prolong the duration of their disastrous rule, which brings nothing but misery and war. They want to destroy democratic liberties solely in order that they may prevent humanity from getting rid of these parasites. Therefore they want to impose by fire and sword a rule of obscurantism—even more barbarous than that of the Middle Ages—of which racialism is the plainest expression. Hitler and Mussolini vilify the principles of 1789, for the reason that the principles of this year, to quote Goethe, mean “more light,” whilst big capital, whose agents they are, want more darkness.

*Question: France, the land of revolution, is of course celebrating enthusiastically the 150th anniversary of this revolution?*

M. THOREZ. The masses of the people are celebrating this anniversary with unparalleled enthusiasm. The campaign organised by our Party for the celebration of this anniversary has aroused a big response for the overwhelming majority of the French people have remained the people of the great revolution.

*Question: The Government of the French Republic certainly intends to organise a real national festival?*

M. THOREZ. Not at all. The Government of the Republic, after being subjected to considerable pressure by the results of our campaign among every section of the French nation, is only arranging a few official ceremonies from which the people are almost completely excluded. The Government is endeavoring in accordance with the spirit of Munich, to spare the feelings of the dictators, although these

for their part will have no hesitation—as the newspaper *Tevere* states, quoting one of Mussolini's spokesmen—spitting in the face of France.

But our Government fears above all the anti-fascist mobilisation of the masses of the people, and therefore it prefers to tolerate the action of Nazi agents in France when they slander the French Revolution, following the émigrés of Coblenz.

*Question: What, under these conditions, is the attitude of the Parties towards the anniversary celebrations?*

M. THOREZ. The reactionaries are hostile towards the celebrations, in consequence of the pro-fascist attitude of the big bourgeoisie at home and their flunkeyism towards Mussolini and Hitler abroad. And this attitude on the part of the big bourgeoisie explains that of the Government.

Only the Communist Party is celebrating without any reservation the memory of this great heroic period. The sections of the bourgeoisie who do not sympathise with fascism believe that 1789 was necessary and good. But they maintain that at the end of the 18th century the French Revolution solved all economic and social problems, and that the most consistent actions of the revolution were excesses.

Thus, except among us, the Communists, opinions are extremely divided with regard to the French Revolution, its work and its results. Even among those who still claim to be the heirs of the Revolution, there are endeavours to lay special stress on this or that group of revolutionists—Girondists or Jacobins, or on this or that historical personage—Danton or Robespierre. Efforts are made to break the chain binding the revolution of yesterday with that of to-day and to-morrow.

But capitalist society is just as little eternal as was feudal society. The birth of the new state of society must be aided: This is the role of the revolution.

We, who regard things as Communists do, are able to appreciate fully the great work of all great revolutionists of the past. We regard it all as the elements of one and the same immortal and fruitful work. We honour the memory of every figure in the French Revolution according to his due. All of them were in varying degrees pioneers of progress, intellectual leaders in the magnificent heroic epoch of our people. We remain true to their memory and their work, and continue this work by preparing for the next revolution. It is true that "the stream remains faithful to its source by striving towards the sea."

*Question: Undoubtedly the remembrance of the French Revolution renders it possible to draw valuable lessons for the present?*

M. THOREZ. Our great Revolution taught us, above all, the magnificent lesson of unity. Thanks to this unity, our people were able to defeat the external enemy. To-day, too—faced as we are with the alliance of the tyrants and their agents inside our country—it is only unity among the democrats of all countries and of democrats among themselves, which can really save freedom, peace, and civilisation. The celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the great French Revolution afford an invaluable occasion for rallying together the masses, for working for the indispensable precondition of this unity.

Only a few months before the Nazi blitzkrieg overwhelmed France, the then underground Communist Party gave "opportunistic social reformers" who had collaborated with the Popular Front a harsh lesson in basic Comintern ideology. "Bourgeois patriotism" was nothing more than middle class fatuousness. As always, Stalin's interpretation of the inevitable class struggle remained the first and last of Communist commandments.

Despite every effort on the part of the government to render it ineffective, the CPF intensified its illegal sabotage of the "imperialist war."<sup>1</sup> Maurice Thorez himself became a deserter who eventually made his way to Moscow.<sup>2</sup> who eventually made his way to Moscow.<sup>2</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 63

[*The Communist International*, March 1940. P. 171-178]

## THE TRAITORS IN THE PILLORY

By Maurice Thorez

In spite of the rigorous censorship, the government broadcasts and the bourgeois press, including the Socialist papers, are beginning to betray unmistakable signs of the rage and fear of France's ruling circles in the face of our Communist Party's fearless and undaunted struggle against the imperialist war.

How has the position changed for the reactionaries since 1914?

During the first imperialist war they found willing servants and accomplices in the treacherous leaders of the Socialist Party. Blum and Jouhaux were already engaged at that time in driving the workers to the slaughter to safeguard the money-bags of the capitalists. The Socialist leaders in Germany, Austria, Great Britain and Belgium were no better, and their concerted betrayal of the working class brought on the shameful collapse of the Second International.

The glorious Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, alone was true to the cause of the working class, the cause of proletarian internationalism. Lenin and Stalin were the leaders of the only party that from the very beginning of the holocaust called on the working people to wage a revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war, called upon them to combat *the enemy at home*. The Bolshevik Party alone, led by Lenin and Stalin, proved capable of organizing and developing this struggle, of leading the working class to victory over tsarism and capitalism, to the conquest of power, which made it possible to build socialism, to lay firm foundations for a new world, for the communist society of labor, prosperity, freedom and peace.

In 1939, on the other hand, we saw the Communists in France and all other countries, modeling themselves on the Bolsheviks and trained in the teaching of Lenin and Stalin, stand true to the cause of the working class, of proletarian internationalism. Our Party holds aloft in steady hands the banner of the Communist International, the standard of revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war. It is calling upon the people to fight the reactionary forces of France and their government, to fight Daladier and his henchmen in order to stop the war and pave the way for peace.

But the fight is now a more difficult and bitter one. Our Party was formed and grew up as a legal party, under conditions that no longer exist today. Our legal press was prohibited even before the war

<sup>1</sup> Possony, *Century of Conflict*, pp. 249-252.

<sup>2</sup> Sisley Huddleston, France: *The Tragic Years, 1939-47*, New York, Devin-Adair, 1955, pp. 5. 45.

broke out. Out Party has been banned. Our deputies in the Chamber are hounded and persecuted; 36 deputies have been thrown into jail, and the twelve who have succeeded in escaping the vigilance of the police sleuths have to continue their work illegally. On November 30, one of these deputies, Bonte, who represents a district in Paris and is a member of our Party's Central Committee, made his way to the Chamber and threw in the teeth of the unkenneled pack the passionate protest of the working class and the Communist Party against the imperialist war.

On January 9, four more deputies, on furlough from the army, were driven from their seats in parliament. These were Raymond Guyot, Secretary of the Young Communist International; Ferdinand Grenier, Secretary of the Friends of the Soviet Union; Michels, Secretary of the Leather Workers' Union, and Mercier, a functionary of the Food Workers' Union. But the very next day, January 10, another mobilized Communist deputy, Fajon, a member of our Central Committee, proclaimed in the Chamber the Communist Party's loyalty to the cause of the laboring people, and denounced the arbitrary law that deprived the Communist representatives of the people of their seats. All honor to the men who are carrying on the tradition of Liebknecht and the Bolshevik Duma deputies! They are proving themselves worthy indeed of the proletariat who elected them.

The workers of Saint-Denis, who drove out the renegade Doriot and elected Grenier to represent them in parliament, are fighting on under the banner of Communism, against reaction and war. The bourgeois press recently announced that twenty Communists had been arrested in a single aviation plant in Saint-Denis. Braving persecution, worker and peasant Communists are fighting everywhere, although thousands have been arrested and thousands of others, hitherto kept at their jobs only because of their high skill, have been sent off to the front or the concentration camps. The workers are fighting—like Semard, Croizat and many other now imprisoned leaders of their dissolved trade unions—too many to enumerate. The young Communists are fighting—like the young heroes of the International Brigades, like Pimpaud and Georges-Pierre, who were badly wounded in action and are now being third-degreed by the police hounds. The women are fighting too, the examples of the two mothers, with three children each, arrested at Cannes, of the forty-five Paris working women imprisoned at Petite Roquette, and many others.

In spite of all the blows it has sustained, the Communist Party is spreading its activities everywhere, in industry and in the countryside. *L'Humanité*, though driven into illegality, is continuing to appear. It comes out regularly in thousands of copies and is passed from hand to hand, to the rage of the reactionaries. Hand-bills and leaflets are distributed among the working population. Supported and encouraged by the revolutionary workers, the Communist Party is fighting reaction and war and branding with shame the Socialist politicians and union bosses for this new betrayal. It is exposing the handful of wretched deserters to the enemy, who were low enough to forsake and betray the working class and its Party in their hour of danger, when they were put to the test.

The reactionaries tremble in fear of the Communist Party, for they know that neither threats, persecution nor pressure of any kind can break the will of the Communist Party and its Central Committee.

They know that the place of every fallen fighter will be filled by another, that their number and passionate devotion to their cause are growing all the time. They know that, however, they may rage and fume, they can never conquer Communism, the great idea that is increasingly mastering the hearts and minds of the working people who see before them the shining example of the Soviet Union. The reactionaries fear the Communist propaganda, they dread that the eyes of the masses may be opened to the true causes underlying the war and the robber aims of the "two hundred families that rule France's economies and politics," as its evil genius, Daladier, himself once said. The reactionaries are determined to suppress Communist propaganda. They are determined to plunge the working class into confusion as they did in 1914. They are doing everything to demoralize the Communist workers and disrupt the Party with the aid of cowards and weaklings, spies and agents-provocateurs.

Comrade Dimitroff was quite right when he said in his pamphlet, *The War and the Working Class of the Capitalist Countries*:

As the war goes on, all the Communist Parties, all working class organizations, all active workers are put to the supreme test. The individual weak elements, faint hearts, will drop away at sharp turns. Elements alien to the working class, careerists, renegades, who have tacked themselves onto the Communist Party, will be thrown overboard (pp. 22-23).

Many a time has the Party frustrated attempts to bring disruption and disunity into its ranks. It drove out Frossard, Souvarine, Sellier, Barbé-Célor and Doriot. It passed political sentence on these servile agents of the bourgeoisie and succeeded in a short time in destroying whatever positions they commanded in the working class movement. This time, too, the Party will emerge triumphant. But this time the struggle is more difficult than any before. It demands greater effort of all of us. We must never forget that these traitors have at their service all the weapons of official propaganda (the press, broadcasts, the parliamentary tribune), that they enjoy the good graces of the gendarmes and the courts that viciously persecute our functionaries. The reactionaries are giving the widest publicity to these renegades and are doing their best to drown out the voice of our Party. A conspiracy of silence meets the fearless statements of the Communists, hounded for their loyalty to the working class, the Party and the International of Lenin and Stalin.

Even before the outbreak of the war the government's agents openly endeavored to confuse and compromise our Party. On August 25, the day when *l'Humanité* was banned, one of the traitors, Sausot, attempted this by the crude trap of proposing that the Communist group in Parliament send a delegation of its members to the Soviet ambassador to "question him on certain points." The sole purpose of this agent of Bonnet, of Munich fame, was to provide the reactionaries with material for their slanderous assertions as to alleged connections between the Communists and the Soviet embassy. His treachery was at once detected by the deputies, and unanimously stigmatized.

Two days later another police agent, Nizan, on the specious pretext of having to make good the suppression of our legal publications, proposed a "plan" of collaboration on bourgeois papers that was nothing but a bait to entrap us into acceptance of "National Communism," that is, communism in word and nationalism in deed.

Before war broke out, an attempt was also made by another traitor, Capron, a satellite of Doriot's and long his right-hand man, to ferret out, on the orders of the prefect of the Department of the Seine, the measures the Party leadership was planning and to demoralize and entangle the town mayors of the district of Paris. Practically every Party member in a public position was similarly put under pressure and attempts made to blackmail him into renouncing the Party. And while the campaign of persecution was in full swing, while the bourgeois press was busy slinging mud at Communism, while Blum, that warmonger, threatened and thundered at the Party members—supposed friends of the Communist Party were engaged in ill-starred attempts to “win over” the leaders of our Party. Thus, Bayet, a Radical, had the effrontery to ask Marcel Cachin for an interview in the course of which he actually proposed that Cachin should betray the Party and turn against the Soviet Union. When this emissary of Daladier was shown the door, Daladier retaliated by throwing Cachin's daughter—the mother of a year-old child—and his son-in-law into prison.

The Party as a whole has weathered this storm. If proof were needed, the ever more vicious persecution it is undergoing at the government's hands would be proof enough. The government has reintroduced the *lettre de cachet*, the arbitrary arrest warrant of the *ancien regime*, and has actually issued an order for rigorous measures to combat “seditious utterances, even if purely subjective in character . . . capable of impairing the morale of the population or the army.” But not even the most arduous efforts of all traitors and renegades will enable the reactionaries to get the better of our Communist Party.

Just let us see who are these putrid characters that our Party has cast off. It at once appears that they were all the time representatives of petty-bourgeois tendencies that “in one way or another . . . penetrate into the Party and introduce into it the spirit of hesitancy and opportunism, the spirit of demoralization and uncertainty.” (Stalin.) Nearly all of them were parliamentarians or city mayors who, unlike the vast majority of the Party's representatives in public office, did not remain true revolutionaries, people whose only consideration is the present and future interest of the working class movement. They betrayed the confidence accorded them, for they let themselves be drawn into the quagmire of opportunism and legalism, gradually became divorced from the working class and came to be foreign bodies in the Party. They allowed themselves to be corrupted materially and morally by the bourgeoisie, the class in power. They allowed themselves to be bribed by the prospect of ease and pleasure or to be cowed by the machine of capitalist dictatorship, for they had no faith in the strength of the working class, in the shining future of communism, in the Party and the Communist International, in the Soviet Union, that impregnable fortress of the world proletariat and hope of the working people the world over.

We should bear in mind that Vassart, Gaymann and the rest followed Doriot when that adventurer opposed the tactics of “class against class,” in which connection Stalin said at that time that “it shows that there are individuals in the Communist Parties who are striving to adapt Communism to Social-Democratism.” There can be no doubt that in the minds of these people the People's Front meant

something quite different from what it meant to us. For our Communist Party the People's Front meant a militant alliance of the working class with the other laboring folk of town and country, it meant a struggle of the masses against reaction in all its forms, a struggle against war, a struggle for improved conditions for the working people and for the protection of the democratic liberties. Landmarks in this movement were the huge demonstrations on February 9 and 12, 1934, the strikes in Paris and in the provinces, the action of the civil service workers, and the collective resistance put up by the peasants to the forced sale of their property by public auction. The People's Front answered the interests of the working class and the laboring people, the interests of the international proletariat; and the fight for peace, for the organization of collective security on the basis of proposals repeatedly made by the Soviet Union answered the common needs of the great Land of Socialism, the people of France and the working population of every country.

These traitors, on the other hand, obviously regarded the People's Front as nothing but a convenient stepping stone to the satisfying of their personal ambition. All these careerists saw was the opportunity to get themselves elected and attain the position of town mayors, deputies in parliament or even ministers. They tried to get the Party to collaborate with the bourgeoisie, to engage in class collaboration, which Lenin called the essence of opportunism. Thus, for instance, what first caused us to be suspicious of Gitton, who proved to be a police agent, was his constant and fanatical insistence that we should demand a share in the government. It is also clear that in matters of foreign policy these traitors had abandoned the position of the working class for that of the imperialists, and planned to turn our fight for peace by the side of the Soviet Union into a policy of supporting the imperialist warmongering of the French bourgeoisie.

And, finally, simple cowardice seems to have had something to do with it too. They are poltroons who are afraid of persecution, jail or the concentration camp and prefer to take Judas' thirty pieces of silver. The way some of them lick the government's boots is absolutely revolting. They have sunk even lower than the Socialist politicians, and that is saying a good deal. Thus, for instance, Soupé is screaming for war "*on the Teuton race.*" He has taken over the disgusting racial theories that turn the stomach of every working man, of every decent person. Saussot, that other traitor, was the first to fall upon our staunch Comrade Bonte in the Chamber when the latter was manhandled and thrown out of the hall—so anxious was he to prove his zeal to his paymasters, to earn the "honor" of continuing as one of the politicians who are crying "death to Communism!" I should add that a long time ago Soupé, Saussot and several others of these traitors—Brout, Vallat and Dewez—were called to account by the Party for their dissolute and disorderly way of life, which, as is now obvious, landed them in the claws of the police.

Dewez is particularly notorious among the scoundrels who positively delight in spreading the most shameless slanders against our Party. These are the direct police agents who were either spies at the time they joined the Party and were specially instructed to do so, or have been blackmailed into entering the services of the police as a result of their ugly private lives. On one occasion Dewez was severely censured by the Party on account of his weakness for drink

and his other ugly habits. He wept and beat his breast and we made the mistake of believing that he really meant it. This was not the case, however; he was merely lying to keep himself in our group in parliament and there continue to ply his trade of agent provocateur. The statement has been made in the Chamber that Dewez "disassociated himself" from the Party as far back as October 26. None of the other deputies who were mobilized for the army and none of the Party functionaries heard of it until January.

Others among these police spies are Nizan and Gitton. The first-named has been satisfied to play in real life the wretched part of Pluvillage, the police spy he brings into his latest novel. This cowardly and servile Nizan-Pluvillage was ready to lick the dust to deceive the intended victims of his spying. He has earned special laurels in the salons where cynicism and shamelessness are marks of distinction. As for Gitton, a case-hardened informer, he was inadvertently betrayed by the clumsiness of an over-zealous commissioner of police while endeavoring to penetrate into the apparatus of the illegal Party organization.

While it is true that the Central Committee should have acted more vigorously with regard to these now-exposed traitors, it never trusted them. Gitton's constant tendency to poison the discussions and turn them along lines hostile to the Party and the International made us prick up our ears. We took to observing his methods more closely and critically and began to notice that his antagonism to many honest and reliable functionaries was deliberate and the support he gave to all kinds of dubious individuals was open to suspicion. Then we remembered that while the rest of us had been thrown into jail or forced to live under assumed names, Gitton had been "pushed" into various leading positions by the Barbé-Célor group. While we were gathering proof of his treachery, we gradually removed him from the functions with which he had been entrusted. On May 20, 1939, at the last legal meeting of the Central Committee, the organizational report was delivered by a member of the Central Committee who was worthy of our Party's confidence.

The Party should have rid itself sooner of opportunists like Vassart and Gaymann, of careerists like Capron, of degenerates like Dewez. But these scoundrels always engaged in the most shameful hypocrisy to deceive us. On several occasions we gave Vassart and Gaymann a severe political dressing down. The former was removed from the Political Bureau and from all organizational work even before the events of February, 1934, when he supported the renegade Doriot. Gaymann, who had opposed united front tactics from the "Left" in 1922 and in 1927 had been a Right and opposed our election tactics of "class against class," was removed from the Central Committee and later also from his function on the Board of *l'Humanité*. But whenever these creatures felt the ground slipping from under their feet and saw that not only had their onslaught come to grief, but had put them in a bad light in the eyes of the Party, they hastily beat a retreat. Following the orders of their masters, they capitulated in order to remain in the Party and be in a position to continue their sabotage within. They concealed their disgusting treachery under a mask of duplicity and handed in innumerable declarations of loyalty to the Party while actually preparing for their next attack.

The Party and the Central Committee must not fail to draw the lessons from this new stage in our struggle against the class enemy and the agents he skillfully introduces into our midst.

The first lesson is clearly that formulated by Lenin when he said that it is highly beneficial for the proletariat that history is doing this preliminary work of cleansing before the socialist revolution and not during that revolution.

The Party grows stronger by cleansing itself and shaking off all traitors, opportunists, capitulators and agents provocateurs. "Proletarian parties develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunists and reformists, social-imperialists and social-chauvinists, social-patriots and social-pacifists." (Stalin.)

The second lesson, to which Stalin constantly directs our attention, is the need for increased revolutionary vigilance—an attribute which he described as being particularly necessary for a Bolshevik. Need it be said that this applies equally to the French Communists, who are eager to win the honorable title of Bolsheviks? The entire Party, and especially its leadership, must be more severe towards those who are always "making mistakes," whose mistakes are therefore not a casual, accidental occurrence, but a system, a whole policy hostile to the Party and the working class. While we must devote greater care than ever to the development of our functionaries and help them correct their own mistakes, we must at the same time drive from the Party without pity or hesitation all unreliable individuals, all whose constant place is in the opposition. Moreover, we must provide for stringent application of Comrade Stalin's instructions as to regular control over the fulfilment of all Party decisions by every member and every organization of the Party.

And, third and last, a lesson of the utmost importance is that we must fight more vigorously all the time for the application and embodiment in practice of the Party's general line. At the Sixteenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party Comrade Stalin said:

"In the struggle against deviations from the Leninist line our Party has grown and gained strength. In the struggle against deviations it has forged the *Leninist unity* of its ranks."

We shall be able to say the same of our Communist Party of France when we have fully mastered the teaching of Lenin and Stalin and fight vigorously to maintain the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles in our ranks and develop and amplify the general line laid down by our Party congresses and the congresses of the Communist International.

The outbreak of imperialist war has brought with it a new period of revolutionary struggles. The capitalist enemies are mustering against us, against the working class and its Communist Party, the services of the traitors and renegades. The master is whistling for his pack, throwing them bones, giving them fancy collars and setting them loose on the working people. But the reception they get is a kick in the rear, as some of them have already found to be literally the case. For great indeed is the wrath of the proletariat against the cowards, the Judases, the provocateurs. Filled with scorn and loathing, the workers and all self-respecting men spit in the face of these traitors.

As for our Communist Party, united, strong, devoted and loyal to the working class and the Communist International, and to the cause

of Lenin and Stalin, it will lead France's laboring masses to revolutionary unity and revolutionary struggle against war and capitalism, the struggle for peace and socialism.

To the people of France demoralized by Nazi conquest, the CPF extended these curious condolences. If the Communist Party had not been suppressed and if the bourgeoisie and the erstwhile collaborating Socialist leaders had been destroyed, the tragedy would never have occurred. After this "explanation" of the French defeat, the Communist leaders set out to ingratiate themselves with the Nazi forces of occupation.<sup>1</sup> For a year to come, Hitler was to remain on "good terms" with Stalin.

EXHIBIT No. 64

[*The Communist International*, July 1940. Pp. 474-477]

DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

*A DECLARATION of the Communist Party of France, distributed in the country, reads:*

The French people are experiencing tragic days. Tremendous calamities, which the Communist Party sought to avert, have befallen them. A foreign army has burst into France. The French imperialists, having unleashed the war, having brought the people to catastrophe, and having brought millions of workers and peasants to their doom on the fields of battle, are preparing to capitulate, behind the backs of the people. France is faced with the danger of disappearing as a nation, as an independent state.

We see before us the bankruptcy of the French bourgeoisie, its regime, its corrupt politicians, its incompetent generals. It is utter bankruptcy. It is the bankruptcy of the imperialist policy of the French bourgeoisie which provided food for the chauvinistic revenge propaganda of German reaction and facilitated its advent to power.

It is the bankruptcy of the Livals, Flandins, Daladiers, Bonnets and Blums who, against the interests of the French people, and to the detriment of the cause of peace, gave all possible support to the machinations of world reaction. It was the Livals, who signed the Rome Agreements, which gave Italy a free hand to conquer Ethiopia and prepared the present onslaught of Italian fascism on France. It was the Flandins who strengthened German imperialism, by allowing it to remilitarize the left bank of the Rhine. It was the Blums who, by their criminal policy of so-called non-intervention, brought danger to the Pyrenean frontiers and cleared the way for the conquerors. It was Daladier and his Ministers who handed over to Germany, together with Czechoslovakia, the armaments of its forty divisions, including 1,600 airplanes and 500 tanks, which are now being used to slaughter French soldiers. It was creatures of the stock exchange, such as Bonnet, who systematically sabotaged the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact. All these scoundrels are directly and immediately responsible for the imperialist war. It was they who hurled our people into this criminal carnage.

It is the bankruptcy of the Radical and Socialist politicians, the reactionary top leaders of the General Confederation of Labor, who betrayed the working people, smashed the People's Front, which

<sup>1</sup> Rossi, *Communist Party in Action*, pp. 69, 76-79.

hindered the outbreak of the imperialist war, betrayed the program of the People's Front, let loose the forces of reaction and caused the present war.

It is the bankruptcy of the Socialist Party and its vile leaders, who stand forth as the ringleaders of the imperialist war, and who did everything possible to confuse the workers and bring to nothing their struggle for the cause of peace which corresponds to the interests of the people. They it is who, by their foul slander of the Soviet people, its socialist regime and its workers' and peasants' government, did more than anybody else—despite the feelings of the French people—to bring about the alienation of our country from the Soviet Union, and facilitated the isolation of France.

Would France have fallen into its present tragic position if the French Government had pursued a loyal and honest policy towards the great Soviet people, if it had accepted the Soviet proposals, which were aimed at the maintenance of peace and the organization of collective security, instead of systematically rejecting them?

It is the bankruptcy of the incompetent generals with their out-of-date ideas about war, who ignored the achievements of modern military technique, the possibilities provided by it and the inevitable changes in the conduct of military operations. It is the bankruptcy of the General Staff which obstinately sought to prove, despite common sense, that the present war would only be a positional one. With Daladier, who for eight years was Minister of War, directly responsible, the General Staff threw away billions of francs on the construction of the Maginot Line, thereby dooming France to passive defense. It ignored the significance of the two most important types of arms of modern war, war of maneuver, namely, the tank and the airplane.

The French bourgeoisie and their General Staff had eight months, quite long enough, in which to make up for lost time and to organize the real defense of the country. But they were neither able nor willing to use this time to speed up the production of tanks and aircraft. They did not even build fortifications. They did not extend the Maginot Line to Dunkirk, although it was easy to foresee that the German offensive would be undertaken via Holland and Belgium. During these eight months the French bourgeoisie did not undertake a single military operation against Germany on whom it had declared war. It had its hands full in organizing an insidious blow against the Soviet Union, which was not at war with France. With this end in view it incited and armed the Finnish White-Guards, and dispatched an expeditionary corps to Syria, in preparation for an attack on Baku and the Soviet Black Sea Coast.

During these eight months the imperialist bourgeoisie of France, their actions governed by their narrow class interests, did not concern itself at all with the defense of France itself, and the organization of the protection of the northern frontiers of France and Paris. All it thought about was how best to maintain and consolidate its domination over the colonies. During these eight months the bourgeoisie waged war not against the German army, but against the working class of its own country, throwing thousands of advanced workers, thousands of the best sons of the people into jails and concentration camps. It disorganized war production by driving the most highly skilled workers out of the munition plants for the mere fact that they were Communists or Communist Party sympathizers. The bourgeoisie sub-

jected the most steadfast and honest defenders of the people to fierce persecution, while it handed out the highest posts in the army and in the state machine to those agents of German imperialism, the Cagoulards. The bourgeoisie, by pursuing its line of suppressing and wiping out the most active section of the nation, the Communists, the foremost fighters among the working people, undermined the morale of the people and the army, weakened the defense of France, and doomed it to military defeats. While Germany made systematic and painstaking preparations for its big offensive, Daladier and Blum were occupied in hunting down the Communists, and were secretly working to hand over the workers of Northern France and Paris, the most revolutionary, the most advanced and most militant section of the working class, to be overrun and plundered by foreign military forces.

In order to save France from catastrophe, it would be necessary urgently to adopt extremely bold, heroic measures of a political, social, economic, military and organizational character, measures which would mobilize all the wealth, all the resources and all the means of the country for the defense of the people, measures that would let loose the initiative of the masses of the people. It would be necessary, first of all, to put a stop to the policy of repression against the masses of the people, the policy of hunting down the Communists, and to restore democratic rights and liberties.

At the same time it would be necessary immediately to remove the Cagoulards from responsible posts, to deal ruthlessly with traitors, saboteurs, speculators and all "fifth column" hirelings.

However, the bourgeoisie and the government continue to pursue measures of an opposite character. Our people are today paying for the crimes of their capitalist masters, for the treachery of their bourgeois and "Socialist" rulers, are paying with their suffering and their blood. With them, shedding their blood, are over a million Communists and Communist sympathizers at present in the army.

And we Communists say to the people:

The bourgeoisie has brought our country to the brink of destruction. Today, when German imperialism is putting into practice its plan of enslaving France, all that the French bourgeoisie is concerned with is to save its privileges, its capital, its class domination. It is ready to sacrifice the independence of our country, to sacrifice the vital interests of our people. It is ready to come to terms with the conqueror, to use German bayonets behind which to seek shelter from the reckoning which the indignant people are preparing for it. The bourgeoisie and their "Socialists" are a real curse to the people. Their regime is one of organized treachery towards our nation.

We Communists of France have always fought against capitalist exploitation, against political oppression by the bourgeoisie, against the exploitation and oppression of the colonial peoples. We have always fought against the robber imperialist policy of the French bourgeoisie towards other peoples, and particularly towards the German people. With all the greater right, justification and strength will we fight against the enslavement of our people by foreign imperialists. The working class, the people of France will never be reconciled to foreign enslavement.

As ever, under all conditions, so in the present days of severe trials, horror and boundless calamities, we Communists have been and remain with our people. Their fate is our fate. We profoundly believe in the strength and the future of our people, in the future of France.

**Our people will not perish. Their will and their freedom-loving spirit are not to be shattered by the dark forces of traitors, exploiters, plunderers and conquerors!**

*June, 1940.*

Not without reason did the French Communists look upon Pierre Cot, Air Minister of Defense, as their leading fellow traveler during the period of the Popular Front (1936-38).<sup>1</sup> As the following exhibit makes clear, Cot held that the national security of France depended upon close collaboration with the U. S. S. R. For this reason, he turned French military secrets over to the Kremlin. And to the best of his ability, he cooperated with the "democratic" forces in Spain. While shipping aircraft to the Loyalist Army, Cot permitted the strength of the French Air Force to follow to its lowest ebb.<sup>2</sup>

Naturally the defeat of France in 1940 was the work of "Fascists" who had not collaborated with the U. S. S. R. On page 60, Cot emphasized the role of internal demoralization in effecting the collapse of a great power. At the same time, he took care to ignore the defeatist agitation carried on by Communists in the French armed forces—not to mention widespread sabotage of industrial production behind the lines.<sup>3</sup>

Cot's 1944 explanation of the Nazi-Soviet pact differed greatly from his apparently spontaneous outburst in August 1939 when, along with other French intellectuals, he signed a petition criticizing Stalin.<sup>4</sup> In 1940, the Communists tried to square accounts by submitting evidence against Cot to the Vichy courts.<sup>5</sup> Cot, however, had already imitated Thorez' example of fleeing the country. By the time he got around to writing *Triumph of Treason* (a singularly appropriate title, though not in the sense intended by the author), Stalin's rapprochement with Hitler had become the only feasible course of action.

Once the war danger was ended, Cot returned to his fellow traveling activities. On November 12, 1946, the French Communist paper, *L'Humanite*, acclaimed him as one of "our deputies." Six years later, the same paper censured him for advocating peaceful coexistence as a permanent policy.<sup>6</sup>

Back in 1944, an American Communist literary weekly had found his *Triumph* to be excessively internationalist.<sup>7</sup> At the time, *New Masses* felt that a greater show of patriotism would strengthen Cot's position in the progressive French of tomorrow.

#### EXHIBIT No. 65

[Chicago, Ziff, Davis, 1944. Pierre Cot, *Triumph of Treason*. Pp. 46-48, 50-55, 60, 65-66, 100-103, 343, 353-354, 360-361, 365, 392]

#### PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF THE DEFEAT

**I see three main reasons for the military and political defeat of France.**

The essential cause of the defeat was the isolation of France, resulting from the failure of collective security. Deprived of her indispensable alliances, with only the aid of England, France could have resisted, but she could not have won the war. The determining factor was the rupture of the Franco-Soviet Pact, a Pact which guaranteed France a perfect security in that it obliged Germany to choose between peace and a two-front war. The annulment of this Pact gave Hitler his opportunity.

The second cause was the weakness of the French Army. The military defeat became a rout, primarily because of the intellectual inferiority of a General Staff which could neither prepare for nor direct the war.

<sup>1</sup> Borkenau, *European Communism*, pp. 131, 159.

<sup>2</sup> Pertinaz, *The Gravediggers of France*, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1944, pp. 133, 160.

<sup>3</sup> A. Rossi, *Les Communistes francais pendant la drole de guerre*, Paris, Les Iles D'Or, 1951, reprints hundreds of illegal Communist directives dealing with sabotage and undermining of morale.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32, 34.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, *Politics in Post-War France*, p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony T. Bouscaren (University of San Francisco), *Imperial Communism*, Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1953, p. 185.

<sup>7</sup> *New Masses*, July 11, 1944, p. 25.

The third cause was the moral disunity of the French nation and, more specifically, the moral collapse of the ruling classes. This played a particularly important part in the political defeat. With her armies beaten on the continent, France could have continued the fight in North Africa and in her Colonies, but the government and the General Staff preferred the risks of an entente with Hitler to those of Franco-British solidarity. The decisive factor was the activity of the Fifth Column in certain social and political circles of the haute bourgeoisie.

Let us examine these reasons. Then, asking ourselves whether these causes are interrelated, we shall see whether it is possible to find a common denominator for the events which helped transform the great country of the French Revolution into the disgraced and gagged France of Petain.

### *The Isolation of France: the Collapse of the Franco-Soviet Pact*

France was conquered because in September, 1940, she did not have indispensable allies. Had the diplomatic situation been different, in spite of the other causes of her inferiority, France would have been able to defend herself and avoid defeat. Conversely, given the state of military and political agreements existing in 1939, even if France had not been served so badly by her superannuated generals and her Fascist industrialists, her armed forces would have been beaten on the European continent.

France's military weakness, compared to Germany's strength, made a war without allies unthinkable. The number of Frenchmen who could be mobilized was half that of the Germans; the number of qualified workers, the quantity of tools, the availability of natural resources and industrial equipment—in short, all that makes a country able to produce—were in the ratio of approximately one to three. With the same effort and using the same methods, France could not have opposed Germany on the battlefield with more than one French soldier as against two Germans, and one French cannon as against three German. Consequently, the cornerstone of French security was collective security. This categorical imperative, resulting from necessity, was understood perfectly by Herriot, Briand, Paul-Boncour, and Blum, by Reynaud and Mandel, and, to a lesser degree, by Poincaré the jurist and Tardieu the nationalist. With collective security France could have barred the way to aggressors, prevented the conquests and extensions of Fascism, and played the part of a generous protector to Eastern and Central Europe. She might have saved China, Ethiopia, the Spanish Republic, Czechoslovakia—and even herself—if she had had the right to ask for the same assistance she should have given others. On the other hand, all that weakened the bonds of collective security, nullified the League of Nations Pact, and contributed to the success of aggressor states, brought about the isolation of France and prepared the conditions of her defeat.

We know what France's choice, or rather her choices, were. After 1919 France worked with all her might for the organization of collective security; she wearied the League of Nations' Assemblies and Committees with her insistence on the problem of security. Later, however, France let the Fascist powers destroy, stone by stone, what she had

constructed so painstakingly. Sanctions were not properly imposed against Italian or Japanese aggressors, the Spanish Republic was abandoned, Czechoslovakia was betrayed. France neglected her duties, her partners, and her agreements in such a way that by 1939 she had lost the majority of her friends. She could hardly hope to be treated better than she had treated them. She entered the war with only Poland and England on her side. The Polish Army resisted magnificently, but its fight, without Soviet backing, was clearly hopeless. England sent France more soldiers, airplanes, and arms than than the French General Staff had asked for or anticipated; but Chamberlain's England was incapable of playing its traditional policeman's role on a continent where Hitler had been given every means of arming himself and defying the police.

What France lacked in 1939 was the support of Russia. Because this aid was the *sine qua non* of collective security, it was the *sine qua non* of French resistance. French diplomacy should have done everything to insure this aid. Had Russia been tied to France in September, 1939, the war would have been won in 1940.

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The idea that the Soviet government was solely responsible for the annulment of its Pact with France is hypocritical. Here again, we must wait for the publication of the French, Russian, and German archives to know the whole truth, but the established facts and published documents now available show that on August 23, 1939, when Stalin signed his famous pact with von Ribbentrop, French policy and diplomacy had left him no alternative.

The Soviet Union was above reproach during the entire period between the signing of the Franco-Soviet Pact in 1935 and the signing of the Russo-German Pact in 1939. Russia had remained faithful to the principles of collective security and to the letter and spirit of the Franco-Soviet Pact. She had constantly proposed negotiations of technical and military agreements with France to reinforce the Pact and facilitate its execution.

Until 1939 France refused these propositions and let Russia know that she rejected stronger accords. From 1935 to 1939 the Franco-Soviet Pact was attacked unjustifiably and hypocritically in the French press and in Parliament. Partisans of the Pact were accused of being warmongers. After the fall of the Popular Front France indicated that she was not taking the Pact seriously and was trying to escape its obligations. This policy became more and more obvious under Bonnet as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and progressively weakened the Pact, converting it from a perfectly clear alliance into one of those "friendship pacts" which no one took seriously in Europe before 1939.

When the obvious interest of France, confronted by a growing Nazi threat, would have been to strengthen a rapprochement with Russia, French policy did nothing but undermine the Franco-Soviet Pact and violate its spirit. I witnessed, as Minister of Aviation and member of Parliament, this progressive sabotage, and protested against it constantly. The principal stages of this sabotage were these. First, at the time of the Spanish war France gave Russia the impression that her policy was bound to England's; she let it be understood that if she refused to help the Spanish Republic, it was because the Spanish Republic could count on the friendship and help of Soviet

Russia. Second, at the time of Munich Russia was left out of the negotiations, although she had as much interest as France in the fate of Czechoslovakia. France showed that, in spite of her formal and solemn agreements, she would never fight to prevent Hitler from extending his domination to the east. Third, two months after the Munich agreements France welcomed von Ribbentrop to Paris and concluded a general accord with Germany, giving France's foreign policy an entirely new orientation. This accord indicated France's desire for a rapprochement with Germany and fatally disturbed Russia. In 1939 von Ribbentrop let it be known that he had Bonnet's assurance of French neutrality in the event of further German expansion toward the east. In 1939, after the outbreak of the war, Bonnet denied this interpretation; but if we are confronted by two liars who do not agree, it is because one is telling the truth. Von Ribbentrop's interpretation of the Pact of Paris was certainly nearer the historical truth than Bonnet's. In short, by her attitude during the Spanish war, by her treatment of Czechoslovakia, and by the signing of the Bonnet-von Ribbentrop Pact, France slowly detached herself from Russia.

At the end of 1938 the Franco-Soviet Pact was no longer a living treaty, but a dead text. Soviet Russia could harbor no illusions about the true intentions of French policy. No one could think seriously that France, who had refused to help Czechoslovakia, would come to the aid of the Soviet Union if Germany again moved to the east. Bonnet's policy had made it clear to the Soviet government that Russia could not count on France. It is difficult to blame Russia for drawing this conclusion from a political situation which was not of her creation and which she had tried to prevent. In addition, during the winter of 1938-39, Germany hastened to complete the construction of the Siegfried Line. These fortifications, incomplete at the time of Munich, became impassable for the French Army in the course of the winter. By the beginning of 1939 Russia knew that the French Army could not aid her effectively.

What could the Soviet government do? To remain faithful to the Franco-Soviet Pact, after Munich and the Pact of Paris, with Chamberlain as Prime Minister in London and Bonnet as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris, was to invite attack by Germany. To denounce the Franco-Soviet Pact of 1939 before accepting von Ribbentrop's proposition would have been more elegant, but fatally elegant; Germany, having achieved the annulment of the Franco-Soviet Pact, would then have attacked Russia before turning on France and England. The Soviet government actually had no alternative but to try one supreme effort with France and England, and to inform the French government discreetly that if this effort failed, Russia, following Bonnet's example, would be obliged to "revise her alliances" and to modify the general course of her policy.

That was precisely what Russia did. The Soviet government asked France for the last time to take her agreements seriously and to negotiate a military accord. France accepted—on condition that England participate in the negotiations. England, in turn, accepted, but with visible repugnance and reticence. British foreign policy was at that time directed not by Churchill and Anthony Eden, who favored an entente with the Soviet Union, but by Chamberlain and Lord Halifax, apostles of appeasement. Similarly, French foreign policy was in

the hands of Daladier and especially Bonnet. Interminable exchanges of notes took place between France, England, Poland, and the Soviet Union. Europe's temperature mounted. At last, in July, France and England consented to send a military mission to Moscow; but, as if to show a contemptuous lack of haste in dealing with the Soviet government, the French mission first went to London and from there proceeded slowly to Moscow. When the negotiators arrived, they informed the Russians that they had not the power to make binding agreements, but merely to exchange information. When the time came for a frank discussion of war plans, the Russian General Staff realized with stupefaction that the French and British representatives either did not have such plans or were concealing them out of lack of confidence. After this experience, and with Hitler's attack on Poland imminent, the Soviet government could choose only between being attacked under the worst conditions and signing a Russo-German pact.

The French government know perfectly well that, if it did not conclude a military agreement with Russia, the Soviet government would have to come to terms temporarily with Nazi Germany. During the war the French government published in a *Yellow Book* the diplomatic documents bearing on the Franco-German crisis. These documents contained certain dispatches sent to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs by our Ambassador at Berlin, M. Coulondre, who had been Ambassador to Moscow before going to Germany. During the winter of 1938-1939 Coulondre asked the French government to conclude a military agreement with Russia in short order, as the only means of avoiding a Russo-German pact. In Paris the Soviet Ambassador did not conceal his anxiety; he informed the French cabinet several times of the importance his government attached to the rapid negotiation of a military agreement; he spoke in private to the most influential members of the cabinet, pointing out the possible consequences of the Franco-Soviet situation. "We want to defend collective security with you," he said, "but don't oblige us, by your appeasement policy, to choose between our security and yours, when a military accord can insure both." I witnessed these repeated efforts of Ambassador Souritz. But no one is more deaf than he who does not want to hear. The fact remains that the Soviet government did warn the French of the danger they were running. Without walking into Hitler's trap and asking for a direct attack, there was not much else that Russia could do.

History will determine who was responsible for the Franco-Soviet break, and it probably will find that the responsibility was shared by many. In the years preceding the war the policy of those who were to become the adversaries and the victims of Hitler, lacked clarity, mutual confidence, and good faith.

We shall return to certain aspects of the Franco-Russian problem in connection with some accusations directed against the Popular Front. For the moment it should be noted that the essential cause of the French defeat was the collapse of collective security and of the Franco-Soviet rapprochement. French security was never greater than when it was founded on the strength of the Red Army and the bastion of Czechoslovakia; and French security was never so precarious as when France lost both Czechoslovakia and the confidence of the Soviets. Before September, 1938, France was in little danger of attack and

in no danger of defeat; after August 23, 1939, France was sure to be attacked and in grave danger of defeat.

The publication of the diplomatic archives may fortify this statement to a greater or lesser extent, but cannot disprove it. It is impossible to demonstrate that a Franco-Polish bloc supported by England could be stronger than a Franco-Czech-Russian bloc also supported by England; the latter existed before Munich, but was deemed inferior to the virtues of appeasement.

Those responsible for the French defeat are principally those men who were either thoughtless or so dominated by their hate of Soviet Russia as not to understand the double and necessary relation of French security and collective security on the one hand, and of collective security and the Franco-Soviet Pact on the other. On the list of "the men principally responsible" we must put in first place those who worked, consciously or unconsciously, for the collapse of collective security and the destruction of Russia's confidence in France.

*The Military Weakness of France: the Mistakes of the General Staff*

The second cause of France's defeat was the weakness of her Army. Opposed by the German forces, the French Army revealed itself to be inferior, in quality more than in quantity. In 1939-1940 it was far from deserving its country's confidence, a confidence which was based largely on the affirmations of the military chiefs. In July, 1939, speaking at the Exposition of Lille, General Weygand said: "You ask my opinion of the French Army. I will give it to you frankly and truthfully. I think that the French Army is better than at any time in its history; it has first rate matériel, first-rate fortifications, excellent morale, and a remarkable High Command. None of us wants war, but I can say that if we are obliged to win a new victory, we will win it." Events were to prove the inaccuracy of these forecasts. In September, 1939, the French Army was unable to give Poland decisive aid; in May and June, 1940, it was incapable of resisting the attack of Hitler's troops.

The study of the documents and evidence submitted to the Court of Riom will throw more light on these points. Let us for the moment examine rapidly the questions raised by General Weygand: the morale, the matériel, and the leadership.

What was the morale of the French Army? Napoleon believed that morale was the most important factor in war. "Morale is to armament," he said, "as three is to one." In spite of its technical complexity, or perhaps because of it, modern war does not seem to have changed this ratio. Modern warfare requires an almost super-human effort of each soldier. A battle is no longer the conflict of armed masses on the firing line, where officers can direct the action of each soldier; it is a conflict of mechanical engines, often operating in small units. Each one of these engines—the tank, the airplane, the anti-aircraft gun, the submarine—is manned by a team of a few men, and the relation between the various fighting units is determined by precision instruments, sometimes operated by a single man. Modern battle thus requires the methodical and co-ordinated action of specialists and technicians, each of whom has his particular part to play. More isolated and less interchangeable than in the past, the soldier must have better technical education and higher morale.

Foreign public opinion has a tendency to think that the morale of the French Army was lower than that of the German. The fact is that the latter was composed of fanatics who were well-trained and who were proud to die for their Führer, while the French soldiers were somewhat disillusioned—they had not been told what they were fighting for, and they lacked confidence in their officers, many of whom hated democracy and preferred "Hitler to Léon Blum." The evidence offered at the Riom trial showed that the moral inferiority of the French Army proceeded from a lack of technical education and training, not from lack of individual courage. Soldiers and officers were surprised by a type of war—the Blitzkrieg, whose rudiments their leaders had not taught them. And all evidence disclosed that the morale of the soldiers and of the troop officers was higher than that of the General Staff in charge of directing the war. There is a saying that "the value of a troop depends on its leader"; where the French soldiers were well commanded, they fought with the courage of their predecessors at the Marne, at Verdun, and at Chemin-des-Dames. Moral deficiency was not the principal element in French military weakness.

A more important element of weakness was the insufficiency of matériel at the soldiers' disposal. The Riom trial made curious revelations on this point and proved that France had more matériel than had been supposed, although it was less modern than the German matériel. About 40 per cent of the tanks and 60 per cent of the airplanes were *never used in the war*.

Do we need to emphasize the importance of matériel in modern warfare? In a war of machines, military and industrial strength are linked closely, a connection that appears not only in the manufacture but in the use of arms. In the days of infantry and cavalry battles, the advantage was with agricultural and pastoral peoples rather than with nations of merchants and artisans, because the best cavalrymen and foot-soldiers were recruited from among farmers and horse-drivers. In the days of tank battles and aerial combat, the advantage is with industrial nations, for the modern soldier is a mechanic and a technician, supported by other mechanics and technicians. Germany therefore had a great advantage over France.

The inferiority of French matériel was caused, in part, by pre-war differences in French and German production of war equipment.

First, the productive capacities of French factories in the years preceding the war were about a third of the capacity of German factories. France produced approximately one-third of the amount of steel and aluminum that Germany did. Even if France had concentrated the same proportion of her productive capacity on armament manufacture as had Germany, she would still have produced only one cannon, one tank, and one airplane to Germany's three. Second, according to a study\* published by the Foreign Policy Association, Germany spent four times as much as France on national defense between 1934 and 1938. This means that Germany concentrated a greater proportion of her productive capacity on war preparations than did France, and that the cost of national defense was twice as much for each of the eighty million Germans as for each of the forty million Frenchmen. The French had "butter" and the Germans "cannon." Third, in planning her national defense and her armament programs,

\* William T. Stone, "Economic Consequences of Rearmament," *Foreign Policy Reports*, October 1, 1938.

Germany was giving more importance than France to aviation and tanks. France concentrated on other armaments; the French fleet was almost twice as strong as the German, and France, until 1938, had more soldiers and officers under arms than Germany. The result was that, spending four times less for her entire national defense, and maintaining a stronger navy and a larger army than Germany, France built not three or four but five or six times fewer airplanes and tanks than did Germany.

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### *The Moral Disunity of the French People: Fifth Column Activity*

One must examine here not the morale of the Army, but the morale of the nation as a whole. "A great European nation," wrote Clausewitz, "cannot be entirely defeated without the aid of internal disunity." Hitler had certainly pondered these words when he ordered the agents of his Fifth Column to exploit all the inherent tendencies of moral, social, or political disunity existing in the countries he intended to dominate. He understood that the "aid of internal disunity" was a still more efficacious element of conquest than it was in Clausewitz' time.

Modern warfare, with its multiple aspects and scientific techniques, has revived the importance of the moral factor as an instrument of victory or defeat. War has truly become "total war"; the entire nation takes part in the struggle, by its military effort and by its economic and intellectual effort, which extends from scientific research to ideological propaganda.

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The government reserved all its harshness for the Communists. After the signing of the Russo-German Pact and the invasion of Poland, it was considered more reprehensible to be the friend of Stalin, with whom France was not at war, than the friend of Hitler, whose armies were preparing to invade France. It was more suspect to be a partisan of Franco-Russian rapprochement than to be a partisan of a Franco-Hitlerian entente.

The measures taken against the Communists, who were doing their duty as well as the rest in the Army and the factories, contrasted painfully with the indulgence enjoyed by the Fascists. These measures were at once unjust, arbitrary, and clumsy. Communist senators and deputies were dismissed from Parliament; other Communists who held public office were ousted, leaving unrepresented those who had elected them. Communist leaders were thrown into prisons or concentration camps. These arrests deprived the workers of some of their leaders, and overlooked the fact that the French working class had always provided the best fighters for liberty. Moreover, under the simple pretext of Communism, and sometimes upon mere denunciation, militant anti-Fascists, who had never been Communists, were molested and subjected to irritating police investigations. A democratic or Socialist worker was frowned upon by the Army which eagerly welcomed into its ranks the young bourgeois of the Croix de Feu and other Fascist organizations. The enemies of the Republic were trusted, while its defenders were suspected. Under such a system the common people began to realize that a vast defensive

against the working class was being disguised as an anti-Communist campaign.

Meanwhile, the government's economic and social policy became more and more reactionary. Greater sacrifices were asked of workers than of employers. The right to strike, along with all social legislation, was suspended, but the right to huge profits continued in full force. Right or wrong, the government's policy seemed to be directed against the Popular Front in general and Communism in particular rather than against Fascism in general and Hitlerism in particular. Anti-Communist feeling reached its climax with the Russo-Finnish War; a veritable wave of madness swept over Parliament, where Pierre-Étienne Flandin demanded that France declare war on Russia. As France obviously could not fight Russia and Germany at the same time, this policy would have resulted in peace negotiations with Germany. Daladier, then President of the Council, and General Gamelin, then Chief of Staff, resisted this dangerous move as best they could. But, generally speaking, the Fascists had their own way in the country at large and in the Army. The anti-Communist agitation was a smoke screen behind which was being prepared the great political conspiracy that was to paralyze France and facilitate Hitler's work. By its repressive policy toward the workers and its indulgent treatment of the Fascists, the government prevented the soldiers' war from becoming a people's war—a transformation which alone could have produced the great burst of enthusiasm and energy necessary for the conquest of France's internal and external foes.

In spite of the action of the Fifth Column and the inaction of the government, however, the morale of the common people remained intact until June, 1940. It is a point on which I must insist, because one obtains exactly the opposite impression from most of the books on the fall of France hitherto published in the United States.

These books were written by authors who belong by education, profession, and manner of life to the bourgeoisie, particularly to the Parisian bourgeoisie the class which was contaminated by the Fifth Column and by Fascism. Today, most of the supporters of the Pétain-Laval government belong to the upper middle class; most of those fighting this government come from the lower classes. The books to which I allude contain scandalous anecdotes about the so-called Parisian high society, but they fail to mention the name of Jouhaux, Secretary of the Confédération Générale du Travail, in which there were a few dozen traitors and five million honest workers worthy of the traditions of the French Revolution. The authors of these books described what they saw; they believed in the decay of France because they saw around them the decay of the French bourgeoisie. None of them had any contact with the workers and peasants who form the immense majority of the French people; none of them ever took part in the great demonstrations of the common people or felt the pulse of the French masses.

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These are the lessons taught by the experience of the Popular Front.

First, if the Popular Front could have modified the economic structure of the country, it would have broken the resistance of the enemies of the people—that is, if political democracy had been based on eco-

conomic democracy. Until now democrats and social democrats have maintained that one could progress from political democracy to economic democracy, whereas it is necessary to begin with the control of economic life by the people's representatives in order to make political democracy function properly.

Second, the experience of the Popular Front showed the dangers of a purely formal conception of democratic legality. The abuses of power committed by the Fascist states and their "interpretation" of law have made the concepts of law and legality more precious than ever. But these concepts must evolve from formalism toward realism. In the field of democratic public law it is no longer possible to consider legal that which merely conforms to the letter of constitutional law; the will of the majority also must be considered. The experience of the Popular Front, supplemented by the experience of Vichy, has led French political thought to new conceptions of democratic legality and of public and administrative law. In a general way, nothing can be considered legal in matters of government and public law if it is contrary to the will of the people; the will of the people expresses itself through the elected representatives of the people; a civil or military dictator (Vichy) or an assembly expressing by its composition the opinion of a political or social minority (the Senate under the Third Republic) does not represent the nation.

Third, the experience of the Popular Front revealed the dangers inherent in certain reformatory doctrines. Reform can ameliorate an imperfect economic or political system provided the system is fundamentally sound, but it cannot transform a fundamentally bad one. Reform corrects, but does not change; it permits a more rapid or more harmonious development of a system, but does not permit either a change from one system to another or the creation of an entirely new one. If France had been an economic and political democracy, the zeal for reform of the Popular Front cabinets would have extracted "the maximum of order, security, and justice" from democratic institutions. Just as the French people had been unable to pass by mere reforms from the *ancien régime* to a democratic regime, or from a monarchy to the Republic, so the experience of the Popular Front established that France could not transform her economic and social structure by mere reforms.

Fourth, the experience of the Popular Front proved that a period of dictatorship is necessary for the achievement of important structural changes desired by the people. Such dictatorship should be democratic, a dictatorship of the majority, under the control of the people's representatives. This dictatorship of the majority was the system of the Assemblies of the French Revolution. In periods of extreme crisis it can become a "provisional dictatorship of the majority of the majority," or a government of the nation by the representatives of the largest class of the nation. In no event, however, can it become the dictatorship of a man or of a minority class without growing into an instrument of oppression and leading to Fascism.

Fifth, the experience of the Popular Front has shown that the historic conditions of the fight for democracy have not changed in France since the time of the French Revolution. The battle is still between the "Whites" and the "Reds," between the common people and those who do not want the French government to be a government of, by, and for the people. As long as there is a minority in France hostile to the

democratic principle, the French people will have to remain on guard; and unity, whether within a single popular party or in a coalition of all popular parties, will be the prerequisite for the battle in defense of democracy.

The experience of the Popular Front liberated the French masses from the illusions of reformism. It showed that political democracy cannot work if economic democracy has not been previously established. This presupposes an implacable struggle. The experience of the Popular Front showed that the privileged classes are ready to sacrifice the democratic form of the state when they feel their privileges menaced by the functioning of political democracy. Karl Marx had already given this interpretation to the reaction which followed the Revolution of 1848 and permitted the coup d'état of Napoleon III; Rosa Luxembourg, before 1914, had foreseen the rallying of the bourgeoisie to regimes of authority; and Otto Bauer, former leader of the Austrian Social Democrats, wrote in 1936 that the success of Fascism in Europe had done away with the belief that "it is possible to transform the capitalist order into a Socialist order without a revolutionary jump."

Stripped of their reformist illusions, the French masses under the dictatorship of Pétain have learned the value of political liberty. When tomorrow comes they will know how to use "the dictatorship of the majority" to establish and to maintain the new economic order from which will emerge a true democracy—not "democracy for the minority" but "democracy for the people."

#### THE ROLE OF THE POPULAR FRONT IN FRENCH POLITICS

As time passes, it becomes easier to judge the Popular Front and to assign to it an exact place in French political history; the details withdraw into the shadow and the peaks begin to emerge.

The Popular Front was the answer of the French people to Fascism. It remains the main witness of France's desire for democracy. The last time that France was allowed to speak freely she did not say, "Fascism and Pétain," but "the Popular Front and Léon Blum." Until there are again free elections in France, the only men who have the right—in the real as well as formal sense of the word—to speak in the name of the majority of the French people are the men of the Popular Front, for the last legitimate Parliament of democratic France was that of the Popular Front.

The Popular Front stirred the soul of the people. It was a magnificent period of generosity, confidence, and enthusiasm. It opened the doors to a better future. It showed the French people a great ideal for which to strive. The ideal was not attained because the French Fascists had the aid of Hitler, but it has kept all its value in the eyes of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals. In the history of the Third Republic, there is no more noble period than the years in which the Popular Front struggled.

The Popular Front united all the adversaries of Fascism. As Fascism was the modern form of the French reactionary tradition, the Popular Front was the modern expression of the tradition of the French Revolution. Once more the liberal petit bourgeois and the revolutionary worker became aware of their kinship. As children of the Revolution they knew where their historic duty lay—to complete the conquests of the French Revolution by adding to political liberty,

social equality and the fraternity of labor. They recognized their enemies; they knew that to conquer Fascism in France it would be necessary to fight all forms of political and social reaction, the roots of the evil.

The Popular Front does not belong only to the past. As Blum proudly told the judges of Riom, "a political phenomenon like the Popular Front does not shoot up overnight like a mushroom." When the war is over, the forms, the name, the program, and the methods of the Popular Front will change, but its spirit will remain in the memory of the people, and will become the dawn of a new era.

The men of the Popular Front lacked only daring. How shall we be able to show tomorrow that we have learned the lessons of the past? And how shall we be able to realize the ideas of the Popular Front and of the French people? What shall we need as we again take up, not only in France but throughout the whole world, the task interrupted by the sinister interlude of Fascism? The answer was given by Danton, the man of the French Revolution: "*De l'audace, encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace.*"

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### *Policy Toward the Spanish Republic*

The communiqué set off an explosion of fury in the pro-Fascist and reactionary press. The reaction was all the more violent because, foreseeing new difficulties, Daladier and I had hastened to live up to France's agreements, and had sent the Spanish Republic everything we could. These deliveries, although entirely legal, were denounced as criminal by the French friends of Franco, Mussolini, and Hitler. The Cagouards, *l'Action Française*, and *l'Echo de Paris* organized a veritable spy network to keep watch on exports intended for Spain. Later the system was perfected and surveillance became action—planes whose destination was suspect were blown up. I became a target for mud-slinging, when it was learned that within a few days I had succeeded in sending to Spain more than fifty planes—thirty reconnaissance planes and bombers, fifteen pursuit planes, and about ten transport and training planes. These made possible the first defense of Madrid. They saved the Spanish capital and at the same time the honor of French democracy. The events of the 6th of February, 1934, had successfully hardened me against slander; but the importance of the reactionaries' attacks on me lay in the fact that they were repeated and developed in the German and Italian press, and aroused some anxiety in British conservative circles. Our Ambassador in London and the English Ambassador in Paris echoed that feeling. We were informed that we were in danger of compromising our general appeal to the European nations. To that we replied that by not sending arms we were running the danger of compromising the Spanish Republic and the security of France and European democracy.

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I applied similar rules to certain foreign planes that passed across French territory and used our airdromes. Somewhat ironically, my "strict interpretations" often brought me the reproaches of Delbos, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and faithful guardian of the decision of August 8; but these reproaches always came after the enforcement

of my interpretations, and I discovered with pleasure in 1936-1937 that the application of international public law is a matter of imagination. I always bowed before the judgment of the Minister of Foreign Affairs—after the deed—but I had a tendency not to consult him before taking action. Delbos jestingly called me a “smuggler,” and I claimed to be nothing but a “jurist,” prepared to demonstrate that the common law on war contraband could not apply unqualifiedly to the particular case of Spain and aeronautic matériel. I admit that I did not apply the theory of the “continued trip” in the same way to both the regular Spanish government and the rebels, but I think I had the law on my side. Only the profound legal ignorance of my adversaries could transform my actions into a violation of the rules of nonintervention; to give me as opponents the retired cavalry officers who discussed these problems for the Fascist newspapers was to stack the cards in my favor. Once again the traditional behavior of the French reactionaries—who were not merely “evil men”—favored the democrats.

Since I am confessing my “crimes,” I must add that sending French or foreign planes was not the only means of legally aiding the Spanish Republic, even in the field of aviation. As our Spanish friends lacked training planes and instructors, I put at their disposal some French training centers and schools. Similarly, it happened that Loyalist aircraft (especially pursuit planes with a limited radius of action) had to be refueled at our airports, in order to cruise from Catalonia to the Basque country. This refueling was, in principle, forbidden as an act of assistance in favor of the Loyalists. But I was satisfied with the explanation that certain pilots committed “errors of navigation.” I did not consider it my business to verify from where they came or where they went. Lastly, with the aid of the Air Ministry, an aerial navigation society, “Air Pyrennées,” was created and I understand that it rendered many services to the cause of liberty.

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### *Importance to France of Aerial Collaboration with Russia*

On July 6 *l'Echo de Paris*, in a two-column article, denounced my “Sovietophilia” (the first use of this phrase) and accused me of “sending the Soviets the most valuable secrets of our national defense. . . . Have we already fallen under Russian dependence? Are we a dominion of Moscow?” demanded the author. Other anti-democratic papers followed suit. On July 11 I was interpellated in the Chamber of Deputies by a conservative deputy concerning the alleged “sending to Russia of armaments which national interest required to be kept secret.” It was the first time in French parliamentary history that such an accusation had been leveled against a minister taxed with national defense—and I need hardly say that this campaign wrought havoc with the morale of the French officers who thought that the Popular Front had betrayed them. The attack was defeated in public debate. I could obviously not reveal to the Chamber what information we had received from the Soviets in exchange nor could I acknowledge publicly the Soviet government’s aid in the organization of our parachute units; but I proclaimed the right of the French government to organize technical exchanges with the nations that were bound by collective security pacts, and I explained the importance of this policy for the development of our aviation.

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My aerial policy, too, had its advantages and disadvantages. It is open to criticism in all its details. But no one can deny that it tended toward the organization of an invincible European bloc by means of the collaboration of France, Czechoslovakia, and Russia and the support of nations attacked by Fascism. I am waiting to see my policy compared to the petty ideas and enterprises of those who preceded or succeeded me. Above all, I cannot think it will suffer by comparison with the great betrayal by the Fascists and collaborationists. The French people alone have the right to make these comparisons and to judge.

In their eyes I shall remain the man who fought for the support of Spain, for an agreement with Russia, for recognition of the importance of aviation in French national defense. My attitude in these matters will continue to bring me, as in the past, the confidence of the people and the hostility of the French haute bourgeoisie. My work has been praised without exception by the representatives of the working class, by all who incarnated the spirit of the French Revolution; and it has been criticized, likewise without exception, by every admirer of Fascism, by all the enemies of the people and of the French Republic. If it is true that a man has the friends and enemies he deserves, I should be satisfied. I am content not to be the friend of the generals, bankers, and aristocrats who betrayed France; for I am the friend of Edouard Herriot, Léon Blum, and Maurice Thorez, who are to me the true representatives of the French spirit.

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I wish to point out to Americans and generally to Anglo-Saxons, that by backing the forces of reaction in Europe they would precipitate only civil war and the vilest of revolutions. Their intervention would force the democrats to choose not between capitalism and Socialism, but between a uniform of Fascism and Communism. The latter would be the only means of achieving Socialism during the civil war period. I know, because I have often discussed it with him, that in such a case so moderate a man as Herriot would not hesitate to choose Communism because in the future of Communism a small flame of liberty is visible, while in the development of Fascism there is only blackest night.

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Until the day the Soviet Union was invaded by the Nazis, French Communists strenuously opposed the Resistance Movement. But from that moment on, they became superpatriots. By the time France was liberated, Communist goon squads were well organized for the purge not only of real collaborators (such as the Communists themselves had once been) but also for the liquidation of anybody who dared to oppose their postwar ambitions.<sup>2</sup>

The following August 1944 directive, signed by the Communist leader, Levet, has been released by the Association of the Police of France. It had been sent around to various government departments in which Communists had entrenched themselves. Its objective was very clear: while the opportunity exists, eliminate as many potential anti-Communist leaders as you can. What the Red Army had accomplished in Poland (see B, exhibit No. 68), the Francs-Tireurs et Partisans and the Committees of Liberation imitated in France.

Accurate statistics as to the number of murders and other violations of civil rights are not obtainable. According to the liberal newspaper, *Figaro*, more

<sup>1</sup> Ross, *Communist Party in Action*, pp. 78-80, 153.

<sup>2</sup> Mario Einaudi Franandcois Goguel, *Christian Democracy in Italy and France*, Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 1952, pp. 189-190. Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 434-435.

than 1 million people were arrested in 1944.<sup>3</sup> The Socialist Minister of the Interior, Adrien Tixier, estimated at 105,000 the number of those killed from August 1944 to March 1945.<sup>4</sup> While the rapid advance of the Allied Forces saved Paris from a 20th century reign of terror, assassinations and lynchings (legal and other) continued unabated in several departments of France.

Although the Communists pretended to be superpatriotic supporters of General DeGaulle, they regarded his advance as part of a new imperialist war. According to the strategy of the never repudiated Sixth World Congress (sec. C, exhibit No. 11), imperialist war must be converted into civil war. On June 15, 1944, the Central Committee of the CPF ordered all Communists to act before "certain men"—i. e., Generals DeGaulle and Eisenhower—could establish an orderly reoccupation of France.<sup>5</sup> *L'Humanite* for July 15, 1944, further declared: "It is necessary to make merciless war against all those who try to sow divisions within the ranks of the resistance, against those whom their anticommunism leads to play the game of the enemy by breaking the decisions concerning the division of arms and munitions, against those who devote themselves to politician's maneuvers against the unity of the French nation."

Just as in prewar France, the air force and the nationalist air guard industry became riddled with Communists.<sup>6</sup> Tens of thousands of anti-Communist officers were dismissed from the Army and Navy. And, for a time, the French Atomic Energy Commission fell into Communist hands. As Pierre Cot had previously explained, France would be safe enough provided that the military might of the Soviet Union was not impaired.

Wherever possible, Communist Committees of Liberation effectively purged anti-Communist elements from the schools, universities, and the press.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile the deserter, Maurice Thorez, was welcomed back from his comfortable wartime sojourn in Moscow.

#### EXHIBIT No. 66

[Paris, Andre Bonne, 1951, *Requete aux Nations Unies sur les Violations des Droits de L'Homme, adressee au nom de L'Union pour la Restauration et la Defense du Service Public*. Pp. 133-135]

The elimination of the class enemies, which you must accomplish during the favorable situation created by disagreements among the Western imperialists and the departure of the Germans, should be made to look like an act of Resistance and of outraged patriotism. It should be made to appear as part of the purge envisaged by the prosecutors of General DeGaulle. Although our own purge program is totally different both in objective and means from the legal procedure by which Article 75, sqq., of the Penal Code will be strictly applied, nevertheless we must treat our adversaries with all the traditional rigor of law in matters of collaboration with the enemy, treason and conspiracy against the national security. In this manner, you can both discredit them in the eyes of the already bewildered bourgeoisie and, at the same time, disguise the pursuit of our own intentions under the appearance of solicitude for the national welfare.

It is possible that you will experience understandable hesitation in making up the necessary incriminating documents. Here are some general directives which should get you through practically every embarrassing situation.

<sup>3</sup> *Requete aux nations unies adresse au Nom de L'Union pour la Restauration et la Defense du Service Public*, Paris, Andre Bonne, 1951, p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Huddleston, *France: The Tragic Years*, pp. 299-300.

<sup>5</sup> For this and other Communist directives concerning Generals DeGaulle and Eisenhower, see Borkenau, *European Communism*, pp. 441-445. Relevant comments appear in Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 453-459.

<sup>6</sup> Possony, *Century of Conflict*, pp. 288-289.

<sup>7</sup> Huddleston, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-307. Herbert Luethy, *France Against Herself*. Translated by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Praeger, 1955, p. 105.

1) From among the private acts of the person under investigation, pick out such as can show him to have had—at least in appearance—a sympathetic attitude toward the Germans or toward the authorities who acted in their behalf. Whenever necessary, misrepresent and magnify these actions.

2) If you cannot find such indications of guilt, then choose from among the acts of the accused one or more capable of putting him in a bad light—e. g., has he ever been arrested, has he ever falsified (identification) papers, has he ever received a favor from the collaborators. A legal permit or verbal authorization from the latter must be regarded as proof of guilt and not as an excusing circumstance.

3) If in an exceptional case grounds for condemnation are still lacking, you can always find something wrong with the habitual sentiments of the accused.

a) He expressed opinions laudatory of the Resistance or of General DeGaulle. Without too much trouble, you should be able to show that such expressions were really intended to betray the identity of true patriots to the enemy.

b) He spoke favorably of the collaborating authorities or of the Germans or else he merely voiced some apparently objective evaluations with regard to the strength of Hitler's armed forces. In this case, immediately pin on him the label of Nazi propagandist seeking to undermine the morale of the Resistance.

c) He persistently kept his mouth shut. Interpret this silence as presumption of approval of the repressive boche regime, a charge which will justify deprivation of civil liberty.

Always bear in mind that our activities must be represented as patriotic measures. Consequently, any action opposed to them—even if it be only a brief expression of doubt as to our chances of success—can be interpreted as an extremely serious collaboration with the enemy.

Proceed immediately to arrest as collaborators and traitors any member of your own entourage, whether professional or not, who refuses to join the strike movement and criticizes or discusses your directives.

You need not search for witnesses to support your charges, since they will rush forward of their own accord either out of fear or self-interest.

Given the very extensive area of incrimination just outlined, the patriotism of some of your own comrades may come under suspicion by reason of unforeseen testimony. If this should happen, be sure to play the double game (*double jeu*) so indispensable to clandestine work. In this business, you can count upon the cooperation of confused and cowardly people to enable you to protect the interests of the Party.

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### C. ITALY

Although the Italian Socialist Party was the first organization to associate itself with the Communist International at the time of its First World Congress, Lenin immediately set out to do what he could to wreck it.<sup>1</sup> In 1921 not only

<sup>1</sup> W. Hilton-Young, *The Italian Left*, New York, Longmans, Green, 1949, p. 90. David Shub, *Lenin*, New York, Doubleday, 1949, pp. 313-345. Angelica Balabanoff, *My Life as a Rebel*, New York, Harper & Bros., 1938 pp. 210-211, 260-267, 274-280. Comrade Balabanoff held high positions in the Comintern from 1919 to the end of 1921, at which time she returned her allegiance to the Italian Socialist movement.

Lenin, but also Zinoviev, Bela Kun, and Bukharin insisted that the Italian Socialists submit to Comintern decisions without discussing them.<sup>2</sup> As a result, the majority of the latter disaffiliated themselves from the Communist International. In March 1922, the Italian Communists set an example for the Germans in 1934, when they refused to unite with anti-Fascists in order prevent Mussolini's seizure of power.

By the year 1926, all Communist activity in Italy had been effectively suppressed. About the only true claim in the following report to Comintern headquarters was that the Italian Communists were trying to be illegal, mainly from abroad.<sup>3</sup> Even the ECCI cautioned its members against putting much stock in reports of success in several countries, among which the Italy of 1928 must certainly be numbered.

#### EXHIBIT No. 67

[London, Communist Party of Great Britain, July 1928. *The Communist International: Between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses—1924-28*. Pp. 166-178]

#### THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY UP TO THE END OF 1926

In the period intervening between the Fifth World Congress and the Sixth Plenum of the Enlarged Executive objective conditions were favourable for the development of the party. The crisis which ensued after the assassination of Matteotti in the ranks of fascism drove enormous masses into the camp of the opposition. But the bourgeois and Social-Democratic opposition parties which were afraid that the movement would go beyond them, and would develop into a proletarian revolution, did nothing to mobilise these masses for active struggle against fascism. The Communist Party, which, since its secession from the Socialist Party, has been compelled to lead a semi-legal existence, was still too weak for the capture of the masses, either agitationaly or organisationally. However, a considerable growth of the party was noticeable in this period. The reorganisation of Communist organisations on a nucleus basis was carried out; this enabled the party to be in closer contact with workers in enterprises and to defend itself against the fascist attacks. The elections of the "internal commissions," (factory councils) showed that the sympathy of the working masses for the party is much stronger than could be expressed organisationally.

Fusion with the "Group of the Third International," the left wing of the Maximalists, in the autumn of 1926 brought into the party about 2,500 new members from the Socialist camp. Its correct tactics in the period following the assassination of Matteotti—counter-parliament proposals, united front tactics through the creation of workers' and peasants' committees, defence of the class trade unions, and, finally, the slogans of the convocation of a Republican Constituent Assembly on the basis of workers' and peasants' committees, workers' control and distribution of land to the peasants—brought thousands of non-party workers into the ranks of the Communist Party.

It is also in this period that the party carried on energetic work in the direction of bringing clarity into the inner party divergencies of opinion and of combating the Bordiga opposition. The discussion, which started several months before the Party Congress and continued under extremely difficult conditions, clearly demonstrated the ultra-Left errors of Bordiga and his followers, and prepared thereby the dissociation of the rank and file of the party from the ultra-Left wing, which came about at the Party Congress.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, *Socialist Tragedy*, pp. 66-68. Bouscaren, *Imperial Communism*, p. 171. Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> Balabanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 308. Ebon, *World Communism Today*, p. 233.

It is this clarification of the ideology of the party which makes the Third Party Congress so important. At this Congress the inner party struggles were brought to an end. The expulsion of several leading comrades of the ultra-Left opposition for infringement of discipline, in the summer of 1926, found no echo among their adherents. After November, 1926, the party was the only opposition party which continued the struggle against fascism, most of the followers of the Bordiga opposition abandoned their erroneous standpoint and began to participate in the work of the party with the strict observance of discipline; only a few comrades scattered abroad continue their anti-party activity.

After the Third Party Congress the party continued with increased vigour, in accordance with the decisions of this Congress, its work for the united front of the working class. The AGITATION COMMITTEES, the great importance of which the Party Congress has emphasised, became the main instruments of the united front tactic and acquired special importance when the government dissolved the "internal commissions" and prohibited their re-election. The agitation committees which were elected at illegal factory conferences\* were to be the centre for the united action of the working class against fascism; they initiated many campaigns: for the 8-hour day, against war danger, for the British miners on strike, for Sacco and Vanzetti, for the despatch of workers' delegations to Russia, etc. When, in November, 1926, these organs of the working class succumbed to the attacks of the reaction, over 100 agitation committees had been formed in the industrial centres of Italy.

One of the main tasks of the agitation committees was defence of the CLASS TRADE UNIONS against the fascist offensive and the sabotage and opportunism of the reformist leaders. After the promulgation of the Trade Union Act, the C. C. of the C. P. approached the reformists and Maximalists repeatedly with the proposal of joint action in defence of the trade unions. But when these parties showed their unwillingness to defend the trade union organisations, the C. P. concentrated its efforts on the formation of a united front from below. That this tactic was successful is shown by the composition of the agitation committees and the way in which they function.

At all factory conferences and meetings of the agitation committees, the trade union question was the centre of discussion, and this activity of the Communists in the trade union sphere finally compelled the reformists to constitute advisory committees as a last remnant of democracy in the trade unions.

The party also developed an energetic activity AMONG THE PEASANTS. The slogan issued by the party for agricultural labourers was, "Join the Agricultural Labourers' Union," whereas the poor peasants were organised in the "Association for the protection of Peasants," founded in 1924. This association was of considerable importance to the agrarian south of Italy, where peasants were not organised at all. The party also established connection with the already existing peasants' organisations. The slogan of the peasant organisation was: "United front with the Working Class for the Struggle against Fascism and Capitalism." In many parts of Italy peasant conferences were held, which led to the formation of peasant committees, and which affiliated to the association. In

\*Conferences took place in all the bigger industrial towns. Fifty per cent. of the delegates were Communists.

addition to an illegally published bulletin, the peasant association distributed many leaflets and pamphlets. The programme of the Peasant International served as the political basis for work within the association. The work among the peasantry very soon produced satisfactory results which scared even the fascists. In a series of articles, the fascist newspapers pointed out the danger of Communist propaganda among the peasants.

Within the Communist Party this work met with some obstacles because many comrades had not realised its necessity—ultra-Left comrades particularly would have nothing to do with it.

With the help of the agitation committees the party succeeded in carrying out a series of campaigns and in participating in international campaigns. In this connection the Agitprop Department of the party developed considerable activity, particularly in regard to the distribution of leaflets and pamphlets. Collections were taken up for the British miners on strike, many leaflets and handbills were distributed in connection with the Sacco and Vanzetti case. Propaganda for the despatch of a workers' delegation to Russia was very popular among the workers, and it was finally possible to make the journey of adult and young workers to Russia a reality. Many pamphlets and leaflets were distributed for May Day, against a longer working day and wage reductions, as well as against the growing war danger; the "Unità" devoted to these problems educational and agitational articles, which were very successful. For instance, it was possible to organise on May 1st, 1926, small May Day celebrations in many places, and in some places to make May Day even a day of rest, in spite of the negative attitude of the Socialists. In June, 1926, the Agitprop Department of the party organised a propaganda week in all countries where there were a considerable number of Italian immigrants. A weekly bulletin was published to inform the Communist Press abroad about events in Italy. Although the publishing department was greatly hampered in its activity by its illegality, it succeeded in publishing a series of works and pamphlets.

Numerous and very well got up factory newspapers appeared regularly for a long time and dealt with all questions. The factory newspapers also published correspondence from the enterprises, and thus a staff of worker correspondents was organised, whose contributions were also published by the "Unità." Apart from the "Unità," which had a legal existence up to November, 1926, and had a circulation of 22,000, a whole series of illegal organs were published—the "Verità" (Truth), the "Gioventù Comunista" (Communist Youth), which replaced the "Avanguardia," suppressed in the middle of 1925; "Fronte Unico" (United Front), the organ of the agitation committees, and occasionally a number of the women's newspaper, "Compagna." The Red Aid (I. C. W. P. A.), which has been very active, published its own bulletin (also illegal). For the Slav workers of the annexed provinces an organ in the Slav language, "Delo," was published which was at first a legal and subsequently an illegal organ.

As to the parliamentary activity of the party, we have already pointed out that after the assassination of Matteotti, the C. P. left Parliament, together with the other opposition parties. After the repeated proposal to form a counter-parliament had been rejected by all the opposition parties, the party decided to make a declaration in

Parliament as soon as it re-assembled. A Communist Deputy explained, in a very courageous speech, the standpoint of the C. P., and this speech met with response among the masses, who showed more understanding for this step of the Communists than did the Socialists. In November, 1926, the members of the Communist parliamentary fraction were, with a few exceptions, arrested and banished; they were also driven out of parliament, together with the other opposition.

Much attention was paid in the Italian party to work among women. Although the party has not many women members, it was possible to establish a permanent contact with working women through a well organised connection with enterprises. A proof of this is the circulation of the women's newspaper, "Compagna," its 6,000 copies being always sold very quickly. Its interesting and well arranged contents is one of the reasons of the popularity of the newspaper among working women: it deals with all questions of the labour movement, paying special attention to problems of interest to working women; it also publishes women workers' correspondence.

After November, 1926, when there was a certain lull in the work of the party, work among women was also temporarily interrupted, but this did not last long. That the educational work among women workers has been successful is shown by the big number of women who participated in the recent strikes. One of the most important strikes in 1927 was that of the women employed in the rice fields in the North of Italy, in which over 10,000 women participated, and which was conducted with such complete unanimity and efficiency that it ended in partial victory. Women were very active in the movements against wage reductions. Many women are in prison for their illegal political work, either in the party or in the trade unions. The time has now passed in Italy when working women stood outside the political life of the country, because neither they nor the men had confidence in their capacity for political work.

The Young Communist League of Italy was at the time of the Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International in opposition to its Executive, being under Bordiga's influence. But very soon after the Fourth Congress of the Y. C. I., the Young Communist League of Italy began to accept the directions of the Comintern. After the assassination of Matteotti the tactic of the C. P. of Italy was against Bordiga—fully endorsed by the Y. C. L.; and at the Fifth Plenum of the Enlarged Executive the delegates of the Y. C. L. voted without reservations for the theses of the E. C. C. I. The Y. C. L. participated actively in the struggle of the party against the ultra-Left, and at the Congress of the Y. C. L. in February, 1926, only 5 per cent of the votes went to the Bordiga fraction.

Immediately after the Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International, the Young Socialist League fused with the Y. C. L.

After the ruthless reaction in November, 1926, the Y. C. L. was the only oppositional youth organisation which continued the struggle against fascism. The majority of the young Maximalist League, whose ranks were considerably depleted by then, joined the Young Communist League. Between November, 1926, and November, 1927, the Young Communist League succeeded in circulating about 100,000 copies of newspapers (local newspapers, factory newspapers and the central organ "Avanguardia," which has an edition of 12,000) and 150,000 leaflets.

The Y. C. L. took an active part in the reconstruction work in the trade unions and in the recent strike movements.

The losses suffered by the Y. C. L. are severe; about 800 Leaguers are now in prison or banished. Many have been sentenced to very long terms of imprisonment.

As to the organisational work of the party, we have already mentioned that between the Fifth World Congress and the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. the reorganisation of the party on a nucleus basis was completed. In the Secretariat of the Central Committee itself, a certain decentralisation of the work was taken in hand. Up till then leadership was concentrated in the hands of a few comrades, but special agitprop departments and an organisation department have been established. Another indication of the organisational work of this period is a broader democracy within the party, which was made possible by the relaxed pressure of the reaction, the necessity of discussing political questions (decision of the Fifth World Congress), and of carrying out the fusion with the group of the Third International.

In January, 1925, persecutions again commenced, from which various party organisations suffered considerably. But on the whole, the foundation of the party was strong enough to resist these attacks of the reaction. The slogan issued by the party aimed at defending itself against the reaction by the establishment of close contact with the masses. The influence of the party was growing, although the organizational work had to be temporarily interrupted in some places.

#### THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY SINCE THE END OF 1926

November, 1926, ushered in a new stage in the activity of the C. P. of Italy. The official dissolution of the party had not caused any substantial changes in its structure; it merely drove it deeper into illegality. The numerous arrests and banishments, however, did the party great harm, particularly in the weaker organisations, where work had to be temporarily interrupted owing to the arrest of leading comrades. On the other hand, organisational work was not interrupted in the bigger and stronger organisations, and within a short space of time it was possible to re-establish connection between the Central Committee (the majority of whom are under lock and key, which makes work rather difficult) and all district secretaries.

The membership of the party has been, of course, reduced, which is always the case in times of increased reaction. On the other hand, its influence has increased, because it is the only opposition party which carries on the struggle against fascism. Not only non-party workers, but also Maximalists, reformists and republicans follow the slogans of the party, circulate its literature, etc. This makes it incumbent on the party to capture these workers also ideologically, to eradicate the still very strong social democratic traditions, etc.

In spite of all police difficulties, the party succeeded in developing intensive propaganda activity even in this period. Its illegal press, the only labour press in Italy, finds a ready sale, and every number goes through many hands. The following newspapers are published: "Unità," the youth organ "Avanguardia" and "Delo" in the Croatian language. In addition, a number of the "Compagna" and also several numbers of the children's newspaper, "Il Fanciullo Pro-

letario," a political comic paper, "Galletto Rosso," and many factory newspapers were published. Lately, because of the measures of the government, which has mobilised its huge police apparatus against the Communists, and also because of the monstrous penalties imposed for the possession of even a single leaflet, the printing and circulation of literature are becoming more and more difficult, with the result that newspapers appear rarely and in reduced numbers.

The newspapers "Unità" and "Verità," which were published in succession in Paris, have been suppressed by the French Government. However, the theoretical organ of the party, "Stato Operaio," which is devoted to Italian and international problems of the labour movement, appears regularly.

The party and trade unions have played a leading rôle in the strike movement of the last year. While at first our comrades, particularly in the provinces, were frequently taken by surprise by the wage movements of the workers and did not always hit on the right slogans and the correct relations between the industrial struggles and the general political struggle against fascism, with the result that their influence on the movement was but small, subsequently the influence of the party and of the General Confederation of Labour was considerable in all strikes and demonstrations.

Also, in the countryside, where an even stronger movement is going on against fascism than in the towns owing to the economic crisis and less police pressure, the influence of the party is on the increase. Many peasants who formerly were actively opposed to the Communists are beginning to show interest in the party and its slogans. On the other hand, the activity of the party is very weak in the South of Italy, where, in spite of all its efforts, it has not yet succeeded in re-establishing regular relations. The party is aware of this gap and is endeavouring to remedy it, above all through the resumption and development of work among the peasants.

The party is particularly active in the trade union sphere. We have already reported on the reconstruction of the General Confederation of Labour. The party has succeeded in drawing into trade union work non-party workers and workers of other political tendencies, so that the basis of the trade unions differs from that of the party and is much broader. The General Confederation of Labour has an illegal organ, "Battaglie Sindicali."

The political slogans of the party in the present period aim at capturing not only workers and peasants, but also the urban petty bourgeoisie for the struggle against fascism. The struggle for democratic liberties for the working class and the peasantry—freedom of place of meeting, of association and of the Press, representation of workers and peasants not in a bourgeois parliament, but in a body based on workers' and peasant committees—is at present a revolutionary struggle in Italy. The party has included the demand for these democratic liberties for the working masses into its programme, and for this struggle it works for the formation of workers' and peasants' committees which will be the organs of the revolutionary anti-fascist movement. The slogans, "A Constituent Assembly on the Basis of Workers' and Peasant Committees," "Control of Production" and "Distribution of Land to the Peasantry," which were issued already in 1924, are also to-day the slogans of the party around which it is mobilising the Italian masses. These slogans make it

more easy for the party's propaganda for the workers' and peasants' government.

At the beginning of 1928, the second conference of the C. P. of Italy was held illegally. For the first time since the Third Party Congress (January, 1926) and since the beginning of increased terrorism against the party, it was possible for a considerable number of representatives of party organisations to come together. The conference had no decisive functions, it was rather of an informatory character. The conference expressed the indomitable vitality of the C. P. of Italy and its growing influence on the Italian workers. The further consolidation of Communist influence on the working masses was declared to be most important for the work of the party. The conference warned the party against the dangers of the present situation, i. e., the tendency to isolate itself and to limit the tasks of the party to physical defence pure and simple. On the other hand, there is, in connection with the whole situation in Italy, also the danger of a terrorist deviation which must be fought with the utmost energy. In regard to the "democratic concentration," there was a consensus of opinion among the comrades that, although the parties which constitute the "concentration" are not to-day developing much activity in Italy, they still had some influence, and that it was therefore necessary to combat these parties in order to win the working masses from what little influence the parties of the "concentration" still possessed. This required first and foremost intensive activity in the trade unions. The conference also received full reports on the international situation and the situation in the Soviet Union; the question of the Russian Opposition received much attention and the attitude of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. was approved.

The organisational problem of the party was very fully discussed. In connection with this, the conference declared that the question of short intensive training courses and education of good party workers is one of the most important problems with which the party has to deal.

A special organisational commission dealt with the organisational problem and studied methods of guaranteeing better contact with the masses and a better connection between the centre and the provinces.

In conclusion, it was decided to address a manifesto to the Italian workers and peasants. This manifesto describes the economic and political situation, the destitution of the working masses, unemployment and the passivity and treachery of the Socialist parties. The workers and peasants of Italy are invited to join the class trade unions in order to make common cause against fascism and capitalism.

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After the triumph of Italian fascism in 1922, Ercoli (Palmiro Togliatti) went to Moscow for intensive indoctrination. Under Dimitrov's patronage, he played a prominent role at the Seventh World Congress (sec. C, exhibit No. 15). Greater honors came his way when Stalin appointed him director of Comintern activities in Spain during the Civil War (this section, exhibit No. 79).<sup>1</sup> After returning to Moscow, he stayed at Comintern headquarters preparing to take over control of postwar Communist activities in Italy.

While Stalin naturally preferred Moscow-trained exiles to "ill informed native" comrades, there can be no doubt that Ercoli upon his return to Italy in April 1944 gave the party superior leadership.<sup>2</sup> For example, he showed something of Lenin's

<sup>1</sup> Ypsilon, *Pattern for World Revolution*, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Borkenau, *European Communism*, p. 459.

capacity for mollifying left-wing extremists. If Ercoli could prevent it, the Italian Communist Party would not deprive itself of popular support as it had done in the early twenties.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps, his early association with Antonio Gramsci helped to shape his thinking with regard to less radical activity. According to Gramsci, Communists should have kept up the appearance of assisting the Christian Democrats to obtain partial reforms. In time, the Communist Party would take over as heirs of the moderate Socialists.<sup>4</sup> At any rate, Ercoli for a while at least made a more successful appeal to Italian Catholics than did Communist leaders in France.<sup>5</sup>

Ercoli's comments upon the Italian guerrilla movement gave no indication of what was to come at the end of the war. Under the guise of purging Fascists, committees of liberation supported by well-organized and single-minded partisans eliminated many more people than did their French counterparts (this section, exhibit No. 66).<sup>6</sup> It is estimated that in Italy 360,000 persons were killed as compared with 112,000 in France.<sup>7</sup>

The slogan "All Power to the Committees of Liberation" became frighteningly reminiscent of a similar one ("All Power to the Soviets") which the Bolsheviks used in 1917 to conceal their steps toward the violent seizure of the government. Behind the allegedly democratic soviets (councils) had stood the dictatorship of the proletariat—i. e., the paramilitary Bolshevik Party. In like manner in 1944 and 1945, Garibaldi brigades tried to take over for the Italian Communists. Without doubt, Ercoli had studied his Moscow homework with diligence and determination.

### EXHIBIT No. 68

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, May 1942. M. Ercoli, *Inside Italy*. Pp. 2-4, 27-31]

#### FOREWORD

**This pamphlet, written by M. Ercoli, the world's outstanding Italian anti-fascist fighter, was transmitted to this country by radio. It presents a revealing picture of what is going on inside of Italy, and clearly indicates how Mussolini has betrayed the Italian nation. The Italian fascist government of Italy is today only a puppet government. Hitler and his fascist bandits are the real masters of Italy. They dictate the policies and give the orders to the Italian nation.**

**This pamphlet should drive home deeper than ever to every Italian-American the urgent necessity for the defeat of the Axis powers, which will bring about the liberation of our people in Italy. Only the victory of the democratic powers of the world can guarantee that the Italian people will be free and will once again become the masters of their own destiny.**

**Many Italians, remembering the Versailles peace, are skeptical about the kind of peace that will be established when the war is over. But the great labor movement of the democratic countries of the world, the great power of the colonial peoples, the strength of the people in the occupied countries, and that great tower of strength, the Soviet Union, will be a guarantee that a just peace will be achieved.**

**The task of us Italian-Americans is clear. As good, loyal Americans, and true to the great traditions of Garibaldi, we will rally ever more strongly in support of our country's war efforts, participating in all activities that will contribute to the national unity of all the American people, increasing production to ever greater heights, and relent-**

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 456-457. Hilton-Young, *Italian Left*, pp. 168, 174-175. Bouscaren, *Imperial Communism*, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> Einaudi and Goguel, *Christian Democracy in Italy and France*, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Bouscaren, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 175.

<sup>6</sup> Borkenau, *op. cit.*, p. 462. Ebon, *World Communism Today*, p. 234.

<sup>7</sup> Possony, *Century of Conflict*, p. 289.

lessly exposing the fascist agents in our midst. This is the road to our salvation in America and to the salvation of our kin in Italy.

PETER V. CACCHIONE,  
*Member, New York City Council.*

### INSIDE ITALY

By E. M. Ercoli

In June 1941, Mussolini followed Hitler's lead and made war on the Soviet Union. By that time the economic and political foundations of fascist Italy were seriously shaken. They were being undermined by the subdued resentment of the masses and by the concealed mistrust of the government which was spreading to ever wider circles of the population. This was the result of nearly twenty years of fascist tyranny, of arduous military adventures which had brought the people only disillusionment and indignation. Such was the result of the dismal defeats suffered in East Africa, Cyrenaica, Greece and Albania, defeats brought on the Italian army by the fascist regime.

In 1925 Mussolini, having by violence and terror destroyed the last vestiges of democracy and popular freedom in Italy, declared that the Fascist Party's task was to "aggrandize the country." Mussolini tried to instill in the people the idea that the conversion of Italy into a barracks and prison was vital for "strengthening Italy's military might" and for creating "a great Italian Empire."

His real aim, however, was to use every means, fair and foul, to crush even the slightest protest and indignation of the masses against the dictatorship of industrial and financial magnates, big landlords and profiteers. Fascism deprived the Italian people not only of freedom, but also of the remnants of that relative prosperity which it attained at the price of long and difficult struggle.

Only the reactionary and parasitic groups which placed Mussolini in power enjoy prosperity and have won for themselves the guarantee of unhindered profits and the right to concentrate in their avid hands all of the country's wealth. But from the moment that Mussolini chose any starting point in the campaign to conquer "greatness" for Italy, from the moment when he donned the helmet of war and took up the sword to dash headlong into imperialist and predatory adventure, the unfortunate Italian people have been subjected to one calamity after another.

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#### THE GROWING GUERRILLA MOVEMENT AGAINST THE FASCIST REGIME

Following the annexation of Slovenia and the Dalmatian seaboard of Croatia, a new element entered into Italian life. By this annexation Mussolini sought to allay the more die-hard nationalists. In practice, however, he only produced in Italy a center of open armed struggle against the fascist occupation, and moreover a center which is very dangerous for fascist rule.

In these regions the guerilla movement is developing quickly and is deeply penetrating those districts of Italy proper that are populated by the Slav nationalists. The Slav and Italian workers in mercury and in the coal mines around Idia are sabotaging, the soldiers are de-

serting from the army and anti-fascist groups in Trieste and Gorizia are joining sides with the guerrillas. The whole Polyanska Valley district bordering the coal basin is controlled by guerrillas.

In December of last year 71 guerrilla fighters and participants in the anti-fascist movement of this district were placed on trial in Trieste. Five were sentenced to death and the remainder to severe punishment—to thirty years imprisonment. They were accused not only of resurrecting clandestine anti-fascist organizations, active propaganda in the army, spreading anti-fascist publications, but also of such acts as blowing up powder plants at Piazenza and Bologna and the gun powder dump at Klam.

Those explosions destroyed artillery guns, mortars, machine guns and 1,000,000 rifle cartridges. The accused were also charged with organizing the explosion of a bridge at Arnoldstein on the Italo-German frontier and similar acts of destruction. In vain the fascist press tried to depict the accused as "foreign agents." Among them were representatives of all political currents in Italy, from liberals to Communists. They included young and old students and workers, Italians and Slavs. The trial itself, with which Mussolini hoped to intimidate the opposition, afforded the Italian people a good example of unity and active struggle of all trends of the anti-fascist movement centered on the common aim of extricating Italy from war and overthrowing Italian and German fascism by destroying their war machine from within.

Those intrepid men who with arms in hand took the field against the fascist regime and war, Italians and Slavs, operating in guerrilla detachments along the whole of Italy's eastern border, are the true continuers of the great national traditions of Garibaldi's legions. They show the Italian people the path to salvation. Only by choosing this path will the Italian people be able to obliterate the shame of fascist tyranny and vassal dependence on Germany, the shame of the robber war against the Soviet Union and of the barbarian regime of hunger and terror which the jackal Mussolini has foisted on Greece and the other Balkan countries.

These valiant fighters show the whole Italian people the path of Italy's salvation from the catastrophe toward which the fascist criminals are dragging it. Consequently, favorable conditions exist in Italy for the development of a wide national front of struggle to overthrow the fascist regime.

#### ITALY'S ROAD TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

There are individual groups of determined men who are boldly taking up the struggle and finding the forms for this struggle dictated by the present situation. But the decisive requisite for a successful struggle, a requisite not yet attained, is to bring into motion and into action the mass of workers, of the industrial proletariat and agricultural proletariat which from the grim and decisive force.

This is what the fascists fear more than anything else. They try to take several measures to hinder the upsurge of the working class. They are exiling workers who in the past took an active part in the anti-fascist struggle. Whole factories are being removed from the industrial centers to the countryside. The workers are being driven to Germany where the barracks and the barrack regime and the constant surveillance of spies and Gestapo agents await them. All

of these measures cannot and must not hinder the activity of the working class. The traditions of struggle against the unjust imperialist war are still alive in the hearts of the Italian workers who in 1917 erected barricades in Italy's towns and in 1919-20 wrested from the hands of the reactionary government weapons prepared for intervention against the young Soviet Republic.

The social demagoguery of the Italian fascists has not extinguished in the working masses of Italy their hatred for a regime which destroyed their organizations, deprived them of rights and surrendered them, armless and defenseless, to the capitalist magnates.

The Italian working class needs all progressive elements in every small and large factory, in every center of agriculture, to abandon their state of passivity, their stand of wait and see, and immediately with all possible energy and every conceivable means to set about resurrecting the illegal anti-fascist organizations, which would be able to prepare, organize and lead a widespread movement of the proletarian masses in town and village.

For the working class of Italy this is as essential as bread, air and sun. The joint manifesto recently issued by the leadership of the Communist Party of Italy, Socialists and democrats of the "Liberty and Justice" movement, undoubtedly marks a forward step toward the correct political orientation and toward establishing unity and restoring the vanguard of the anti-fascist organizations.

But this is only the first step. It will remain obscure unless the correct political line of the manifesto is accompanied by widespread mass activities and by establishing firm and broad anti-fascist organizations. To wait under these conditions is tantamount to committing a crime against the Italian people and its future, against the working class, against the masses who require day-to-day political leadership.

This leadership is necessary in order constantly to resist fascism's war machine, which oppresses the masses, in order that the voice of the masses may be heard and that their actions might put an end to Mussolini's imperialist adventure, to his criminal war against the Soviet Union and to make Italy cease hostilities and conclude peace.

The salvation of Italy rests with the Italian people, with the Italian working class, peasantry, petty and middle bourgeoisie of the cities, the intelligentsia and even those elements of the bourgeoisie who are still capable of regarding the interests of the nation above the egoistic calculations of caste. The Italian people must organize and unite their forces. They must strive that their voice be heard, they must curb the criminal deeds of the fascist bands. The duty of the class conscious and intrepid anti-fascists is to act as a lever raising the masses. Their task is to raise into the struggle those who with every hour see more clearly the need to shatter the fetters of vassal dependence on German imperialism and the chains of fascist tyranny in order to ensure the Italian people the place belonging to them among the independent and free nations of Europe.

#### D. SPAIN.

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War on July 19, 1936, was not at first to Stalin's liking.<sup>1</sup> At the time, he preferred conquest by peaceful infiltration

<sup>1</sup> David T. Cattell, *Communism and the Spanish Civil War*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955, pp. 73-74. Salvador de Madariaga (Oxford University), *Spain*, New York, Creative Age, 1943, p. 368. Ypsilon, *World Revolution*, pp. 267-268.

according to strategies promulgated at the Seventh World Congress. Besides, the tiny Communist Party of Spain had no chance whatsoever of setting up a Soviet-style republic in the Iberian Peninsula. But when the Nationalist forces failed to secure a speedy victory, Stalin saw possibilities in espousing the cause of "progressive humanity."

Within a few months Comintern activities were greatly stepped up.<sup>2</sup> Outstanding foreign comrades like Ercoli and Andre Marty rushed to the scene.<sup>3</sup> With them came Russian "advisers" in no small number.<sup>4</sup> In Europe and the Western Hemisphere, international brigades enlisted not only Communists, but also many sympathizers who were prepared to risk their lives for the cause of "progressive humanity." Several of these non-Communists have recounted the history of their disillusionment with the Stalinist betrayal of their ideals.<sup>5</sup> Those who expressed their doubts before leaving Spain usually did not survive to tell the story.<sup>6</sup> The NKVD in Spain, however, thoughtfully preserved their passports for later use by Soviet espionage agents.<sup>7</sup>

Communist authorities knew in advance where to put the blame for the final defeat of the Republican forces in March 1939. As always, uncooperative non-Communist elements had sabotaged the popular front.<sup>8</sup> Along with unreliable bourgeois sympathizers and ineffectual Socialists, Stalin's faithful foreign agents had to contend with deviating comrades.<sup>9</sup> While the true Stalinists lost the war, they did succeed in liquidating very many "traitors."<sup>10</sup> As Dimitrov emphatically declared at the Seventh World Congress, the popular front type of collaboration can only be for the time being (sec. C, exhibit No. 14).

After failing in Spain, Ercoli returned to the Soviet Union to prepare to try again in Italy (this section, exhibit No. 68). Sometime before his departure, the gold reserves of Spain had been taken to the security of the Soviet Union where, apparently, they are still being counted.<sup>11</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 69

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, December 1936. M. Ercoli, *The Spanish Revolution*. Pp. 5-6, 18-24]

### THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

The heroic struggle of the Spanish people has deeply stirred the whole world. It is the greatest event in the struggle of the masses of the people in the capitalist countries for their emancipation, second only to the October Socialist Revolution of 1917.

The struggle against the remnants of feudalism, the aristocracy, the monarchist officers, the princes of the church, against fascist enslavement, has united the vast majority of the Spanish people. The workers and peasants, the intellectuals and lower middle class people of the towns, and even certain groups of the bourgeoisie, have taken their stand in defense of freedom and the republic, while a handful of insurgent generals are waging war against their own people with the aid of Moroccans, whom they deceived, and the international criminal riffraff of the Foreign Legion.

The struggle of the Spanish people bears the features of a national revolutionary war. It is a war to save the people and the country from foreign bondage, since the victory of the insurgents would mean the economic, political and cultural decline of Spain, its disintegration as an independent state, the enslavement of its peoples by German

<sup>2</sup> Carlton, J. H. Hayes (Columbia University), *The United States in Spain*, New York, Sheed & Ward, 1951, p. 115. *The Red Domination in Spain*, Madrid, Ministry of Justice, 1946.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Pattee, *This Is Spain*, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1951, pp. 246-249.

<sup>4</sup> Krivitsky, *In Stalin's Secret Service*, ch. III.

<sup>5</sup> George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, Boston, Beacon, 1952, pp. 51-56, 62. *Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, Report and Order of the Subversive Activities Control Board, December 21, 1955.

<sup>6</sup> Cookridge, *Soviet Spy Net*, pp. 176-178.

<sup>7</sup> Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, pp. 285-287, 409-410. Pilat, *The Atom Spies*, pp. 129-130.

<sup>8</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 403-406.

<sup>9</sup> Valentin Gonzalez and Julian Gorkin, *El Campesino*, New York, Putnam's Sons, 1952, pp. 19-37. Thomas, *The Socialist Tragedy*, pp. 47-49.

<sup>10</sup> Orlov, *Stalin's Crimes*, pp. 235-238. Cattell, *op. cit.*, ch. XIII.

<sup>11</sup> Madariaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-393. Krivitsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

and Italian fascism. It is a national revolutionary struggle for the further reason that its victory will bring the liberation to the Catalonians, the Basques and the Galicians who have been oppressed by the old aristocracy of Castile.

The victory of the people will deal fascism in Spain a mortal blow and will destroy its material basis. It will hand over the large landed estates and the industrial enterprises of the fascist insurgents to the people, and will create the conditions for the further successful struggle of the mass of the working people of Spain for their social liberation.

The victory of the People's Front in Spain will strengthen the cause of peace throughout the whole of Europe, primarily by preventing the warmongers from converting Spain into a military base for the fascist encirclement of, and attack on, France.

The struggle of the People's Front in Spain is setting into motion the democratic forces of the whole world. Success in this struggle will strengthen the cause of democracy in all countries, will weaken fascism wherever it is in the saddle, and will hasten its downfall.

#### A PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

The revolution in Spain, which is part and parcel of the anti-fascist struggle all over the world, is a revolution having the broadest social basis. It is a people's revolution. It is a national revolution. It is an anti-fascist revolution.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### THE BOURGEOISIE

Lastly, the bourgeoisie. Being interested in the restriction of feudal privileges, it took a fairly active part in the overthrow of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the monarchy. The industrial bourgeoisie expected from the republic more favorable conditions for its development. The bourgeois parties sought to reach this goal by compromising with the privileged feudal and semi-feudal castes, and, unfortunately, for over two years they influenced the republican petty bourgeoisie and even the Socialist Party to follow them along this path. The policy of the coalition government thoroughly disillusioned the masses of the people. Fascism made use of the weakened position of democracy which resulted, and took up the offensive, mobilizing and rallying all the most reactionary elements in the country.

This strengthening of fascism brought the masses to a realization of the need to build a barrier against its advance. The masses rose in defense of the republic (October, 1934). The process of differentiation among the bourgeoisie was becoming more intense and a crisis began to develop in the traditional bourgeois parties. For example, the Radical Party of Lerroux, that party of political corruption which mirrored all the weakness and vice of the Spanish big bourgeoisie, rapidly broke up, and after the 1936 elections disappeared from the political scene. From it a group was formed which, led by Martinez Barrio, the present chairman of the Cortes, is taking part in organizing the repulse of the fascists and has entered the People's Front. The considerable success at the polls of Barrio's party cannot be explained otherwise than by the anti-fascist sentiments of part of the bourgeoisie who had nothing to gain from the reactionary designs of the fascists

and their ally Lerroux. From its very inception Martinez Barrio took an active part in the formation of the People's Front. When, after the fall of Toledo, a tense situation had arisen at the front, he presided at the October session of the Cortes devoted to preparing the defense of Madrid.

In the various republican governments formed after the elections of February 16, 1936, there were people who undoubtedly represented certain sections of the bourgeoisie. These remained on the side of the republic when the fascist insurrection broke out, *e. g.*, José Giral, member of the Left Republican Party and minister in the present government, a fairly big landowner whose estates had been affected by the agrarian reform in the very first years of the republic; Francisco Barnes, Casares Quiroga, Enrico Ramos and Manuel Blasco Garzon, industrialists and landowners who formed part of the ministry of José Giral, *i. e.*, were members of one of the governments which organized the defense of the republic against the fascist insurgents. Had the course of events been different, some of these people would possibly have sought for a compromise with the reactionaries. By depriving them of this possibility, the fascist rising made clear to them the need to defend the republic and democracy by all the means at their disposal, and thus linked up their fate with that of the fighting masses of the people.

Numerous groups of the bourgeoisie of the nationalities that used to be oppressed by Spanish feudalism are also acting on the side of the republic. There are districts in Spain where the whole population has been fighting for centuries to throw off the yoke of national oppression. This applies principally to Catalonia and the Basque Provinces (Biscay). The bourgeoisie of these districts cannot support the fascists or even sympathize with them, as they know perfectly well that a fascist victory would reduce to naught any chance of national independence or autonomy. Such a victory would mean a return to the old regime of national oppression.

In Catalonia, the so-called Catalonian League and its reactionary leaders have disappeared from the arena of struggle. But in the ranks of the Catalonian Left—the Esquierres—there are still a number of representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie who occupy high places in the Catalonian government. And there is no doubt that in Barcelona, and, it may be said, throughout all Catalonia, the rebellion of the fascist generals was put down more rapidly than elsewhere not only because great numbers of the Spanish proletariat are concentrated here, but also because almost the whole population enthusiastically took part in crushing the insurrection, even some bourgeois circles being in sympathy with this.

With regard to the Basque provinces, the Basque National Party, which has a representative, Manuel Irujo, in the Madrid government, takes an active part in the struggle against the fascists. Manuel Irujo is a big industrialist who has always fought for the national liberation of the Basques. He was against the coup d'état of Primo de Rivera, and was a determined opponent of the monarchy. In the first days of the fascist revolt, he personally led military operations against the fascist officers in Bilbao. All his relatives, including his 70-year-old mother, are held as hostages by the fascists. This Catholic and industrialist is acting loyally in defense of the republic, and declares that his party is fighting "for a regime of liberty, political democracy

and social justice". The Basque National Party, of which he is the leader, is a party of the Catholic bourgeoisie which for a number of years has been fighting for the national independence of Biscay. Priests constitute a considerable part of its membership. Not so long ago the French reactionary, de Kerillis, expressed his surprise at the fact that members of the clergy in the Biscay provinces were fighting heroically against the reactionary gangs of General Mola. But there is nothing surprising in this. The part played by these groups of the Basque bourgeoisie who, arms in hand, fought side by side with all the other heroic defenders of Irun, San Sebastian and Bilbao, is undoubtedly more progressive than that played by those leaders of the British Labor Party who trail behind the British policy of "non-intervention". There is every reason for applying to these groups of the Basque bourgeoisie the following words written by Comrade Stalin in the year 1924:

The struggle the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of his country is objectively a *revolutionary* struggle, despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his entourage, for it weakens, disintegrates and undermines imperialism. . . . The struggle the Egyptian merchants and bourgeois intellectuals are waging for the independence of their country is, objectively, *revolutionary* despite the bourgeois origin and bourgeois calling of the leaders of the Egyptian national movement and despite the fact that they are opposed to socialism; whereas the fight the English Labor government is waging to perpetuate Great Britain's domination over Egypt is, for the same reasons, a *reactionary* struggle, despite the proletarian origin and the proletarian calling of the members of that government, and despite the fact that they are "for" socialism.\*

What conclusion, then, should be drawn from the position occupied by these groups of the Spanish bourgeoisie as described above?

There can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the bourgeoisie sympathizes with the insurgents, and supports them, but there are bourgeois groups, especially among the national minorities, which, although they do not play a leading part in the People's Front, took part in the anti-fascist People's Front before the insurrection and continue to do so to this day. Therefore, these groups must not be left out of account in the anti-fascist camp, for their participation in the People's Front extends it and thus increases the chances of victory for the Spanish people. In times of so sharp a conflict, a wide social basis is one of the main factors guaranteeing the successful outcome of the revolution.

In 1927, Comrade Stalin, that master of the art of revolutionary strategy, wrote that correct leadership of the revolution is impossible unless certain tactical principles of Leninism are taken into account:

I have in view such tactical principles of Leninism as: (a) the principle of never failing to take into account the national peculiarities and specific national features in each individual country, . . . (b) the principle that the Communist Party of each country must never fail to make use of even the slightest possibility of securing for the proletariat a mass ally, though he be temporary, shaky, unstable and unreliable, (c) the principle of never failing to take into account the truth that propaganda and agitation alone are not enough for the political education of the millions of the people, but that this requires that the masses acquire political experience of their own.\*

\* Stalin, "The National Question", *Foundations of Leninism*, p. 67.

\* Stalin, *About the Opposition*, p. 615, Russian edition.

## THE SPANISH PEOPLE'S FRONT

Guided by these principles, the Communist Party of Spain has fought not only to bring about joint action by the working class, but also to establish a broad anti-fascist People's Front, which reflects the peculiar form of development assumed by the Spanish revolution at its present stage.

This front embraces the working class and its organizations, namely, the Communist and Socialist Parties, the General Workers' Union and the Syndicalist Organization of Pestana; it is now supported by the Anarchist National Confederation of Labor. Furthermore, it covers the petty bourgeoisie through the Republican Party of Azana, and the Catalonian Party Esquerra. It also includes the groups of the bourgeoisie represented by Martinez Barrio's party, the "Republican League", and by the Basque nationalists; it is supported not only by the Catalonian "Rabassaires" organization, but also by millions of Spanish peasants who have no party of their own, who hate fascism and are hungry for land. The Spanish anti-fascist People's Front, as the specific form of union of various classes, in face of the fascist danger, differs, for instance, from the French People's Front in that it operates and carries on the struggle in circumstances of a revolution, which solves its bourgeois-democratic problems in a consistent, democratic way, in circumstances of a civil war which demands exceptional measures to ensure the victory of the people.

Similarly, it does not explain the real character of the Spanish People's Front to define it simply as "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry". In the first place, the People's Front in Spain bases itself not only on the workers and peasants, it has a broader social basis. In the second place, under the pressure of the civil war, it is adopting a series of measures which go somewhat further than the program of a government of revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. It is a further peculiarity of the Spanish People's Front that the split in the ranks of the proletariat, the relatively slow pace at which the masses of the peasantry are being drawn into the armed struggle, and the influence of petty-bourgeois Anarchism and of Social-Democratic illusions which have not yet been outlived, which are expressed in the endeavor to skip the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, are all creating a number of additional difficulties in the struggle of the Spanish people for a democratic republic.

The democratic republic which is being established in Spain is unlike the usual type of bourgeois-democratic republic. It is being born amidst a civil war in which the working class plays the leading part, at a time when socialism has been victorious on one-sixth of the earth's surface, while in a number of capitalist countries conservative bourgeois democracy has already been routed by fascism. It is a distinctive feature of this new type of democratic republic that fascism, which has taken up the struggle against the people, is being suppressed by the armed force of the people, and that in this republic there will be no place for this chief and bloodthirsty enemy of the people. Should the people be victorious, fascism will never be able to enjoy there such freedom as, for instance, in France, the U. S. A., or England, where it makes use of bourgeois democracy and the rights granted under it to destroy democracy and establish completely arbitrary rule. Secondly, the material basis of fascism will be destroyed in this republic. All land, all enterprises belonging

to participants in the fascist revolt have already been confiscated and handed over to the Spanish people. Already the Spanish government has been compelled by the military situation to institute the control and regulation of the country's economic machinery in order to promote the defense of the republic. And the more obdurately the insurgents carry on the war against the lawful government, the further will the latter be forced to go in the direction of strict regulation of the whole economic life of the country. Thirdly, should the people be victorious, this new democracy cannot but be alien to all conservatism; for it possesses all the conditions necessary for its own further development, it provides the guarantees for further economic and political achievements by the working people of Spain. And it is precisely for this reason that all the forces of world reaction desire the defeat of the Spanish people.

German and Italian fascism not only organized the revolt of the Spanish generals, but are now giving every possible support to the insurgents, and are working for the defeat of the republic. All parties of extreme reaction and war in all capitalist countries are sympathetic to the insurgents and ready to support them. The fighting Spanish people is faced not only by the insurgent generals, but by the whole front of world reaction. Hence the difficulties encountered by the Spanish people in suppressing the revolt. These difficulties are further enhanced by the pressure of parties in the capitalist countries which formally endorse bourgeois democracy, but actually support fascist intervention under the cloak of "neutrality". This second camp, to which belong, for instance, the British conservatives and the French Right Radicals, is essentially in league with world reaction. In fact this camp has the support of certain reactionary Social-Democratic leaders as well.

Lastly, there is the opposite camp, the camp of the working class, the camp of democracy. The foundation of this camp is the working class of the world, which wholeheartedly sides with the Spanish people. This camp includes all honest anti-fascists, all true democrats, all those who realize that to allow the Spanish republic to be crushed means to suffer a blow to be struck at the entire international anti-fascist front, means encouraging fascism to make further attacks on the working class and on democracy.

#### PLAYING WITH FIRE

Fascism is playing with fire. It set the war machine going not only against a people of distant Africa, but is now attacking one of the peoples of Europe. It cannot now cover up its predatory actions with cries about Versailles. It is tearing up not Versailles, but the liberty and independence of the Spanish people, and is thereby letting loose against itself a new flood of hatred among the working people. By this fascism is giving the impetus to a new wave of anti-fascism throughout the whole world. When German fascism came to power in Germany, it also counted on intimidating the nations by staging the Leipzig trial. It achieved the opposite. Fascism's wild frenzy in Germany made it easier to form the People's Front in France and Spain, inaugurated the movement for the People's Front throughout the whole world. But the Italian and German fascists are pursuing imperialist and annexationist aims, as well. They want to crush the

Spanish revolution so as to seize part of the colonies of Spain, occupy part of her territory and convert it into a base of operations for their further onslaughts on the peoples of Europe. The insurgent generals are agents of foreign imperialism, which is threatening the independence and integrity of the country. In 1919, Lenin, speaking about the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, said: "With us the difficulty in the situation was that we had to bring Soviet power into being against patriotism."\* The struggle of the people against the insurgent fascist generals in Spain has the character of a national struggle in defense of the country against foreign enslavement, and this factor still further extends the basis of the revolution. The People's Front not only continues the revolutionary traditions of the Spanish people, but also the glorious traditions of the struggle of the peoples of Spain to rid their country of foreign oppression and barbarism.

Thus, we are faced in Spain with a situation which, in the fire of revolutionary struggle, supplies proof of the historical correctness of the political line mapped out by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. This correctness is being confirmed not only by the scope of the anti-fascist struggle which has developed in Spain, but also by the part being played in this struggle by the young Communist Party of Spain. At the Seventh Congress Comrade Dimitroff said:

We want the Communists of each country promptly to draw and apply *all the lessons* that can be drawn from their own experiences as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. We want them *as quickly as possible to learn how to sail on the turbulent waters of the class struggle*, and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather.

In the turbulent waters of the class struggle, the Communist Party of Spain is being transformed into the stalwart pilot of the destinies of its people. With every day that passes it is gaining increased authority among the masses by its whole-hearted devotion to the cause of the revolution, by its strict adherence to principle, its steadfastness at the front and in the rear, the discipline of its commanders and fighters, and its profound conviction that the road outlined is correct. Organizer and inspirer of the People's Front and fully conscious of its own historical responsibility, the Party is fighting for the final victory of the People's Front over fascism.

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### EXHIBIT No. 70

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, August 1938. Georgi Dimitroff, *Two Years of Heroic Struggle of the Spanish People*. Pp. 10-14, 19-23]

### III

The two years of the struggle in Spain have brought to light new tremendous popular forces which have proved not only capable of withstanding the offensive of the fascist hordes, armed though they may be to the teeth, but have shown their unswerving determination to carry on the struggle to the end and win victory over fascism.

Republican Spain, as is well known, began the struggle in exceptionally unfavorable conditions from the military point of view. The

\*Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XXIV, p. 219, Russian edition.

masses of the people had not undergone the schooling of the world imperialist war, had no experience in the conduct of positional warfare and many other forms of modern defense. The Republican government proved to have very few commanding officers and very poor military equipment. And yet, despite all these difficulties, the Spanish people have for two years already been staunchly defending their liberty and independence.

At the outbreak of the rebellion, the Republic possessed very insignificant military forces, several thousand armed men, as a matter of fact. Now it has an army of half a million men, an army steeled in battle, one that has undergone many difficulties and is learning the art of modern warfare. New commanding officers have been trained, closely bound up with the people, selflessly defending their interests and successfully mastering the complicated art of warfare. The war industry is being organized and the entire economy of the country is placed at the service of one aim, victory over the enemy.

Despite the tremendous military and technical superiority of the forces of intervention, and a number of partial defeats, the Republican army has also won during these two years tremendous victories which will go down in history for all time. The rebels on dozens of occasions have hurled their storm detachments against Madrid. They have attempted to crush it by land and by air, on more than one occasion have loudly announced the capture of Madrid and even have sent out banquet invitations in celebration. Nothing has been able to shatter the heroic resistance of the People's Army.

Madrid has become the symbol of impregnability, the stronghold of Spanish liberty and independence, an example now being followed by Valencia and Barcelona. The Republican Army inflicted a severe blow on the armies of intervention at Guadalajara; it smashed their plans for a general offensive by capturing Teruel, and in many other cases displayed heroism and the ability not only to take the defensive, but also to pass to the offensive. It has succeeded in checking the offensive on the Aragon front, in localizing the breach, in upsetting the plans of the interventionists who calculated on inflicting a crushing blow on the Republican Army.

In all these successes the decisive role belongs to the united proletarian and People's Front. For a number of years the Communist Party of Spain—the initiator of the People's Front—has conducted a consistent and persistent struggle for the unity of the Spanish proletariat, for rallying all the forces of the people against reaction and fascism.

The unification of the workers' organizations and the mustering of the forces of the whole people took place step by step.

The beginning of 1935 saw the successful completion of negotiations between the Unitary Confederation of Labor and the U. G. T. (General Workers Union), and by the end of the year their amalgamation took place.

At the end of 1935, contact committees were established throughout Spain between the Communist and Socialist Parties.

In January, 1936, the People's Front was established covering the Communist and Socialist Parties, the U. G. T., the Republican Left, the Republican League, the Party of the Catalan Left and other organizations.

In April, 1936, the Communist and Socialist Youth Leagues were merged into a single organization.

In July of the same year, four parties—the Catalan Socialist League, the Catalan Federation of the Socialist Party of Spain, the Proletarian Party of Catalonia and the Communist Party of Catalonia—joined forces and out of them was established the United Socialist Party of Catalonia.

In March, 1937, all the youth organizations in a number of provinces in Spain—the United Socialist League, the Anarchist and Republican organizations—formed Youth Alliances, while in September of the same year a National Youth Alliance was established covering all the youth organizations of the country.

In August, 1937, a program of joint action was adopted by the Communist and Socialist Parties.

In March, 1938, unity of action was established between the U. G. T. and the Anarcho-Syndicalist C. N. T. (National Confederation of Labor), while in April the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) joined in the People's Front.

Thus the Spanish working class, by overcoming the difficult heritage that divided its forces in the past, has consistently established a firm basis for the unification of the Spanish people in the struggle against the fascist rebels and the forces of intervention. The severe trials of the war and the danger of fascist enslavement of Spain hastened on the completion of this process.

The entire course of the struggle of the Spanish people has provided incontrovertible confirmation of the correctness of the People's Front policy. It was precisely the establishment and consolidation of the People's Front that rendered it possible to rally together all the vital forces of the Spanish people, despite the previously existing deep political and other differences in their ranks. Thanks to the People's Front, the Spanish people have been able to establish their People's Army which has proved capable of withstanding the onslaught of the technically superior armies of the fascist intervention.

The People's Front of struggle against the fascist rebels and the forces of intervention has strengthened the solidarity in struggle among the Communists, Socialists, Anarcho-Syndicalists, Republicans and non-party people in the army and behind the lines, despite the unceasing disruptive work of the Caballero clique, the agents of the so-called "Fifth Column" and the Trotskyist bandits.

*Had there been no People's Front, the Spanish people would long ago have been internally disorganized, crushed and enslaved by the fascist invaders.*

It is no accident that all the enemies of the Spanish Republic at home and abroad have exerted and continue to exert all possible efforts to spread and inflame mutual distrust and discord among the parties and organizations belonging to the People's Front in order to undermine confidence in their government, to disrupt the People's Front itself.

For this reason, on the occasion of the second anniversary of their struggle, the Spanish people thoroughly appreciate, now more than ever, the need to maintain and further consolidate the People's Front—the basis of their unity, the main source of their defensive power and the first condition of victory in their war of national liberation against the fascist plunderers. And there

are no grounds for doubting that the working class of Spain, the entire Spanish people, will guard the inviolable unity and solidarity of the People's Front as the apple of their eye.

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V

In their heroic struggle the Spanish people have won support of the working class and anti-fascists throughout the world.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, the great land of socialism, are resolutely on the side of the Spanish people. The Soviet Union, by its peace policy and by the stand it has taken in international bodies, is steadfastly striving to bring about the end of fascist intervention in Spain, and provides an example of effective struggle to curb the fascist aggressors and maintain world peace.

International solidarity has found expression in various ways, in the sending of food and medical supplies, the evacuation and fraternal welcome of Spanish children, in demonstrations in defense of the Spanish Republic and protests against the destruction of the peaceful towns of Spain, in demands for the withdrawal of the troops of intervention, in partial prevention of the loading of war materials, in boycott, in cases of insubordination, etc.

In the most decisive days, when mortal danger hung over the capital of Spain, fighting alongside the Spanish fighters by the walls of Madrid were the International Brigades, made up of the best sons of the international proletariat. They have played a considerable part in beating off the fascist hordes.

However, the working class and the anti-fascists of the bourgeois countries have not yet been able to secure the thing most necessary to the Spanish people, the right to *the free purchase of the necessary means of defense; they have failed to secure the lifting of the blockade of Republican Spain; they have been unable to overcome the ruinous policy of nonintervention; they have failed to bring about the cessation of direct and indirect support for the fascist interventionists by the decisive Western European powers.*

Now, at the end of the second year of war in Spain, it should be pointed out that the working class of the capitalist countries has not yet thoroughly fulfilled its duty to the Spanish people engaged in defending the democracy and peace of all countries against fascist aggression. It must be said outright that *during these two years the Spanish people have done more for the defense of the cause of world peace and progress than has been done till now by the working people of the capitalist countries in support of the Spanish people.*

On the occasion of the second anniversary of the heroic struggle in Spain, it is the duty of every labor organization, of every individual active in the labor movement, of every honest anti-fascist political leader to examine the causes that prevent adequate and effective aid being rendered to Republican Spain and that prevent the working class from fulfilling its full duty to the Spanish people.

The Socialist Parties have adopted quite a number of good resolutions concerning aid to the Spanish people, but are far from having taken the necessary steps to secure their fulfillment. What is more,

they systematically permit leaders of theirs who not only occupy ministerial posts in the governments of a number of countries, but even head such governments, to conduct an entirely opposite policy.

This policy of official representatives of the Second International led to such a noteworthy fact as that the British bourgeois politician Lloyd George, while recently on a visit to Paris, exhorted the leaders of the Socialist Party of France and of the Second International about the need for supporting Republican Spain. He "explained" to the Socialist leaders that the seizure of Spain by Germany and Italy would serve as a starting point for them to undertake a military attack on France and to kindle world war; that after having occupied the Spanish provinces bordering on France, German troops are beginning to erect fortifications and to prepare bases on the Pyrenees for an attack on France; that the German army command already possesses important positions at Gibraltar; that the German and Italian navies consider themselves to a considerable degree to be full-fledged masters of the entire Mediterranean.

As is well known, the Communist International has on many occasions made approaches, directly and through its representatives, Comrades Thorez and Cachin, to the Second International for the organization of joint action against the fascist intervention and in defense of the Spanish people.

Joint action by the parties and trade union organizations of the international proletariat would create a tremendous movement in all countries which would change the entire international situation in the briefest space of time, would bar the way to the offensive of the fascist aggressors and would surely facilitate the liberation both of the Spanish and Chinese peoples from the fascist invaders.

Such a movement would lead not to the large-scale war with which Hitler and Mussolini scare the bankers and hucksters of England and France, but, on the contrary, would be the most certain means of curbing the unbridled fascist aggressors and would be the main guarantee for maintaining world peace.

But on every occasion when the Communist International addressed its proposal for joint action to the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, the representatives of these organizations have gathered at conferences, adopted declarations of solidarity with the Spanish people, uttered wordy invocations against the blockade of Republican Spain, but have stubbornly refused, under the influence of the reactionary British Labor Party and trade union leaders and their satellites in other countries, to agree to organize the united action of the world proletariat, which alone can produce the necessary positive results.

Yet the past two years of war in Spain have provided adequate proof of the fact that it is not by wordy invocations against the blockade of Republican Spain, not by paper protests against the fascist aggressors, not by exhortations to pro-fascist politicians in England and France, that real aid can be given to the Spanish people. *This requires that concrete action be undertaken by the progressive social forces and particularly united action by the world proletariat.*

He who desires really to see the end of the destruction of peaceful towns in Spain, of the murder of women and children, who desires to have the fascist violators driven out of Spain, and to see the estab-

lishment of a firm barrier against the outbreak of a new world imperialist war, must take action. It is not difficult to find the organization and form of this action; life itself, the experience of the labor movement, prompts them.

The end of the second year of the war sees the Spanish people exerting all their energy, mobilizing all the country's means and resources for resistance to the fascist invaders. The Spanish people are heroically enduring unheard-of privations and sacrifices, overcoming tremendous difficulties, in beating off the attacks of the fascist barbarians who are armed to the teeth with all the most modern instruments of destruction.

In the course of this struggle the Spanish proletariat and the anti-fascist fighters have to rebuff the faint-hearts and waverers, to crush the Trotskyist and other fascist agents. The men of the Republican army of Spain fighting at the walls of Madrid, on the Levant front, in the Pyrenees Mountains and along the coast, are fighting against the worst enemies of all working mankind. The blood they and their brothers shed rouses other peoples to the struggle against fascism. Their heroic struggle brings new forces forward in the most distant corners of the earth, on the fields of the great land of China, in distant Mexico, and in the very camp of their mortal enemies, in the fascist countries.

*It is now up to the international proletariat!*

Everything must be done to insure the victory of the Spanish people, for as Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the working people, pointed out in his telegram to Jose Diaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain:

*The liberation of Spain from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spainards, but is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind.*

To fulfill *this common cause* of advanced and progressive mankind—the liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries—means, in the present international situation, not only to render aid to the Spanish people, to assist most decisively in defending Czechoslovakia against German fascism, and in achieving victory for the Chinese people over the Japanese invaders. It means also to bar the way to further acts of aggression and slaughter by barbarous fascism, it means to maintain world peace.

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#### E. POLAND

Without the assistance of the Red Army, an instrument for "peace, justice, and retribution" (sec. B, exhibit No. 80), the Polish Committee of National Liberation would have found its task impossible.<sup>1</sup> Not until January 1947 did the Moscow-trained government of Poland attempt to hold "free" elections.<sup>2</sup>

By that time, the liberating Red Army had liquidated those members of the anti-Communist Polish underground who had escaped the 1941 Katyn Forest massacre by the Soviet MVD (sec. B, exhibit No. 68) and the 1944 Warsaw slaughter by the Nazis. After the Soviet Government had succeeded in getting the Polish underground of 200,000 men to rise up in revolt, the rapidly advancing Red Army stopped a few miles outside Warsaw and waited 64 days until the last pocket of Polish resistance had been wiped out by the German forces.<sup>3</sup> All the

<sup>1</sup> R. G. Casey, *Friends and Neighbors*, East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1955, pp. 75-78. Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 452-456.

<sup>2</sup> Borkenau, *European Communism*, p. 501. Ebon, *World Communism Today*, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> *The Soviet Union. Background, Ideology, Reality*. Edited by Waldemar Gurian, Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 1951, pp. 92-94. Bouscaren, *Imperial Communism*, pp. 133-139.

while, the Soviet Government refused permission to the United States and Great Britain to use Russian airfields for the relief of the Polish underground. After the Nazis had completed their task of annihilation, the "freedom loving" Red Army promptly escorted the Moscow-trained Committee of Liberation into the capital of a newborn "People's Democracy."

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EXHIBIT No. 71

[*World News and Views*, April 7, 1945. P. 110]

THE NEW SITUATION IN POLAND

(From the editorial of the current number of the Soviet trade union journal "War and the Working Class")

The agreement reached in the Crimea is based not on nebulous phrases but on the firm ground of actual reality. The new situation in Poland, created as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army, lies in the fact that the regeneration of the Polish State on new, democratic lines is now proceeding on Polish soil.

There is no need to retrace the thorny path that was traversed by the democratic elements of the Polish people who united on Polish soil to fight the brutal Nazi occupation. From this movement sprang the Polish Committee of National Liberation, later re-formed into the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic. The Provisional Government, which rests upon a broad coalition of democratic parties, is now effectively exercising its functions throughout the whole territory of liberated Poland.

The Provisional Government of Poland has proceeded to give effect to a broad programme for the democratisation of the entire political and social life of the country.

The administration, the judiciary, the organisation of the armed forces and education are being reconstructed on the basis of the democratic Constitution of 1921. In this the Provisional Government has the active support of the broadest sections of Polish people. The liberation of Poland from the German invaders has called forth an outburst of immense enthusiasm and creative fervour among the masses of the people, thanks to which, all over the country which was plundered and denuded under the Nazi occupation, thousands of mills and factories are already operating, trains are running, millions of children are attending school, the universities are being opened; the towns are beginning to receive supplies, although still with great difficulty, while the Polish Army, shoulder to shoulder with the gallant Red Army, is fighting the German Fascist Army and is day after day increasing the contribution of the Polish people to the common cause of smashing Hitler Germany.

Such, in the broadest outline, is the new situation in Poland. Such are the facts, and facts, as the English say, are stubborn things. It was from these facts that the Crimea agreement on the Polish question proceeded. This agreement, as we know, states that the Provisional Government, which is now functioning in Poland, should be reorganised on a broader democratic basis; with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. At the same time the Crimea Conference settled the differences which had existed between the three Allied Powers on the questions of Poland's frontiers.

It is not surprising that the Hitlerites and their numerically few but exceedingly vociferous mouthpieces in the Allied countries raised a howl over the Crimea Agreement on Poland. In the general cause of Hitler's henchmen, loudest of all are the shrill voices of the Polish bankrupts who have remained alien to their own country, of the Rackiewicz-Arciszewski clique in London, which, to the amusement of the whole world, continues to call itself the Polish Government.

The Polish people approved the Crimea decisions because they strengthen the unity of the Anti-German Coalition, which is the guarantee of the re-birth of a strong, independent and democratic Poland. The gentry of the Rackiewicz-Arciszewski camp, on the other hand, raised an outcry against the Crimea decisions because their only prospect of political existence lies in the disintegration of the Anti-Hitler Coalition. These two positions are so antithetical, so mutually exclusive, that any attempt to reconcile them is foredoomed to failure.

It is also clear from this how vain are the attempts to adopt a betwixt and between position made by a group of exile leaders who, as the result of events with which we are familiar, find themselves outside the Rackiewicz-Arciszewski camp, but who are averse to joining the camp of Polish democracy which is fighting the Hitlerites and building a new life. This group has never resolutely dissociated itself from the reactionary camp and, whatever its intentions may be, by its efforts to make it appear that a compromise is still possible it is only helping to strengthen this camp of political bankrupts.

The democratic public of the Allied countries unanimously endorsed the Crimea Agreement on the Polish question. They rightly regard it not only as a solution of the urgent problem of the future of much-suffering Poland, but also as striking proof that the Allied Great Powers, despite the hopes of their enemies, will succeed in settling their differences, even over the most complex questions, in a spirit of harmony and unanimity.

Characteristic of the opinions on the Crimea decision on the Polish question held by the reputable press of the democratic countries was the editorial in the London Times of February 27th, on the eve of the debate in the House of Commons on the Crimea Conference. Selecting the mildest expressions, the newspaper admits that if it were relevant to examine the legal credentials of the Polish exile government, they would certainly not be beyond challenge. It opportunely draws attention to the fact that experience, not only in Poland, but in other countries of liberated Europe as well, shows that the new Governments and new leaders thrown up after liberation are a necessary bulwark of a stable future administration. It goes on to say that, given these promises, it is difficult to see what decision is possible other than to reorganise the administration now working, however imperfectly, in Poland.

It is difficult not to agree with the Labour member Shinwell's estimate of the political complexion of those Members of Parliament who came out in opposition to the Crimea Conference and voted for the amendment that was moved to the resolution.

The strength of the Crimea Agreement is that it proceeds from the new situation created in Poland as a result of her liberation from German-Fascist slavery. The weakness of those who are trying to upset or pervert the Crimea decisions is that they proceed from old prejudices.

Attempts to place old prejudices above the actual state of affairs have never succeeded and never will. Naturally, anybody who confuses geography with politics and calls the Warsaw Provisional Government of Poland the "Lublin Committee," puts himself in a ridiculous position, for everybody knows that the now functioning Provisional Government to which the Crimea communiqué refers is the sole real authority recognised by the Polish people. In the controversy with the incorrigible advocates of the Munich policy in the House of Commons, it was convincingly argued that to ignore this fact may be only productive of harm.

At the Crimea Conference the leaders of the three Allied Powers—the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain—agreed that, by broadening the basis of the present Provisional Government of Poland, with which the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations at the present time, a new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be formed, which will be recognised by all the Allied Powers. This means that the Provisional Government now functioning in Warsaw, the Polish capital, must serve as the basis of the future Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

As for the London émigré government, no mention at all is made of it in the decisions of the Crimea Conference. This imposter government is ignored because it is utterly discredited in the eyes of the Polish people and is alien to the country, whereas the Provisional Government has acquired enormous prestige among the broad masses of Poland and has won the confidence and support of its people.

The democratic forces rallied around the Polish Provisional Government have always stood for broad national unity. They have striven and are still striving for such unity. They are fully determined to give effect to the Crimea Agreement regarding the broadening of the Provisional Government by the additional inclusion of democratic leaders both from Poland and from abroad, but the issue is precisely the inclusion of additional democratic leaders and not an attempt to galvanise into life again the political corpses of the bankrupt leaders of the utterly decayed camp of Polish reactionaries.

The Crimean decision on Poland is being so warmly hailed by the broad public of the democratic countries because it conforms to the general interests of the freedom-loving nations.

This is a guarantee that nobody will succeed in preventing the Crimea Agreement on Poland from being put into effect.

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## V. AFRICA

At the Second World Congress, Lenin developed the basic Comintern thesis on colonial questions (sec. C, exhibit No. 7). Subsequent congresses merely confirmed Lenin's original directives; for example, the Fifth World Congress (sec. C, exhibit No. 10). In 1928, the Sixth World Congress declared that Lenin's 1920 program was still the guiding line for Comintern work in the colonies.

In October of the latter year, the ECCI handed down a special directive with regard to Negroes all over the world. This first ECCI directive on the Negro question was amplified by a second resolution promulgated in October 1930.<sup>1</sup> One of the basic features of these two ECCI decisions on Negroes was the slogan of "self-determination" which grew out of Stalin's concept of a "nation."<sup>2</sup> In 1954, William Z. Foster had to concede that Stalin's program of self-determination

<sup>1</sup> William Z. Foster, *The Negro People in American History*, New York, International Publishers, 1954, pp. 461-462.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 463-478. For a detailed analysis of the slogan of self-determination, see William A. Nolan (St. Louis University), *Communism Versus the Negro*, Chicago, Regnery, 1951, chs. IV and V.

met with strenuous opposition on the part of American Negroes.<sup>3</sup> Back in 1928, the African Communist delegation to Moscow had rejected it to a man.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the fact that Padmore published his *Negro Toilers* in 1931, he tried very hard to evade the issue of self-determination of Negro "nations." Twelve years after he had been expelled from the Communist Party, Padmore eulogized Stalin as Lenin's continuator in expounding the Soviet strategy of self-determination.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, he rejected it as fantastic so far as American Negroes were concerned.<sup>6</sup>

It is interesting to note that, in 1949, Padmore cited "the testimony of an unimpeachable American authority, on the phenomenal cultural advantages which resulted from Soviet Russia's national program."<sup>7</sup> Shortly thereafter this American authority, William Mandel, took the fifth amendment rather than reply to testimony about his membership in the Communist Party.<sup>8</sup>

The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Toilers, which published Padmore's first book, was organized in 1930 as an affiliate of the Comintern RILU (this sec., exhibit No. 14). Its headquarters were located in Hamburg, Germany.<sup>9</sup>

Only after the Seventh World Congress permitted soft pedaling of Third (1928-34) Period tactics did African Communists make any notable progress. In 1942, their candidates received about 200,000 votes by running on the united front ticket of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions.<sup>10</sup>

After World War II, Dr. Max Yergan broke with the Council on Foreign Affairs (exhibit No. 75).<sup>11</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 72

[London, International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, 1931. George Padmore, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*. Pp. 5-7, 111-113, 121-126]

### INTRODUCTION

It has been estimated that there are about 250 million Negroes in the world. The vast majority of these people are workers and peasants. They are scattered throughout various geographical territories. The bulk of them, however, still live on the continent of Africa—the original home of the black race. They are, nevertheless, large populations of Negroes in the *New World*. For instance, there are about 15 millions in the United States, 10 millions in Brazil, 10 millions in the West Indies, and 5 to 7 millions in various Latin-American countries, such as Colombia, Honduras, Venezuela, Nicaragua, etc., etc.

The oppression of Negroes assumes two distinct forms: on the one hand they are oppressed as a class, and on the other as a nation. This national (race) oppression has its basis in the social-economic relation of the Negro under capitalism. National (race) oppression assumes its most pronounced forms in the *United States of America*, especially in the Black Belt of the Southern States, where lynching, peonage, Jim-Crowism, political disfranchisement and social ostracism is widespread; and in the *Union of South Africa*, where the blacks, who form the majority of the entire population, have been robbed of their lands and are segregated on Reserves, enslaved in Compounds, and subjected to the vilest forms of anti-labour and racial laws (Poll, Hut, Pass taxes) and colour bar system in industry.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 478, 557-559.

<sup>4</sup> Nolan, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> George Padmore, *How Russia Transformed Her Colonial Empire*, London, Dobson, 1946, pp. 37-39.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>7</sup> George Padmore, *Africa: Britain's Third Empire*, London, Dobson, 1949, p. 106.

<sup>8</sup> *Institute of Pacific Relations*. Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 82d Cong., 2d sess., Washington, 1952, p. 156.

<sup>9</sup> Wilson Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1951, p. 84.

<sup>10</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, p. 427.

<sup>11</sup> Record, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.

The general conditions under which Negroes live, either as a national (racial) group or as a class, form one of the most degrading spectacles of bourgeois civilisation.

Since the present crisis of world capitalism begun the economic, political and social status of the Negro toilers are becoming ever worse and worse. The reason for this is obvious: the imperialists, whether American, English, French, Belgian, etc., etc., are frantically trying to find a way out of their difficulties. In order to do so, they are not only intensifying the exploitation of the white workers in the various imperialists countries by launching an offensive through means of rationalisation, wage cuts, abolition of social insurance, unemployment, etc., but they are turning their attention more and more towards Africa and other black semi-colonies (Haiti, Liberia), which represent the last stronghold of world imperialism. In this way the bourgeoisie hope to unload the major burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the black colonial and semi-colonial masses.

Furthermore, as the majority of the Negro workers in the United States and the colonies are still largely unorganised, thanks to the treachery and betrayal of the *American Federation of Labour* and the so-called progressive Mustie group in the United States, the social-fascist labour bureaucrats of the *Amsterdam International*, the *II International*, and the black reformist trade union leaders (Kadalie and Champion in South Africa, Randolph and Croswaith in the United States), as well as the national reformist misleader, Marcus Garvey, the Negro toilers are experiencing great difficulties to-day in withstanding the ruthless offensive of the international imperialists. Despite these handicaps the Negro masses, goaded into desperation by the inhuman conditions forced upon them on the one hand, and inspired by the revolutionary movement on the other, are beginning to wake up and assume the counter-offensive against their oppressors.

We can already see the beginnings of a conscious effort on the part of these Negro masses to consolidate their fighting forces, and to bring them into closer contact with the advanced ranks of the international revolutionary proletariat, by the holding of a conference in *Hamburg, Germany*, in July, 1930.

This was the first *International Conference of Negro Workers* which had ever been convened. At this conference Negro delegates from different parts of Africa, the United States, West Indies and Latin America not only discussed trade union questions, but dealt with the most vital problems affecting their social and political conditions, as for example the expropriation of land by the imperialist robbers in Africa; the imposition of Head and Poll taxes; the enslaving of toilers through Pass laws and other anti-labour and racial legislation in Africa; lynching, peonage and segregation in the United States; as well as unemployment, which has thrown millions of these black toilers on the streets, faced with the spectre of starvation and death.

In view of the present world situation, it is necessary to describe the *Life and Struggles of the Negro Toilers*, so that the workers in the metropolitan countries under whose imperialism these masses live will be better able to make themselves acquainted with some of the methods which the capitalists of the "mother" countries adopt to enslave the black colonial and semi-colonial peoples. For

it is only by knowing these facts will the revolutionary working classes in Europe and America realise the danger ahead of them.

It is also necessary for the workers in the capitalist countries to understand that it is only through the exploiting of the colonial workers, from whose sweat and blood super-profits are extorted, that the imperialists are able to bribe the reformist and social-fascist trade union bureaucrats and thereby enable them to betray the struggles of the workers.

The purpose of this pamphlet is threefold:

(1) Briefly to set forth some of the conditions of life of the Negro workers and peasants in different parts of the world; and

(2) To enumerate some of the struggles which they have attempted to wage in order to free themselves from the yoke of imperialism; and

(3) To indicate in a general way the tasks of the proletariat in the advanced countries so that the millions of black toilers might be better prepared to carry on the struggles against their white imperialist oppressors and native (race) exploiters, and join forces with their white brothers against the common enemy—World Capitalism.

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### PART III

## CHAPTER V. BLACK SOLDIERS OF IMPERIALISM

### I.—THE WAR DANGER

There is imminent danger of another imperialist war and an armed attack of the capitalist states upon the Soviet Union. Plans for these were glaringly revealed during the trial of the counter-revolutionists in Moscow in December, 1930, and March, 1931. The anti-Soviet plotters confessed that they were the agents of the French imperialists in preparing for the intervention and destruction of the first workers' State. It is necessary to point out the economic and political reasons why war is being prepared, and the extent to which the imperialists are militarising their black colonial slaves for use when war begins.

In the first place, the present deep crisis of the world capitalist system signals a renewed attack against the already miserable existence of the Negro masses.

The crisis finds its reflection in the acute rivalry among the imperialist nations in their struggle for the re-division of the world, which must inevitably culminate in an imperialist war.

While the capitalist world is on the decline, the Soviet Union is developing and successfully building a Socialist Society. The workers, and peasants of the Soviet Union, after the victorious overthrow of the capitalist system in their country in 1917, have since become the fortress of the revolutionary workers throughout the world. The Soviet Union is the only country that knows no oppression, knows no exploitation, has no imperialist aims and supports the revolutionary liberation movements of the workers and toiling peasants of all countries as well as the emancipatory struggles of the Negro toiling masses for self-determination.

To the capitalist world engulfed in crisis the Soviet Union, which is successfully constructing its socialist industry on the basis of the great Five Year Plan and raising the cultural level and the economic

conditions of the more backward nationalities within its territory to higher level, has become the primary object of attack. Hence the bitter hatred of the imperialists to the Soviet Union which reveals itself in their campaigns of lies and slander about "religious persecution," "Soviet dumping," and "forced labour," all of which is being done for the purpose of creating animosity among the more backward sections of the workers in the capitalist countries, so that they could be mobilized as cannon fodder against the Soviet Union.

It is also important for every Negro toiler to note the increasing armament race going on now between the imperialist nations, while at the same time the imperialists are organising "disarmament conferences" in order to give the workers the belief that they are striving for peace. It must be distinctly understood that the result of each such conference was the further increase in the war budgets of the imperialist nations. (London Disarmament Conference.)

In connection with the war preparations, the practice of dividing the black and white workers, of pitting one against the other on grounds of race—a policy which is the mainstay of imperialist oppression—is now being intensified. The Hertzog Native Bills in South Africa, the new wave of lynching and mob violence now taking place in the United States against the Negroes, and organised by the imperialists, is aimed towards widening the artificial barrier between the black and the white workers, as well as the international working class as a whole.

In order to carry out their war plans, the capitalists are also preparing reserve *black armies*. The reason for this is obvious. The imperialists, especially the French, the leaders of the anti-Soviet military campaign, are afraid that their European armies, which are made up of workers, peasants and toiling youth, will refuse to execute the orders of the bourgeoisie to attack the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the working class. So, in order to guarantee the carrying out of their plans, the French imperialists are mobilising one of the largest black armies in Africa which could be brought to Europe and used as shock troops when the war begins. At the present moment these African troops are being freely used in suppressing colonial revolts both in Africa and in Asia, as well as strikes in France. Furthermore, in the event of a proletarian uprising in France or other European countries, black colonial troops will be utilised to crush the revolution instead of white soldiers.

During the period of the World War, over 200,000 African natives served in the French Army. The majority of these men were recruited under the direction of *Blaise Diagne*, a Senegalese Negro politician who was commissioned by Poincaré as the special representative of French imperialism in Africa during the war. Since then Diagne has been closely identified with the war plans of his imperialist masters, who in order to draw him still closer to them recently made him Assistant Minister for the Colonies in the Laval Government. This has been done to create the impression among the Negro petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals that the French imperialists are liberal, while their true aim is to use Diagne's prestige to carry on war preparations in the African colonies.

Despite the fact that the policy of militarising Negroes is most developed in the French colonies, it must be stated that all imperialist powers are also training black soldiers for future wars.

This applies especially to the United States, Great Britain and Belgium.

Although there is no compulsory military service in the United States, the Negro workers are nevertheless coerced by their employers to take up military training during the summer months in the Citizens' Military Training Camps. Those who fail to attend these military courses are dismissed from their jobs. Through this method of industrial terrorism, thousands of Negro youths are being trained to take their place in the trenches to fight for their capitalist exploiters. The capitalists are now appealing to the unemployed to join the army as a solution for the unemployed problem. This applies especially to the young workers.

Furthermore, the United States Government also provides for the training of reserve officers among the sons of the Negro bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie who attend certain colleges and universities. For example, *Howard University* in Washington, D. C. as well as *Hampton College*, in Virginia, receive money grants from the Federal Government and instructors from the War Department for preparing the Negro youth to lead the workers and peasants of their race to slaughter. All students are compelled to study military science for two years. Those who refuse are either expelled or denied the right of receiving their diplomas.

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## PART IV

### CHAPTER VI. REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES

#### I.—THE ROLE OF THE R. I. L. U. IN THE STRUGGLES OF THE NEGRO WORKERS

The Red International of Labour Unions (Profintern) celebrated its Tenth Anniversary in 1930. Having been organised in the very heat of the acute post-war economic and political crisis in the most important European countries, the Profintern came to be the militant revolutionary headquarters of the world trade union movement, rallying to its banner all the class-conscious proletarian elements of the whole world.

To-day the Profintern is in the thick of its struggle for winning over the working class. In spite of its fine successes in extending its influence the Profintern cannot yet say that it embraces the majority of the working class. The Profintern is still obliged to wage a relentless struggle for freeing the workers from the influence of the bourgeoisie, the reformists and anarcho-syndicalists. The greatest enemy of the Profintern in the struggle for influence over the working class is the International Trade Union Federation, the so-called Amsterdam International.

The Amsterdam International was organised one year prior to the Profintern. In spite of its high-sounding name of "International Federation," Amsterdam is, in the main, an association of European trade unions, owing to the fact that out of the 28 organisations affiliating with it 23 are in Europe and only 5 organisations are non-European. Besides, the Amsterdam International is a white chauvinist international. The Amsterdamites reflect the interests of the upper

strata of the working class in the imperialist countries, and look down upon the trade union movement of the colonial and coloured peoples. Amsterdam's first and most important task is to preserve and reinforce capitalism and imperialism, and to strengthen the position of the bourgeoisie by suppressing the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries and the national liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonial countries.

The Profintern is the first real International of Trade Unions, because the workers of all nationalities and races, regardless of colour or creed, have rallied to its banner. The Profintern has its sections in practically all countries in the world, in the form of independent trade unions and opposition groups and minorities inside the reformist trade unions. Besides these trade unions, which are organisationally connected with the Profintern, there are a whole number of trade union federations which adhere to the ideological leadership of the Profintern. Two very powerful organisations are among these—the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the Latin-American Confederation of Labour.

The Red International of Labour Unions is the first Trade Union International which furthered the development of the trade union movement among the colonial peoples, and succeeded in rallying a great part of them to its banner. It is the only international which conducts a consistent and permanent struggle against white chauvinism, for equal rights for the labour movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, for the correct solution of the national-race problem. This struggle has only just begun. The problem of national equality has not been sufficiently appraised even by many of the Profintern supporters, while in the ranks of those sections of the working class which still follow the reformist and the reactionary leadership the "race struggle" in most cases, we regret to say, overshadows the class struggle. The Profintern has, however, mapped out a correct line for solving the national-race problem. It has indicated the path for waging the struggle against race chauvinism, against all colour bars, for uniting the workers of all races and nations.

A very vivid example of the national-race policy of the Profintern is its fight for strengthening and extending the trade union movement among the Negro workers. The Negro workers are the most exploited, the most oppressed in the world. It was the fate of the Negro workers to pay the horrible tribute to slavery, which served to destroy millions upon millions of black toilers. The Negro workers even now are actually slave-bound to their white conquerors. Different forms of forced labour, peonage, expropriation of their lands, extraordinary laws and unbearably heavy taxes, lynchings, segregation, etc., etc., are up till now the fate of the Negro toiling masses languishing under the yoke of imperialism. Tens of thousands of Negro workers are still groaning under the lash of their enslavers.

The Negro workers, however, exploited and oppressed by the imperialists, have not received the necessary support of the organised labour movement. The white worker, in many cases even to-day, still regards the Negro as a pariah, and scornfully refuses to stretch out a helping hand to his black brother. Even in the ranks of the revolutionary workers numerous examples of white chauvinism can be recorded. A long and bitter struggle has been waged by the Profintern against this psychology of "white superiority." Day in

and day out, year after year, the Profintern has raised the Negro problem before its affiliated sections in the U. S. A., South Africa, England, France, Belgium, Portugal, etc., sharply condemning any and all manifestations of white chauvinism and underestimation of winning the black workers for the class struggle, pointing out the necessity of paying the most serious attention to the organisation of the Negro workers into revolutionary trade unions together with the white workers.

In order to strengthen and stimulate trade union activities among the Negro masses, the Profintern finally established a Negro Trade Union Committee composed of Negro workers from the United States, South, East, West and Equatorial Africa, the British and French West Indies and Latin America.

Since the establishment of the Committee, the Profintern has to some extent succeeded in overcoming white chauvinism in its ranks, and has corrected the mistakes of its American section, which formerly ignored work among the Negroes. The Profintern will continue its fight until it completely eradicates all traces of white chauvinism from its ranks and unites all workers—white, black, yellow, brown—in one revolutionary trade union movement.

## II.—WHAT MUST BE DONE?

In order to help the Profintern and its revolutionary trade union sections in the United States and South Africa to carry out the task of building up strong unions by strengthening the bonds of solidarity between the white and black workers, two things must be done.

(I) The class-conscious white workers must take the initiative of drawing the Negro workers into the revolutionary unions and the movement of the unemployed, guaranteeing to them every opportunity of actively participating the shaping the policies of the workers' organisations and leading the united front struggles of the working class against the offensive of the capitalists.

In this connection it is the special task of the revolutionary unions to bring the white workers into the struggle on behalf of the Negro demands. It must be borne in mind that the Negro masses will not be won for the revolutionary struggles until such time as the most conscious section of the white workers show, by action, that they are fighting with the Negroes against all racial discrimination and persecution. Every class-conscious worker must bear in mind that the age-long oppression of the colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers has given rise to a feeling of bitterness among the masses of the enslaved countries, as well as a feeling of distrust toward the oppressing nation in general and toward the proletariat of those nations. This point was particularly emphasised in the resolution of the Communist International on the Negro Question in U. S. A.

It is absolutely necessary to pursue this policy. No retreat before white chauvinism must be tolerated, for only by *deeds and not words* will we be able to dispel the distrust which the more backward sections of the Negro toiling masses have towards the whites, a suspicion which has developed among them as a result of the traditional policy of the white reformist trade union leaders (Green, Matthew Woll, John L. Lewis, etc.). These A. F. of L. fakers not only refuse to

organise the Negroes, but, when compelled to do so in order to safeguard the privileged position of the white labour aristocrats, invariably "Jim-Crow" the Negroes into separate unions and leave them at the mercy of the capitalists.

Furthermore, the white workers must realise that in the present condition of world capitalism one of the aims of the imperialists is to find a way out of their difficulties by using the Negro workers, especially in the colonies, to worsen the already low standard of the white workers. Because of this the struggles of the Negro workers against the capitalist offensive must be made part and parcel of the common struggle against imperialism.

The emancipation of the white workers from the yoke of capitalism can only be achieved by making a decisive break with all reformist tendencies, which are the ideologies of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the working class. They must come forward boldly in support of the programme of the Communist International and the R. I. L. U., which alone struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the liberation of the toiling masses of all races and colour.

The workers of the imperialist countries must not forget the memorable words of Marx that "labour in the white skin cannot free itself while labour in the black is enslaved."

(2) The Negro workers must also take a more active part in the revolutionary struggles of the working class as a whole. They must make a decisive break with all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reformist movements. They must not permit themselves to be misled by the "left" phrases of the American Negro petty-bourgeois reformists, such as Du Bois, Moton, Depriest, etc., etc., who are merely office-seekers and demagogues paid by the ruling class to befuddle the Negro masses in order to direct their attention away from revolutionary struggle into reformist channels.

The Negro workers must also conduct a more relentless struggle against the Negro trade union lackeys of the reformists, whose chief task is to betray the struggles of the Negroes on the economic front. This has been glaringly revealed both in the U. S. A. and in South Africa. For example, A. Phillip Randolph and his henchman, Frank Crosswaith, "leaders" of the Pullman Porters' Union and members of the Socialist Party, are the most outstanding examples of Negro reformists. Some years ago the Pullman Porters' Union was the biggest mass organisation among Negro workers, but thanks to the opportunist policies pursued by Randolph and his supporters the organisation is almost bankrupt. To-day it is largely a dues-paying organisation and sick and death benefit society, completely under the domination of the bureaucrats of the A. F. of L., whose last act of betrayal of the Negro workers was openly to sabotage their struggles against the Pullman Company in 1928.

The same rôle of treachery has been played by the Negro reformists and other mis-leaders in the Union of South Africa. The natives must therefore conduct a sharper struggle against the tactics of Kadalie and Champion, as well as Ballinger, the British I. L. P. leader, who are the chief disrupters and splitters of the working-class movement among the blacks.

These agents of Amsterdam can boast of an unparalleled record of betrayals of the struggles of the natives of South Africa. The most recent example of Kadalie's hypocrisy was during the railroad

strike in East London in 1930. After hundreds of native railroad workers downed tools and went out on strike Kadalie entered into a secret conference with the agents of the Government, who owned the railroads, and then appealed to the men to go back in order that they might get a few shillings to pay their dues from which Kadalie could secure his salary.

Again during the heroic struggles of the natives on Dingaan's Day (December 16th, 1930) Kadalie and Champion attempted to sabotage the demonstrations of the workers, who openly fought with the police for the right to protest against the vicious slave laws of the Hertzog's Government by burning their passes at monster mass meetings. Kadalie told the workers to be submissive and obey their oppressors. He promised to send a petition to Hertzog asking him to abolish the Pass laws, failing which he would call upon the workers to demonstrate in 1934. This shows the bankruptcy of Kadalie & Company.

The struggle against Garveyism represents one of the major tasks of the Negro toilers in America and the African and West Indian colonies.

Why must we struggle against Garveyism? As the "Programme of the Communist International" correctly states: "Garveyism is a dangerous ideology which bears not a single democratic trait, and which toys with the aristocratic attributes of a non-existent 'Negro kingdom'! It must be strongly resisted, for it is not a help but a hindrance to the mass Negro struggles for liberation against American imperialism."

Garvey is more than a dishonest demagogue who, taking advantage of the revolutionary wave of protest of the Negro toilers against imperialist oppression and exploitation, was able to crystallise a mass movement in America in the years immediately after the war. His dishonesty and fraudulent business schemes, such as the *Black Star Line*, through which he extorted millions and millions of dollars out of the sweat of the Negro working class, soon led to his imprisonment. After his release Garvey was deported back to Jamaica, his native country. Isolated from the main body of the organisation, Garvey has been unable to maintain his former autocratic control over the movement, as a result of which there has been a complete disintegration of the organisation, which is now under the control of a number of warring factional leaders. Garvey, who was formerly in the service of American imperialism, has now switched his allegiance to the British, who are utilising him in order to keep the Negro toilers in the British colonies under submission. With this object in view the imperial Government has permitted Garvey to open his headquarters in London.

Despite the bankruptcy of the Garvey movement the ideology of Garveyism, which is the most reactionary expression in Negro bourgeois nationalism, still continues to exert some influence among certain sections of the Negro masses. The black landlords and capitalists who support Garveyism are merely trying to mobilise the Negro workers and peasants to support them in establishing a Negro Republic in Africa, where they would be able to set themselves up as the rulers in order to continue the exploitation of the toilers of their race, free from white imperialist competition. In its class content Garveyism is alien to the interests of the Negro toilers. Like *Zionism* and *Gandhism*, it is merely out to utilise

racial and national consciousness for the purpose of promoting the class interests of the black bourgeoisie and landlords. In order to further their own aims, the leaders of Garveyism have attempted to utilise the same demagogic methods of appeal used by the leaders of Zionism. For example, they promise to "free" the black workers from all forms of oppression in reward for supporting the utopian programme of "Back to Africa," behind which slogan Garvey attempts to conceal the truly imperialist aims of the Negro bourgeoisie.

The Negro workers must not be deceived by the demagogic gestures of Garvey and his supporters. They must realise that the only way in which they can win their freedom and emancipation is by organising their forces millions strong, and in alliance with the class-conscious white workers in the imperialist countries, as well as the oppressed masses of China, India, Latin America and other colonial and semi-colonial countries, deliver a final blow to world imperialism.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 73

[*World News and Views*, September 18, 1943. P. 3031

#### TOWARDS LABOUR UNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By cable from Capetown)

The following official joint statement was issued on September 2nd:—

"Representatives of the National Executive Committee of the South African Labour Party and the Central Committee of the Communist Party met on September 1st in Johannesburg. A number of questions of vital moment for the workers of South Africa were considered. No definite decisions were reached, but after a friendly discussion it was agreed that the two parties would consider the possibilities of future co-operation on the points raised."

The statement of the Communist Party Central Committee of August 24th called for Labour unity and sharply criticised a dangerous reactionary tendency of the Union Government towards withdrawal from the war. After an analysis of the urgency of the Second Front and a Three-Power Conference, the statement declares:

"The sweeping election victory of the Government was the people's mandate for the Smuts Government to intensify efforts for victory. Instead, there is every sign that it is bent on slackening the effort. A Ministry of Demobilisation has been established. A new proclamation empowers the discharging of soldiers as 'surplus military requirements.' The food crisis is increasingly serious. Dominated by the big farmers and monopolists, the Government refuses to ration food and peg the prices. There is a grave trend towards segregation of non-Europeans."

The statement declares: "The creation of a firm alliance of the Labour and Communist Parties and the Trade Union movement, based on a common policy of the defense of the people's interests, can transform the whole situation and revitalise South Africa, check the swing towards reaction, and provide a great new people's effort for the Second Front."

Both Communist Party candidates were victorious in the Capetown municipal elections on September 6th. They are Sam Kahn and

Betty Radford, editor of the *Guardian*. They obtained a large majority for the Communist policy. Capetown is the second city in South Africa. The election result is expected to have an important effect on strengthening labour unity.

MICHAEL HARMEL.

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EXHIBIT No. 74

[*World News and Views*, November 13, 1943. pp. 366-367]

Voice of South Africa.

*The Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa recently issued an important statement of policy. It called for an immediate Second Front in Europe, called for the Three-Power Conference to be a renewed demonstration of unity between the allies, and then went on to put forward a policy for South Africa, following the recent elections.*

“In South Africa the Government’s sweeping election victory was more than an expression of the electorate’s support for the Government’s war policy. It was a mandate to the Government to intensify its efforts for victory over Fascism.

“Everywhere the deepest dissatisfaction has been expressed with the Government’s reactionary blundering handling of the food question, its appeasement of the Fifth Column, its shabby treatment of our soldiers. Yet the majority of the people voted solidly for the Government candidates, because they accepted the pledges of General Smuts that South Africa’s war contribution will be intensified.

“But, although fortified with a much-increased Parliamentary majority, the Government is taking no steps to carry out the mandate of the electorate. Instead, there is every sign that it is bent on slackening off in its war effort. While our Allies are battling desperately for victory, ‘a Ministry of Demobilisation’ has been established in South Africa. A recent Government order enables the military authorities to discharge any non-commissioned man or women from the Army, on the grounds that he or she is ‘surplus to Service requirements.’ And already there are reports that soldiers, especially non-Europeans, are being quietly dismissed, without employment being provided for them.

“The relaxation in our war effort is matched by a growing offensive of Big Business against the workers and non-European peoples within South Africa. The food question becomes increasingly serious every week, but the Government, apparently dominated by big farmers and food monopolists, refuses to ration and pin down the prices of the people’s food. A series of brutal evictions of Indian coloured people in the Transvaal, under the notorious Pegging Act, is followed by Smut’s disgraceful statement to the Dutch Reformed Church racialists, threatening renewed measures of industrial and residential segregation against non-Europeans. The important portfolio of Social Welfare has been taken away from the Labour Party representative, Walter Madeley.

“While these serious tendencies bring comfort to Hitler’s friends in this country, they are a menace to the people, especially to the

South African Labour movement. A great responsibility now rests on the leaders of that movement.

“The creation of a firm alliance of the Labour Party, the Communist Party and the Trade Union movement, based on a common policy of action for the defense of the people’s interests, can transform the whole situation. It can revitalise the whole of the progressive and democratic forces in South Africa, check the growing swing to reaction in home policy, and be the means of providing a great new people’s effort from South Africa for the Second Front.

“United, Labour can force a democratic solution to the food crisis, peg down the cost of living, and check inflation by increased taxation of profits. United, the workers can secure greater representation on all governing bodies, reverse reactionary segregation policies and achieve the extension of democratic rights to all South Africans, irrespective of colour.

*“This is the crucial period. What is at stake is not only the winning of the war, but the kind of peace that will follow. A real people’s victory—a victory that will bring liberation and democracy to all peoples—depends on the way the war is fought, and the degree of unity and organised strength now reached by the Labour movement, standing at the head of all progressive and democratic forces.*

“Forward to Unity for a People’s Victory!”

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#### EXHIBIT No. 75

[*World News and Views.* September 30, 1944. P. 316]

### NEW PERSPECTIVES IN AFRICA

By J. Shields

What is to be the position of Africa in world affairs? Its large colonial territories have for years been the object of sharp imperialist rivalries, and there is need for a decisive change in this respect if the world family of free and peace-loving nations is to become a reality.

It was to this aspect of the African question and to the outlining of ways and means whereby African progress and welfare can be promoted and advanced in the interest of world security, that an important Conference on Africa convened by the Council on African Affairs in New York in April this year, devoted its attention.

There participated in this conference Negro and white leaders of labour, civic, and women’s organisations in the United States of America, representatives of the church, education, and the press, and representatives of the peoples of British West Africa, the Caribbean and India. Representatives of Foreign Governments in attendance included the Consul General for Liberia, the Counsellor for the Belgian Congo Government, the Commissioner of Information for Belgium, a member of the Staff of the French Press and Information Service, and a member of the Staff of the New York Consulate of the Soviet Union. The conference was opened by Paul Robeson, world-famous son of the great Negro peoples.

Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director of the Council on African Affairs gave the main address. This covered four main points: 1 Increasing Africa’s contribution toward victory; 2. Settlement of

Jurisdictional problems; 3. Planning for post-war Africa; 4. Urgency of International Collaboration on behalf of dependent peoples.

Referring to the African's contribution to allied victory, he pointed out that while it has not been insignificant it has been made very largely in the face of harsh and wasteful labour practices, archaic productive methods, and barriers of every type, all of which characterise European domination of the African. He drew attention to the fact that under the excuse of war emergency, forced labour for mining and agricultural enterprises had been reintroduced in Kenya, Tanganyika, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Rhodesia.

Giving other instances of measures such as the colour bar, the pass systems, restrictions upon trade union recognition, etc., which hindered Africans from making their maximum potential contribution to victory, he declared that the U. S. Government and the American Labour movement working in cooperation with the British and other progressive Labour forces of the world, can and must aid the African people to become our full and equal ally in the struggle against fascism.

On the second point, the solution of territorial and jurisdictional problems, regarding which questions are being raised in many quarters concerning the future of the former Italian-African Empire, the African mandated areas, the sovereign status of Ethiopia and Liberia, and the projected regional grouping of African territories, Dr. Yergan stated that the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow and Teheran declarations with their guarantees of international justice and democracy, must be the instruments for solving these and other similar questions. The exigencies of war had been breaking down isolationist barriers between various colonies in Africa. This had made for economic progress, and in British West Africa, for example, a new outlook for the unification of African peoples.

The danger that these regional economic units might develop into instruments for furthering European domination can be avoided only by (a) making sure that the dependent peoples themselves, and not merely their governors, have a voice in making decisions in these regional councils, wherever formed; (b) that these regional bodies are subordinate and responsible to a world-embracing international authority which shall establish economic and political goals and enforce minimum labour and social standards for all dependent areas of the world.

On the question of planning for the social, economic and political progress of the African people, the Council's view, said Dr. Yergan, was that the future of Africa and of other colonial areas must be worked out on the plane of world-wide international agreements and action. He visualised an international agency comparable to the U. N. R. R. A.

This international agency, he said, could establish, in co-operation with the representatives of the peoples affected, labour, social and civil standards and rights for the indigenous population of every dependent territory. It would have the authority to hold the governments of such territories strictly accountable for the maintenance of these standards and rights.

The agency would have central responsibility for planning, financing (from a pool of public subsidy and private investment funds), and supervising the development of mass education, health services, housing, etc., together with industrial progress and general social

advancement in all dependent territories. It would guard against monopolistic restrictions and controls and would encourage public, co-operative and collective enterprise among the indigenous population.

The agency would have the further responsibility of certifying and guaranteeing self-government and the right of self-determination to the people of any dependent area, and of promoting development of all such peoples toward self-government according to a specific time schedule.

He believed that such an organisation could be set up despite British official reluctance and, if grounded in the people and with Africans in on the ground floor, it could help Africa to take its place in the new post-war world.

These ideas put forward by Dr. Yergan seem worth discussion in Africa and in this and other countries.

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## VI. MIDDLE EAST

Bolshevik interest in Middle Eastern affairs began very early. In September 1920, a conference held in the Transcaucasian city of Baku appealed to all Mohammedans to adopt the general Leninist line against "imperialist aggressors" (sec. B, exhibit No. 1, article 4).<sup>1</sup> In the uninterrupted Soviet strategy of inciting civil disorders in the Middle East, Marxist ideology has played only a minor role. This Communist "general line" has had but one major objective: get the Western powers expelled from the oil-rich lands adjacent to the U. S. S. R.<sup>2</sup> Toward this end, Soviet intrigue has encouraged the intensification, not only of legitimate patriotic aspirations, but also of economically disastrous personal, tribal, and national dissensions.

In the early years, the relatively weak Soviet Union could not afford to risk a full scale war with the West in order to obtain control of the Levantine oilfields. Consequently, OGPU activities were conducted on a limited scale.<sup>3</sup> In October 1944, however, the Soviet Government decided to undertake a major campaign with regard to Iran.<sup>4</sup> Fortunately for the peace of the world, the Red army forces were withdrawn in time to avert an extremely serious crisis in 1946.<sup>5</sup>

Establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 gave Stalin a safer opportunity for intervention than did Iran. It is generally agreed that military equipment flowed into Israel via the Soviet satellites and especially from Czechoslovakia.<sup>6</sup> Today the process has been reversed. Czechoslovakia now supplies Egypt with arms against Israel. But always the objective remains unchanged: let Arabs and Israelis kill one another until the moment is opportune for the U. S. S. R. to move in and expropriate the oilfields of the Middle East.<sup>7</sup>

The following exhibits show how little concern the U. S. S. R. really has for the welfare of the Levantine nations. In exhibit No. 79 for example, we are told that war can only aggravate economic disasters in Arab countries. But in exhibits No. 81, 83, and 84, which appeared after the Ukraine was invaded, the Arab countries were lectured against the dangers of remaining neutral.

In December 1939, the Communists were hopeful of exploiting cooperatives among Jews and Arabs along lines worked out by the Comintern many years earlier (this section, exhibit No. 24).

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 307. A brief history of Communist activities in the Near East can be found in *Strategy and Tactics of World Communism*, Supplement III B, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1949.

<sup>2</sup> Nejlá Izzedín, *The Arab World*, Chicago, Regnery, 1953, p. 372.

<sup>3</sup> Azabekov, *OGPU*, passim.

<sup>4</sup> Carman, *Soviet Imperialism*, p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, pp. 415-416.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Dunner, *The State of Israel; Its History and Its Promise*, New York, Whittlesey House, p. 130. Nabih Amin Faris and Mohammed Tawfik Husayn, *The Crescent in Crisis*, Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1955, pp. 103-104. Arthur Koestler, *Promise and Fulfillment; Palestine, 1917-49*, New York, Macmillan, 1949, pp. 300-301.

<sup>7</sup> For the latest Soviet strategy with regard to the Middle East, see David J. Dallin, *The Changing World of Soviet Russia*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1956, pp. 370-380.

## EXHIBIT No. 76

[*World News and Views*, April 1, 1939. Pps. 365-366]

## THE PRESENT STRUGGLE IN PALESTINE

By I. Renap (London)

Bloodshed and conflict continue to increase and become sharper in Palestine. On February 27, 91 Arabs were killed as a result of bomb explosions and in shooting outrages. Leaders of the fascist revisionists (extreme Right-wing of the Zionist movement), including one who had written a glowing biography of Mussolini, were arrested. Similar outrages took place last July in which many Arab lives were lost. Not only were these rabid anti-Arab Revisionists responsible, but the hand of Italian fascism was seen in that incident.

This recent bloodshed occurred amidst Arab rejoicing and demonstrations when the first news came through of the British Colonial Minister's plan for an independent Palestine. A number of Jews were killed during these demonstrations, while cries of "Palestine is ours—the Jews are our dogs" and "Long Live the Mufti—Death to the Jews" were heard. It is said that the bombs thrown at the Arabs were Jewish reprisals against Arab anti-Jew excesses.

On March 6 a lorry carrying Jewish settlers from Kouzoth Alonim was blown up by a land mine. Troops, assisted by blood-hounds, followed a trail from the scene of the explosion which led to the German Templar Settlement, Waldheim. The German Consul was sent for, while the troops awaited instructions before making a search.

According to a report in *Humanite*, a demonstration of Arabs took place outside the German Consulate in *Haifa*, "Heiling" and applauding Hitler.

These happenings are extremely serious. Anti-Jewish excesses were isolated and sporadic by-products of an anti-British Imperialist revolt (admitted as such even by the Zionist leaders) in the first eighteen months or so of the uprising. Now intercommunal conflicts of Arabs against Jews and Arabs against Arabs are tending to increase ("Peace Gangs" of young Arabs have been formed for the purpose of combating the Arab terrorist bands who are pro-Mufti). There is every indication that the fighting in Palestine has gone far beyond the bounds of Arab rebels fighting British troops. The alarming increase in inter-communal strife *is an indication that fascism, with its tactics of inflaming and intensifying existing communal antagonisms, is making big inroads into Palestine.*

The fascist offensive against the democracies is to-day the main enemy. Fascism in its search for strategic bases aims at entrenching itself in the colonial countries. This would mean an economic and strategic strengthening of fascism. It does this by gaining a foothold in the colonial liberation movements. Through its agents fascism pretends to support these colonial liberation movements. But actually it aims at using them for its war purposes. In order to gain a foothold and weaken the true liberation struggles fascism splits these colonial movements and diverts them from their true course. The success of these aims would mean a worse enslavement for the colonial peoples and a strengthening of fascism. Therefore, the *primary* struggle of the colonial peoples must be against fascism

and its agents in the colonial liberation movements, since the struggle of the colonial peoples for democratic rights, *which must still be carried on*, can only be successful if the splitting and diverting influence of fascist penetration is crushed. And every democratic freedom won by the colonial people is a strengthening of the progressive forces and a weakening of fascism.

The Arab struggle for democratic rights and independence is basically revolutionary and progressive. Its driving force comes from the workers and peasants and urban middle classes. Its present leaders are clerical, feudal, land-owning and bourgeois elements. Socially these elements are the most reactionary in Palestine and could never be regarded as those who would lead the liberation struggle to its final conclusion. In the past they have dampened down the struggle and have compromised with British imperialism. But the widespread and deep-seated character of the 1936 revolt against British imperialism drove these elements into leading the anti-imperialist struggle if they were to retain their hold on the Arab masses and deflect discontent away from themselves. In 1937 the *Peel Commission* proposed the partitioning of Palestine. In principle this was accepted by the British Government. This led to the revolt flaring up anew. Partition was uncompromisingly resisted by the Arab masses, led by the Arab Higher Committee. This opposition led to the forcible dissolution of the Arab Higher Committee by the Palestine administration. In so far as the Grand Mufti and his associates were still leading the fight against British imperialism by fighting partition, they were still fulfilling a progressive function. At that time there was little fascist influence in Palestine. The fascist offensive had not yet reached the present stage.

The beheading of the Arab liberation movement and the use of troops and repressive measures (as well as the Arab-Jewish antagonisms created by imperialist and Zionist policy) created favourable conditions for fascist influence to penetrate among the Arabs. While the arms captured from Arab rebels in the first year of the revolt were only fit for a museum, the weapons collected after the illegalising of the Arab Higher Committee were of German and Italian make. Fascist agents and "instructors" to the rebels were already busy in Palestine. On the one hand these agents were able to influence those rabidly chauvinistic Arab elements which led to increasing terror and attacks on Jews (the massacre of Jewish women and children in Tiberious last November); on the other hand these agents have contact with the fascist revisionists who have been responsible for atrocities against Arabs. *Conflicts between Arabs and Jews, and Arabs against Arabs have increased to an extent which has tended to divert and complicate the normal anti-imperialist struggle.*

The responsibility for this fascist influence and its impeding of the anti-imperialist struggle lies with the *Mufti* and his clique who have been receiving financial aid, arms and "instructors" from the fascists. By accepting fascist support which has polluted the Arab movement, the Mufti and his gang are undermining the Arab struggle for democratic rights and helping to strengthen fascism. The Mufti who was never to be trusted and who might once again have sold out to Britain has now sold out to the fascist axis instead.

On the other hand British imperialism which dominates Palestine also has its agents and allies. Its main ally is the Zionist leadership

which has as its aim the establishment of a Jewish majority in Palestine. Britain has used the Zionist movement as a buffer against the Arab aspirations for national independence. This has driven the Arabs into armed revolt.

The other ally of Britain is the group of "moderate" Arabs, the *Nashashibi* group, which represents that section of Arab landlords and capitalists who have become enriched by Zionist penetration under British rule through land sales to the Jews, and have, therefore, more than any other section of the Arabs, always sought the path of compromise with British imperialism and Zionist penetration. The Nashashibi group will betray the Arab struggle for independence at the earliest opportunity.

Thus the struggle in Palestine to-day, *viewed in the broad perspective of the present international situation with fascism advancing and gaining strategic bases at the expense of the democracies*, has ceased to be a struggle purely of the Arab masses against British imperialism and Zionist penetration. This struggle has now become complicated and influenced by the war aims of the fascist axis against the democracies at the cost of the peoples in Palestine.

The Arab people, supported by the progressive forces within Palestine Jewry, must wage an uncompromising struggle against the Mufti and his associates, who, in spite of his demands for Arab independence will sell the Arabs and all other peoples in Palestine to the fascist axis in return for services rendered. They must be exposed as fascist agents whose path can only lead to the exchange of the British taskmaster for the more oppressive one.

At the same time the Jews in Palestine and elsewhere must realise that the present Zionist leaders, with their policy of a Jewish majority, which is against the wishes of the Arabs, bear, with British imperialism, a considerable share of the responsibility for fascist penetration into Palestine, and thereby for the strengthening of world Jewry's enemy. To persist in this policy is objectively to assist in the undermining of Palestine Jewry, and Jewry the world over.

The menace of fascist penetration makes it imperative for the progressive forces among the Jews and Arabs in Palestine to come together for a unified struggle against the fascist axis and its agents in the Arab and Jewish camps. They must also, through democratically elected representatives, reach agreement on all the problems of Palestine, such as democratic government, immigration, agrarian reforms, land sales, etc. Such an agreement will erect a barrier to the penetration of fascism, while at the same time possibilities will be opened up of further Jewish immigration, not only into Palestine, but into the neighbouring Arab countries also (*Iraq* is prepared if agreement is reached, to accept 300,000 Jewish immigrants according to a report of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency).

The Palestine Conferences in London have not brought Arab-Jewish understanding. The Arabs have been fobbed off with a plan which will give Palestine independence in "instalments" over an interim period of 5 to 10 years. Thus Britain's grip will still be on Palestine. But this is a death-blow to Zionism. Britain, faced with fascist penetration among the Arabs, has openly repudiated the Balfour Declaration (i. e. the promise of creating a Jewish majority in Palestine) although she never had any real intention of fulfilling it.

Britain has, thereby, abandoned her Zionist tool in her attempt to placate the Arabs.

The dominant Zionist leadership with its "trust Britain" policy, stands exposed as being bankrupt. Therefore the Jews in Palestine must understand that they have nothing to gain and everything to lose by tying themselves to British imperialism instead of seeking an understanding with the Arabs.

Apart from such individuals as *Dr. Magnes* and *Norman Bentwich*, who have worked untiringly for an Arab-Jewish understanding, there is *S. Kaplanski*, a Zionist labour leader who has opposed the official Zionist line of co-operation with Britain, and has stood for negotiating a peace pact with the Arabs. The bringing together of these progressive Jewish elements with the progressive Arabs who desire peace and Arab-Jewish co-operation in a democratic Palestine, with the backing of Palestine Jewry, would help considerably in undermining the influence of the Mufti and his clique, an influence which the reactionary pro-imperialist and anti-Arab policy of the official Zionist leaders has done such a great deal to strengthen among the Arab workers and peasants.

That the Mufti is not synonymous with the Arab masses striving for democratic rights can be seen from an article in the *New York World* by *Raif N. Kuri*, a young Arab nationalist leader, who makes clear that the masses of Arabs in Palestine hate fascism and that all progressive Arabs stand for a democratic Palestine with a democratically elected *Arab-Jewish Government* settling the problems which confront Arabs and Jews alike.

Thus there exist on both sides progressive elements whom the world Labour and progressive movements must bring together on a common platform of struggle against fascism for a democratic Palestine. This task would be made easier if the present *Histadrut* policy of dividing Arab and Jewish workers were replaced by one of making the *Histadrut* the basis of a bi-national Labour movement in Palestine. The task of creating *Arab-Jewish workers' unity* would contribute greatly towards rallying together the progressive forces among Arabs and Jews in the spirit of world unity against fascism and for a free democratic Palestine with equal rights for all.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 77

[*World News and Views*, August 5, 1939. Pp. 864-865.]

#### THE REVISIONIST MENACE

By I. Rennap (London)

Since the issuance of the White Paper on May 18, and the British Government's intention to enforce it on Palestine, a progressive worsening of the situation has taken place in the country, particularly within the *Yishuv* (Palestine Jewish Community). To them the White Paper came like a thunderbolt. By repudiating the *Balfour Declaration* it has destroyed the long-cherished hope, held by many of them, of a future sovereign Jewish State in Palestine. The White Paper fixes the *Yishuv* as a permanent minority in Palestine. Thus, co-operation by the Zionist leaders with the Mandatory power for 20 years and relying on its promise of a Jewish National Home has been

rewarded with minority rights in Palestine, with the gates now being completely shut to further Jewish immigration (*Malcolm MacDonald*, the Colonial Secretary, has suspended the immigration quota for the next six months because of increased illegal Jewish immigration. This suspension may well be indefinitely suspended).

The economic situation is deteriorating, while the international situation is having its effect on the population. It is taken for granted that in the event of war by the aggressor powers, Palestine will be immediately attacked from the air by Italian planes. The increase in Jewish suffering in Europe and the exodus of swarms of Jewish refugees from Germany and what is called to-day Greater Germany, numbers of whom have come to Palestine in refugee ships only to be turned away, is having its effect on the Yishuv, so that there exists a feeling of anger, disillusionment and desperation. Never was there such bitter anti-Chamberlain feeling within the Yishuv. Even the pro-British Zionist leaders have been forced to come out sharply against the British Government.

But these leaders have no real policy in the present situation. Neither has there dawned upon them the necessity of genuinely attempting to seek an understanding with the Arabs. This, also, is responsible for the slowly creeping paralysis of despair and hopelessness within the Yishuv. All this, together with the present intensified feeling between Arabs and Jews, fostered by fascist agents, is creating within the Yishuv the feeling that its very existence is now in acute danger.

Thus the ground is being prepared for a new menace, *the menace of Jewish fascism in Palestine from the fascist Revisionists whose bloody provocation against Jews and Arabs may lead to a new and greater blood-bath in Palestine.*

Now that *Weizman's* policy of co-operation and trust in Britain's promises stands exposed as bankrupt, the *Revisionists* are reaping a rich harvest. The present Zionist leadership is being subjected to the most demagogic attacks. The White Paper, they say, has proven *Weizman* wrong; their policy of armed force against the Arabs and the British has proven to be correct. Their support is from the most politically backward elements within the Yishuv, who are inflamed by such slogans as smiting the Arabs hip and thigh, and an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, in reply to Arab attacks on Jews.

Acts of terror against Arabs by Revisionists grow daily; and feeling between Arabs and Jews becomes more and more inflamed. Recently a bomb thrown into an Arab market place in Haifa, which killed Arab women and children, evoked a spontaneous demonstration of Arab women outside the German Consulate, demanding Hitler's Protection. *In addition, Revisionist acts of terror against Histadrut (Jewish Trade Union Federation) workers and supporters have taken place on typical fascist lines.*

The dangerous hooliganism of these fascist Revisionists is being tacitly encouraged by the attitude of a section of the Histadrut leadership. This is the dominant section, led by *Ben Gurion*, which is seeking a "united front" with the Revisionists. To achieve this "unity," it is anxious to placate them in every way. These Histadrut leaders, in order to get Revisionist support for the protest demonstration against the White Paper of May 18, acceded to the Revisionist

demand that Red Banners and Left Zionist slogans should be forbidden at the demonstration, in spite of opposition to this demand by rank and file workers.

This encouraged the Revisionists to stage provocative marches behind slogans of "Down with Weizman—to the devil with the workers. Save us, Jabotinsky." On the eve of the demonstration they attempted to smash the *Beth Brenner* (a Histadrut Club). The protest demonstration itself ended in provocation and bloodshed (see *W.N.V.*, June 2), for which groups of young oriental Jews, under Revisionist influence, were responsible; while Jewish workers, carrying out the instructions of their leaders to avoid coming into conflict with the Revisionists, stood by helplessly, while these young hooligans beat up Jewish workers. Two workers on the *Davar* (organ of Histadrut) and *Errem*, a Leader of the Left *Poale Zion*, were taken to hospital. Even reactionary bourgeois Zionists were not spared. The Mayor of Tel Aviv, *I. Rokiach*, was also beaten up. In fact, the Revisionists tried to turn the demonstration of May 18 into a Revisionist "putsch" to control the Yishuv.

These atrocities are increasing. The authorities are not taking any firm steps to suppress them; and for good reasons. Anything which helps to split and divide the Yishuv is winked at by them, so that it becomes easier for the administration to enforce the White Paper.

In this dangerous situation the *C.P. of Palestine* is carrying on, through its illegal Press and in the people's organisations, an intensive activity. It has always exposed the role of British imperialism in Palestine, calling upon the Yishuv not to depend on treacherous imperialist promises and to reach a brotherly understanding with their Arab neighbours. The White Paper has vindicated the correctness of this attitude.

To-day it sharply emphasises the main dangers, the fascist menace from without and within, and the threat of war which would immediately embroil the Near East. To the Arabs, the C. P. of Palestine points out that the White Paper has given them certain limited concessions. True, they fall very far short of the maximum Arab demands. But the actual granting of these concessions means that the Arab revolt has achieved a certain measure of success. To-day the international situation is acute. Fascist influence is penetrating among the Colonial peoples, including the Arabs. This is a menace to the Arab movement for national freedom, as well as all other liberation movements. The Arabs, therefore, should concentrate in forcing the British Government to immediately fulfil the promises in respect of a constituent assembly and democratic government, made in the White Paper, and to demand further concessions which, if won, can be a step forward to progressive self-government and ultimate independence, and which can also benefit both peoples.

Within the Yishuv the C. P. is combining the dangerous slogans of the Revisionists for armed insurrection, exposing them as a positive menace to the Yishuv. While the C. P. of Palestine has its general programme of progressive democratic government, agrarian reforms, social legislation, etc., in the present world situation with the menace of fascism from without and within, it puts forward the *immediate* demand for a united front of Zionists and non-Zionists who are in favour of reaching an immediate understanding with the Arabs on a

programme of progressive democratic administration with equal rights for both Arabs and Jews, with the Yishuv being allowed to reach 40 per cent of the total population. It demands that those Zionist groups within the Yishuv who favour this programme (the *Brith Shalom*, led by *Dr. Magnes*, and progressive and Left groups in the Histadrut, *S. Kaplanski's* group in the Palestine Labour Party, *Hashomair Hazair* and *Left Poale Zion*) should form this united front and immediately work for a rapprochement with the Arabs.

Recognising the Revisionist menace to the Yishuv, and the Histadrut in particular, the Palestine Communists have warned the Yishuv against a new leadership to replace the old, in which Jabotinsky, the Revisionist "Fuehrer," would participate. For already in the American Jewish Press there have been hints that there is a move afoot to throw out Weizman and set up some triumvirate of *Ben Gurion*, *Jabotinsky*, and *Pinchas Rutenberg*, head of the Palestine Electric Corporation. Therefore, the C. P. of Palestine, in view of the grave danger of Revisionist terror increasing if Jabotinsky should participate in the Yishuv leadership, and the menace this would constitute to the Histadrut and any attempt for an Arab-Jewish rapprochement, has called upon every responsible individual in the Yishuv to *defend unitedly the Histadrut and fight against any attempt to establish a leadership which would include Jabotinsky*.

Thus the Palestine Communists, with the lead they give to both Arabs and Jews, and their striving for an Arab-Jewish understanding, have proven themselves to be the best friends of the Yishuv. Their increasing influence is reflected in the demand made by hitherto anti-Communist, Zionist circles for the legalisation of the C. P. of Palestine.

It is the duty of the world progressive movement, as well as all progressive Zionists, to help the Palestine C. P. in its work together with the progressive forces among Arabs and Jews, for achieving peace and brotherly relations between Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 78

[*World News and Views*, December 16, 1939. Pp. 1151-1152]

#### THE SITUATION IN PALESTINE AND THE NEAR EAST

By I. Rennap

Conditions in Palestine go from bad to worse. The citrus industry, the mainstay of Palestine's economy and on which are dependent tens of thousands of Arab and Jewish workers with their families, is in a state of chaos. As a result of the war, only half of the crop can be exported; while attempts to convert the remainder into by-products "afford only a slight palliative." The fruit must be picked, otherwise the trees will rot. So the Jewish growers have threatened a "picking strike" unless the bankers grant them cash advances to cover the cost of this work.

The banks can hardly do this when practically all the growers are unable to meet existing commitments . . . (the Jewish Telegraph

Agency of November 28 reports that "to-day there is hardly a citrus grower who is solvent.")

It is the workers who suffer most; for citrus offers the largest sphere of employment for both Jewish and Arab workers. Unemployment is shooting up, and strikes become more and more frequent. In Telaviv a number of "sit-in" strikes have been conducted.

The small trader and business man is also suffering, as well as the workers and peasants. The Jerusalem correspondent of the Jewish Times (November 23) writes that to stand outside the public buildings in Jerusalem is to see a continual stream of deputations of all kinds; deputations of small industrialists who have lost their export markets through the war and who are having their bank credits restricted; deputations of traders who have been hit by the crisis and who demand some kind of debt alleviation; deputations of unemployed and immigrants who cannot be absorbed; and so on.

But the economic crisis which has hit Palestine and the neighbouring countries as a result of the war is merely an aspect of important new developments in the Near East. The intrigues and negotiations recently carried on by the Palestine Arab leaders on the one hand and the British Government with its puppet Arab rulers on the other, indicate that British and French imperialism are doing their utmost to drag the Arab world into support of their war aims; while the support which the Zionist leaders are giving to the war aims of British imperialism makes abundantly clear that these leaders are attempting to repeat what they did in the last imperialist war, namely to drag in a section of world Jewry, with their aspirations for freedom from persecution, into the vortex of conflicting imperialist power politics.

Through its puppet Egyptian and Iraqi governments the British Government has brought pressure to bear on the Arab Higher Committee to swing them over into line with British war aims. The result of the negotiations between the Mufti's representative and the Egyptian and Iraqi Ministers is that the Mufti is making a bid "for reconciliation with the British Government and a return to Palestine" (from which he was expelled in 1937).

The Mufti had probably banked on Italy coming into the war on the side of Germany which would have brought the war into the Mediterranean. This would have given him the opportunity of leading a revolt against Britain and France with Axis support. But this prospect faded for the time being. Moreover, the Mufti appears to have been double-crossed by his former allies. A secret agreement existed between him and the Nazi government whereby the Mufti would be made the head of a united Palestine-Syrian state under the benevolent protection of the Third Reich. But it has been reported that Von Papen, Nazi ambassador to Turkey, "offered" the Turkish Government Palestine, Syria, the Mosul oil fields and even Iran in an attempt to woo Turkey away from the Allies.

The Mufti may have realised that he has backed the wrong horse, that on balance, in the present situation, he can get more from British imperialism. Hence the report that he is prepared to accept the White Paper, which the Arab Higher Committee rejected at the time of its issue. In so doing the Mufti and his clique become the tools of Britain and France, who seek to drag the Arabs of Palestine behind them to further their war aims in the Near East. Like the puppet

Arab kings these Palestine leaders have now degenerated into agents of the British government and are a danger to the Arab struggle for national liberation.

But Britain, even with the support of these Arab reactionaries, will not get Arab support so easily. The Arabs in the whole Near East have not forgotten the way the Palestine revolt was crushed. *Syria*, since the suppression of the Constitution and the ceding of the Sanjak of Alexandretta against the wishes of the Syrian nationalists, is still a hotbed of anti-imperialist feeling. And above everything the declaration of the Indian people who refuse to fight in an imperialist war, as well as the economic dislocation, will have big repercussions among the Arab peoples and give a tremendous impetus to the liberation movements.

It is within this setting of the second imperialist war and the perspectives thus opened up for impending revolutionary movements in the Near East that we must to-day consider the position of the Yishuv in Palestine. Is the line taken by *Weizman* of giving Zionist support to British war aims in the interests of the half-million Jews in Palestine, whose right to live their own national life in Palestine no progressive can deny?

*Weizman*, in pledging Zionist support to Britain, appears to have forgotten what "reward" British Imperialism gave the Zionist leaders for their services in the last war. After using *Weizman* for twenty years as a buffer against Arab national aspirations with the resultant bloodshed and conflict between the two peoples, British imperialism kicked Zionism aside when it became necessary to make some gesture of appeasement to the Arabs and when Zionism was no longer able to further the aims of British policy in Palestine.

This, in essence, was the policy formulated by the White Paper which aroused such a storm in the Jewish world. Never has there been expressed such anti-imperialist feeling. Yet to-day *Weizman* has placed the Yishuv on a war footing and at the service of Britain in the hope that this time Britain will truly be "grateful" and Palestine may yet become a Jewish state.

What does this mean objectively? In view of what has been said before, of the impending colonial movements in the Near East, *Weizman's* policy means that the Yishuv may become the gendarme of British reaction against the Arab struggle for national liberation. Already there is apprehension among the Arabs at the *Jewish Defence Force* raised by the Jewish Agency, and which they fear may be used against them to restore "law and order." Such a policy means the destruction of the Yishuv and all that it has created. This policy must be fought tooth and nail in the interests of the Yishuv and all Jews. Nothing could be more repugnant and dangerous to Jewry than a section of an oppressed people, like the Jews, being used as a tool to strangle the struggle for national liberation of another oppressed people in the interests of Britain's imperialist strategy.

But there are within the Yishuv more far-seeing and saner elements who realise what *Weizman's* policy may lead to. They realise that the Yishuv has everything to lose if a real understanding is not reached with the Arabs. Such an individual is *Khalvariski*, a veteran Zionist leader and an authority on Arab problems, who for years has opposed *Weizman's* policy and worked for an understanding with the

Arabs. In an interview with the correspondent of the *Jewish Times* (November 28) this Jewish leader declares that even now, in spite of the war, it is not yet too late to reach an understanding. He complains that the present Zionist leaders have admitted their past mistakes in respect of their Arab policy, but they still refuse to change it. He says further that loyalty to Britain and dependence on Britain's "gratitude" in return for services rendered, will bring the same results as those after the last war. There remains one task . . . *an immediate understanding with the Arabs.*

Among other constructive proposals he puts forward Arab-Jewish peasants' organisations and co-operatives to bring together the Jewish and Arab peasants to defend the common interests of peasants as a whole. He proposes that the Jewish Agency should set up credit institutions to render assistance to the Arab peasant so that he should be able to take advantage of the superior technique of the Jewish colonist. Particularly does he speak of the necessity of *joint Arab-Jewish workers' organisations.* These are only the outstanding proposals among others aimed at bringing the two peoples together. And he adds significantly that the actual cost of putting these proposals into operation are but a fraction of the cost of the damage sustained during the three years of unrest in Palestine.

Khalvariski's proposals might have come out of *Koel Haam* (Voice of the People), the organ of the illegal *Communist Party of Palestine*, which has always worked for Arab-Jewish friendship, whereby the economic and cultural advantages which the Arabs would gain from the Yishuv would guarantee a prosperous future for both peoples and open up prospects for any further Jewish settlement in Palestine.

Yet Khalvariski is not a communist. He is a Zionist, but different from the Weizmans in that he realises where Weizman's policy has led and is now leading the Yishuv, and is honest enough to put forward his own constructive alternative. In this he has the support of many more progressive elements within the Yishuv.

The Yishuv, as well as world Jewry, which should have the interests of half a million Jews in Palestine at heart, must make its choice: either the Weizman's recruiting sergeant policy which makes the Yishuv into an instrument turned against the Arab national movement, which in the course of the development of this imperialist war will shake the Near East, or the policy of the more far-sighted leaders like Khalvariski and others, which would lay the firm foundation of friendship and co-operation between the Arab and Jewish working people.

This would be the first step which would cement the future and security of the Yishuv with the cause of national freedom from imperialism and war for all the peoples of the Near East. For only within a free and liberated East is there a future for the Yishuv as well as those Jews in Eastern Europe who aspire to start life anew in that part of the world.

## EXHIBIT No. 79

[*World News and Views*, October 19, 1940. Pp. 591-592]

## THE WAR DRIVE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By I. Rennap

The Arab countries of the Middle East are spread over an area which contains some of the most decisive and key points in the struggle for world mastery that is now going on. There are oil wells in Iraq, Iran and Egypt. Egypt controls the Suez Canal and the sea-way to the East. Syria and Palestine control the land routes (both road and rail) to the East and to the Persian Gulf. Through Egypt lies the road to the Sudan to the strategic Red Sea and for an assault upon the East African Colonial Empire of Great Britain.

With the fall of France and the cessation of land warfare in Western Europe German Imperialism, now joined by its junior partner, Italy, in the struggle for the re-division of the world, has turned its attention seriously to the Middle East, to the oil fields, to the closing of the Mediterranean to British shipping and the seizure of the vital imperial communications. The capitalist press leaves no doubt as to the life and death importance of retaining British control in Egypt and the Middle East for the preservation of the Empire. Egypt is not another Somaliland, a stretch of sandy desert which was not worth defending.

With the prospect of the next stage of the war being fought out in the Arab countries, both sides are concentrating upon winning the support of the Arab peoples for their cause. An intense barrage of pro-British and pro-fascist propaganda is being unleashed upon the Moslem world. Since, however, imperialism by its very nature has little contact with, or appeal to, the masses, the imperialist propaganda mainly consists in utilising the various feudal leaders, chieftains, and religious notables to "issue a call" to the people. Along these lines Great Britain has succeeded in getting the Supreme Moslem Council in Palestine, the Grand Mufti of Egypt, and the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan to declare a "Holy War against Fascism." All have laid a curse on the Axis in the name of Allah and have exhorted all devout Moslems to rally to the support of Britain.

Fascist activity amongst the Arabs is increasing daily. A veritable army of fascist agents has descended upon Syria and literature in Arabic is being distributed everywhere. In Teheran (Iran) and in Iraq propaganda centres have been set up by Grobke, once German Minister to Iraq. The Axis, too, has its puppets, peddling around amongst the Arabs the "glory of Arab independence" under the "protection" of the Axis. Amanullah, ex-king of Afghanistan and an old enemy of the British, appears to be the latest recruit for the cause of the Axis, and it is reported that he is being sent to Africa by the Italians to rally Moslem support. Haj-amin-el Husseini, once Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, has also thrown in his lot with the Axis, thus reverting to the fascist pay-roll, which, on the outbreak of the war, he left in order to side with Anglo-French imperialism. After having exhorted the Arab world to support the Allies, it appears that now, after France's defeat and the changed situation in the

Mediterranean, he has returned to his old masters. The Italian broadcasting stations are calling upon the Arabs to follow his leadership in their struggle for liberation from British rule.

According to *The Times* of September 16, great importance is to be attached to the arrival of the Italian Armistice Commission in Syria, which aims at "securing the most effective possible disarmament of the French forces," but which will also take the opportunity of establishing an Italian base, air military and naval, against Britain. The Italians are demanding the surrender of the ". . . most recent types of French aircraft as well as the dismantling of all artillery and tanks."

The strategic importance of Syria in view of the battle for the oil and communications of the Middle East is beyond question. The Cairo press alleges that the Italians aim at establishing air bases in Syria which will be in easy raiding distance of the Kirkuk oil wells. All fascist internees have been released and Axis propaganda centres have been re-opened. The negotiations leading up to these developments have been conducted in great secrecy by M. Paux, High Commissioner of Syria, and the new Commander in Chief, General Fougère, both representatives of the Vichy Government.

Britain watches the Axis drive that is being made in Syria. For apart from the immediate threat to the oil wells of Iraq and Iran, an Italian base in Syria would facilitate the development of the campaign in Egypt and Palestine for the control of the Suez Canal. *The Times* accordingly condemns Italian colonial policy as "ruthless and violent," and asserts that "Arab nationalism would be speedily strangled if Syria, one of its strongholds, were to become a part of Mussolini's Roman Empire."

The dilemma of British imperialism lies in the fact that it desires to control, while inciting, the revolutionary movement for liberation in the colonial countries of the enemy. Not only are these movements uncontrollable by any imperialism, but in the Middle East the movement in Syria, for example, is inseparable from the Arab liberationist movement. Hence the threadbare expedient of calling for a Holy War against fascism; British imperialism does not propose to make the mistake, made in the last war, of professing to fight for the national independence of the Arab peoples.

*The Times* is merely deluding itself when it argues that, apart from anti-Axis feeling in Syria, the economic deterioration of the country will drive the people into support of De Gaulle and a link-up with the British Empire. For all the Arab countries equally are suffering from acute economic distress; and this distress will be increased when the war in the Middle East breaks out in full force. In Syria, it is true, there is now an acute shortage of foodstuffs and a danger of economic collapse. But the frantic attempts that have been made to negotiate trade agreements with the neighbouring Arab countries under British influence, have failed to achieve their end.

In Egypt, as in the other Middle East countries, conditions are going from bad to worse because of the war.

The Government changes simply reflect the deep uneasiness of the Egyptian masses at the prospect of the world war being fought out over their bodies. As regards their loyalty to Britain there is little to choose, as shown by *The Times* editorial of September 24,

between the Egyptian Premier Hasan Sabry Pasha and Ahméd Maher Pasha, leader of the Saadist Party who recently resigned from the Cabinet along with other Saadist ministers.

In Palestine economic conditions also are deteriorating. The future of the Citrus industry, the backbone of Palestine's economy, is not a bright one. Last season proved to be a disastrous one, exports being only 50 percent of the previous year; and the coming season shows no prospect of being any better since the fruit can no longer be sent along the old route through the Mediterranean, but has to travel all the way round the Cape of Good Hope. This extended journey makes refrigerator boats necessary, but they are not easily obtainable. The *Jewish Chronicle* gloomily asserts that, in view of the difficulties, even last year's "meagre showing" will not be attained.

Unemployment in Palestine, already wide-spread, will increase, for a large proportion of both Jewish and Arab workers are dependent upon the citrus industry. The Jews and the Arabs who have enlisted in the British forces have done so less in response to the chauvinist appeal of the Zionist and Arab leaders than out of sheer economic necessity.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 80

[*World News and Views*, June 14, 1941. Pp. 381-382]

#### THE POSITION IN PALESTINE

By I. Rennap

Palestine is fast becoming Britain's armed base in the Eastern Mediterranean. Large quantities of munitions and troops have been sent to Haifa; the frontier with Syria is strongly fortified.

Before 1914 Palestine, as Syria's southern province, was a backward semi-feudal country. The Arab population of 500,000 consisted mainly of poor peasants. Industrial development was extremely limited, except for soap making and quarrying. There was an upper class of wealthy landowning families.

The Jews numbered about 60,000, including the early Zionist settlers in agricultural settlements, citrus growers employing Jewish labourers. In the towns the Jews were mainly of the elderly, highly religious type who came to Palestine to spend their last days in prayer and devotion. Relations between Jews and Arabs were friendly.

When the last war began Britain had two strategic aims in the Middle East: first, to deal Turkey a knock-out blow; second to organise the Arab territories on a basis which would secure British lines of communication in the Eastern Mediterranean.

To achieve the first objective, negotiations were opened with Sherif Hussein, of Mecca, on behalf of the Arab nationalists. Britain promised that if the Arabs rebelled against their Turkish overlords, Britain would support the establishment of an independent Arab State. But the area which would comprise the sphere of Arab independence was left vague and undefined, and the Arabs took it for granted that Palestine would come into this sphere.

Britain, however, had other aims. After getting Arab support. Britain in 1917 gave a pledge to the Zionist leaders that in the event of an Allied victory, Palestine would be a Jewish National Home.

The pledge—the Balfour Declaration—was given to gain the support of world Jewry. Britain took upon herself the solemn task of restoring the Jews to their ancient homeland, and thus gained the Mandate over Palestine.

Behind this pious humbug the Balfour Declaration became an instrument of British rule in Palestine. When the Palestine Arabs demanded their national independence they were told that Palestine was meant to be excluded from the sphere of Arab “independence” and that anyway Britain had “obligations” to the Jews. And when the Zionist leaders demanded fulfilment of Britain’s promises they were told Britain had “obligations” to the Arabs and that actually they were promised a Jewish national home in Palestine but not Palestine as a Jewish national home.

Britain’s aim was to dominate Palestine. The position of the country was of vital strategic importance to Britain in the Middle East as a naval, air and military base. Haifa is today an important harbour for the British Fleet, and is also the western terminus of the pipe line which carries oil from the Mosul oilfields to the Fleet.

The method adopted by Britain was the familiar one of “divide and rule.” Britain used the sincere, but mistaken, aspirations of a section of Jewry (who believe in Palestine as a solution of the Jewish question) for a buffer and counterweight against the Arab movement, while at the same time creating a community, to defend Britain’s interests in Palestine.

The Jewish settlers came with the most sincere and honest intentions; the Zionist leaders consciously allowed their aspirations to be used as a weapon against the Arabs.

Because of the immaturity of the anti-imperialist movement in Palestine, the Arab tended to link up the innocent Jewish settler with British imperialist rule, and the reactionary aims of the Zionist leaders; to him it appeared that it was the Jewish immigrant who was responsible for his destitution. So the anti-imperialist revolts from 1920 till 1930 took the form of fierce massacre of the Jews. The two peoples were set at each others’ throats, with Britain playing the part of “impartial arbiter,” “keeping the peace” in Palestine between the two communities.

Since 1930, the political level of the movement became higher. In 1933, there were big demonstrations against increased Jewish immigration, but they were also definitely against the British Government. In the towns, the demonstrators avoided marching through the Jewish quarters.

The uprising in 1936 marked a higher stage of development. The six Arab parties united into the Arab Higher Committee which led the political general strike in support of a full-blooded programme for national independence. But, with the Fascist penetration into the Middle East, the movement, although basically progressive, was diverted and sidetracked because its leadership in the Arab Higher Committee became the agents of the Axis that was seeking to use the Arab movement to further its imperialist aims in the Middle East. British imperialism tried to “appease” these leaders, the Grand Mufti and his group, by tearing up the Balfour Declaration, drastically restricting Jewish immigration and land purchases, and confining the Jews to a perpetual minority in Palestine—but with little success.

The revolt had been crushed by the outbreak of war. Nevertheless, nearly 30,000 persons were flung into concentration camps and prisons for anti-imperialist activity. The most repressive measures have been used against Jews and Arabs known to be anti-imperialists. The Zionist leaders are busy recruiting Jews for armed service; while the pro-British Arab notables are equally busy recruiting Arabs for the same purpose.

### EGYPT WANTS NEUTRALITY

By Jim Crossley

In August, 1936, King Farouk of Egypt dismissed the Wafd Premier, Nahas Pasha, and his Cabinet, and appointed in their stead a Cabinet composed of his "Palace" supporters under the leadership of Ali Maher Pasha and Mahommed Mahmoud, regarded in Whitehall as "safe men for Britain." Once again the Government of Egypt reverted to a form of reactionary dictatorship such as has ruled the country, except for short intervals, for the past 15 years, ever since the British Government, by a display of armed force, compelled the resignation of Zaghlul Pasha and his Government.

The policy of the present Government is to safeguard the interests of the wealthy landowning and merchant classes, to bolster up the puppet king and to pay lip service to the British Government with whose interests they are definitely identified.

However, behind this false facade there is an overwhelming mass of Egyptian public opinion which is definitely opposed to being drawn into the world war, on the contrary, demanding the ending of British military and economic domination, complete freedom and independence and the introduction of wide working-class and peasant reforms. These demands are made vocal by the Wafd leaders who have rapidly recovered the confidence of the people during the past four years, after their disastrous defeat at the 1936 elections.

Immediately following the outbreak of the war, the Egyptian Cabinet placed the country under martial law, suppressed all freedom of speech and assembly and the right of the workers to strike, and established a rigid censorship of the press.

There have been three changes in the composition of the Cabinet since the outbreak of war, the latest one resulting in the appointment of the present Premier, Sirry Pasha. At the present moment the country is a huge British armed camp.

The general economic position of the country is desperate for, with the closing of the Mediterranean sea routes, Egypt was cut off from her Mid-European and Eastern markets and found herself with her cotton crop, which plays a vital part in Egyptian economy, left on her hands. Mr. Anthony Eden, during his recent Eastern tour, gave Sirry Pasha an undertaking that Britain would purchase £19 million worth of the present cotton crop spread over the coming 12 months. It can reasonably be assumed that this was done as an inducement to enlist closer collaboration of Egypt in Britain's war effort.

Symptomatic of the present attitude of the Egyptian people is the recent demand by Nahas Pasha in the Chamber that Britain should be asked to agree to total evacuation of Egypt at the end of the present war, and that there should be new elections held on a wide franchise to ensure the return of a popular Government.

More recent still was the decision of the Finance Committee of the Chamber requiring that all foreign firms in Egypt shall be compelled to employ 50 per cent Egyptians on their clerical staffs and 90 per cent manual workers, and to pay them 50 per cent and 90 per cent respectively of the total amount of wages allocated to each category of workers.

This temper of the Egyptian people is evidence of their extreme unwillingness to being drawn into the war, and their determination to end the reign of the British and other foreign industrial capitalists and bondholders who for the past 75 years have bled their country white and held them in intolerable bondage.

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### EXHIBIT No. 81

[*World News and Views*, February 21, 1942. P. 123]

### A REAL EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT

By I. Rennap

The recent Government crisis in Egypt has ended with the Wafdist leader, Nahas Pasha, becoming Prime Minister and forming a Wafdist Government. Parliamentary elections are to be held in the near future.

This is a great victory for the progressive forces in Egypt and a defeat for the Axis Powers, who have constantly sought to stir up trouble in Arab lands and who, in Egypt, have some sympathy amongst reactionary Court politicians and Palace landlords.

Egypt, in recent months, has experienced great economic difficulties. A large part of the 1940-1 cotton crop (purchased by Britain) has still to be exported. The Egyptian Government made only slight attempts last year to restrict the cotton acreage and increase the area sown for wheat production. This resulted in another large cotton crop this season, the bulk of which is still in the country; whilst there is a shortage of wheat and maize, as well as other essential foodstuffs. *The Times* Cairo correspondent reports that:

“There is a scarcity of cereals, sugar and certain other commodities, and prices have risen sharply” (November 7). Cost of living has also risen considerably “and is now more than 60 per cent above the pre-war level” (*Manchester Guardian*, 7/1/42). Three meatless days a week have been recently instituted.

Axis propaganda has played much on this, and partly it gave the pro-Fascist elements within the Palace clique their opportunity.

The previous Egyptian Government, under Sirry Pasha, had in recent months broken off relations with Italy, Hungary, Rumania and Japan, though it had not declared war on these countries. Moreover, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Egyptian Chamber of Deputies had also recommended to the Government that it establish diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. So the Government's recent break with Vichy was seized by Farouk as the pretext to oust the Sirry Government with the object of replacing it “by men more amenable to direct interference from the throne and, by implication, more open to the influence of those Powers whose hand can already be traced in his (Farouk's) own policy.” (*Manchester Guardian*, 5/2/1942.)

The king attempted to form another coalition Government, but failed. He was compelled to ask Nahas Pasha to do so. The warm reception which the British Press has given the new Wafdist Government indicates that here it is felt that only the Wafd is the most consistent anti-Axis element in Egypt. Moreover, Nahas has declared his adherence to the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936.

The Wafd is Egypt's Nationalist Party, representing the progressive bourgeoisie. In recent years it has also taken up some of the demands of the peasantry and workers. It has therefore the backing of the overwhelming majority of the Egyptian people. With Rommel's army advancing eastwards once again towards the Egyptian frontiers, it is of the utmost importance that the Egyptian Government should be a popular one which the Egyptian people feels that it can trust and whose anti-Fascist policy is seen as the direct expression of the interests of the people.

Together with the Anglo-Soviet Iranian Treaty and the proclamation of the independent Syrian and Lebanon Republics, the coming to power of the Wafd is another step forwards towards making the peoples of the Middle East our wholehearted allies. It has also an important lesson for India, where a popular government would transform the Far Eastern situation.

But the economic problems of the Egyptian people remain, and there is an obligation on us to help in their solution to provide wheat and to help build up industries which, besides giving greater employment, can add to the supplies of the armies of the Middle East.

The Axis propaganda and intrigues will not cease. Help from us to assist the Wafd in solving the many problems which now confront it is the positive way to counter these.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 82

[*World News and Views*, October 1, 1942. P. 326]

#### FROM ARAB COUNTRIES

“Our policy is the Arabian national policy. That is why we stand shoulder to shoulder with all freedom-loving peoples. We admit the courage of the French people, of the French working class and peasantry, the vanguard in the struggle against Hitlerite oppression, to whom General DeGaulle called in his May 1st appeal,” stated Khaled Bakdache, general secretary of the Communist Party in Syria, in a recent speech reported in the Syrian paper *Saut al Shaab*: “The name of Gabriel Peri, who well served the cause of the Arabs, will be remembered by every honest Arab. He who does not respect the liberation struggle of other people cannot be called a consistent fighter for liberation of his own country. The France of today is suffering and fighting against the enslavers. Therefore we support the struggle of the French people. They will be the best supporters of our aspirations for free, independent and happy Araba. We know that the victory of Democracy in this war will strengthen the position not of reactionaries, but that of free countries, friends of liberty, friends of the Arabs, and the peoples of Asia.”

An interview was given recently to the representative of the magazine *Medjelah* by Kamil Al Chadirchi, leader of the Progressive

Intellectuals in Iraq, and formerly Minister of Economy of the People's Government in 1936, formed by the Progressive Party "Jamiat Al Islah Shabi." "Our principle and doctrine is genuine democracy for the whole people," he said. "We are aspiring for a system which will guarantee the social security of the whole people. We must firmly remember that Fascism is a most reactionary movement aimed at depriving the peoples of the world of their rights, freedom and independence, and bringing the further development and progress of mankind to a standstill. Those in our country who are fighting Fascism must reveal this truth to the people, and expose the essence of Fascism as the chief means of depriving the people of civic and personal freedom, as a force directed towards the destruction of culture, ideology and the science of the peoples. Such work must be organized by means of propagating progressive and liberal principles which will afford the people of Iraq the possibility to draw a real comparison between Fascism and Democracy. All the Arab peoples and the people of Iraq in particular must know that every Nazi promise to the Arabs and other peoples is merely a means to bring about their aim—national enslavement and cruel exploitation. The granting of full freedom for the explanation of these facts to the masses will render easier the struggle against Fascism. Fascism will then be supported only by professional agents. By punishing them the government will uproot Fascism in the country."

The editorial in *Saut Al Shaab*, entitled "Great Demand of the Whole World—Second Front in Europe," declares: "The question of a Second Front becomes the central theme in all discussions in Syria and the Levant, and its opening is demanded not only by the peoples of England and the U.S.A., but also by the peoples of the Arabian countries. The Arabian masses know that the best defense of Egypt and the Arabian East is the development of battles on the coasts of France, Belgium and Holland, and the best defense of China and India is to hasten the annihilation of Hitler."

*(This is the first legal statement from the Communist Party of Syria since 1939.)*

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#### EXHIBIT No. 83

[*World News and Views*, October 17, 1942. P. 414]

#### ANTI-FASCIST UNITY IN PALESTINE

New moves have recently been made in Palestine for an Arab-Jewish rapprochement, as well as closer cooperation in Palestine's war effort. A new organisation, Ichud, has been formed by Dr. Mogres, Rector of the Hebrew University, with the object of bringing about this co-operation.

Dr. Mogres has a long record of working for an Arab-Jewish understanding. With him in this new body are outstanding veterans of the Zionist movement. Recently he approached Arab leaders and is now urging the need for an Arab-Jewish organisation in which members of both communities could co-operate for the benefit of both peoples.

In the present situation in the Middle East such a movement, backed by the Zionist leaders, would be a great help in winning over

the Palestine Arabs for the war effort, and in particular for enlistment in the British forces. For Arab enlistment is still relatively weak. The influence of the Mufti (under whose leadership the Arab Higher Committee degenerated into a tool of the Axis) is still strong among sections of the Palestine Arabs; the relative backwardness of the Arab movement in Palestine means that there is not amongst them the fullest understanding of the Anglo-Soviet alliance and its meaning for the Arab people. It is in this light that the new organisation must be appreciated and welcomed.

According to the *Jewish Chronicle*, September 18, Axis broadcasts to the Middle East have attacked Ichud, "warning" the Arabs against such moves and stressing that only the Mufti was the real "leader" of the Arab world.

These recent developments raise the important question of the legalisation of the Palestine Communist Party, which, under the most repressive conditions, has always supported the progressive elements within Palestine Jewry for an Arab-Jewish rapprochement. It is also campaigning among the Arabs, explaining to them the great historic significance of the Anglo-Soviet Alliance and the need for Arab unity against fascism in alliance with all peoples fighting fascism.

By doing this it is combating the evil influence of the Mufti. Just as the legalisation of the Indian Communist Party was a great step towards the building of anti-fascist unity in India, so today the raising of the ban on the Communist Party of Palestine would be of enormous importance towards establishing anti-fascist unity of Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 84

[*World News and Views*, September 18, 1943. P. 302]

#### TURKISH NEUTRALITY

By N. Vasilyev

(*From the Soviet fortnightly, "War and the Working Class"*)

Turkey is among the few countries which until now has not been directly affected by the military operations. But the war has already long since reached her borders.

Influenced by the danger threatening all European countries as a result of the aggressive actions of Germany and Italy, Turkey, in the spring of 1939, signed a declaration with England on mutual aid, in the event of an act of aggression which could lead to war in the Mediterranean. On October 19th, 1939, Turkey concluded a Mutual Assistance Pact in Ankara with France and Britain, then already at war with Germany.

Turkey was intended to take part in operations to cut short German and Italian aggression in the Mediterranean. According to the official Turkish point of view, Turkey as an ally of Britain and France, was not neutral, but merely temporarily "outside the war."

However, under the influence of military events in the spring and summer of 1940, Turkish foreign policy gradually began to turn towards neutrality. In March, 1941, Germany started a mass con-

centration of her troops on the territory of Bulgaria in preparation for the attack on Yugoslavia and Greece. But Turkey's tendency to remain outside the war did not change.

The logical development of this Turkish tactic which, judging from British comments, met with no objection on the part of Turkey's British ally, was that Turkey entered into a new phase of her foreign policy, characterised by rapprochement with fascist Germany.

Within four days of the attack on the Soviet Union, a Pact of Friendship and Non-aggression was concluded between Turkey and Germany.

For fascist Germany this pact, which helped her ensure her Balkan flank, was merely the last chain in her preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

For Turkey this pact meant that her foreign policy had to combine such contradictory aims as alliance with Britain and friendship with the U. S. S. R. with a policy of friendship towards Hitlerite Germany.

During the first few months following Germany's attack on the U. S. S. R. the whole Turkish press, in the name of this neutrality, published only the boastful despatches of the German Information Bureau about the victories and conquests of the Hitlerite invaders on Soviet territory.

Nobody hindered the circulation of the Hitlerite lies in the Turkish press. In observing this peculiar kind of neutrality, the Turkish press never published the Soviet despatches about the German-Soviet war and completely ignored the information coming from the Soviet Union.

Then there was also the disgraceful Ankara trial in connection with the so-called "attempt on the life" of Von Papen, the Nazi Ambassador to Turkey, in which two honest Soviet citizens, Pavlov and Kornilov, were put on trial together with two suspicious Turks and sentenced by a Turkish court, despite their innocence, to sixteen and a half years' imprisonment.

Both Turkish justice, and the Turkish press displayed their neutrality, in which they aimed to please the Hitlerite government, by turning the Ankara trial into a tribune for rabid anti-Soviet propaganda.

But the fact that certain circles of Turkey, in their desire to please Hitlerite Germany, tried to do this in a way that most suited their end is not especially important. What is important is the fact, that this case reflected the general trend of Turkish foreign policy, which guided the country along channels clearly favourable and sympathetic to Hitlerite Germany.

From the very outset the Turkish policy of neutrality has benefited Germany.

Even during the period when the German troops were scoring victories on the European continent and Germany did not particularly stand in need of Turkey's favour from the point of view of her principal strategic interest, Turkish neutrality, nevertheless, was valuable for Germany, mainly because it protected her Balkan flank and to some extent freed Germany from the need of scattering her forces.

At the same time it cannot be disputed that at the time Turkish neutrality played its positive role as far as the Allies are concerned, and could be regarded by them as corresponding to their interests at that stage of the war, inasmuch as Turkey's neutrality then barred the road leading to Egypt and Iran to the Hitlerite troops.

However, as the tide of war in the East began to turn against Germany particularly after Stalingrad and after the swift collapse of the German 1943 summer offensive, Turkish neutrality has acquired considerable value for Hitlerite Germany.

Turkish neutrality is becoming increasingly advantageous and necessary for Germany. Turkey has ensured the safety of the Balkan flank of the German armies and enables Germany to continue to hold a limited number of forces there, while concentrating the bulk of German troops on the Soviet-German front.

Germany clings to every possibility of postponing the moment of her final doom.

This moment could be hastened if Turkey were to emerge from her neutrality, which now favours Germany.

The Soviet public, of course, realises that it is the affair of Turkey herself to define the line of her foreign policy, but the Soviet public is closely following the present Turkish foreign policy, and examining the facts in order to define their attitude to this policy.

## VII. ASIA

### A. INDIA

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS), which published *The Pan-Pacific Worker*, was set up in 1927 as a subsidiary of the Comintern's Far Eastern Bureau.<sup>1</sup> Solomon Lozovsky, who afterward became Stalin's Commissar of Labor, attended the founding conference held in Hankow, China (sec. B, exhibit No. 38; this section, exhibit No. 15). At the Hankow conference, Earl Browder was appointed General Secretary of PPTUS.<sup>2</sup> Through the years, he received assistance from such leading comrades as Gerhart Eisler and Willi Muenzenberg (this section, exhibits Nos., 16, 18, and 93).<sup>3</sup>

The Orgwald book presents the Comintern Third Period line in question and answer form.<sup>4</sup> Its emphasis upon illegality combined with "legal" activity through infiltration of non-Communist organizations was characteristic of Communist literature in the early thirties (this section, exhibits Nos. 5-8, 42). Orgwald's advice about going slow with regard to religion accords with the strategy dictated by Lenin (sec. A, exhibit No. 11). In a country like India, infantile left-wing assaults upon religious customs were not likely to attract a mass following.

### EXHIBIT No. 85

[U. S. A., Pan-Pacific Worker, n. d. (probably 1933). Orgwald, *Tactical and Organizational Questions of the Communist Parties of India and Indo-China*. Pp. 5, 20-23, 29-31, 58-63, 77-81]

### CONTENTS

- Part I. Conversations with Indian Comrades.  
 The Independent Labor Party.  
 Current Questions.  
 Questions Concerning Party Organization.  
 On the Party Press.

<sup>1</sup> Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, *Shanghai Conspiracy*, New York, Dutton, 1952, pp. 302-303. General Willoughby's book is a popular presentation of his testimony given before this committee on August 22-23, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 276. Gitlow, *I Confess*, pp. 450-451.

<sup>3</sup> Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 263, 271, 287. Richard L-G. Deverall, *War*, Tokyo, 1955, pp. 251-252.

<sup>4</sup> M. R. Masani, *The Communist Party in India*, London, Verschoyle, 1954, outlines the history of Comintern activities in India. Masani broke with the Communists over the Russian purges of the late thirties.

The Relation Between the Party Organizations and Communist Fractions in the Trade Unions.

Questions Concerning the National Movement.

The Communist Attitude to the Workers' Parties and the Workers' and Peasants' Parties.

Questions of the Peasant Movement.

The Student Youth.

Work in the Army.

Religion.

The Fight Against Provocations.

Part II. Conversations with Indo-Chinese Comrades.

PART I. CONVERSATIONS WITH INDIAN COMRADES

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*Question 8.*—Who should be admitted to the Party? Is it necessary to know much about Communism before one is admitted to the Party?

*Answer.*—It is very difficult for me to answer this question. Usually it is required that a member of the Party should know the program, the principles of the Party, should be a member of a Party organization and work in that organization. The Communist Party of India has no program yet, it has not even firm principles of policy. Probably not all the leading Communists know the program, the rules and regulations of the Comintern and the most important decisions on India. It is obviously necessary to go by other standards. First of all it is necessary to admit comrades who are able to fight, who know how to fight and what to fight for; comrades who will not say things that are unnecessary, for we should bear in mind that the organization is illegal, at least it should be illegal, and the comrades should be prepared to bear sacrifices. Those who join the Party must be ready to execute all the instructions of the Party organizations and be prepared if necessary to go to prison.

Our comrades will say that too much is required from a member of the Party. In six months' time when Party organizations and a center to guide them will have been established, with a definite program and principles of policy of their own, it will be possible to open wider the gates for the admission of workers into the Party. But at present you must try to discover real leaders who could create the Party organizations, and therefore you must be very strict when accepting members into the Party.

However, when you will have formed your organizations, you can enlist those who really wish to fight for the working-class interests against the bourgeoisie and against landlordism and British imperialism. But it will be very difficult to recruit new members of the Party into the Party organizations before initiative groups are formed for the purpose of establishing local Party organizations. Not every new member of the Party can help in the carrying out of these tasks.

How should the work of recruiting into the Party proceed in the factories and mills? When groups (nuclei) consisting, let us say, of three persons, have been formed (I spoke of such groups previously), they can keep the active workers under observation, see how they work in the factory, watch whether they are not agents of the employers or of the Indian police, or have some relatives among them, whether they understand what is going on, whether they respond to the agitation and carry out one or other of the errands transmitted to them by the Party group through some of its members, and without having been told that the errand emanates from the Party group;

whether they know how to hold their tongue, whether they are able to learn, and so on. When the results of the observation on these points prove satisfactory, these workers may be accepted as members of the nucleus of the Party.

According to circumstances, different tests should be applied to members joining the Party. Particularly at the beginning you should not drive for quantity but for quality. When the skeleton of the organization is ready, then broaden out your organization.

*Question 9.*—How is an active Communist to behave in the case of a few Communist groups fighting each other?

*Answer.*—It is very difficult to answer this question. Sometimes it is better not to join either side but to establish contacts with both groups and carry on a unity campaign. Sometimes it is better to join the organization which is more closely connected with the masses and work inside that group for unity.

This unity should under no circumstances be carried out mechanically. It is necessary to study the ideology of these groups, their platforms, the principles that divide them, to analyze what they say and what they do, and so on. Under no circumstances should questions of principle be glossed over. It is better to unite adherents of both groups who hold correct views rather than unite all people indiscriminately. If, for instance, the smaller group, which is not connected with the masses, pursues a correct line while the second group, which is connected with the masses, follows a wrong line, it would be necessary to persuade the smaller group to join the larger group with the object of fighting there in order to rid the group of its incorrect ideology.

Thus the question, though simply put, is not so simple to answer. It is necessary to act in accordance with local conditions but there should be the greatest elasticity in the matter. One should not join a small group which is not connected with the masses and is isolated merely because it follows a good and correct line of policy. Unless one believes that one may succeed in persuading this group to unite with the other, to join this group would mean to condemn oneself to inactivity and to idle talk; one should go where there are masses even if these masses are under the influence of a group which follows a wrong line. This refers exclusively to Communist groups, but not to the existing reformist groups or the renegade group of Roy. Communists can have nothing to do with such groups.

*Question 10.*—If at some town the Communists work legally and are known to the police, how should an illegal organization be formed and generally how should the work be done so that our comrades may not get into the hands of the police? Generally, how should we do our work so as to avoid arrest and keep the leadership intact?

*Answer.*—As far as I know the conditions in India, it is necessary to build up illegal Communist organizations. For an illegal organization it is easier to work in the prevailing conditions in India, easier to move from one place to another and easier to meet because the police do not know all the comrades. And it is impossible for the police to shadow all the Indians. In so far as the activities of a good many of the comrades will not be known, there will be no very strict watch over them.

If so, is it necessary to throw out the comrades who work legally and are known to the police? Of course not. If in some big town a

good Communist is known to the police and he is left unmolested by them, he must leave that town. He should not work in a ward of a town where he is known. He should move in circles where he is unknown. He must go underground. The comrades that are most needed must be transferred to the underground.

If a comrade is not one of those who are needed most, he may remain in his legal position and in this case it is necessary to give him some legal work, such as the publishing of a legal paper, or work in the legally existing trade unions, and so on. It is necessary to watch his work and control him. How is this to be done? It is necessary as far as possible to avoid taking him to meetings of the organization. It is better to instruct some member of the committee to keep in touch with this comrade. Any comrade who knows his bearings more or less could be charged with this task and meet the comrade in such places as would not draw attention. (If, for instance, the comrade in question has some small business, one could come to him as a client at a time when nobody is there. While buying something he could have a talk with him.) Generally ways and means of meeting such a comrade will be found.

In towns it is necessary to give European quarters a wide berth. It is necessary not to be prominent and always keep to places where there are many Indians. It is better to live in Indian quarters among the Indian population and if necessary to sleep out in the street at night together with the workers. This is not very pleasant, but it cannot be helped. It is necessary to bear in mind that the less Communists are distinguished from the other Indians who live there, the better it will be for their work, the easier for them to carry out their task and the more difficult for the police to watch them, and therefore it will be much easier for the comrades to avoid arrest. Even if the police are after them, if they live in Indian wards they will not only manage to hide themselves but will even get assistance from their neighbors and, in extreme cases, they will even be liberated by these neighbors from the hands of the police.

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### On the Party Press

*Question 19.*—How should an illegal paper be organized, what shall we do in places where the population speaks something like ten languages? Shall we publish the paper in one center or rather send the articles to the provinces to have them reprinted there? How shall we organize the editorial board of such a paper? If we have no possibility of publishing more than one paper, should we issue an illegal paper or a legal one?

*Answer.*—I think it is necessary for you first of all to make up your mind as to whom exactly you are going to influence by your paper. At first you should publish a paper for the workers of the large factories and mills. Then, when the Communist forces increase and the connections with the workers, who speak other languages, widen out, it will be necessary to try and translate the paper and have it published also in other languages. The paper should be published in the language spoken by the overwhelming majority of the workers of the given industrial town or province. Leaflets should be published for those workers who speak a language in which a paper could not be

published owing to language difficulties. The work should always be arranged in accordance with the available forces. It should be borne in mind that by publishing a paper for the bulk of the workers, the Party organization and the Communist groups will gradually extend their influence and their connections among them, and through them the Communists will most certainly have the possibility of getting in touch with the workers who speak other languages.

As to the composition of the editorial board, it should be formed of persons who know the respective language and environment which the given paper is to serve. That does not necessarily mean that the editorial board must consist of persons of the given nationality. But what is necessary is that on the editorial board should be those comrades who know that language and are able to write in that language; this will avoid the need for translations, which take up an enormous amount of time. It is necessary to watch that the paper contains articles which explain to the workers in a popular language every important fact and every event. This is particularly necessary when it is intended to organize a demonstration, a strike or similar action. Should it be impossible to find an adequate number of comrades who can write in the language in which it is decided to publish the paper, it will be necessary to put on the editorial board comrades who do not know the respective languages and in that case it will be necessary to have the articles translated.

Now the question is what paper should be published first, an illegal or legal one. An illegal paper may be published at a very small expense. It would require the help of a few comrades only. Such a paper could be printed in a very primitive fashion. The comrade who writes for the paper could print it too. Apart from this, illegal papers have the advantage that one can write in them anything one wishes without fearing that they may be suppressed by the police or by the government.

Nevertheless it is necessary to publish a legal paper if the necessary forces are available. A legally published paper requires greater forces. Nobody will read a legally published paper if it is badly printed. It must be printed well. The reading matter must be written very cautiously, so that the paper is not confiscated. A legally published paper can get a large circulation. It can pay its way, and, what is of chief importance, a legally published paper can maintain a much bigger staff of writers and correspondents than an illegal paper. Such a paper creates and trains a greater body of active workers than an illegal paper, because it is read by a much greater number of workers.

It is very difficult for me to answer the question as to what is preferable—an illegal or legal paper. One cannot be substituted for the other. Each has its positive and negative sides. An illegal paper cannot have as wide a circulation as a legal one, an illegal paper carries with it a certain risk for the comrades who read it. In a legally published paper one cannot write about all the things one considers essential. The best is to have both an illegal and legal paper, but if there are not sufficient forces for both papers it is best to organize the paper which the Party organization can bring out with the available forces.

The Central Organ of the Party must be illegal anyhow. If the Party is illegal, it must speak all it thinks through its Central Organ.

This, however, does not mean that the Central Committee may not publish another paper legally, which will not call itself the Party Organ.

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*Question 45.*—What was the part played by the student youth in Russia, what is to be done with the student youth in India, and what forms should the work among them assume?

*Answer.*—The part played by the students' organizations in Russia was different at different times. In the period prior to 1905, the students in Russia played a great role. In February–March 1902, the student youth developed great revolutionary activity. This was to be explained by the fact that up to 1905 the autocracy in Russia based itself mainly upon the landlords. Even the bourgeoisie was dissatisfied with czarism. This, of course, had its reflection upon the youth, and in particular upon the student youth, which was concentrated in big numbers in the universities. Furthermore, the reaction was so oppressive that the students could not obtain in the universities what they desired. They were not permitted to listen to lectures of liberal professors who could impart some knowledge to them. They were not allowed to listen to the lectures of professors who were masters of their subjects, even if the subject had nothing to do with politics, because the government would dismiss professors from their chair for belonging, say, to the liberals. The students were not allowed to read the books they wished to, and they were arrested like the workers for reading prohibited books.

This situation gave the opportunity to the revolutionary elements among the students to call upon their fellow students to take part in manifestations directed against the government, and in many cases their appeals met with success. The arrests among the students forced the latter to resort to sharper methods of fight, including street demonstrations. In punishment they were handed over to the military authorities to serve in the army as common soldiers. They were thrown into prison. There they came in touch with the political prisoners, and in consequence a good many of these students joined the revolutionary and socialist parties.

The Bolshevik Party formed fractions composed of student social-democratic elements in the universities and high schools (until the October Revolution the Russian Communists called themselves Social-Democratic Bolsheviks), and utilized the best of them in the work of conducting workers' self-education circles and even Social-Democratic circles. A good many of the students were members of Social-Democratic committees. Some would be sent to meetings, and those who could not be used as speakers would be given technical work, such as printing and distributing literature and collecting money. The Party would make use of the living quarters of these students for Party purposes, such as trysts, etc. This was prior to 1905.

Already in the course of the revolution of 1905 and in the following years, when even the liberal bourgeoisie, after it had obtained a semblance of parliamentarism, had virtually gone over to the side of czarism, the mass of the student youth left the revolutionary movement. Only those of the social-democratic elements remained who were really connected with the revolutionary working-class

movement. After February 1917, and during the October Revolution, the great bulk of the students opposed with arms the working class and the revolution.

The situation in India resembles the situation which the Bolsheviks had in Russia before 1905. The independence movement seized upon the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, and even upon a section of the bourgeoisie itself, that section which manufactures goods that have to compete with British goods, and is discontented with the existing regime. The petty bourgeoisie took part in the movement of the National Congress, and sometimes figured even as the advance guard of the National Congress. The students in India now play approximately the same part as that played by the students in Russia prior to 1905. The Communist Party can look for followers among them. It can utilize them just as the Bolshevik Party did in Russia before 1905, but under no circumstances should it draw them into the Party on a large scale.

This does not mean that particular elements might not be admitted to the Party and even to the leading organs of the Party, but that may be done only after they have been tested for a certain time by actual work and after they have proved that they are really imbued with Communist ideology, and that they are capable of making sacrifices for the Communist Party. They can be admitted to the Party then, and even given responsible work.

*Question 46.*—If a comrade arrives illegally at some place where there is a student organization, and without any further ado he starts off with a speech, and there is a danger of his being arrested before he gains any influence, what should be done, how should the propaganda be carried on under these conditions?

*Answer.*—First of all, nobody demands that when a comrade comes to a town and happens to be at a students' meeting, that he should immediately start off with a speech. One must know where this is happening and why this meeting was called, what groupings there are among the students, etc. It is obvious that first of all it is necessary to become acquainted with all these details and only then one may make a speech. When the comrade has found out what is going on, he will surely find some revolutionary elements, who sympathize with the Communists, with whom he could discuss his speech.

It is not even a question about the speech, but about rallying the best elements around him. Sometimes one could put into the mouth of somebody else who is well known to the masses things one wants him to say, without his even noticing it. This may have a greater effect than if the comrade, whom nobody in the audience knows, is to make the speech himself.

Propaganda and agitation should be carried on with a knowledge of the environment, with a knowledge of the questions which interest the masses involved, with a knowledge of the questions the urgency of which is most keenly felt by the masses. From these questions one can pass on to general political subjects, and even to specific points in the program of the Communist Party.

### Work in the Army

*Question 47.*—What are the best methods of working in the mixed army in India? For instance, in some brigade there is a battalion of Punjab-Mussulmans, a battalion of Jats, a battalion of Dogras, and

a British battalion. All these battalions are billeted in the provinces, where the population speaks a language different from those of the four battalions. What should be done if there are revolutionary groups in these units, groups that speak a different language from the one spoken by the regional committee, how should the work be co-ordinated, with whom should it be linked up and generally how should the work of agitation and organization be carried on among these soldiers?

*Answer.*—I will begin with the end. First, they should not be connected with anybody. The army organization must be organized absolutely separately. If they are united, let us say, with the workers' and peasants' organization in the given locality, they will end by both of them falling into the hands of the police. To combine a military organization with a workers' organization is bad for the one and the other. In order to reduce the risk, it is necessary that the organization of the soldiers be kept quite separate from the local organization of workers or peasants. A special representative of the local committee, who is in charge of military work, should be connected with the military organization.

How should the work be carried on here? Obviously the Party organization will have to get comrades from the place where the soldiers come from or find comrades who command the languages spoken by these soldiers, so that connections may be established with them.

I believe this is possible. In Czarist Russia, too, there were 110 nationalities. There, in a like manner, the soldiers who spoke Polish would not be billeted in Poland but somewhere in the Caucasus, while the Caucasians would be transferred to Poland. Still, it was very easy to find people who were able to work among these soldiers. This presented no particular difficulty. Even in the localities where these soldiers are stationed, one may find workingmen who can speak some language spoken by these soldiers.

With a knack for work and a desire to work one could always find some people who will work among these soldiers.

In 1919–21, fourteen governments took part in the intervention against the Soviet Union, and their armies represented a great variety of nationalities. Nevertheless, the Russian Bolsheviks succeeded in getting people who spoke the languages of these armies to work among them. I do not at all compare the conditions prevailing in India with those which existed in the Soviet Union at the time of the intervention. In the Soviet Union everything was in the hands of the working class, which had at its disposal some resources, however limited. However, the work in the interventionist armies had to be carried on not on Soviet territory, but on territories occupied by the interventionists. This was, of course, difficult. Everyone caught working in the army was shot, nevertheless the work went on. Provided there is a will and a knack for work these difficulties will be surmounted. If the Party organization is efficient and has many connections among the working class it will not find it difficult to get people sent to it from the provinces from which these soldiers came, people who know the necessary languages and know how to work among the soldiers.

*Question 48.*—What should be our task among the British troops?

*Answer*—I think that when the Party grows strong it will have a greater influence upon the masses, and will be able to give more leadership to them. Then the soldiers of the British army will themselves try to establish contacts with the Communist Party. Among the British soldiers there are members of trade unions, many workers, etc. But so long as the Communist Party is very weak, it will hardly be possible for our Indian comrades to organize the work in the army units of the British. This will have to be done by Englishmen.

### Religion

*Question 49.*—How should we fight in India against the multitude of religions?

*Answer.*—It is, of course, necessary to fight religion in India, but I think we have more important tasks now. It is necessary to organize trade unions, Party organizations, to turn the trade unions into mass organizations, and, by increasing the influence of the Communist Party in the mass labor organizations and the influence of the latter over the broad masses, to fight religion. But to commence fighting religion now means to commence a fight with all the religions existing in India since Communists cannot remain neutral to any religion; then the Communists may find themselves alone and completely isolated from the masses. Therefore at the moment the question of religion is not a pressing question. In the first place it is necessary to strengthen the influence of Party members over the members of trade unions, over the members of the mass labor organizations, over the members of those organizations which are close to the Communists, and only then try in a scientific and popular way to free at least the active body of workers from the religious narcotic, and through them to influence the broader sections of the masses. I repeat, this question is not on the order of the day. So far the Communists in India have neither a strong centralized party nor consolidated trade unions, nor big mass organizations. They do not possess sufficient influence among the working class, nor is their influence among the peasants sufficient, and so it will be necessary to wait with the fight against religion. Certainly we must explain that the so-called Hindo-moslem strife is in the interests of British imperialism, landlords and reactionaries, and is instigated by them in order to divide the ranks of the toiling masses.

*Question 50.*—What are our tasks in workers' religious organizations?

*Answer.*—What organizations are they? Are they founded exclusively on a religious basis, and only for religious purposes? I doubt that a workers' society could be formed for specifically religious purposes on a religious basis. For that purpose there are special workers' temples, mosques, etc. Obviously, apart from religious questions, these workers' religious organizations occupy themselves with some other questions, such as mutual aid benefits, benefits in case of death of some members of the family, or some other economic questions which unite the members of this organization.

If the workers' organization is formed exclusively for religious purposes, it is necessary to join it in order to try and make it take up the economic struggles, and at first religion should not be touched. The organization should be urged to form a mutual aid fund, a fund

for unemployment, a fund for assistance during strikes. Work there should be carried on very cautiously. I do not think the workers will decline the advice to form various benefit funds. It is necessary in this way to win these organizations.

But if these organizations are of a mixed nature, *i. e.*, both religious and economic, it will be necessary to join them, and work in them. Possibly it may be very difficult to win the workers of these organizations, but they must be won, because British imperialism is using religion as czarist Russia did, for the purpose of fomenting and stirring up dissensions among the different nationalities. In Russia this was practiced in respect to the Turkomans, Armenians, Poles, Jews, etc. British imperialism employs the same methods in India. It incites the followers of one religion against those of the other. There is a special organization of Moslems. This hinders the joint struggle of the workers.

The Communists must endeavor to destroy such organizations from within. But they should not begin with religion; let them at first start with economic and political questions, with economic interests that affect the masses directly and point out to them the necessity of forming trade unions jointly with other workers for a united struggle against their common enemy who is to be found in all religious denominations. After the Communists have succeeded in forming an organization uniting workers of various religious denominations, they will have to start very cautiously a fight against all religions.

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## PART II. CONVERSATIONS WITH INDO-CHINESE COMRADES

*Question 8.*—Is it possible to form the Party center outside of the country?

*Answer.*—Given suitable conditions, this is possible, but such a center will hardly be able to guide the movement successfully from abroad. Any Party center abroad must necessarily have some base inside the country, some internal Central Committee, some secretariat of the Party, or at least, some representative of the Party center abroad. According to circumstances, groups of comrades could be concentrated abroad, and from among them a Bureau may be established abroad. It could perform the following duties: publish the central organ of the Party, the theoretical organ of the Party, pamphlets, send workers to the country and pass decisions upon the most important questions which the comrades working in the country would carry out as if they were decisions of the Central Committee. But it could also be arranged in this way. The Bureau abroad is limited in its functions; it publishes the central organ of the Party, the theoretical organ of the Party, writes pamphlets, collects money, works among the emigrants, sends comrades to the country, works on the re-establishment of the Central Committee, if and when the latter is arrested, but all decisions on big questions are taken by the Central Committee domiciled in the country itself.

There are different ways in which the Party center abroad may work, but it is difficult for me to say which of these ways should be applied in the present situation of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party. It is necessary to find out exactly what organizations there are in the country and what they are doing, whether there are any of

the old members of the Central Committee left and how they behave, whether they sit idle, or carry on a real fight. In order to determine what is of importance at the present moment for the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, quite a number of things are required.

**Question 9.**—What is the best way to establish connections with the broad masses in times of severe repression?

**Answer.**—The best way is to work at the enterprises and at the plantations, where the members of the Party are to be organized in nuclei and the latter connected with the higher Party committees, which guide the nuclei, give them instructions, supply them with literature, tell them what they are to do, etc. If the nuclei work properly, the Party organizations will know the beat of the pulse of the workers in the industrial and agricultural enterprises.

Wherever there is a mass peasant organization, the Communists should join it, but they must form a Communist fraction there. The higher Party organization could learn from the Communist fraction about the sentiments prevailing among the peasants, and give the fraction directions as to how the agitation and propaganda is to be carried on, what literature is to be distributed, what slogans are to be advanced, what partial demands are to be put forward, and how these demands are to be co-ordinated with the general slogans of the Party, etc.

Where workers' mutual aid societies of trade unions exist legally, Communists and sympathizers should join them and form Communist fractions there. They should work inside these organizations in accordance with the directions given by the higher Party organizations.

Communists should also join all national reformist, trade union, peasant and other organizations with a mass following and form Communist fractions inside them. These fractions must work according to the directions of Party organs.

If Party members and sympathizers join all the mass organizations, and work well in them, the Party organs will be able to have their work and their directives carried out through these comrades and at the same time they will know what is going on among the rank and file of these mass organizations. And armed with such knowledge the Party committees could formulate the necessary demands, fix up the slogans, publish literature. Thus they would not only be connected with the masses, but could also guide them. Of course, a great help in establishing connections with the masses would be well conducted strikes, demonstrations, wide distribution of popular literature (including leaflets), meetings or mass meetings at factories and mills, factory gates, at plantations, and speeches by Communists at meetings organized by opponents.

If the nuclei at the factories and mills and the Communist fractions in the mass organizations work well, all this could be carried out successfully.

No connection with the masses could be established otherwise. What is of most importance for a Communist Party like the Indo-Chinese is that, along with the existence of the illegal Party organizations (Party committees, nuclei and Communist fractions), and the publishing of illegal literature, all the legal possibilities should be utilized. The Party organizations must utilize the *legally* existing

mass organizations and organize the Party work there. Besides this it will also help to expose the leaders of these reformist and anti-revolutionary organizations.

It will be necessary to publish papers and literature legally.

*Question 10.*—There were many arrests in the Communist Party owing to the inability to carry on underground work. What is the best way of keeping secret the work of the Party centers, and will not such secrecy lead to isolation from the masses?

*Answer.*—Unfortunately, it is impossible to teach all the members of the Party to work secretly, but they will learn in the process of the work itself. When a comrade falls into the hands of the police because he failed to comply with the requirements of secrecy, or because he was indiscreet, he will try to avoid such errors next time and others too will learn from his mistakes. Usually, arrests take place as a result of inexperience and lack of knowledge of the elementary methods of illegal work. It is very difficult to learn all the methods of secret work, nevertheless, certain elementary principles may be mastered: don't meet Party people unless necessary; when given a task, refrain from speaking about it to people who are not to know it; when going on an errand in connection with a particular task, take no people with you who are not concerned in that task; if secret things are kept in your place, invite no people to your house, and speak to nobody about it; when arrested, refuse to answer any questions, and do not confirm the evidence of others, even if everything is known to the police.

These are the principles which may and ought to be mastered. It is not always possible to find out whether you are followed by the police or not. It is difficult and not always possible to know the man you are dealing with, whether he is a tried and trusty comrade, or a police agent. And this, of course, is an important matter. Now should we place secrecy above everything else so that for the sake of secrecy we refrain from doing work? Certainly not. Of course, if you do no work, all danger is obviated, but if you work you should know that you incur the danger of being arrested. Still, when working, one should organize one's work in such a way as not to fall into the hands of the police, or at least not too soon, and so that, when one is arrested, the organization and other comrades should not suffer on one's account. This must be borne in mind by every comrade who works in the country. To avoid falling into the hands of the police too soon, one must try to work so as to remain always in the shade. This is quite feasible. One should work without noise and bluster. Nobody should know where the comrade lives, nobody should know his real name. He should organize nuclei in districts where there are many workers and, where he is known but little. Meetings and conferences should be organized in such a way that nobody should know beforehand where they are going to be held. The organization of such a meeting or conference should be entrusted to absolutely tried people. Never should the address of the place of meeting be given; one should give instead the address of a place which serves as an intermediary link, or, better still, one should appoint certain comrades to conduct the people to the meeting place, and pickets should be posted in the street. If all these precautionary measures are taken, an arrest may be avoided.

Still, not always is it possible to escape arrest. Sometimes the police accidentally hit upon a clue. It is necessary to separate the

organs that decide from the organs that execute the work. If, for instance, the Central Committee decides to publish a leaflet and instructs somebody to write it, then, after the text is approved, the leaflet is handed over to the technical apparatus, which prints it. The organization of the printing must be kept separate from the organs that decide things. When the leaflet has come out of print, it is handed over to the distributing organ. Thus, if one of those who distribute the leaflets is arrested, the technical organization as a whole will not suffer thereby. It is easier to find out those who distribute literature than those who print it. For the distribution of literature a big organization is not required. It is quite enough to have five or ten comrades to do the work.

The Party and the local Party organizations get in touch with the masses through the nuclei, through the fractions, through individual Communists who work everywhere where there are masses, through good work, through literature, by agitation, propaganda, etc.

If one of the links, let us say the distributing organ, falls out through arrests, will the Party as a whole suffer by it? No. The center will remain, the printing shop will remain, and the writers will remain, too. Only one link has been put out of action, namely, the distributing organ. Consequently, it is necessary to put other comrades on this work. Under illegal conditions it is, of course, impossible to escape arrests altogether. There is no recipe to make one immune from arrest. It is necessary to organize the work so that in case one link gets out of gear, the whole chain does not suffer and the missing link is replaced by another.

The question whether the secrecy of work may not lead to isolation from the masses was not an idle one. On rare occasions this is what happens. In one country, an order was given for the arrest of the Central Committee. One of the leaders of the Central Committee took it into his head that his illegal status meant that he was absolutely not to meet anybody, and if this proved impossible, there was nothing else left for him but to go to some very remote place. He would not appear anywhere, he would not visit even regional and Party committees. And he thought he was carrying out the principles of secrecy. When it was proposed to him that he should come out with a speech and show himself to the workers under an assumed name (the workers, even the members of the Party, did not know him much), he rejoined: "So you wish me to be arrested?"

If such "secrecy" was thought to be necessary in a Party that exists legally, then in your case it would mean that you have to dig yourself deeply into the ground. But I do not believe that upholders of such methods of "secrecy" will be found among the Indo-Chinese comrades, although the conditions under which you have to work are much worse.

*Question 11.*—Would it not be better, in those places where there is no Party organization, to organize a trade union first? To what extent can the trade unions act as mass organizations under the conditions of severe White terror, and what measure is it necessary to take for that purpose?

*Answer.*—Three people, three Party members, in a given town, hamlet, or industrial village are sufficient to form a Party organization. It is best of all for these three comrades to form an initiative group for the purpose of creating a Party organization. This does

not exclude the possibility for one or two of these comrades to take up the task of gathering forces for the organization of a trade union in one or another trade.

If police conditions are favorable for the forming of some class labor organization, and provided the comrades can get the workers to take an interest by raising proper questions affecting them, then they will be able to turn such organizations into mass organizations. Of course, it is necessary first of all to find out what questions agitate the workers, it is necessary to talk personally with some of them, to draw some of them into the movement so that imperceptibly for them it becomes possible to discuss questions that interest them.

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Puran Chand Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, is one of the youngest Communist leaders in the world.<sup>1</sup> The objective which he set himself in exhibit No. 86 was to get native Indians to support Great Britain in the war against Hitler, while at the same time preparing themselves to oppose the mother country once the U. S. S. R. was out of danger.

Rajani Palme Dutt, son of a Hindu father and a Swiss mother, has written many lucid and persuasive works in support of Soviet communism.<sup>2</sup> Exhibit No. 87 consists of a general summary of the position of the Communist Party of Great Britain on the subject of colonial possessions.<sup>3</sup>

### EXHIBIT No. 86

[London, Communist Party of Great Britain, September 1942. P. C. Joshi, *The Indian Communist Party*. Pp. 1-13].

#### FOREWORD

This pamphlet, by the Secretary of the Indian Communist Party, is a brilliant Marxist analysis of the problem of India in the present situation. It contains extracts from a booklet written by P. C. Joshi in February, 1942—while the Communist Party of India was illegal; before the Cripps Mission and the present disastrous developments.

The thing that stands out in the light of later developments is the absolute correctness of the Communist Party of India's line as given here.

Puran Chand Joshi, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, is 35 years of age, the son of a schoolmaster, of Almora, United Provinces. In 1929, at the age of 22, he was arrested in the Meerut Conspiracy Case. He was then a Law Student at the Allahabad University, and leader of the United Provinces Student Movement.

In the Meerut Case he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, along with 28 other leading Trade Unionists and Communists. After spending 3½ years in prison his sentence was reduced by the High Court on appeal and he was released on the 6th August, 1933.

He at once threw himself into the work of building the Communist Party of India. In 1934 the Communist Party of India was declared illegal. For nine years P. C. Joshi has led the Communist Party of India under conditions of illegality.

With the most harsh repression going on, hunted by the police day and night, without a home, living on a few shillings a month, Joshi, along with other leaders of the Communist Party, built up the Com-

<sup>1</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, pp. 400-403.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> See also R. Palme Dutt, *The Problem of India*, New York., International Publishers, 1943, for a fuller Communist treatment of that country.

munist Party from a small fighting organisation to the great mass political force that it is today, basing it firmly upon the working classes of Bombay, Calcutta and Cawnpore; establishing a firm alliance with the organised Peasant movement; and winning over to their side the youth of the country. The Communist Party of India was responsible for publishing two English publications, "National Front" and "New Age," and a large number of vernacular papers.

The action of the Government in removing the ban on the Communist Party of India and permitting it to republish legally its papers is a sign that one, if so far only one, of the lessons of Burma and Malaya has been learnt. The call which the Communist Party of India makes to the Indian people to see this as India's war, a war for liberation and a war that only the people can win, is a cry that is already finding a response from all Indian patriots. Based on a sound Marxist understanding of the international situation, the Communist Party of India gives the clear call for Unity of all sections in India and makes plain the positive steps necessary for Victory over hated Fascism and for the freedom of India and all peoples. The recent message received by me from Joshi is a sharp call to us all—

The new legalised Communist Party of India greets its British comrades. In this grave hour in the life of freedom-loving humanity, our policy is for Indian National Unity, for National resistance to Fascism and for a National Government for India.

Our fellow patriots have been provoked to their present suicidal course by the recalcitrant insolence of the imperialist rulers, who have pursued their present policies despite the experiences of Malaya and Burma.

The task of the British people is to press the British Government to negotiate with Congress on the basis of recognition of Indian Independence and a Provisional National Government now.

We strive to persuade the National Leadership of Congress and the Moslem League to unite in order to reach a settlement with Britain for the struggle against the Fascist invaders.

We welcome your campaign for re-opening negotiations and urge you to intensify it a hundredfold. We ourselves are on the job.

We must turn the tide to unite our two great peoples in the world anti-Fascist freedom front.

Our job here is to strain every muscle to help this policy to be possible. India can be mobilised along the lines suggested; the National movement can take on a new life of constructive effort to win the war and win India's place as a free country. As the Communist Party of India says, the key to advance is a National Government and democratic liberties. We must and can see to it that the British Government does this—and by doing so win a great strategic victory over the Axis powers and their friends.

HARRY POLLITT.

## THE INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY—ITS WORK IN THE WAR OF LIBERATION

by P. C. Joshi

### I. IMPERIALIST WAR INTO PEOPLE'S WAR

*"The whole world looks to you as the force capable of destroying the brigand hordes of German invaders. The enslaved people of Europe who fell under the yoke of the German invaders look to you as their liberators. A great liberation mission has fallen to your lot. So be worthy of your mission."*

*The war you wage is a war of liberation, a just war. Let the manly images of our great ancestors inspire you in this war. Let the great victorious banner of Lenin fly over your heads.'*

J. STALIN. *November 6th, 1942.*

The attack on the U.S.S.R. transforms the character of the imperialist war into a people's war. The attack on the U.S.S.R. is a call for people's mobilisation to win the war. The victory of the U.S.S.R. becomes the guarantee of people's liberation all over the world.

This is the new and decisive change in the whole world situation—the end of the imperialist war, the beginning of the people's war. It is an historic turning point for the whole of humanity, for the peoples of all lands.

Hitler, when he struck against the Soviet Union, hoped by that act to create an all-European—nay, all-world—front against Bolshevism. But his calculations went wrong. He counted without the might of the Soviet Union, which was based on 24 years of socialist construction and on the invincible unity of the Soviet people. He counted without the fact that two years of war had only sharpened the conflict between the Axis Powers and the Anglo-American bloc.

On June 22nd, 1942, the peoples of the world ceased being the pawns and victims of the imperialist countries in their struggle for world domination. They now step forward as the main actors, shaping their own destiny, achieving their own liberation by advancing to win the people's war in a people's way. On June 22nd Hitler Fascism rang its own death knell. It was also the death knell of world imperialism as we have known it so far. *The first salvoes fired by the Red Army against the advancing Nazi hordes ushered in the epoch of the struggle for the people's world.*

This is the meaning of the transformation of June 22nd.

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The second World War really began in 1932, when Japan attacked Manchuria; it spread with Italy's attack upon Abyssinia; and with re-armed Nazi Germany's aggressions in Europe. These three Powers stepped forth into world politics with the demagogic claim for "living space" for their peoples and as holy crusaders against the menace of Communism. What they really wanted were colonies, markets and spheres of influence.

The British and American imperialists were not blind to this danger, but they deliberately allowed these Powers to grow as a spearhead of counter-revolution in Europe and in the East and against the Soviet Union. As the bosses of the world, they were playing "the big and dangerous" game of nourishing reaction and hurling it against the rising peoples' movements throughout the world. This is how they sought to solve their own conflicts at the expense of the peoples and the Soviet Union.

This policy meant the strengthening of Fascism, the spread of the second World War and war upon the Soviet Union. To defeat this monstrous policy of the Fascists and the pro-Fascist reactionaries, the advanced sections of the peoples' movements sought to create a world-wide anti-Fascist Peace Front. This Peace Front was, however, disrupted before it could consolidate itself. With the outbreak of the second World War the front of the peoples, the Peace Front, was cut up. People were ranged against people.

Only the Soviet Union was able for two years to prevent the spread of the war to her people. Although the world Peace Front had been disrupted by the outbreak of the war, the Soviet Union remained and grew stronger as its mighty base, vigilant and ever ready to re-unite the peoples of other countries as soon as the situation was ready for it.

The dramatic and disastrous developments of the first 22 months of war sharpened the crisis of the whole capitalist system. The British ruling class, which had staked so much on Hitler's war in the East, had weakened the States of Western Europe in an effort to appease Fascism. They had allowed the ruling classes of these countries to be corroded with Fascism. They had assisted in the battering down of popular movements in many of these countries.

By the Spring of 1941 the war had become a giant World War. The Anglo-American bloc, having lost the initiative and points of vantage to the enemy in the first round, was preparing to regain its world supremacy by a long war of attrition. Hitler knew the difficulties of facing such a protracted war against such a combination. He was sitting on top of a live volcano, a dozen subjugated nations; he had seized vast industrial plants, but still needed raw material resources badly. He sought the solution of these problems in a dastardly and treacherous attack upon the Soviet Union. He hoped, above all, by this attack to bring about a split in the ruling class of Britain.

What happened was indeed a decisive turn in the war, but it was exactly the opposite of what Hitler expected. He hoped to divide his enemies—but the attack upon the Soviet Union called into existence a mighty United Front of all the peoples. Hitler miscalculated how deep the conflict between the rival blocs had become as a result of his conquests and what bitter lessons the peoples of Europe and America had learned out of the disasters of the last two years.

The powerful unity of the peoples of the world with the Soviet Union grows stronger as the war progresses and in answer to the heroic example and inspiration of the Soviet people. It becomes more determined than ever to see that *not* world domination, but the utter destruction of "Hitler Fascism and its allies is attained through the war.

In desperation Hitler has instigated Japan to launch her prepared aggression in the Pacific. That is a blow aimed at the most vulnerable spot of the British and American bloc—their Colonial Empires. The Japanese Fascists are certainly scoring initial victories against, and at the cost of, the peoples of the Philippines, Malaya and Burma, whom the imperialist colonial rule left practically defenceless, unarmed and enslaved.

The Jap Fascists are utilising the national emancipatory and anti-imperialist sentiments of the people to split the colonial people from the joint front of the peoples of the world against Fascism and for Freedom. *But the peoples of India and of the colonies in the East, who have learned by their experience that freedom cannot come as a gift from imperialists, also know well that it can neither come to them on the point of the bloodstained swords of the Japanese Fascists.*

The colonial peoples are determined to line up in the world front of the peoples under the leadership of the Soviet Union in order to

win the war against Hitler and the Japanese Fascists, and to win their own freedom and defend their own homelands.

Thus the new extension of the war to the Pacific and the East brings no relief to the Fascist world-enslavers; it only accentuates their death crisis, the crisis into which they plunged on June 22nd.

## II. THE PEOPLE'S CAMP UNITES

As the people's war progresses, the peoples in the democratic countries begin to see the Soviet Union as the indisputable leader of the anti-Fascist forces. They see the glaring contrast between the fighting on the Eastern Front and the disastrous fiascos in the Pacific, which begin to bring home to them daily the plain truth that the war against Fascism can only be won as a people's war of liberation. The movement of the people becomes more and more determined and united around the people's war aims—*Death to Fascism, Freedom to all.*

The strategy of the Hitler-Fascists is world domination; their aim is world-enslavement. Their victory would mean not only the perpetuation of the Fascist slavery of Germany, of the Austrian, Italian and Japanese people, but imperialist enslavement for the peoples of the whole world. In this brutal war they rely not only on their arms, on the strategic points they have captured, but also on their stool-pigeons and allies in the opposing camp. They rely on all that is rotten in each country, upon the reactionary elements in the ruling class of each country, the *appeasers* and the *isolationists*, the *Quislings* and the *Fifth Column*.

Fascist strategy is the strategy of world imperialism. The crisis of world imperialism has reached such an acute stage that it can only save itself, that is, continue and perpetuate its enslavement of the peoples, as world *Fascism*. *Fascism is not a new system—it is the most brutal and horrid form which decaying imperialism itself assumes in the period of its general and permanent crisis.*

Such is the desperate strategy of a doomed class. It is opposed by the world strategy of the peoples of the world, which is being carried out by the workers and the peoples of the world in this great war of liberation. The people are determined that Fascism must die that people may live and mankind create a new world.

*The people's grand strategy is based on the simple hard fact that though the armies of Fascism have scored initial advantages, the mighty front of the people is unconquerable. It has giant resources in men and material if these are mobilised. Nothing on earth can prevent this victory except treachery on the part of some of those who stand in powerful sectors of the front, except refusal to liberate the peoples in the colonies to participate in the battles, or except failure to co-ordinate the various operations in the grand strategy.*

The old rulers of the world are today no more making history—they are being yoked to its chariot. The course is new—the people's war. The actors are new—peoples and nations, who are getting into their stride. It is these mighty forces who will shape coming world events.

In the new situation a change takes place not only in the relation between nations, but inside each nation. The Government must carry on the war effort or get out. *War now unites the nation in*

*a just cause, for the nation must perish if the war is lost. The purpose now becomes positive and immediate—Victory; and the activities of all are related to one single issue.* Inside the united National Front of each nation the balance shifts decisively in favour of the popular forces, for the fate of the war depends upon the daily actions of the people. For every sin of omission or commission by the Government the whole people have to pay the price. Thus every man is forced to be political and grows more and more political as he realises that everything he gains or suffers depends upon the action of the people. The war not only puts people in a stronger position in relation to their own ruling class, but makes the people think more than they ever did before along the lines which their rulers do not and cannot think.

In the period of the people's war, people's action in their own interests, their desire to win the war, brings them up against all the obstacles which their ruling class has set up in its own interests and which hinder the national effort to crush Fascism. It is this new upsurge, welling from the people, that is the basis of the people's movement. The workers, going all out to intensify the war effort, are building their own strength; the nation, demanding a vigorous prosecution of the war, exposes the incompetence of the old ruling class.

Of such a character is the popular movement in the democratic countries, Great Britain and America.

In the countries occupied by Nazism a new class alignment is taking place. The crisis and the split in the ruling class came about in the fateful hour of Hitler's attack. The Fascist section betrayed the people and capitulated before Hitler, but the advanced section of the people, though defeated and conquered, have never laid down their arms. A veritable people's war has flared up in the mountains of Yugoslavia, in Norway, Czechoslovakia and France.

The magnificent Soviet resistance has re-awakened the will to resistance of every enslaved nation. The example of the Soviet guerillas has led to the organisation of armed guerilla bands appearing at the very gates of Belgrade and operating over larger and larger areas. The peoples of Europe are no longer helpless. They have begun to break their chains, they are dynamiting the Nazi prison house that is Europe today. Braving every danger, protected by their own people, they are laying the foundation of a new Europe. What that Europe will be like, none can prophesy in detail; it cannot be anything other than free and democratic, and its final form will be determined by the awakened people themselves, who know the slavery that Fascism is and who are now thinking out what it is they want for the future.

### III. THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT IN THE COLONIES

In the Colonies the outbreak of the war sharpened to an extreme measure the conflict between the imperialist Government and all sections of the people. In India the united national front remained unbroken, but the middle-class leadership, whilst not surrendering to imperialism, paralysed the movement through inactivity and stalemate, and kept it in a state of suspended animation. The Communist Party, which sought to swing the national front as a whole toward's

mass struggle, was not strong enough organisationally to achieve this task.

With the turn in the war, the relation of forces between the united national front and the imperialists changes in favour of the former. *The task before the national front is now to unite and mobilise the entire people for the defence of the people and make a bold bid to take the war of liberation into its hands.* The imperialists are trying their best to prevent the effective popular participation of India in the war by continuing their autocratic regime. But the growing unity of the people in the democratic countries is bent upon winning the war against Fascism and is impatient of such policy.

*The new situation has opened up for the national movement the straight path forward to national independence; the people's struggle to stop the Fascist invader is itself the fight for their freedom.*

Under the Fascist onslaught the imperialist state structure, in the colonies so far attacked, has been collapsing like a pack of cards. The policy of appeasement, which met its nemesis in the West, is now meeting the same fate in the East. The "defence" of the Colonies was not organised against the Fascists, but only against the subject people. Today they are gambling with the fate of the colonial people, with the fate of the whole Far East.

The fall of Singapore is as decisive a turning point as the fall of France. It lays bare the helplessness of the people under autocratic bureaucracy. It exposes the inner rottenness of the entire colonial system. The one single lesson from the battles of Malaya is that imperialism cannot defend the Colonies against Fascist aggression because they cannot and will not mobilise the people. The disastrous consequences of the fall of Singapore stare the entire anti-Fascist front in the face, make the issue of colonial liberation, and above all the Indian issue, more urgent than ever before. *The issue of India's future can no more be postponed except at the gravest peril to all freedom-loving nations.*

It was the fall of Singapore and concern for the fate of Asia, which brought Marshal Chiang Kai-shek on his urgent mission to India. Who would have thought that when we sent our tiny medical mission to China, the return would be the visit of China's great leader to our land to help our proud people! His farewell message to the people of India will find a golden page in the history of the world:

"The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery, between light and darkness, between good and evil, between resistance and aggression. . . . I venture to say to my brethren, the people of India, that at this critical moment in the history of civilisation our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and the Indian people obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India there could be no real peace in the world. . . . Lastly, I sincerely hope and confidently believe that our Great Ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realise that their

participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression nations, but also a turning point in their struggle for India's freedom."

The defence of the colonial countries will not and cannot be organised by the imperialist rulers. It is the national movement that has to rise to its full stature and take the fate of the country in its own hands. *The weaker the national movement, the sooner takes place the collapse under Fascist aggression.* This is the lesson of the battle of the Pacific.

The loss of Malaya is a living condemnation of the colonial regime. Cecil Brown, an American journalist, who was on board the sunken "Repulse," made scathing revelations of official apathy which left Singapore and Malaya in "incredible, unbelievable unpreparedness." The Rajah of Sarawak, himself a Britisher, in a Press statement which was suppressed, said that the present position in Malaya was due to "gross incompetence and criminal negligence."

This is how autocracy crumbled to pieces. It was inherent in the very nature of the colonial system, in the soulless bureaucracy, in the isolated military caste, in the administration being foreign, not national.

The people of Malaya made a desperate effort to defend their beloved country. The Malayan Communist Party took the lead and called upon its entire membership to be "generally mobilised and armed . . . to turn each street, lane, mine, village and rubber estate into a bulwark for the defence of our land. . . . We will fight to the last drop of our blood in defence of Malaya." The Singapore correspondent of *The Times* reported: "It is a curious fact that the Indians who were formerly most bitterly at loggerheads with the Government are now playing the most active role. The same is true of the Chinese. Among the most active Chinese are the members of the formerly proscribed Malayan Communist Party. The walls of Singapore are now plastered with their posters urging unity and resistance against German, Italian and Japanese Fascism."

The love for one's country, the hatred against Fascism of colonial patriots, is a "curious fact" to the imperialist scribe!

It was too late for Malaya, it may be too late for Burma (written February, 1942), but it is not yet too late for India. *If national India can take the war into its own hands, mobilise our millions for national defence, we at once march in step with the Chinese nation and act together as liberators of the East and fulfil the proudest destiny to which any enslaved people can aspire.* Nationalist China is already at the head, nationalist India, in her own urgent interest, is called upon to rise to her tallest height and act.

The old imperialist domination of the East is doomed. The only alternatives for the colonial people will be . . . a Fascist East or a People's East. People's unity within each colony is growing on an unprecedented scale as the common urge for the defence of their country. The unity of all the colonies is being built by the very events and course of the war, which has also made the liberation of all the colonies a burning political issue, on which hangs not only the fate of the colonial peoples but the fate of the democratic peoples as well. *Colonial liberation thus becomes an integral part of the battle for world liberation.*

## IV. INDIA AND THE PEOPLE'S WAR

*"All honest people must support the army of our country, of Great Britain and the United States as champions of liberation, not only in Europe, but in Asia, in Iran for instance. The subjugated peoples of the world came to us for help. We must do all in our power to help them and then let them live a life of complete liberty in their homeland as they want to do"*

J. STALIN. November 6th, 1941.

The Soviet entry into the war isolated Facism as the main enemy of mankind. It flung the non-Facist imperialists into the people's camp by creating the basis for the international front against Facism and for freedom. It transformed the war of the imperialists into a war of the peoples and opened the gate to a world-wide people's unity.

The Japanese entry into the war is only an underlining of this new situation for the whole of Asia and, above all, for India.

We opposed the imperialist war for all we were worth—we *must go into the people's war for all we are worth*. We had nothing to gain and everything to lose by supporting the imperialist war. We have nothing to lose and everything to gain by going into the people's war. We can no more fight for our freedom by opposing the war. *We have to realise our freedom by winning this war*.

Anti-Facism has been the international *policy* of our national movement—today it is to be made the *practice* of our national policy. Facism is no more the menace to other freedom-loving nations alone, whose cause we support from a distance, with whom we sympathise. Facism today threatens our own borders. Facism is no longer the enemy of India's friends, but of India herself. We suffer enslavement under imperialism and are now threatened with intensified enslavement under Facism—the worst form of imperialism. The world war against Facism is India's war for national defence.

*This war is India's great opportunity to fight for her national liberation, no more in isolation, no more single-handed, but as part of the battle for world liberation. It is the war of the Soviet peoples, whom we pledged support against an imperialist attack. It is the war of the heroic Chinese people, whose five years of lone struggle we have admired with veneration. It is the war of the British people, with whom we have preached friendliness and co-operation despite the British imperial domination over us. It is the war of the enslaved peoples of Europe, for whom our hearts bleed. It is an All-People's war against Facism and for freedom. It is the Indian people's war no less than the war of all the rest of the peoples of the world. It is war for all that we hold dear, for all that we stood and stand.*

The All-People's War is India's War.

The International Front Against Facism is India's Front for Freedom.

The War of World Liberation is India's War for National Liberation.

We can no more fight for our freedom by opposing this war. We will be cutting our own throats by doing so. We will not be hitting at British imperialism at all but doing the job of the Japanese Fascists

for them. We can neither stand outside this war because we are slaves of British imperialism. To take the attitude of neutrality to this war is to remain where we are—under British imperialism and helplessly waiting for a worse fate under Japanese Fascism. The policy of neutrality to this war leads not to India's freedom but to the kingdom of the Japanese jackals.

*To acquiesce in the present because there can be no worse hell for us but only a worse hell for the British imperialists, is utter ignorance, plain cowardice and shameless defeatism. If we let the war remain in imperialist hands we are not fighting enslavement but awaiting our doom. India's freedom will not come out of the blood-stained dagger of the Japanese militarists.*

The struggle for our freedom today is a struggle to make the war our own war. The mass mobilisation of national India behind the world war of liberation is the march of the Indian people to India's own liberation. This and no other is the people's path for India. This and no other can be the national policy in the new world situation.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 87

[New York, International Publishers, 1943. R. Palme Dutt, *Britain in the World Front*. Pp. 145-156]

#### CHAPTER VI. INDIA AND THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

Britain holds a special responsibility in the World Alliance to assist in winning the free and full collaboration of the Indian people and the colonial peoples.

Fascism is the enemy of all peoples in the world—equally of those who have already won a greater or less degree of freedom and self-government and of those who are still held subject under colonial rule. The aims of the struggle for freedom of the twelve hundred millions of humanity who live in India, China, Eastern Asia and the Pacific, the Middle East and Africa require the victory of the world anti-fascist alliance and the complete defeat of fascism. But the mobilization of these gigantic reserves of the anti-fascist army will only be effective to the extent that their willing collaboration is won on the basis of their own understanding of their own interests, as voluntary allies, and not as servants called on to give their lives in the interests of their masters. The question of the freedom of the colonial peoples is no longer only a first-class political issue. Is it a first-class strategic issue for the victory of the democratic anti-fascist alliance.

Fascism's war aims are openly directed against the colonial peoples—against India; against the former colonial country of China, which fascism seeks to subjugate anew; against the peoples of Eastern Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. Mussolini's war of conquest and plunder against Ethiopia and Japan's invasion and conquest of Manchuria and Northern China opened the fascist war offensive. Hitler's drive towards the Middle East and India, strategic concentration in Northern Africa, and Fifth Column penetration in South Africa and South America, and Japan's lightning military conquest of Eastern Asia and extending advance to India and Australia are the expression

of the expansionist drive of fascism for the carving out of the new fascist empires over the bodies of all the colonial peoples of the world, no less than of the free democratic peoples.

Fascism seeks to mask these designs of aggression plunder and conquest behind a smokescreen of hypocritical slogans about the liberation of the colonial peoples from their present rulers. Japan puts out the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics!"—by which they mean "Asia for the Japanese War Lords!" The annual report of the German General Staff in 1939, already before the war, emphasized the importance of supporting every freedom movement anywhere in the British Empire as a means of securing a strategic foothold. Wherever adventurer, mercenary, or misguided individuals can be found from the national liberation movements in the colonial countries, like Bose who was expelled from the Indian National Congress, Rashid Ali from Iraq or the Grand Mufti from Palestine, these are taken into the service of fascism and exploited as fascist propaganda agents to confuse and mislead the masses in the colonial countries.

The colonial peoples have every reason to understand that fascism is today their deadliest and most dangerous enemy, and that the interests of their struggle for liberation are bound up with the victory of the world anti-fascist alliance and the destruction of fascism. All the most responsible and enlightened leaders of the national liberation movements have recognized that the interests of the colonial peoples are irreconcilably opposed to fascism. The Chinese National Republic has fought with arms against the Japanese fascist invaders for years before the formation of the world anti-fascist alliance. The Indian National Congress has played an outstanding and honorable role in the vanguard of the struggle against fascism in support of China, Ethiopia, and Spain for years before the ruling authorities in this country began to move from their policies of conciliation to fascism.

The world victory of fascist barbarism would mean the destruction for a long period of all hopes of freedom of the colonial peoples. Heavy as is the lot of the colonial peoples under the existing imperialist rule, it would be immeasurably worse under fascism, which is the most aggressive and brutal form of imperialism. Every imperialist system means the oppression and degradation, the arresting of development of the subject peoples under its rule. The aim of every colonial people can only be for complete liberation from imperialism. But in the existing types of colonial regime the mass struggle has already won in the majority of cases a varying measure of rights of organization and political expression (trade unions, political organization, the press, despite heavy restrictions and intimidation) which, though limited and precarious, are of the utmost importance for further advance, and which would be completely swept away under fascism. On the other hand, the development and victory of the world anti-fascist alliance represent the most favorable conditions for the complete liberation of the colonial peoples.

The principles of the fascist colonial system (already exemplified in the Japanese reign of terror in Manchuria and the occupied provinces of China) have been expressed with unconcealed brutality in the publications of the Nazi colonial office, which glorify the blood-thirsty Dr. Peters as the model colonial ruler. Reference may be made to the authoritative exposition of Dr. Günther Hecht, expert

for racial colonial problems in the racial-political office of the National-Socialist Party, under the title *The Colonial Question and Racial Thought*, published in 1938, which lays down the racial principles intended to govern the future treatment of natives by the Nazi rulers.

Fascist colonial theories, drenched in racial chauvinism, pour contempt on what they term the pernicious humanitarian conceptions of the colonial system of the Western democratic powers, which they declare, by opening the doors of European culture to the colonial peoples, sow the seeds for the disintegration of the colonial system. As against this, they state that Nazi rule will finally root out all such conceptions and establish the permanent inferior status of the colonial peoples. Fascism, with its pretense of Aryan superiority, assigns to colored people the status of human slaves. Higher schools and universities must be closed to them; no native of a Nazi colony must be allowed to travel outside it to Europe. The Nazi racial law must be extended to the colonies.

Blindness to what fascist victory would mean for the colonial peoples would be equivalent to betrayal of the interests of the colonial peoples.

Against this menace, the victory of the world front of the peoples fighting to defeat fascist enslavement represents the hope of all colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world. The Soviet Union has always been recognized by the subject peoples of the world as the pioneer and protagonist of the liberty and equality of oppressed peoples. In the free union of nations composing the Soviet Union, as Pravda wrote on May 1, 1941, "the dead ideology dividing man into 'higher and lower' races has been thrown onto the rubbish heap of history." The freedom and equality won and enjoyed by the former oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire, the assistance which the Soviet Union has given to peoples struggling for national freedom, such as the Turkish, Spanish, and Chinese peoples, and the insistence of the Soviet Union on equality in foreign relations, shown by the scrapping of the old grasping tsarist treaties with China and Iran, have won respect and admiration throughout the world. The Chinese National Republic represents the vanguard of the national liberation movements of the world. There can be no question where the hopes and sympathies of all colonial peoples lie in this conflict.

But the effective participation of the colonial peoples in the world anti-fascist front cannot depend on their own efforts alone. The reactionary obstacles which still hinder that full participation must be removed. And here a special responsibility lies on the peoples in the imperialist countries participating in the anti-fascist coalition, and above all on the people of Britain, at the center of the British Empire, with its four hundred and fifty millions of subject colonial peoples.

Reactionary policy in relation to India, Burma, Ceylon, and all the colonial peoples has deeply injured and weakened the anti-fascist front.

The Indian people and all the colonial peoples represent a gigantic reservoir of democratic and anti-fascist strength. Their manpower is vast. Their resources are abundant in all the raw materials for war. Their will to freedom, their capacity for struggle and sacrifice, demonstrated in their national struggles, could play a powerful role in the common front and the common victory, and in Asia the decisive role.

Yet barely the fringe of this manpower and of these resources has so far been mobilized. Their democratic willingness has been repulsed and discouraged. In India the army so far raised amounts to one million men out of a population of nearly four hundred millions; recruitment is limited, masses are turned away from the recruiting offices.

“There is no lack of men; since the outbreak of war recruiting offices all over the country have been congested with volunteers from every class, community and occupation to such an extent that it soon became impossible to deal with their numbers.” (*India at War*, Government Report, 1941.)

In proportion to population the manpower would provide twice the armed forces of the Soviet Union. On the Canadian scale of recruitment, it would provide fifteen to twenty millions. The actual outcome is one quarter of one per cent of the population, or a total less than that of a secondary European state. Even this figure has been stated to be “largely a paper figure. Arms are lacking for the training of a mass army, and as a result recruiting, until recently, was rather discouraged.” (Military Correspondent of the Observer, March 8, 1942.) The Chinese example has shown the possibility, under national leadership, of organizing and training armies even with limited resources, capable of meeting the Japanese armies; but the Chinese Command’s offer to send military instructors to India to assist in solving the problem of training has not so far been accepted.

Similarly in respect to resources and war production. India has abundant resources of all the key raw materials for war production, with the exception of nickel, molybdenum, and vanadium. But only the tiniest fraction is utilized. With coal reserves of 36,000 million tons, the annual production before the war reached 25 million tons, or one-tenth of the British level; and coal output dropped in 1940. With iron ore reserves of 3,000 million tons, the output of steel on the eve of war was not yet one million tons, of one-thirteenth of the British level, and below the level of Poland. By 1941 steel output had advanced to one and a quarter million tons: “The expansion might have been larger, but . . . we are large importers of pig iron from India. It would have meant absorbing in India pig iron which was urgently required for our industry here.” (The Duke of Devonshire, Under-Secretary for India, in the House of Lords, February 3, 1942.) Thus shipping, urgently needed for war transport between Britain and the Far East, is used to transport pig iron from India to Britain and finished steel back to India, rather than manufacture in India. There is no motor industry and no aero-engine industry; India is dependent on overseas supply for all its heavy weapons: planes, tanks, and heavy artillery. Yet India with industrial development could have been the arsenal of the war in the Far East. The government announced in the House of Commons on October 9, 1941, that the manufacture of internal-combustion engines in India would not be “a practical proposition so far as the present war is concerned.” By the spring of 1942, after two and a half years of war, it was announced that an exploratory commission was being appointed “to examine the question of production of components of internal-combustion engines or complete engines.” Indian industrialists have vociferously complained that, in contrast to the gigantic industrial development in the Dominions since the war, industrial development in India has received a setback. “Un-

like the last war, there has been very little industrial expansion.” (*Great Britain and the East, June 19, 1941.*)

The gigantic available manpower for war production is thus scarcely used. Despite the inexhaustible resources of raw materials for industrial production, and the inexhaustible reserves of manpower, today after nearly two centuries of British rule in India not one per cent of the population is employed in factories, mines, railways, or docks. It was reported as an achievement in November, 1941, that 50,000 workers are now employed in the Government Ordnance Factories, or one in eight thousand of the population. By the end of 1941 two batches of *fifty* Indian workers each had arrived in Britain for industrial training—from a population of four hundred millions. And meanwhile the authorities here wring their hands over the problem of manpower.

This policy of throttling Indian industrial development, already criminal in peacetime, against the interests and needs of the Indian people, becomes doubly criminal today against the vital needs of the world alliance, and equivalent to direct help to fascism.

Behind this lies the influence of the entire policy of colonial domination and exploitation—the denial of national self-determination, the policy which would rather lose the colonial territories temporarily to the fascist invaders than yield power to the peoples themselves; the fear of too rapid advance of the colonial peoples, fear of their industrial development, fear of arming the people, fear of their inevitable advance to freedom.

The consequences of this policy have been seen in Malaya and Singapore, in Java and Burma; where the Japanese invaders were able to sweep forward without popular resistance, or even with active support from sections of the population; where the government, in the words of the *Times* report on Malaya, “had no roots in the life of the people” and “with the exception of certain sections of the Chinese community—some inspired by Free China’s struggle for survival, others by Soviet precept and example—the bulk of the Asiatic population remained spectators from start to finish”; where the great naval base of Singapore was paralyzed because out of the 12,000 Asiatic laborers only 800 remained, while ships could not be unloaded or put to sea because the Asiatic dockers and crews were gone; where the populations were not mobilized or trained or armed to defend themselves, but where, in Burma, the Japanese could recruit and organize whole companies of soldiers for their own purposes.

A radical change of policy is imperative in relation to India and all the colonial peoples. The events in the Far East have brought a shock of twelfth hour awakening even to many who were previously indifferent to this question.

But the necessary concrete steps to effect such a change have still to be taken.

The Atlantic Charter proclaimed the “right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live.” Mr. Attlee, in a speech to West African students on the day following its promulgation, declared, according to the *Daily Herald* of August 16, 1941, that “colored peoples, as well as white, will share the benefits of the Churchill-Roosevelt Atlantic Charter.” The subsequent pronouncement of Mr. Churchill on September 9, 1941, specifically excluding the application of the Atlantic Charter from “India, Burma

or any other parts of the British Empire," and explaining that "we had in mind primarily the restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe," was a blow in the face to the aspirations of India and the colonial peoples.

With the rapid collapse in the autocratically governed Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Java, may be contrasted the relatively more prolonged resistance in the Philippines, where a large measure of self-government had been granted, with a Filipino President, Cabinet and elected National Assembly, and a fixed date for complete independence by 1945.

The power of national independence to inspire and mobilize a people to fight in their own defense has been shown for all time by the heroic example and leadership of Free China, which, in the face of a thousand obstacles and shortage of arms, equipment or developed productive resources, has been able for five years to maintain its successful and united resistance to the assault of Japan, and has now been able to send its soldiers to the assistance of other Asiatic nations.

The alliance of Free China and Free India must be the cornerstone of freedom and the fight for freedom in Eastern Asia. The advance of Japan to the gates of India has brought the question of Indian national freedom and self-defense to the forefront of world politics. It is essential that a basis of agreement should be found between the British government and the representatives of the Indian people to make possible the willing co-operation of the Indian people as equal partners in the alliance of the United Nations, for the common struggle against the common enemy. This basis of agreement can be found, provided that the present dictatorial system of government in India is replaced by the formation of a National Coalition Government, representative of Indian political leaders of all sections prepared to collaborate in the common cause, and with full responsibility and powers, subject to the practical requirements of military co-operation with Britain and the United Nations.

The failure of the Cripps Mission to India to reach an agreement on this basis represented a major strategical defeat for the alliance against fascism. The Cripps Mission failed, not because agreement was impossible, but because it refused the elementary demand for the formation of a representative National Government to mobilize the Indian people for the common struggle. The breakdown did not arise over the hypothetical post-war scheme for the future political regulation of India; this scheme, so far from being an offer of self-government, was of a dubious and undemocratic character, since it refused the first basis of self-determination, that the democratically elected representatives of the Indian people should be free to determine their own form of government, and it included projects, both fantastic and unworkable, for the future balkanization of India. But the Indian politicians were sufficiently realist to recognize that these post-war speculations were of minor practical importance today. Nor did the breakdown occur over the alleged communal difficulty and divisions of the Indian people; this question never arose in the discussions and was only subsequently produced as a supposed explanation of the breakdown. The explicit statement of Jawaharlal Nehru that "at no stage during the talks did any communal or minority difficulty occur" compelled the final admission by Sir Stafford Cripps that "it is quite

true that I did not discuss the minority question with Congress" and that "it was not in form on the communal question that the breakdown came." All sections of Indian political opinion demanded the formation of a responsible National Government, even though the composition of such a government would have had to be the subject of subsequent negotiation. But this stage was never reached, because the principle was refused; it was made clear that, even if all sections were united in this demand, it would be refused. This was the cause of the breakdown.

Urgent steps need now to be taken to remedy this situation before it is too late. The refusal to concede a National Government to India has led to serious deterioration of the political situation in India, tendencies to disintegration and demoralization, and the increased influence of the fatal tendencies to pacifism, passivity and theories of neutrality in this life-and-death struggle.

The greatest responsibility rests on democratic opinion in this country to do all in its power to remove the reactionary obstacles from the side of British policy in the way of a settlement; and to insure that the government immediately reopen negotiations with the Indian National Congress with a view to the formation of a representative and responsible National Government in India, capable of enjoying the confidence of the Indian people and mobilizing them for active defense, in co-operation with the other nations opposed to fascist aggression. Pending the establishment of such a government, all the thousands of anti-fascist prisoners (now mainly working class and peasant prisoners, Socialists, Communists and trade unionists, who would be in the forefront of rallying the nation for resistance against fascism) should be immediately released, and every form of assistance should be given to the National Congress to rally and organize the resistance of the people to the Japanese attack. Further, the most urgent steps need to be taken to speed the development of Indian industry for war production, to assist with equipment, machine tools, etc., from Britain and the United States, to harness the available small-scale industry and handicraft, and to mobilize the manpower for a mighty effort comparable with that of China.

In the Middle East the treaty of Britain and the Soviet Union with Iran, guaranteeing Iran's territorial integrity and independence in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, represents a blow to the aims of Nazi penetration in these regions. The proclamation of the independent Syrian and Lebanon republics, and the establishment of the Wafdist (Nationalist) Government in Egypt represent further important progressive steps for the furtherance of unity against fascism. The way forward here lies through the federation of the Arabian countries in common resistance to fascist aggression.

In the African colonial countries and in the West Indies the path of democratic anti-fascist advance needs to be pressed forward—in the West Indies, by the immediate establishment of full self-government; and in the African colonial countries, by the extension of civil rights, rights of organization and press, release of political prisoners, removal of racial disabilities, minimum labor and social legislation, and economic assistance, in such a way as to encourage the initiative and active role of the African peoples as common participants in the struggle against fascism. There must be no room in the countries associated with the anti-fascist alliance for the racial repressive laws

and disabilities which in fact reproduce the principles at the basis of Nazism, and which are most actively pressed forward (as in South Africa) especially by the open adherents and admirers of the Nazi model, the Pirows, Malans, and their associates. Failure of the democratic peoples to undertake an active fight on this issue can prepare a sequel in Africa as menacing as that already experienced in the Far East.

The colonial peoples in all countries of the world represent a powerful force for freedom. They are the natural enemies of fascism and all oppression and tyranny. It is for the peoples in the democratic countries to understand their strivings, and to find a way to forge their close alliance with them in the common struggle against the fascist aims of world domination. This struggle will prepare the conditions for the full liberation of all peoples and nations throughout the world.

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## B. CHINA

The establishment of the Chinese People's Republic on October 1, 1949, brought to a successful Communist conclusion 29 years of defeat, struggle, terror, and intrigue.<sup>1</sup> On that day, Mao Tse-tung's socialist democracy effectively replaced Sun Yat-sen's "bourgeois" republic.

In 1911, Sun's Kuomintang (People's Party) overthrew the Manchu dynasty. Hopefully it set out to establish a modern republic based upon San Min Chu I (the Three People's Principles). These Three People's Principles advocated Chinese nationalism, democracy in the western tradition and a kind of socialism known as the people's livelihood.

Overthrowing the feudal Manchu dynasty proved a much easier task than changing peasant China into a modern republic. Disappointed in his dealings with the western powers, Sun eventually turned his attention to the U. S. S. R.<sup>2</sup> In 1924 he invited Communists to join the Kuomintang on an individual basis.<sup>3</sup>

Lenin's interest in China dated back at least to the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>4</sup> During the first years of the revolution, the Bolshevik leaders had placed their principal reliance in European revolts. When the latter failed to live up to expectations, Lenin directed his energies toward the Far East. With great care, he elaborated a series of theses on colonial questions to be promulgated at the Second World Congress (sec. C, exhibit No. 3). In confirming these 1920 theses, subsequent Congresses also made provision for more flexible united front tactics (sec. C, exhibits Nos. 7, 8, and 10). Consequently, Sun Yat-sen's 1924 invitation to Chinese Communists fitted in perfectly with Lenin's plans for infiltrating and capturing the Kuomintang.

Soon after Dr. Sun's death in March 1925, opposition to Communist activities within the Kuomintang broke into the open. By summer of 1927, Sun's brother-in-law, Chang Kai-shek, had made the rupture complete.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile a great struggle for power raged inside the U. S. S. R. Although deprived of any official standing, Trotsky relied upon his personal prestige to attack Stalin's disastrous policies with regard to China.<sup>6</sup> While the failure of the December 1927 Canton uprising established the fact that Stalin's policies were wrong, it did not prove Trotsky's strategy to be right (sec. B, exhibit No. 28). In any case, Stalin managed to exile Trotsky to Central Asia and, later, to expel him from the U. S. S. R.

<sup>1</sup> For a brief history of Communist activities in China see *Strategy and Tactics of World Communism, Supplement III C, II. of R.*, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, 1949.

<sup>2</sup> David J. Dallin, *The Rise of Russia in Asia*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949, Chapter VIII: Kuomintang, Chinese Communism, and Moscow. Borkenau, *World Communism*, Chapter XVIII: The Chinese Revolution.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 234. Deverall, *War*, pp. 247-248.

<sup>4</sup> Allen S. Whitling, *Soviet Policies in China, 1917-1924*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 11, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-349.

<sup>6</sup> Dallin, *op. cit.*, Chapter IX: Trotsky, Stalin, and Chinese Communism.

Lominadse's explanation of the 1927 Canton catastrophe (exhibit No. 89) did not save him from the purges of the late thirties. By 1937 he had gone the way of Heinz Neumann and other China experts (this section, exhibit No. 6).<sup>7</sup>

After the collapse of the industrial proletarian revolution in Canton, Chinese comrades were granted permission to pay more attention to the peasants.<sup>8</sup> Hence the emphasis upon the latter at the First Chinese Soviet Congress (exhibit No. 90).

While Muenzenberg's review of the first 5 years of the League Against Imperialism dealt with worldwide activities, it will be noted that China was singled out for primary consideration (exhibit No. 93). Parallel to the "legal" connections between the Communist Party of China and front organizations in Germany and the United States ran a complex network of espionage activities.<sup>9</sup>

## EXHIBIT NO. 88

### HANDS OFF CHINA

[*Daily Worker*, October 30, 1924. P. 6]

**To all followers and sympathizers of the Red International of Labor Unions in the United States of America, France, Germany and Italy:—**

**Comrades!**

The present crisis in China and the part played by the foreign powers in this crisis has created an unusually serious situation.

The imperialist intervention in China must be stopped at all costs. The slogan of the revolutionary workers and followers of the Red International of Labor Unions in every country must be: **HAND-OFF CHINA!** You must meet the intervention of the capitalists of your respective countries in the inner affairs of China, and their support of the reactionary militarist clique against the national revolutionary government of Sun-Yat-Sen, with a solid front of resistance and with a storm of mass protest. You must turn this protest campaign into a comprehensive revolutionary movement directed against the imperialist government of your country.

All revolutionary and national trade union organizations, the revolutionary shop councils and all followers of the Red International of Labor Unions should, together with the revolutionary and political organizations of the working class, take most active part in organizing "Hands-Off China" societies.

The laboring masses should be fully informed about the imperialist intervention in China. The "Hands-Off China" organizations are to maintain the closest contact with the workers, whom they are to inform on their activities.

There will soon be issued a periodical information bulletin on the situation in China and the activities of the "Hands-Off China" societies.

We hope, comrades, that you will proceed with the organization of such societies without delay, and that you will succeed in winning the attention and support of the broad masses, thereby compelling the governments of your respective countries to abandon their imperialist policy towards China.

With fraternal greetings,

**A. LOZOVSKY,**

*General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions.*

<sup>7</sup> Ypsilon, *World Revolution*, pp. 421-422. Suzanne Labin, *Stalin's Russia*, London, Gollancz, 1950, p. 364.

<sup>8</sup> Possony, *Century of Conflict*, pp. 232-233.

<sup>9</sup> Willoughby, *Shanghai Conspiracy*, *passim*.

## EXHIBIT No. 89

[London, *The Communist International*, February 1, 1929. Pp. 135-142. V. Lominadze, The Anniversary of the Canton Rising]

On December 10th last, twelve months had passed since the Canton rising. The interval separating us from those great days in Canton now allows us quite objectively to estimate the importance and the character of that rising, its place in the development of the Chinese revolution, its strong and its weak sides. In its time the question of the lessons and particularly among the workers in the Chinese Communist movement, and that discussion was brought to a close only at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. Now we possess authoritative decisions on all the basic questions bound up with the analysis of the Canton events. On the other hand, all that was or seemed to be doubtful the day after the rising has now been weighed and tested on the objective scales of history. This makes it possible for us now to make final summaries of the disputes which went on for so long inside the Comintern around the question of Canton.

It is true that even at the present day we still do not have any full and systematic materials at our disposition concerning the course of the events in Canton day by day, hour by hour. The Canton rising still awaits its historian. One may hope that the first anniversary of the Soviet revolutionary rising in Canton will serve as a reminder to the comrades studying the history of the Chinese revolution of the pressing necessity of collecting, working over, and publishing all the materials for the historic days of December 10th to 13th, 1927. Further procrastination in the fulfilment of this task is quite unpardonable. But whilst we still do not possess a full and exact historical description of the Canton events, quite sufficient material has been accumulated for their political and their final political estimation.

## LESSONS OF THE RISING

The Soviet power in Canton did not last three whole days. The rising of the revolutionary workers and soldiers of Canton was suppressed by the united forces of the Chinese bourgeois-militarist reaction and the imperialists within 58 hours. But those 58 hours achieved a truly universally historical importance. They represent a higher stage and simultaneously a complete historical break in the development of the Chinese revolution. During the Canton days through the tremendous historical activity of the masses, the Chinese revolution came for the first time, by a number of intervening and transitional steps, to the new, Soviet stage of its development. After December 10th to 13th, 1927, the revolution in China can develop only as a Soviet revolution, or it will not develop further at all. After Canton the slogan of soviets has ceased to be a merely "theoretical" slogan in the Chinese revolution. For the great masses of the Chinese toiling classes, it has now become a slogan which has been tested and applied in practice. The Chinese revolution cannot now go back from Canton. It can only advance from Canton, only go further than Canton. In this above all consists the universally historical importance of the Canton rising. The events of December, 1927, confirmed the genius of the theoretical position advanced by Lenin at the Second

Comintern Congress, namely that the Soviets are the basic and historically inevitable form in which alone can be accomplished the revolutionary emancipation both of the proletariat of the leading capitalist countries and of the toiling masses of the backward and imperialistically oppressed countries. The Canton rising showed that China has now grown up, has matured to the Soviet form of development, that for the hundreds of millions of the Chinese people the Soviet system is not only in the historical sense of the words the only way out from under the pressure of triple serfdom and extreme indigence, but a decisive practical necessity at the first further rise of the revolution. The Canton rising has placed the question of the Soviet power in China as the next item on the historical agenda. It showed that in the Chinese toiling masses, there is already historically adequate strength for the resolution of this question. And now there is no power on earth which could remove that question from the agenda.

The events of December 10th to 13th, 1927 added the final touch to that period of the Chinese revolution during which the proletariat was still politically immature for independent historical action, and was not in a condition to effect its hegemony in the all-national revolutionary movement. It is true that the Chinese working class had carried on the struggle for hegemony from the very first days of the growth of the mass movement; it had carried on that struggle even during its alliance with the national bourgeoisie and after its rupture with the latter. But it is one thing to struggle for the leadership of a revolutionary movement, and another to have the mastery of that leadership. Even the final defection of the national bourgeoisie from the revolutionary camp (the Shanghai and Wuhan risings) could not of itself automatically decide the question of proletarian hegemony in China's revolutionary mass movement. History never decides such questions automatically. In order to resolve this question the Chinese working class had in practice to demonstrate their capability of independent revolutionary mass action, and an action at that sufficiently strong to shatter or break down the dominance of the bourgeois militarist reaction. The Canton rising proved to be that activity. It was a decisive historical test, in which the Chinese proletariat finally assured to itself the role of the sole leader and director of the Chinese revolution. After Canton the hegemony of the proletariat was transformed from a historical possibility into the actuality of the Chinese revolution.

#### AFTER THE RISING

But after the Canton revolution we witnessed a strong ebb in the revolutionary wave in China. The peasant risings which broke out in the winter and spring of last year quickly died down. In any case, they to-day do not have that force and that sweep which they had several months back, and the workers' movement in all the large centres of China, Canton included, still cannot rise out of the depression. Can our estimate of the importance of the Canton events be reconciled with these indisputable facts? Has not the very revolution ceased to be a reality of the present day in China, has it not been transformed into merely one of the possibilities, and a distant possibility at that, along which the further development of China may

proceed? Would it not be more sound to consider the Canton rising not as a transfer to a new stage of the Chinese revolution, but as the end of that revolution?

This conclusion, which we have deliberately set in an interrogative form, is openly insisted on by the Trotskyists. Not so very long since a letter by Trotsky on the Comintern Sixth Congress was published in the German "ultra-left" press. In this letter Trotsky pokes "fun" at the congress decisions which laid on all Communist parties the prime obligation of defending the Chinese revolution. What is there to defend, Trotsky venomously asks, when there is nothing left of the revolution? However, in a less open form this idea that the Canton rising was the last outbreak of the accomplished Chinese revolution is shared even in the ranks of the Communist movement by a certain circle of comrades. And this makes it all the more necessary to consider this question first of all. The manner of its decision will predetermine a number of further political conclusions of secondary importance.

### THE REVOLUTION CONTINUES

At the moment no one can deny the fact that the growth in the mass revolutionary struggle was broken off sharply after the suppression of the Canton rising, that from that date began a period of protracted decline of the revolutionary struggle in China. In the conditions of a revolutionary situation one year is an extraordinarily long period. At the present moment there can be dispute only over whether the very lowest point has been reached in this process of decline in the revolutionary struggle. The actual fact of an ebb in the revolutionary wave can be disputed by no one. The greatest political mistake of a number of Chinese and non-Chinese Communists (and of the author of the present article in the first place) consisted in their continuing for several months after the suppression of the Canton rising to regard it as the direct beginning of a new revolutionary rise throughout China, and in correspondence with this view insisting upon an orientation of the Chinese C.P. tactics around the direct organisation of an armed rising on as large a scale as possible. This profoundly inaccurate estimate of the situation arising after Canton was conditioned by indications of a growth of the elemental peasant risings in Central and Southern China. Moreover, the dimensions of the peasant insurgent movement at this stage of its development were greatly exaggerated, whilst the extent and depths of the defeat of the working class were still more underestimated.

The great service of the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. consisted in the fact that it resolutely rejected this erroneous opinion and with determination changed the tactical course of the Chinese C.P., recalling the general slogan of an immediate armed rising (in the post-Canton conditions this slogan would inevitably have condemned the Chinese Communists to hopeless adventures and complete break up) and replacing it by the slogan of the organisation of the masses and their preparation for the new, imminent revolutionary rise. The Ninth Plenum quite soundly evaluated the Canton rising as a rear-guard struggle marking the end of the first revolutionary wave in China. But, of course, this evaluation has nothing in common with

the Trotskyist theory anent the end of the Chinese revolution. After Canton the period of rise was replaced by a period, and even a prolonged period, of depression. But the revolution has not come to a halt in China. The revolution is continuing. This was, and this remains the starting point for all the decisions of the Comintern on the Chinese question.

The long series of heavy defeats and failures which overtook the workers' and peasants' revolution in 1927, would undoubtedly have interrupted the development of the Chinese revolution for many years (and then it would indeed have marked the end of the revolution) if the bourgeois-militarist counter-revolution had proved capable of ensuring the country any way out whatever, whether reactionary or reformist, from the gigantic antagonisms which engendered and which nourish the Chinese revolution. But a year has now passed since the defeat of the Canton rising—a period extraordinarily long in the conditions of a revolutionary epoch—and all the experience of this year witnesses to the fact that the bourgeois-militarist reaction has no power to resolve the problems upon the settlement of which the further development of China is bound up. Nor does the growing activity of the imperialists in China ensure such a sequel to the Chinese revolution. It was still possible to carry on theoretical discussions on these questions in 1927. But now the theoretical discussion is settled by the very development of the objective reality. Not a single step forward has been taken towards the decision of the basic social problems of China—the agrarian and social problems.\* And this signifies that the antagonisms have in this regard grown enormously. From the aspect of China's struggle for independence her international situation has not improved during the past year. The fact of America's recognition of the Nanking government, and equally Britain's recognition, does not in the least connote a weakening of China's national oppression, but on the contrary, implies a further growth of actual oppression. The fact of increased aggression of foreign capital in China in all spheres is quite indisputable. This past year has led to a further intensification of the crisis in the agriculture of China, and it now has reached the extreme limits (one of the expressions of this fact is the condemnation of not less than twenty millions of the population to famine this year). A certain animation in industry, of a purely circumstantial nature, and also the increase in foreign trade, cannot, of course, resolve the severe economic crisis through which the country is now passing. The formal union of all China under the "single" government of the Kuomintang has made no essential changes in China's political system; the struggle between the cliques of generals, the very character of the government and so on, have all remained as they were a year ago. The entire practice, and the entire experience of the past year demonstrate that the conditions for a stabilisation of the bourgeois-militarist regime in China do not exist, that at the present moment stabilisation is objectively impossible, that there are at the moment no indications of that stabilisation. Owing to this circumstance the defeat of the revolution in 1927 was not transformed and could not be transformed into the

\*At the present time one feels even a little constraint in recalling that a year ago we still had to discuss the possibilities of realising an agrarian reform of the Stolypin type in China.

end of the revolution. Owing to this circumstance the revolution in China must inevitably continue.

#### A TRANSITION TO A HIGHER STAGE

Thus viewed, the Canton rising, despite the fact that it was immediately followed by a long period of depression in the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese toiling masses, cannot but connote a transition to a new, higher, Soviet stage of the revolution, in which the Chinese proletariat will become the leader of the whole revolutionary movement. This deduction is often objected to on the ground of the naive, abstractly schematic argument that it is impossible for it to mean a transition to a higher stage, when it is admitted that immediately after Canton a long period of triumph of reaction set in. That argument sounds convincing only at its first hearing. In reality where has it ever been proved that the transition from one stage of the revolution to another, higher stage must necessarily occur immediately without any interval in time? The rising line of revolution cannot be described as though it were geometrically straight. The Canton rising connotes a transition to a higher stage of the revolution, first and most of all owing to the form of revolutionary government which it established (the Soviet Government), then owing to the new disposition of class forces (the proletarian hegemony in the struggle of the masses against the bloc of bourgeoisie, landowners and imperialists), and finally owing to the historical initiative of the proletariat in organising a mass revolutionary struggle, which is the prototype of imminent revolutionary battles on a much greater scale than that of December 10th to 13th, 1927.

So much for the general significance of the Canton rising and its place in the development of the Chinese revolution.

#### CONDITIONS OF THE RISING

In the discussion which developed in the Comintern on the question of the lessons of the Canton events, certain of the comrades attempted to prove that the rising in Canton was untimely organised by the Chinese Communist Party. Some of them held to the thesis that the rising had been started prematurely, whilst others argued that it was historically late. The adherents of the latter view based it on the assumption that the failure of the Canton rising was predetermined by the exhaustion of the forces of the revolutionary movement before the rising; the tendency to an ebb in the revolutionary wave was quite definitely indicated long before the Canton rising. The depression in the workers' movement in China's main industrial centres (Shanghai, Wuhan) a number of heavy defeats of the peasant risings (including the rising of Ho-Lung and Wei-Tin's soldiers) on the very eve of the Canton rising predetermined the failure of any armed attack, and under such conditions the organisation of the Canton rising was a highly serious political error. "It would have been better not to take to arms." (Plekhanov, after 1905.)

It is characteristic that this viewpoint, which produced Plekhanov's estimate of the December armed rising of 1905 (Plekhanov also argued the untimeliness, the lateness of the Moscow rising) was in complete agreement with Trotsky's views on the character of the Can-

ton rising. Trotsky declared that rising to be a putsch, a consciously hopeless adventure, previously condemned to a cruel smash owing to the very fact that the revolution in China had clearly been on the ebb long before the Canton events. This coincidence in the view of the extreme right elements of the Comintern and the "left" Trotskyist opposition on a highly important political question is, of course, no fortuitous one. It shows how closely the two extreme deviations from the Leninist line of the Comintern coincide, and on a social-democratic platform at that.

It is not necessary to go into extensive demonstrations of the extreme inaccuracy of this essentially Menshevik "theory" of the "destiny" of the Canton rising. It is, to start with, contrary to the facts. And the facts declare that whilst by the date of the Canton rising the working class and peasantry of a number of Chinese provinces were actually rendered impotent by their defeats during the previous stages, in the Kwantung province, with its forty million population, and in the adjacent areas, the peasant revolution rose very swiftly during November and December, 1927. The mass revolutionary movement of the peasantry in Kwantung province itself was particularly extensively developed (the establishment of soviets in a number of Kwantung districts). In Canton itself there was a rapid growth in the revolutionary agitation of both the working masses (the demonstrations and strikes of October 14th, November 7th, and so on), and among the garrison divisions. The elemental mass movement in Kwantung was on the rise. To deny this proved and confirmed fact is now quite impossible. Under such conditions the Canton Communist Party was bound not to constrain and hinder the elemental movement, but organisedly to carry it on, forward to the decisive struggle: decisive because its result was to determine the further development of the revolutionary struggle throughout China, and its success would undoubtedly have raised the forces of the all-China revolution to an enormous degree. A struggle and only a struggle could determine the question whether a real turn in the development of the revolution had now come. Any other decision of this question would have been a fatal capitulation and the self-destruction of the Chinese Communist movement.

#### MARXISM AND REVOLUTION

"A Marxist," said Lenin, "is the first to foresee the arrival of a revolutionary epoch, and begins to arouse the people and to sound the alarm while the philistines are still sleeping the slavish sleep of the faithful. Consequently the Marxist is the first to take the road of direct revolutionary struggle, he moves towards the direct struggle, towards the revolutionary seizure of power, unmasking the reconciliatory delusions of all the social and political mediocrities. Consequently the Marxist is the last to abandon the road of direct revolutionary struggle, and abandons it only when all possibilities are exhausted, when there is not the faintest shadow of hope of a shorter road, when the call to prepare for mass strikes, for a rising and so on has clearly lost all basis. Consequently, the Marxist replies with contempt to all those innumerable renegades of the revolution who cry that 'we are more progressive than you, we gave up the revolution earlier.'"

These words of Lenin are a blow between the eyes to those opportunists and "ultra-left" Mensheviks who scream of the predetermined destiny of the Canton rising, and who are proud of the fact that they either before or after that rising considered that "it would have been better not to take to arms." In December, 1927, the working class of Canton and the Chinese Communists were, in Marx's words, faced with the following alternative: "either to accept the challenge to struggle, or to yield without struggle. In the latter case the demoralisation of the working class would be a much greater misfortune than the loss of any number of leaders."

The heroic proletariat of Canton accepted the challenge to struggle and suffered defeat. The struggle cost the Canton workers enormous sacrifices. But even the shattered Canton rising has taken on a universal historical importance and was a great achievement of the Chinese revolution. Capitulation without a battle would not in the least have protected revolutionary China from the horrors of the white terror, and would simultaneously have been the greatest misfortune for the entire revolutionary movement of China.

We shall not stop to consider in detail the arguments of those who consider the Canton rising was premature. The advocates of this view, wise after the event, start with the assumption that the Canton Communists ought to have waited a few more weeks, in order to allow the cliques of generals fighting for Canton time to fight among themselves, and only then to have raised the revolt. These "sage" politicians leave out of account "only" the fact that any postponement of the rising would have left the Canton workers without the aid of the garrison (the order for the disarmament of the revolutionary divisions was issued on December 10th, and this circumstance forced a precipitation of the Communists' attack by a day or two), i. e., it would have condemned them to defeat in the very first hours of the rising. These "strategists" also do not realise that in a revolutionary situation the conditions of struggle change from day to day and sometimes from hour to hour, that any neglect of the favourable moment for an armed rising may prove to be fatal. Nothing can be made of the stupid view that it would have been better if the Canton Communists had waited a few weeks with their attack. The date of the rising was forced on the Canton Communists by the objective conditions (the growth in the elemental movement of the masses, the threat of disarming the revolutionary garrison for the persistence in the question of an armed rising, and so on), and, of course, the cause of the defeat of the Canton rising cannot be attributed to the choice of dates.

#### ERRORS OF THE LEADERS

In addition to the objective causes, which had enormous importance but none the less did not necessarily predetermine the unsuccessful result of the rising, the defeat of the Canton workers was conditioned by the great errors committed by the leaders of the rising. To the honour of the Chinese Communist Party it has to be said that these errors were not in the fundamental political line, which was absolutely sound during the Canton days. The slogans of a rising, the establishment of a Canton Soviet, the Soviet Government's decrees on the power, on the land, etc., the policy in relation to the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, were all unimpeachably sound

during the days of the rising. In this the Canton rising is an excellent example of how the Chinese Communists ought to proceed in future. The errors of the Canton Communists lie in another direction. In the first place, the political preparation of the masses for the rising was inadequate. The revolutionary work among the soldiers was developed only in the town of Canton. No attempts were made to carry it on among the divisions situated outside the town. And this mistake brought its own retribution. A still greater political error consisted in the Canton Communists continually regarding the workers united in the yellow, fascist "mechanics' union" as a "solid reactionary mass." By so doing the Communists completely isolated themselves from an albeit not numerically, but qualitatively important part of the industrial workers of Canton, and afforded the reactionary leaders of this union the possibility of exploiting its forces in the struggle against the insurgents. The military tactics employed at the very moment of the rising were also quite unsatisfactory. Instead of concentrating all their forces and inflicting a powerful, crushing blow on the main base of reaction, the island of Honan, on which a large part of the Kuomintang forces was situated, the leaders of the rising scattered their armed forces over separate operations, which had no decisive significance, inside the town; they let pass the moment for a surprise attack and allowed the enemy to take the offensive. This is perhaps the greatest and the most fatal mistake of all that the Canton workers committed during the rising. As one had to expect, defence instead of a decisive attack connoted the end of the rising, despite all the heroism of the defenders of Soviet Canton. Such are the chief mistakes from which the Chinese ought to and will learn, so as in future to know not only how to seize, but how to retain power. And these mistakes afforded the Canton revolutionary workers no opportunity of holding out for even a few days longer, when help from the peasantry, risen at Canton's signal in a number of areas of Kwantung, could have been expected. As it was, the peasants were unable to throw forces towards the town in time to repulse the blows of the Kuomintang soldiers, who by the third day of the rising had completely surrounded Canton.

#### THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT BY THE MASSES

In all the discussions over the lessons of the Canton events the most doubtful question of all was that of the participation of the masses in the rising. This discussion was settled finally at the Comintern Sixth Congress, in whose labours the question of the Canton rising occupied no small place. The statements of a number of Chinese comrades, participants in and organisers of the rising, did not dispel the legend of the Blanquist character of the Canton rising, of a putsch, and so on. Now it has been finally demonstrated that December 10th to 13th was the work of the masses of Canton themselves, that any talk of the non-participation of the masses in the rising has not the least basis. Of course, given a sounder political preparation of the rising it would have had more of a mass character; of course the errors of the leaders hindered the maximum mobilisation of all the revolutionary forces for the immediate armed struggle. But the discussion did not circle around this, but around the question whether the masses participated in the Canton rising at all, and whether it was

not an adventurist conspiracy, organised only by an upper group of the Communists. The Sixth Comintern Congress put an end to this discussion once for all. But to what monstrous absurdities individual comrades who gave themselves over to the "criticism" of the Canton rising descended, are evident from the following passages by Comrade Reyberg:

"When we turn to a consideration of the causes of the defeat of Red Canton we have quite categorically to lay down the following position: the Canton rising suffered, and could not but suffer, defeat, in consequence of the fact that the social bases of the rising in Canton and the Kwantung province were insufficiently mature that the real inter-relations between the military forces of the revolution and the counter-revolution were not sufficiently favourable to the rising, that the moment of the rising (i. e., the 11th December specifically) was a bad choice. . . .

"The rising was suppressed by the superior forces of the enemy. It is this circumstance plus the absence of an adequately wide mass movement both in Canton itself and especially in the peasant areas closest to the town, that was the decisive cause of the crushing of Red Canton.

"The military and organisational-technical errors committed by the leaders of the rising unquestionably also had great influence on the result of the Canton struggle, but none the less, by comparison with the above specified objective conditions they were only of a secondary, and not of a decisive importance."

After all that we have already said, comment on these views which represent the Canton rising as a putsch (without mentioning the word, which, however, is quite unimportant) is absolutely superfluous.

The greatness of the Canton rising consists in the fact that it was a mighty revolutionary activity of the masses. This is to us Bolsheviks the clearest of all that occurred during 1927. This aspect was always given the highest estimate by Marxism in the revolutionary struggle. Concerning Marx, Lenin wrote the following penetrating words, with which we will conclude our article:

"When the masses have risen, Marx wishes to move with them, to learn together with them, in the course of the struggle, and not to read office instructions. He places highest of all the fact that the working class is heroically, devotedly, initiatively making world history. Marx looked at that history from the viewpoint of those who are making it without having the possibility of previously infallibly estimating the chances, and not from the viewpoint of an intelligent suburban, who moralises. 'It is easy to foresee . . . it would have been better not to take arms.' Marx knew how to estimate also the fact that there are moments in history when the desperate struggle of the masses even for a hopeless cause is indispensable in the name of the education of those masses and their preparation for the succeeding struggle."

The Communist International has been and remains faithful to this revolutionary spirit of Marxism. Consequently the Communist International proudly takes on itself all the responsibility for the great Canton Commune.

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## EXHIBIT No. 90

[*Daily Worker*, May 15, 1930. P. 4]

## FIRST CHINESE SOVIET CONGRESS

By Chen Kwang (Shanghai)

The agrarian revolution and the partisan fights of the peasants are today one of the chief symptoms of the Chinese revolution. During the past year the revolutionary fights of the peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have developed further and gained ground enormously in South China. In North China also the peasants have spontaneously taken the field against the rule of the military rulers. A strong movement has arisen among the Mohammedan peasants in connection with the distribution of food in the famine areas. Even if the peasant forces, known as the "Red Lances" and the "Big Knives," are still often under the leadership of the small landowners and rich peasants, this movement is, on the whole, directed against all property owners. In the Eastern part of the province of Chili, in the neighborhood of Paotingfu and in the Northern part of the province of Honan, it has often happened that thousands of peasants have marched into the town, destroyed the government buildings and opposed the collection of taxes.

In South China, the peasants are waging a life and death struggle against the landowners. In many districts the landowners, aided by Kuomintang troops, have recaptured power and driven the peasants off the land. They have not only taken back their landed property, but also forcibly seized the land belonging to the poor peasants. But the more brutally the landowners proceed against the peasants, the more fierce becomes the fight of the peasants for land.

In many places in South China, the peasants have already confiscated the whole of the estates of the landed proprietors. In those places where the power of the landlords has been overthrown, the peasants have set up Soviets. The boundary posts are destroyed and the land distributed among the poor peasants and members of the Red Army. The village Soviets have also introduced the eight hour day and labor protection.

## SOVIETS IN 18 DISTRICTS

Up to now the Soviet Power has been set up in 18 districts. Many provincial towns are in the hands of the workers and peasants. The Soviet territory in the province of West Fukien comprises eight districts. The town of Lungyenchow, Yungtinghs, San-han and Tingchow are in the hands of the Red Army under the leadership of Chu-teh and Mau-Tsedung. The Soviet territories in Kwangsi embrace over six districts; the most important towns in these districts are also in the hands of the Soviets.

There are even larger Soviet territories in the provinces of Hupeh and Kiangsi. According to the imperialist press in China, all districts in the province of Hupeh, with the exception of Wuchang, are in the hands of the Reds. In Wuchang, the fight of the revolutionary workers has broken out again; the movement in this district will be one of the chief points of support of the revolutionary movement.

In Tayeh Hsian, in December last, two mutinous regiments of the government troops carried out a revolt together with the workers in the iron works and the red peasant defense force in the villages, and hoisted the Soviet flag. Although the town of Tayeh Hsian is again in the occupation of white-guardist troops, the revolutionary centers in East Hupeh have remained unshaken.

#### 100,000 MEN IN RED ARMY

It is in this process of advancing agrarian revolution that the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army has been founded. In the previous years the armed forces of the peasants were organized in connection with the sharpening of the class struggle. In the past six months, over 60 well organized mutinies of the soldiers have broken out, in which it has happened that whole battalions and regiments have gone over to the Red Army.

Thanks to this favorable situation, the Chinese Red Workers' and Peasants' Army has grown enormously; it numbers today 13 armies with over 100,000 men distributed over the various Soviet territories. Their weapons and equipment are fairly good. In addition to the Red Army, there is for example in Kiangsi, in the area in which the third Red Workers' and Peasants' Army rules, the Red Peasant Defense, consisting of nine formations, each numbering 5,000 men.

The leaders of the cadres are the leaders of the workers and peasants who have already experienced the great Chinese Revolution; they all work under the direction of the Communist Party. The Red Soldiers have always been outnumbered—ten to one—but thanks to the support of the masses, the numerically superior enemy has always been vanquished. It is this invincibility of the Red Army that has caused the imperialists and the Chinese bourgeoisie and landowning class to unite against the Revolution. The Kuomintang military rulers are sending their troops into the villages in order to "purge" them. But all these attacks prove in vain in face of the upsurge of the Chinese Revolution, the revolutionizing of the world proletariat and the victorious consolidation of the Soviet Union.

#### ALL-CHINA SOVIET CONGRESS CALLED

It is in this situation that the Communist Party of China, together with the Chinese red trade unions, have convened an All-China Soviet Congress. At this Congress a uniform leadership for the whole of the Soviet territories will be set up in order to secure the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. This leadership will enact laws regarding the land; laws for the protection of labor, the organization of the Red Army and the Constitution of the Soviets, and proclaim the fight for the All-China Soviet Power of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

This Soviet Congress in China will take place on the 30th of May, on the anniversary of the massacre of the revolutionary workers and students in Shanghai by the imperialists in the year 1925. Proletarians of all countries! You must aid the Chinese Revolution by your energetic support. We will all march shoulder to shoulder on the way to the victory of the world revolution, to the establishment of the Soviet Power in the whole world.

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## EXHIBIT No. 91

[*Daily Worker*, December 2, 1930. P. 1]

## DEFEND CHINESE REVOLUTION!

## PROCLAMATION

The CC of the CP of China to the Workers of the World.

Dear Comrades.

Workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors of all countries.

The English, Japanese, American, French, German and other imperialist robbers are protecting the bourgeoisie and the landlords' counter-revolution in China, they are striving to crush the new revolutionary wave, to stamp out the Chinese Soviets.

The international bourgeois press is full of wild stories of the "horrors" of the peasant movement in China, of the Red terror of the partisans, of the "brutalities" in the Soviet districts, etc.

This is all absolutely false, and is merely a repetition of the old slanders about Bolshevik "brutalities" in the Russian revolution. It is done to justify their own crimes and to deceive the working masses.

The imperialists are utilizing Chinese reaction to set up a brutal terror against the revolutionary workers and peasants of China; in big cities like Shanghai, Wuchan, Canton, almost every day there are masses of arrests and executions, heads are cut off in the streets, women and children are killed for distributing proclamations, for taking part in demonstrations; the rule of the Kuomintang is the rule of a new inquisition. In 1930 alone, 58,000 people have been executed.

The imperialists are carrying on a bloody war against the workers and peasants, against the Red Army and the Soviet Government in China. French airplanes have bombarded Soviet Luchow, the Japanese imperialists have twice driven back the Reds from Da-ye; the British, French, Japanese and American artillery, warships and airplanes are operating against the Red Army in Chang-sha and Shasi. A tremendous amount of rifles, guns, machine guns, tanks, airplanes, gas, and other weapons are being imported into China from England, America, Germany, Japan, Czecho-Slovakia and Sweden. German, British and Japanese military specialists, scouts, missionaries and social-fascist leaders like Vanderveld are being sent there to support the executioners of the Kuomintang. The imperialists of all countries, while carrying on a fierce struggle among themselves for domination over China, have agreed in the general struggle against the workers' and peasants' revolution.

The imperialists are attempting to unite the Chinese generals and executioners for the struggle against the Soviets.

Chiang Kai-shek has received money and assistance from the imperialists to prepare 10 well armed divisions against the Soviet districts. The imperialists have concentrated their armed forces near Hankow to the extent of dozens of European divisions. There are 23 foreign cruisers stationed in the Yang-tse-Kiang for the purpose of dealing out brutal punishment under the pretense of "saving civilization."

The Chinese workers and peasants look on this "civilization" as shameless inhuman robbery, as imperialist slavery, which props up the oppression of the landlords and usurers. This civilization means the destruction of millions of people, ruin, slavish conditions of labor, unending war, death from starvation and similar calamities.

The workers and peasants of China have replied to the arbitrary violence of the imperialists and to the terrible oppression of the bourgeoisie and landlords by forming Soviets in 200 counties in Southern and Central China, by forming a Red Army 300,000 strong, by the advance of 3-4 million armed peasants with the support of 30 million farmers. They are building up a new life, they are equalizing the distribution of land among the peasants and the soldiers of the Red Army, they are destroying the contracts of slavery and debts to usurers, introducing the 8-hour day, making special laws to defend the interests of the workers, men, women and youths, and are giving women their rights. They are setting up their own cultural organizations, organizing schools, developing the trade union movement, improving the conditions of life of the workers and the masses of the peasants.

On December 11, the 3rd anniversary of the Canton Commune, there will be a session of the first congress of Soviets in China, at which the workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies will set up a provisional central revolutionary Soviet government in order to carry on a line for developing the revolutionary struggle still further, for the final overthrow of imperialist domination and its servant—bourgeois landlord government—for complete national independence, for the unity of the country and for the victory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants of all China.

The successes of the Red Army and the Soviets in China in organizing a firm revolutionary government will serve as an encouraging example for the oppressed peoples of all colonies. They will be a great factor for bringing nearer the doom of imperialism and the victory of the proletarian revolution throughout the world.

The world bourgeoisie, tightly held in the clutches of the economic crisis, do not wish to lose the tremendous Chinese market, and cannot tolerate the successes of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R.

Comrades! There are only two sides to the barricades. On one side are the proletariat of the whole world, the oppressed toilers of the colonies, the U. S. S. R. and Soviet China. On the other side are the world bourgeoisie, the landlords, the fascists, who are responsible for the world economic crisis and unemployment. The victory of the revolution in China and the victory of the U. S. S. R. is a victory for the proletariat of the world. Our fight is your fight.

Workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors. Not a cent, not a single soldier must be sent for imperialist slaughter and intervention against the U. S. S. R. and the Chinese Soviets.

Reply to the imperialist interventionists by forming mass fighting committees "Hands of the Chinese Soviets." Reply by mass demonstrations against loading and despatching armaments and soldiers to China. Demand the recall of foreign soldiers from China. Struggle against war on the Chinese workers and peasants. Don't allow soldiers or arms to be sent.

Hands off the U. S. S. R. and the Chinese Soviets.

Down with imperialist war and intervention against the U. S. S. R. and the Chinese Soviets.

Long live the world proletarian revolution.

Long live the socialist revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants of China.

Long live the Communist International—the leader of the world revolution.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, C. P. OF CHINA.

October 12, 1930.

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EXHIBIT No. 92

[*Inprecorr*, February 11, 1932. P. 103]

REVOLUTIONARY MASS STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR  
CRIMINALS AND THEIR ACTIVE HELPERS;

Appeal of the Communist Parties of Western Europe and America  
for the Defence of the Chinese Revolution and of the U. S. S. R.

*Workers and Toilers!*

A war has broken out in the Far East which threatens to call forth a new world slaughter. Japanese Imperialism, in the course of a bloody campaign, has forced under its yoke and annexed the most important parts of Manchuria. It is now stretching out its greedy talons to seize the rest of China. Japanese warships and detachments of troops have occupied the most important Chinese economic centres of Shanghai, Canton, and Swatow. In Chapei, the Chinese quarter of Shanghai, red Shanghai, the most important proletarian centre in China, they have reduced whole streets to a mass of smoking ruins. Thousands of Chinese workers have fallen under the rain of shells from the Japanese guns. Japanese warships which bombarded Nanking are now proceeding up the Yangtse River into the interior of China in order to destroy Hankow, likewise a proletarian stronghold, and to prepare the way for the imperialist intervention armies to crush the Chinese Soviets.

The action of Japan has roused all the imperialist big Powers. The United States of America, France, England and Italy are also sending their warships and detachments of troops to the Far East in order to defend their own imperialist robber-interests and, together with Japan, to carve up Chinese territory and to crush the Chinese revolution. The strategic advance of the imperialist armies of intervention clearly reveals these aims. The occupation of Shanghai, Canton and Swatow, and the threatened capture of Hankow reveal beyond doubt the intention to encircle and throttle Soviet China.

At the same time, Japanese troops in Manchuria are advancing against Harbin, the administrative centre of the Chinese Eastern railway. The occupation of Harbin, which is expected at any moment, means a serious provocation of the Soviet Union, and a very serious step towards the war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The imperialist robbers united in the League of Nations stand with the whole of their military power on the side of Japanese imperialism.

Never was the contemptible hypocrisy of the so-called League of Nations so insolently and cynically displayed as at the present moment when the imperialist Powers at Geneva are staging the disarmament comedy, whilst in the Far East they are organising and conducting a bloody war.

The League of Nations not only cloaks over the robber-campaign of Japan against China, it practically hands over Manchuria to Japanese imperialism and organises the forceful partition of China and the war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

A particularly miserable and bloody role is played by the international social democracy, which, just as in August 1914, does not move a finger in order to resist the furies of war, but deliberately and cold-bloodedly, as the chief agency of the robber League of Nations, supports and justifies the murderous acts of violence of Japanese imperialism against the working population of China.

The most dangerous ally of Japan in this war is French imperialism, which supplies the Japanese army with money and war material and is at the same time mobilising its central East-European watch-dogs: Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania, for the attack on the Soviet Union.

The United States of America, which next to Japan is intervening most actively in the Far East, under the hypocritical pretext of the "open door", is taking part in the hangmen's coup against China in order to push forward its own interests against Japan.

English imperialism stands likewise actively in the front of the robbers who wish to divide Chinese territory among themselves and are organising a blow against the Soviet Union.

Imperialist Germany is also taking part in the warlike conspiracy of world imperialism against revolutionary China and the Soviet Union.

In this hour of greatest danger the Communist Parties of Germany, France, England, United States of America, Czechoslovakia and Poland call upon the working class of the whole world and all toilers to throw their whole weight into the scale in order to bring to nought the bloody plans of international counter-revolution and to defend the Chinese Soviets and also the Soviet Union.

The best way to demonstrate your solidarity with the Chinese toilers, with the revolutionary workers of Japan, the best way to defend the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution is to take up the fight against the enemy in your own country.

Fight for the defence of the Chinese Revolution and of the Chinese Soviets! Defend the integrity and independence of China! Demand the immediate withdrawal of the intervention troops and the expulsion from China of the white guardists and fascist military advisers from all imperialist countries!

We appeal above all to the dockworkers and seamen, to the workers in the munition factories and in the chemical industries; prevent and oppose determinedly the sending of munitions and troops from the capitalist countries to the seat of war in China!

Close an iron ring of revolutionary defence round the fatherland of all workers, the Soviet Union, this firmest stronghold of peace! Frustrate the base provocation plans of the imperialists! Call to the Japanese pirates:

Hands off the Soviet Russian Consulate and the other Soviet institutions in Harbin! Down with the imperialist warmakers! Long live the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets!

Long live the revolutionary and the oppressed masses of the colonies! Long live the victory of world Socialism, which will finally break the yoke of the exploiters' rule, destroy the roots of imperialist war and give peace to the world!

The Central Committee of the  
 Communist Party of Germany,  
 Communist Party of France,  
 Communist Party of England,  
 Communist Party of America,  
 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,  
 Communist Party of Poland.

### EXHIBIT No. 93

[Berlin, *The Anti-Imperialist Review*, January 1932. Pp. 147-151]

## FIVE YEARS OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

By Willi Munzenberg

Five years ago, on February 10, 1927, a Conference of 174 delegates, representing some scores of mass organisations of all peoples and races embracing over 1000 million people, was opened by the world-famous writer, Henri Barbusse, with the words:—

For the first time the enslaved, victimised and tortured peoples are uniting to form a single bloc. None of us is any longer taken in by the hypocritical sophisms which imperialism erects as a theatrical façade to cover its shameful acts in the colonies, none of us is any longer deceived by the "justice" which covers brutal and merciless occupation, or by the so-called civilising policy which is the name given to forcible oppression and barbarity. We have gone beyond these sophisms. We know very well that the history of imperialism is a history of plunder. There are lands which are so fortunate, or so unfortunate, as to possess mineral riches, as to be bounteously provided with those human reserves from which labour power and cannon fodder are recruited, as to form important markets for commodities and to be situated on important highways and trade routes of the world where fortresses can be erected and cannon mounted. On such lands the triumphant foreigner has set his iron heel. If the oppressed people bestirs itself and protests, it is declared to be rebellious. The revolting people are called bandits and brigands—Moroccan brigands or Chinese brigands. If the people rises against the foreign imperialists, then they are said to have been incited to race-hatred.

The stormy, enthusiastic agreement of the whole Congress was the response to this address. During the five days which the Congress lasted, a terrible picture of imperialist oppression was drawn by the representatives of the different organisations and the speeches culminated in a pledge of inexorable struggle against imperialism, against all national oppression, for the liberation of the masses. A unanimous decision was adopted to found the "League against Imperialism and for National Independence", the first immediate demand of which was not for any abstract protest but concerned concrete support for the Chinese revolution, then engaged in a mighty forward march.

The tremendous revolutionary upsurge gave rise to the Congress of the oppressed peoples, at which its fighting union, the "League

against Imperialism" was born. Owing to the great successes of the revolutionary masses, the leaders of bourgeois and Social Democratic parties also in this stage of the movement gave their adhesion. How courageous and resolute sounded the words spoken at that Congress by the representative of the Kuomintang, "never will I accept an offer from our enemies, the imperialists"! What a revolutionary note was sounded by Mr. Lansbury, then vice-chairman of the Labour Party, who declared:—

Yesterday we filled the Trafalgar Square with a crowd which was unanimous in its demand. To-morrow you will hear of a great conference which is taking place in London on account of our Chinese comrades. Do not, therefore, be depressed about the British Labour movement. We are trained and will become more so with every day.

The opportunist leaders, fearful for their prestige, anxious lest they should be swept away by the revolutionary movement, vied with one another in exuberant phrases. But already then it was plainly declared that practice, the actual behaviour of the participators in the Congress in the struggle against imperialism in each separate country would be the touchstone and test of their honesty and uprightness. "The coming period must be a period of feverish activity and labour. Now that the League has been brought into existence, the condition is created for a great work to be performed. The Brussels Congress must be followed by others. Similar congresses must be carried through in other parts of the world. Plans have been made for conferences of the Central and South American States, of North Africa and of the Arabian countries. The groups which sympathise with us but have been prevented owing to technical and organisational difficulties from participation here must be brought into the League. We must widen and strengthen our ranks." These words were spoken by the present author in his concluding speech, and, in fact, the next month proved indeed that only actual experience of the struggle could be the test of the sincerity of the speeches made at the Congress.

The shameful betrayal of the Kuomintang, which began with the shooting down of the workers in Shanghai in April, 1927, was not only a stab in the back against the Chinese revolution, and signified not only its surrender to the imperialists, but was also a contemptible breach of faith to the international anti-imperialist struggle and a cynical repudiation of the oath of the Chinese Kuomintang delegates in Brussels. Mr. Lansbury, who shortly afterwards became a member of the British Labour Government, not only forgot the "fundamental principle" that China belongs to the Chinese but even demanded the sending out of fresh troops to China and took an active part in the bloody suppression of the Indian revolution.

Just as the Kuomintang acted in China, so also did the treacherous national reformist bourgeoisie in the other colonies. In India, Indonesia, the Arabian countries, South America, everywhere they became the accomplices of the imperialist powers in throttling the revolutionary mass movement. Just like Mr. Lansbury himself, the other representatives of the Labour Party and of the Independent Labour Party also very quickly reached a position of unconditional support for British imperialism.

In hardly any other organisation was there reflected with such clearness as in the "League against Imperialism", and in so short a space of time, the sharp differentiation between the resolute champ-

pions of the oppressed masses in the colonies and the traitors to their struggle. The self-exposure of the national reformist leaders in the colonies and of the Social Democratic leaders in the imperialist countries, and above all in Britain, is one of the most instructive chapters in the history of the great epoch of colonial revolutionary struggle.

It is certain that the betrayal of the Kuomintang leaders and of the other nationalist bourgeois parties in the colonies and the betrayal of the Social Democrats in the imperialist countries has done immeasurable harm to the anti-imperialist struggle. But even these imperialist agents have not been successful in stifling the mass movement and breaking the anti-imperialist front of struggle. The League against Imperialism had the difficult task of exposing and expelling the treacherous elements which sought by trickery to set themselves at its head in order the better to be able to betray the masses. This task could only be successfully fulfilled by again and again proving the glaring contradiction between the words of these leaders and their acts, by showing from the conduct of the revolutionary struggle that, whatever was said in speeches by these leaders, nevertheless in reality they had become enemies of the anti-imperialist fight.

If the foundation Congress of the League against Imperialism represented a mighty demonstration, even though it was characterised by the presence of certain elements which afterwards revealed themselves as traitors and pro-imperialists, the second Congress of the League, which took place in June, 1929, in Frankfurt am Main was confronted, as its main task, above all with the need for a clear formulation of the political directives for the anti-imperialist struggle and the laying down of the pre-conditions for membership of a true fighting organisation for the social and national emancipation of the oppressed peoples. Once again it was demonstrated during the Congress and immediately afterwards that a number of untrustworthy persons had to be rejected from its ranks. Maxton, of the British I. L. P., Nehru, of the Indian National Congress, and others like them, were in practice pursuing the same path along which Lansbury and the Kuomintang leaders had gone; they could not any longer be tolerated in the ranks of the fighting organisation. The difficulties and friction associated with the exclusion of these treacherous elements from the "League against Imperialism" involved only a momentary weakening of its fighting strength, the actual result was a unification, a steeling and a strengthening of the League as an organisation of struggle.

It is true, the tasks facing it were severe. It was necessary among the toiling masses in the colonies and in the proletariat of the imperialist countries to restore the confidence which had been severely shaken by the shameful behaviour of Lansbury and Maxton. It was necessary to put the "League against Imperialism" on a new basis, the basis of a mass organisation of resolute revolutionary struggle. It was necessary to consolidate the union of the oppressed masses in the colonies with the proletariat of the imperialist countries, not by eloquent speeches, but by its realisation in organisational forms. Particularly difficult was the task of the reconstruction of the League in a period when the imperialists were mobilising all their forces in order to drown in a flood of repression, persecution and forcible measures every revolutionary movement in the colonies. A whole

number of determined anti-imperialist fighters, including such heroes as Julio Antonio Mella, the brave champion in the fight against U. S. A. imperialism, testified their fidelity to the revolutionary struggle at the price of their lives. While the imperialists welcomed with open arms the traitors to the anti-imperialist struggle they met the revolutionaries who continued to fight uncompromisingly with imprisonment, fetters and the gallows.

The breaches made by the imperialist terror have to be made good, anti-imperialist organisations have to be created afresh where they have been destroyed by the blows of the enemy or by treachery from within. This difficult task can only be fulfilled if the slogan of the social emancipation of the masses, and above all of the agrarian revolution in the colonies, is linked up in the closest possible way with the anti-imperialist struggle. In the course of the revolutionary struggle, in the tempestuous advance of the mass movement, new anti-imperialist organisations are arising on every side. The imperialist powers have been compelled to have recourse to war adventures in order to find a way out of the blind alley into which they have been driven by the crisis of the capitalist system. The onslaught of Japanese imperialism on the Chinese people gives the stimulus to a new wave of revolutionary mass uprisings, to a new upsurge of the Chinese revolution. Just as in the period of the foundation of the League against Imperialism the Chinese revolution stood in the forefront of the tasks of international solidarity of the toiling masses, so also to-day the war in the Far East, the war for the Chinese revolution, forms the central axis of the activity of the League.

The League campaign against the war, the mobilisation of the masses in all countries, not for the purpose of abstract protest against the war danger but for concretely providing assistance for the Chinese revolution, and for practical measures for the defence of the Soviet Union now threatened, constitutes the centre of the new activity which the fundamental principles proclaimed at the Brussels Congress allows of being made into real directives of struggle for the mass organisations.

The national reformists in the colonies and the social imperialists in the metropolitan countries, after they had been exposed and set aside by the League, have again and again prophesied the downfall of the latter. In actuality, the struggle to which these gentlemen only gave their adhesion in deceptive phrases, has been raised to a higher stage by the actions of the toilers themselves, — whether it was the Japanese anti-imperialists who came out against their own predatory generals, or the French workers who demonstrated in the streets of Paris against the threat of war or the Chinese toilers in Shanghai who declared a strike against the Kuomintang and the Japanese occupation. In the day-to-day struggle under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat there will be realised in practice the concluding words of the Manifesto which, in spite of treachery and terror, constitutes the basis of the anti-imperialist struggle,

“Oppressed Peoples and oppressed classes, unite!”

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The first untied front in China lasted from 1924 until the summer of 1927.<sup>1</sup> After Chang Kai-shek had effected a complete break with the Chinese Communists and their Soviet "advisers," there followed a period of Stalinist bolshevization which ended in disaster. The years 1928-31 were marked by a succession of serious setbacks.<sup>2</sup> During the next 3 years, Chinese Communist guerrilla forces managed to survive 6 campaigns conducted by the Nationalist Government. In October 1934, however, they were compelled to retreat far into the interior. After a long march of more than 5,000 miles, Communist headquarters were established at Yen-an in the Shensi Province. Much of the credit for this successful withdrawal must be given to Mao Tse-tung who proved himself a superb master of guerrilla warfare.<sup>3</sup>

During his sojourn in Moscow, Mao not only learned the art of conducting military campaigns. He also became adept at Seventh World Congress "new look" techniques.<sup>4</sup> As an early intellectual member of the Chinese Communist Party which at the time of its founding in July 1921 included very few genuine proletarians, Mao took naturally to methods capable of misleading professional people.<sup>5</sup>

In 1937 or 1938, Wang Ming (real name: Chen Shao-yu), returned from Moscow to work for the second united front in China.<sup>6</sup> Like Mao, he came back completely indoctrinated as to the importance of exploiting nationalist traditions. Exhibit No. 96 shows how Chinese Communists made the most of Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles (San Min Chu I). Just as Dimitrov had done at the Seventh World Congress, these four Chinese Communist scholars left no reasonable grounds for the supposition that the Communist movement in China aimed only at partial reforms.

Edgar Snow, the author of exhibit No. 95, was one of the American correspondents who collaborated with the "agrarian reformers" assembled at Mao's Yen-an headquarters.<sup>7</sup> Since Communist opposition to the Japanese invasion of China was directed exclusively to the defense of the Socialist fatherland, it naturally came to a speedy end once Stalin exchanged the kiss of peace with Ribbentrop.<sup>8</sup>

#### EXHIBIT No. 94

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, December 1935. Wang Ming, *The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonial Countries*. Pp. 59-60, 62-64]

#### IV. THE ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF COLONIAL REVOLUTIONS IN THE NEW ROUND OF REVOLUTIONS AND WARS

Whereas on the eve of and even during the first imperialist World War the colonies and semi-colonies served mainly as objects for division among the imperialists and really acted for the home countries as reserves of raw material, foodstuffs, labor power and military reinforcements, matters are entirely different now, on the eve and in the period of a new round of revolutions and wars. Under the influence of the great October Revolution and the victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R., under the influence of the general crisis of capitalism and the world economic crisis, and as a result of the altered relation of class forces and the growth of the proletariat and the Communist

<sup>1</sup> *Strategy and Tactics, Supplement III C*, pp. 8-12.

<sup>2</sup> David J. Dallin, *Soviet Russia and the Far East*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948, Chapter VII: The Chinese Soviets.

<sup>3</sup> Possony, *Century of Conflict*, pp. 235-239. Massimo Salvadori (Smith and Bennington Colleges), *The Rise of Modern Communism*, New York, Holt, 1952, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Ravines, *The Yen-an Way*, pp. 148-159. Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 399.

<sup>5</sup> Ebon, *World Communism Today*, pp. 368-370. Deverall, *War*, pp. 258ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Strategy and Tactics, Supplement III C*, pp. 21-27, 91. Dallin, *Soviet Russia and the Far East*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>7</sup> *Institute of Pacific Relations*, Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 82d Cong., 2d sess., 1952, pp. 115-116. This report is based upon 15 volumes of hearings and investigations conducted over a period of 18 months.

<sup>8</sup> Bouscaren, *Imperial Communism*, pp. 49-50. Ypsilon, *World Revolution*, pp. 423-129.

Parties, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples will fill and are already filling an important historical role in the great struggle of mankind for the overthrow of imperialism and the victory of the international socialist revolution.

As proof of this, let us take the strike struggles of the working class throughout the world. According to verified statistical data, almost fifty per cent of the participants in strikes during the past years were the workers of the eastern countries and of Latin America. To prove this, we can take the peasant struggle. Although in many large capitalist countries it is only in the past few years that the peasants are beginning to carry on a partial struggle against imperialist monopoly, against enslavement by the banks and against the bourgeois governments—the peasantry in many colonial and semi-colonial countries, because of its triple exploitation and oppression by the imperialists, the landowners and the capitalists, is constantly rising in armed struggle in defense of its vital interests and constitutes the immediate driving force of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. To prove this, we can take the Soviet Revolution in China, which today has already become one of the decisive factors in the international revolutionary movement, and which in its further development cannot but shatter the foundation of world imperialism. As a proof we can cite the role of the Indian revolution whose victorious outcome cannot but lead to the downfall of British imperialism.

We must, nevertheless, mention the fact that not all Communists properly understand and recognize the role and importance of colonial revolutions. This is clearly shown by the attitude of our brother Parties in the capitalist countries towards the Chinese revolution. Facts show that with the exception of our Japanese brother Party, which is heroically struggling with its utmost power against Japanese imperialism and for the defense of the Chinese people, and with the exception of our American brother Party, which *has begun*—even if it has only just begun, it is nevertheless a beginning—to collect money for the Chinese Red Army, our other brother Parties as far as assistance to the Chinese Revolution is concerned have as yet limited themselves, to a certain extent, to agitation and propaganda. Meanwhile, the Chinese revolution is in actual need of support, primarily on the part of the workers of all the large imperialist countries. In his report, Comrade Dimitroff assured us, to the thunderous applause of the entire Congress, of his firm determination to support the struggle of the Chinese people for its emancipation from all the imperialist beasts of prey and their Chinese agents. The Chinese people has the right to expect practical measures from the world proletariat in support of its liberation movement.

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I have already pointed out that not all Communists properly estimate and understand the role and the significance of colonial revolutions. This may be shown by the fact that certain Communists who work in capitalist countries usually regard colonial revolutions as something extraneous, or, at best, as insignificant, auxiliary forces of the world revolution. This is an entirely incorrect conception of the role and significance of the colonial revolutions of the new epoch—the

epoch of world proletarian revolution, one of whose component parts, according to Lenin and Stalin, is the colonial revolution.

Comrade Communists and Social-Democratic workers! The matter of colonial revolutions is important not only because the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries constitute an absolute majority of mankind; this matter is important not only because the majority of the colonial peoples are actual toilers; it is important not only because parts of our own working class and its parties live and struggle in these countries. It is important because the actual rulers there are the same enemies of the people against whom and for the overthrow of whose rule we fight in our own home. A disparaging attitude towards colonial revolutions is one of the remnants of Social-Democratic deviations among Communists and advanced workers. We must decisively put an end to this!

In the present serious condition of the international class struggle we must at all costs strive to establish a real fighting world-wide united revolutionary front of the proletariat in capitalist countries with the oppressed peoples of the entire colonial world for a common struggle against the world counter-revolutionary united front of imperialism and its agents.

We have all the fundamental prerequisites for this. We have a common enemy—imperialism, we have a single program and the same aims of a struggle for socialism, we have the strategy and tactics of the world revolution, we have the same fortress of revolutionary struggle—the U. S. S. R., we have the same world party—the Communist International—and we have the same teacher and leader—the great Stalin!

We should always remember Lenin's last article, his last legacy, in which he gave a clear evaluation of the perspectives for the development of post-war capitalism, the perspectives of struggle between capitalism and socialism, and at the same time evaluated the role and significance of colonial revolution in the decisive struggle between the socialist and capitalist worlds. At the end of this article Lenin wrote:

The outcome of the struggle, in the final analysis, depends on the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., constitute an overwhelming majority of the population. And it is precisely this majority of the population that during the last few years is being drawn into the struggle for its emancipation with unusual rapidity, so that in this sense there cannot be the shadow of a doubt as to what the final outcome of the world-wide struggle will be. In this sense, the final victory of socialism is fully and unconditionally assured.\*

Yes! The final victory of socialism is fully and unconditionally assured, especially now, when both the working class of the foremost imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples of the colonial world are rising in a common struggle against fascism, capitalism and imperialist wars, in a common struggle for Soviet power and socialism!

Forward! Raise higher the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin! Raise high the banner of the Communist International! Forward to the victory of the world socialist revolution!

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\*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII, Russian edition.

## EXHIBIT No. 95

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, May 1937. Mao Tse-tung, Wang Ming, Georgi Dimitroff, I. Jack, Edgar Snow, Central Committee of Communist Party of China, *China: The March Toward Unity*. Pp. 33-45]

## INTERVIEWS WITH MAO TSE-TUNG, COMMUNIST LEADER

By Edgar Snow

In the beginning of July, 1936, I entered Soviet territory in Northern Shensi to seek interviews with leading Chinese Communists and to observe for myself the kind of regime furnished by the Soviet government and the Red Army. Red areas now embrace most of Northern Shensi (Shenpei), virtually all of Kansu north of the Sian-Lanchow highway (Kanpei), including the rich Yellow River valley, and the greater part of Ninghsia south of the Great Wall and east of the Yellow River (Ningnan). There are also small detachments of Red partisans in South Shensi, South Kansu, the extreme Northwest corner of Shansi, Southern Suiyuan along the Great Wall, and in Chinghai West of Lanchow.

The present Soviet regions are the biggest single territory ever occupied by the Red Army. For the first time in Red history the high commanders of the various armies are consolidated in a unified region—Chu Teh, Peng Teh-huai, Hsiao Keh, Lo P'ing-hui, Chang Kuo-tao, Hsu Hsiang ch'ien, Hsu Hai-tung, Ho Lung, Lin P'iao, Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai all being concentrated in the Northwest.

I remained in Red China for four months. During that time I traveled the main Red roads in Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia, and spent a month with the Red Army at the front. In Pao-an, provisional capital, I interviewed most of the leading Soviet functionaries. My interviews with Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Central Soviet Government, and a Red commander, took place always at night. They often lasted till one or two in the morning, Mao retiring very late and frequently doing his heaviest work after midnight—a habit which may be traced to his early career as a newspaperman. Our talks were too long and covered too wide a field to be reproduced here in full, but the following selections, in question and answer form, seem of special interest in relation to current developments.

Chairman Mao knows a little English, which he studied at Changsha Normal College (of which he is a graduate), but for these interviews a returned student, Wu Liang-p'ing, a young Soviet functionary in Pao-an, acted as interpreter. My interviews were written in full in English, and then retranslated into Chinese and corrected by Mao who is noted for his insistence upon accuracy of detail. It is interesting to remark that Wu Liang-p'ing is the son of a rich landlord in Fenghua, Chiang Kai-shek's native district in Chekiang, and that he fled from Fenghua some years ago when his father, apparently an ambitious burgher, wanted to betroth him to a relative of the Generalissimo.

*On Japanese Imperialism*

*Pao-an, July 16, 1936*

MY QUESTION: If Japan is defeated and driven from China, do you think the major problem of foreign imperialism will in general have been solved here?

**MAO TSE-TUNG'S ANSWER:** Yes. If other imperialist countries do not act as Japan and if China defeats Japan it will mean that the Chinese masses have awakened, have mobilized, and have established their independence. Therefore the main problem of imperialism will have been solved.

**QUESTION:** The Chinese Soviet government has issued many appeals and proclamations calling for a united front of the parties, armies, etc., to fight to the death against Japanese imperialism and to drive Japan's armies from China. Does it believe that China is now capable of defeating Japan alone—*i. e.*, without the help of any foreign power?

**ANSWER:** Let me first remind you that neither China nor Japan is an isolated country; the problem of peace or war in the Orient is a world problem. Japan has her potential allies—Germany and Italy, for example—and to oppose Japan successfully China also must seek assistance from other powers. *This does not mean, however, that China is incapable of fighting Japan without foreign help.* It does not mean that we must wait for foreign alliances before we begin to resist Japan.

China is a vast reservoir of unutilized power which in a period of great struggle can be channelized through organization into mighty lines of resistance. In the long period of internal conflict begun by the counter-revolutionaries in 1927 the Chinese people has already learned much about this power and has found a good means of directing it, through the struggle of the Communist Party. In their long political experience the Chinese masses have mastered the use of very effective weapons to oppose their enemies.

Now, especially since September 18, 1931, the traitors' demagoguery has been bankrupted and few people today are deceived by it. The masses increasingly recognize those who lead in their real interest. Even some of the Kuomintang members have participated, or want to participate, in the anti-Japanese movement.

We are confident that the Chinese people will not submit to Japanese imperialism. We are confident that they will mobilize their great reserves of power to resist Japan on the field of battle, and with their utmost vigor meet the challenge of the invader. In this struggle ultimate victory will certainly be China's. If she fights alone the sacrifice will be comparatively great and the duration of the war will be comparatively long, for Japan is a strong, well-equipped power and will have, besides, her own allies. In order to achieve victory over Japanese imperialism within the shortest time possible, and with the smallest waste, China must first of all realize a united front within her own borders, and, second, must seek to extend it to all those powers whose interests are the interests of peace in the Pacific.

**Question:** Under what conditions can the Chinese people defeat and exhaust the forces of Japan?

**Answer:** Three conditions will guarantee our success: first, the achievement of the national united front against Japanese imperialism in China; second, the formation of a world anti-Japanese united front; third, revolutionary action by the oppressed peoples at present suffering under Japanese imperialism. Of these, the central necessity is the union of the Chinese people themselves.

**QUESTION:** How long do you think such a war would last?

**ANSWER:** That depends on the strength of the Chinese People's Front, many conditioning factors in China and Japan, and the degree of international help given to China, as well as the rate of revolutionary development in Japan. If the Chinese People's Front is powerfully homogeneous, if it is effectively organized horizontally and vertically, if the international aid to China is considerable from those governments which recognize the menace of Japanese imperialism to their own interests, if revolution comes quickly in Japan, the war will be short and victory speedily won. If these conditions are not realized, however, the war will be very long, but in the end just the same Japan will be defeated, only the sacrifices will be extensive and it will be a painful period for the whole world. The Chinese Communist Party, the Soviet government, the Red Army, and the Chinese people are ready to unite with any power to shorten the duration of this war, but if none joins us we are determined to carry on alone. [The Communists are "officially" at war with Japan, the Soviet government having declared such war in an official proclamation in Kiangsi, early in 1932—*E. S.*]

**QUESTION:** What is your opinion of the probable course of development of such a war, politically and militarily?

**ANSWER:** Two questions are involved here—the policy of the foreign powers, and the strategy of China's armies.

Now, the Japanese continental policy is already fixed and it is well known. Those who imagine that by further sacrifices of Chinese sovereignty, by making economic, political or territorial compromises and concessions, they can halt the advance of Japan, are only indulging in Utopian strategy. Nanking has in the past adopted erroneous policies based on this strategy, and we have only to look at the map of East Asia to see the results of it.

But we know well enough that not only North China but the lower Yangtze Valley and our southern seaports are already included in the Japanese continental program. Moreover, it is just as clear that the Japanese navy aspires to blockade the China seas and to seize the Philippines, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. In the event of war Japan will try to make them her strategic bases, cutting off Great Britain, France and America from China, and monopolizing the seas of the southern Pacific. These moves are included in Japan's plans of naval strategy, copies of which we have seen. And such naval strategy will be coordinated with the land strategy of Japan.

China will of course be in an extremely difficult position at such a time. But the majority of the Chinese people believes it can overcome these difficulties. Only the rich men in China's seaports are defeatist. They are afraid they will lose their property.

So as China considers questions of economy, of sources of supplies of war materials, etc., these questions of the Japanese naval blockade, of the cessation of commerce, etc., must inevitably come up for answer by the foreign powers. If Japan is to be allowed to isolate China as easily as she did Manchuria, if the powers are to do nothing more than they did there, then naturally Japan's task will tend to be minimized.

Ideally, of course, our military strategy should be the strategy of the "inner front". That is, if the foreign nations, if Great Britain,

America, France and the U.S.S.R. resist the Japanese blockade, they will arrange themselves in the strategy of the "outer front". China would then fight in the milieu of Japanese imperialism while the other countries opposed Japan on the periphery. In such a situation the possible encirclement and crushing of Japan's imperial war machine in a brief period would be manifest.

Many people think it would be impossible for China to continue her fight against Japan, once the latter had seized certain strategic points on the coast, and enforced a blockade. This is nonsense. To refute it we have only to refer to the history of the Red Army. In certain periods our forces have been exceeded numerically some ten or twenty times by the Kuomintang troops, which were also superior to us in equipment. Their economic resources many times surpassed ours, and they received material assistance from the outside. Why, then, has the Red Army scored success after success against the White troops and not only survived but increased its power till today?

The explanation is that the Red Army and the Soviet government had created among all people within their areas a rock-like solidarity, because everyone in the Soviet was ready to fight for their government against its oppressors, because every person was voluntarily and consciously fighting for his own interests and what he believed to be right. Second, in the struggle of the Soviets the people were led by men of ability, strength and determination, equipped with deep understanding of the strategic political, economic and military needs of their position. The Red Army won its many victories—beginning with only a few dozen rifles in the hands of determined revolutionaries—because its solid base in the people attracted friends even among the White troops, among the civilian populace as well as among the troops. The enemy was infinitely our superior militarily, but politically it was immobilized.

In the anti-Japanese war the Chinese people would have on their side greater advantages than those the Red Army has utilized in its struggle with the Kuomintang. China is a very big nation, and it cannot be said to be conquered until every inch of it is under the sword of the invader. If Japan should succeed in occupying even a large section of China, getting possession of an area with as many as 100,000,000 or even 200,000,000 population, we will still be far from defeated. We shall still have left a great force to fight against Japan's warlords, who will also have to fight a heavy and constant rear-guard action throughout the entire war.

As for munitions, the Japanese cannot seize our arsenals in the interior, which are sufficient to equip Chinese armies for many years, nor can they prevent us from capturing great amounts of arms and ammunition from their own hands. By the latter method the Red Army has equipped its present forces from the Kuomintang; for nine years they have been our "ammunition-carriers". What infinitely greater possibilities would open up for the utilization of such tactics as won our arms for us if the whole Chinese people were united against Japan!

Economically, of course, China is not unified. But the uneven development of China's economy also presents advantages in a war against the highly centralized and highly concentrated economy of

Japan. For example, to sever Shanghai from the rest of China is not as disastrous to the country as would be, for instance, the severance of New York from the rest of America. Moreover, it is impossible for Japan to isolate all of China: China's northwest, southwest and west cannot be blockaded by Japan, which continentally is still a sea power.

Thus, once more the central point of the problem becomes the mobilization and unification of the entire Chinese people and the building up of a people's united front, such as has been advocated by the Communist Party ever since 1932.

**QUESTION:** In the event of a Sino-Japanese war do you think there will be a revolution in Japan?

**ANSWER:** The Japanese revolution is not only a possibility but a certainty. It is inevitable and will begin to occur promptly after the first severe defeats suffered by the Japanese Army.

**QUESTION:** Do you think Soviet Russia and Outer Mongolia would become involved in this war, and come to the assistance of China? Under what circumstances is that likely?

**ANSWER:** Of course the Soviet Union is also not an isolated country. It cannot ignore events in the Far East. It cannot remain passive. Will it complacently watch Japan conquer all China and make of it a strategic base from which to attack the U. S. S. R.? Or will it help the Chinese people to oppose their Japanese oppressors, win their independence, and establish friendly relations with the Russian people? We think Russia will choose the latter course.

We believe that once the Chinese people have their own government and begin their war of resistance and want to establish friendly alliances with the U. S. S. R., as well as other friendly powers, the Soviet Union will be in the vanguard to shake hands with us. The struggle against Japanese imperialism is a world task and the Soviet Union, as part of that world, can no more remain neutral than can England or America.

**QUESTION:** Is it the immediate task of the Chinese people to regain all the territories lost to Japan, or only to drive Japan from North China, and all Chinese territory above the Great Wall?

**ANSWER:** It is the immediate task of China to regain all our lost territories, not merely to defend our sovereignty below the Great Wall. This means that Manchuria must be regained. We do not, however, include Korea, formerly a Chinese colony, but when we have re-established the independence of the lost territories of China, and if the Koreans wish to break away from the chains of Japanese imperialism, we will extend them our enthusiastic help in their struggle for independence. The same thing applies to Formosa. As for Inner Mongolia, which is populated by both Chinese and Mongolians, we will struggle to drive Japan from there and help Inner Mongolia to establish an autonomous state.

[In answer to a later question, in another interview, Mao Tse-tung made the following statement concerning Outer Mongolia:

["The relationship between Outer Mongolia and the Soviet Union, now and in the past, has always been based on the principle of complete equality. When the people's revolution has been victorious in China the Outer Mongolia republic will automatically become a part of the Chinese federation, at its own will. The Mohammēdan and Tibetan peoples, likewise, will form autonomous republics attached to the China federation."]

**QUESTION:** In case the Sino-Japanese war extends over a very long period and Japan is not completely defeated, would the Communist government agree to make a peace recognizing Japanese control over Manchuria?

**ANSWER:** Impossible! The Chinese Communists, like the Chinese people, will not permit Japan to retain one inch of Chinese territory!

**QUESTION:** In actual practice, how could the Communist government and the Red Army cooperate with the Kuomintang armies in a war against Japan? In a foreign war it would be necessary for all Chinese armies to be placed under a centralized command. Would the Red Army agree, if allowed representation on a supreme war council, to submit to its decisions both militarily and politically?

**ANSWER:** Yes. Our government will wholeheartedly submit to the decisions of such a council provided it really resists Japan.

**QUESTION:** Would the Red Army agree not to move its troops into or against any areas occupied by Kuomintang armies, except with the consent or at the order of the supreme war council?

**ANSWER:** Yes. Certainly we will not move our troops into any areas occupied by anti-Japanese armies—nor have we done so for some time past. The Red Army would not utilize any wartime situation in an opportunist way.

**QUESTION:** What demands would the Communist Party make in return for such cooperation?

**ANSWER:** It would insist upon waging war, decisively and finally, against Japanese aggression. In addition it would request the observance of the points advanced in the calls for a democratic republic and the establishment of a national defense government [discussed in several recent proclamations issued by the Soviet government and the Red Army to the Kuomintang—E. S.].

**QUESTION:** How large a base does the Red Army need, and how much support from the outside, to engage in an anti-Japanese war?

**ANSWER:** The Red Army can fight from a small base or a large base, but the greater it is, naturally, the greater and stronger will be the force it can mobilize for fighting the Japanese.

If we have three or four provinces we can summon to war a greater and more effective anti-Japanese force than Nanking's entire army. As for help, we need much, the more the better, but still we can get along very well without any outside assistance. We have already been fighting without anybody's help in a ten-year revolutionary struggle.

**QUESTION:** How can the people best be armed, organized and trained to participate in such a war?

**ANSWER:** The people *must* be given the right to organize and to arm themselves. Despite severe repression in Peiping, in Shanghai and other places, the students have begun to organize themselves and have already prepared themselves politically. But still the students and the revolutionary anti-Japanese masses have not yet got their freedom, cannot be mobilized, cannot be trained and armed. When the contrary is true, when the masses are given economic, social and political freedom, their strength will be intensified hundreds of times, and the true strength of the nation will be revealed.

The Red Army, through its own struggle, has won its freedom from the militarists to become an unconquerable power. The Anti-Japanese

Volunteers have won their freedom of action from the Japanese oppressors and have armed themselves in a similar way. If the Chinese people are trained, armed and organized they can likewise become an invincible force.

**QUESTION:** What, in your opinion, should be the main strategy to be followed in this "war of liberation"?

**ANSWER:** The strategy should be that of a war maneuver, over an extending, shifting and indefinite front: a strategy depending for success on a high degree of mobility in difficult terrain, and featured by swift attack and withdrawal, swift concentration and dispersal. It will be a large-scale war of maneuver rather than a simple positional war characterized by extensive trenchwork, deep-massed lines and heavy fortifications. Our strategy and tactics must be conditioned by the theater in which the war will take place, and this dictates a war of maneuver.

This does not mean the abandonment of vital strategic points, which can be defended in positional warfare as long as profitable. But the pivotal strategy must be a war of maneuver and important reliance must be placed on guerilla and partisan tactics. Fortified warfare must be utilized, but it will be of auxiliary and ultimately of secondary strategic importance.

Geographically the theater of the war is so vast that it is possible for us to pursue mobile warfare with the utmost efficiency and with a telling effect on a slow-moving war machine like Japan's, cautiously feeling its way in front of fierce rear-guard actions. Deep-line concentration and the exhausting defense of a vital position or two on a narrow front would be to throw away all the tactical advantages of our geography and economic organization, and to repeat the mistake of the Ethiopians. Our strategy and tactics must aim to avoid great decisive battles in the early stages of the war, and gradually to break the morale, the fighting spirit and the military efficiency of the living forces of the enemy.

The mistake of the Ethiopians, quite aside from the internal political weaknesses of their position, was that they attempted to hold a deep front, enabling the fascists to bombard, gas and strike with their technically stronger military machines at heavy immobile concentrations, exposing themselves to vital organic injury.

Besides the regular Chinese troops we should create, direct, and politically and militarily equip great numbers of partisan and guerilla detachments among the peasantry. What has been accomplished by the Anti-Japanese Volunteer units of this type in Manchuria is only a very minor demonstration of the latent power of resistance that can be mobilized from the peasantry of all China. Properly led and organized, such units can keep the Japanese busy twenty-four hours a day and worry them to death.

It must be remembered that the war will be fought in China. This means that the Japanese will be entirely surrounded by a hostile Chinese people. The Japanese will be forced to move in all their provisions and guard them, maintaining troops along all lines of communications, and heavily garrisoning bases in Manchuria and Japan as well.

The process of the war will present to China the possibility of capturing many Japanese prisoners, arms, ammunition, war machines,

etc. A point will be reached where it will become more and more possible to engage Japan's armies on a basis of positional warfare, using fortifications, deep entrenchment, etc., for as the war progresses the technical equipment of the anti-Japanese forces will greatly improve, and will be reinforced by important foreign help. Japan's economy will crack under the strain of a long expensive occupation of China and the morale of her forces will break under the trial of a war of innumerable but indecisive battles. The great reservoirs of human material in the Chinese people will still be pouring men ready to fight for their freedom into our front lines long after the tidal flood of Japanese imperialism has wrecked itself on the hidden reefs of Chinese resistance.

All these and other factors will condition the war and will enable us to make the final and decisive attacks on Japan's fortifications and strategic bases and to drive Japan's army of occupation from China.

Japanese officers and soldiers captured and disarmed by us will be welcomed and will be well-treated. They will not be killed. They will be treated in a brotherly way. Every method will be adopted to make the Japanese proletarian soldiers, with whom we have no quarrel, stand up and oppose their own fascist oppressors. Our slogan will be, "Unite and oppose the common oppressors, the the fascist leaders". Anti-fascist Japanese troops are our friends, and there is no conflict in our aims.

### *On the United Front*

*Pao-an, September 23, 1936*

**QUESTION:** Will you please explain the united front policy of the Communist Party and its change in attitude toward the Kuomintang governments?

**ANSWER:** Three main factors have influenced the decision leading to the policy announced in our recent manifesto [issued August 25, at Pao-an, and addressed to the Kuomintang.—E.S.].

First of all the seriousness of Japanese aggression; it is becoming more intensified every day, and is so formidable a menace that before it all the forces of China must unite. Besides the Communist Party we recognize the existence of other parties and forces in China, of course, and the strongest of these is the Kuomintang. Without cooperation our strength at present is insufficient to resist Japan in war. Nanking must participate. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party are the two main political forces in China, and if they continue to fight now in civil war the effect will be unfavorable for the anti-Japanese movement.

Second, since last August (1935), the Communist Party has been urging, by manifesto, a union of all parties in China for the purpose of resisting Japan, and to this program the populace has responded with sympathy. Today the Chinese people, as well as many patriotic officials, are eager to see the reunion of the two parties for the purpose of national salvation. They are eager to see an end to the civil war. Without it, the movement for resisting Japan is faced with great obstacles.

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## EXHIBIT No. 96

[Chungking, New China Information Committee, August 1940. Wang Chia-hsiang, Chen Po-ta and Lo Fu, *Communists and the Three People's Principles*. Pp. 5-12, 17-21]

### THE THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES AND COMMUNISM

By Wang Chia-hsiang, Chief Political Commissar of the Eighth Route Army

"A communist hates to conceal his stand and opinions." The Chinese Communists have never hidden their attitude and opinions on the problems of *San Min Chu I*.

The Chinese Communists are forever the disciples of Marxist Communism, of the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. They will never, under any circumstances give up the ideal of Communism or the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

What is Marxism? Marxism is scientific socialism, the revolutionary science and theory of the proletariat, the most progressive thought of mankind. "Marxism is the publicly recognized heritage of German philosophy, English Political Economy and French Socialism, created during the nineteenth century" (Lenin). The Marxist theory dialectical materialism, political economy, and socialism—not only interprets the world scientifically but is also an instrument for changing it. Marxism was more fully developed by the theories of Lenin and Stalin. "Marxist theory is only potent because it is correct. It provides people with a complete and systematic world outlook and this world outlook never compromises with any religious belief, any reactionary theory that supports the capitalist class and oppresses the proletariat" (Lenin). "The theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin can be applied to the whole universe" (Mao Tze-tung, *New Stage*).

The Chinese Communists recognize *San Min Chu I* (Three People's Principles) as the programme of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. What are the Three People's Principles?

Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles are the political theory of the emancipation of the semi-colonial Chinese nation and of the development of democracy. They demand the overthrow of the imperialist domination over China, and the realisation of national liberation. These demands comprise the Principle of Nationalism. They demand also the overthrow of feudalism and the establishment of political democracy. This is the principle of Democracy. They demand the limitation of capitalist enterprise and the division of land. This is the Principle of Livelihood. In the capitalist countries of the West, the bourgeois revolution has already been accomplished. The main struggle in these countries is the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the struggle of socialism against capitalism. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East, on the other hand, the present item on the agenda is the bourgeois revolution aiming at the overthrow of imperialism and feudalism. "In Asia we still have a thoroughly democratic bourgeoisie which is waging a real struggle. In its ranks we still have honest allies who can be like the great statesmen of the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century." (Lenin, *Complete Works*, Vol. XVI, p. 28). This was the reason that, in speaking of the principles of Sun Yat-sen,

Lenin declared: "There emerges before us the authentic great thought of a really great people." (ibid., p. 27).

Sunyatsenism is militant revolutionary democracy. The Chinese democratic revolutionaries sympathise with the laboring masses and hate the oppressors and exploiters. When they saw how western capitalism oppresses the workers, there arose among them the idea that China could avoid the stage of capitalism, a strong sympathy for socialism, and a subjective socialism of their own. The idea of democracy in China was combined with the idea of Chinese particularism, giving rise to the advocacy of a radical land policy on the one hand and dreams of avoiding the stage of capitalism on the other. But objectively a radical land policy can only annihilate feudal exploitation. It can neither annihilate nor avoid capitalist exploitation but, on the contrary, lays the basis for the rapid development of capitalism. These are the facts underlying the combination in China of radical democracy and subjective socialism. The Chinese democrats are real and sincere sympathisers of the socialist idea. But the realisation of their programme would lead to results the opposite of what they desire. Far from making it possible to avoid capitalism, their programme develops it.

The Chinese Marxist-Leninists declare that they support the Three People's Principles. The Communist Party has stated at various times: "The Three People's Principles are what China needs today. Our party will struggle for their realisation." "The Three People's Principles are the political foundation and common programme of the Anti-Japanese National United Front." "We struggle for a new *San Min Chu I* China." Are these statements contrary to the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism? No, absolutely not.

In order to achieve its own class liberation and to establish a socialist society, the Chinese proletariat must first liberate the Chinese nation. The overthrow of imperialist domination and the liquidation of the remnants of feudalism are the first tasks of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat in semi-colonial China. Therefore, the proletariat not only participates in the general movement for national liberation, but it is the most resolute and determined force in this movement. The other classes (the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie) cannot compare with it in this respect.

In the struggle for national liberation, that is, in the bourgeois democratic revolution, the proletariat follows a definite programme. The main points in this programme are the overthrow of the rule of imperialism, the realisation of national independence, the overthrow of feudalism, and the solution of the land problem. All these points have already been propounded in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and the Chinese Communist Party proclaimed them immediately after its foundation in its "Programme of the National Democratic Revolution" (see the Declaration of the Second Plenum of the Chinese Communist Party). The programme of the Communist Party is divided into two sections. The first is the general programme, calling for the overthrow of capitalism by the proletariat, the establishment of socialism, the complete liberation of the working class and liquidation of all other classes. The second is the immediate or minimum programme, the programme of the proletariat in the national democratic revolution.

The proletariat is not alone in having a programme for participation in the national democratic revolution. The other participation classes, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie also have their programmes for the achievement of which they struggle. Though these programmes are different from each other in their fundamental ideas, they have in common certain basic demands in the national democratic revolution. These common demands are the objective foundation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and they constitute the reason why this united front can have a common programme.

The Three People's Principles are the programme of the Chinese national revolution and the Chinese democratic revolution. This programme and the programme of Marxism-Leninism in the national-democratic revolution (the minimum programme of the Chinese Communist Party) are not antagonistic to each other in their fundamental slogans and demands. On the contrary, they are generally similar. It is for this reason that the Chinese Marxist-Leninists consider that it is necessary for the China of today to carry out the Three People's Principles and that these principles comprise the common programme of the National United Front and form the foundation for the co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. It is for this reason that the Communist Party calls upon the entire Chinese people to struggle for the establishment of a *San Min Chu I* Republic.

To say that the Three People's Principles are the common programme of the united front does not mean that the programme and aims of the proletariat in the national democratic revolution are entirely the same as the programme and aims of the revolutionary and radical bourgeoisie. It does not mean that in recognizing common principles for the National United Front, the proletariat abandons its own principles and aims. No. The programmes of the two classes correspond in general and in their main slogans and demands, but they are not the same. Because of the class and historical position of the proletariat, its programme and aims in the national democratic revolution, which are based on Marxism-Leninism and the demands of the Chinese revolution in particular, are much more thorough and consistent than the programme and aims of the bourgeoisie.

A comparison of the two will convince us of this.

In relation to the problem of the nationalism, both the proletariat and the revolutionary bourgeoisie want to crush imperialism, and both fight for the liberation of the Chinese nation. In this respect their demands are the same. But the teachers of the proletariat, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have given us many works on the problem of nationalists and the problem of the colonial and semicolonial countries in which a systematic theory is elaborated on these subjects. In accordance with this Marxist-Leninist theory, the proletariat in the colonies and semicolonies combines patriotism and internationalism. Its programme and understanding of national liberation are thorough and resolute. They do not admit of a trace of national compromise with the imperialists and with theories of national aggression, and include a thorough-going and resolute stand, both in theory and practice, on the problem of national minorities within China.

In relation to the problem of democracy, both the revolutionary radical bourgeoisie and the proletariat have fought for the overthrow of the monarchy and of the rule of feudal and semi-feudal elements, and for the establishment of a modern democratic political system. Their demands in this respect are the same. But there is a difference. Although the radical bourgeoisie are militant democrats, their principle of democracy involves using the people as a passive force and does not lay stress on the activity of the people themselves as a means of sweeping away feudal relationships and establishing political democracy. They believe that it is necessary to institute a period of political tutelage, and to introduce democracy gradually, by stages. Moreover, their programme for the establishment of political democracy does not have a practical economic programme at its base, so that its thorough accomplishment is a matter of the greatest difficulty. The proletariat, on the other hand, is really thorough in its political programme for the national democratic revolution. It believes that democracy must be established by the revolution of the people themselves and that, moreover, a democratic political system can only be established on the economic base of a complete sweeping out of feudal relations.

From the above we can see that the programme of the Three People's Principles and the programme of the Communists in the national democratic revolution coincide in their main slogans and demands although fundamentally they are not entirely the same. This makes it possible for the *San Min Chu I* to be the common programme and political foundation of the National United Front.

The programme and aims of the Marxist-Leninist Communists in the national democratic revolution are much more thorough and much more resolute than those of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. Because of this, the Communists are the most faithful, resolute and consistent supporters of the Three People's Principles, the common programme of the National United Front, and are the most determined workers for its realisation.

The Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen are a revolutionary radical programme. Because of this, they can form a common basis for the united front. But, at the same time, the nature of the Three People's Principles is determined by their historical background. When they were first promulgated, during the Sun Yat-sen period, Chinese capitalism was at its earliest stage, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat had not developed significantly, and the proletariat was just beginning to form its own independent political forces. Under these circumstances, the programme of Chinese democracy could be radical, militant and revolutionary. This was the historical environment in which the revolutionary Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen were formed and elaborated.

Later, with the further development of Chinese capitalism, class lines were sharpened, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat became more and more acute, and the proletariat became a strong independent factor in Chinese political life. This caused the bourgeoisie to compromise with imperialism and feudalism, while it concentrated all its energies upon fighting the proletariat and its ally, the peasantry. In short, the bourgeoisie abandoned the Three People's Principles and betrayed the revolutionary ideas of Sun

Yat-sen. This was proved by the historical fact of ten years of civil war.

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\* \* \* That the Communists recognize the Three People's Principles as the common programme of the National United Front and therefore support them is in no way a contradiction of Marxism-Leninism. On the contrary, it is a correct conclusion based on the Marxist-Leninist interpretation.

It is certainly true that the theories of Sun Yat-sen are fundamentally different from the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In philosophy, for example, the former is idealistic while the latter is based on dialectical materialism. In sociology, the former denies the class struggle and the materialist interpretation of history, while the latter created Karl Marx's *Capital* and the science of proletarian economics. In their ideals of a future society, the former is subjectively socialist while the latter is scientifically socialist. To sum up, Sunyatsenism is the theory of the radical democrats while Marxism-Leninism is the political theory of the proletariat. From the standpoint of extensiveness and historical position the two cannot, therefore, be compared.

The Chinese Communists are faithful disciples of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. They recognize the Three People's Principles as a common programme and they support the struggle for their thorough realisation. But they do not, at the same time, accept the standpoint of Sunyatsenism in philosophy and social ideology or in its subjective approach to socialism. This is a frank and straightforward attitude, an attitude based on dialectical materialism. A programme is one thing and theory is another, and they should be clearly distinguished. As to whether the support given by the Communists to the Three People's Principles is sincere or feigned, the best proof and witness of this may be found in the practical record of the party. Such are the ironic facts of history. Those who shout the loudest of the Three People's Principles and are most vociferous in their attack on Marxism-Leninism are the very people who revise the Three People's Principles and substitute for them a falsified *San Min Chu I*; while those who most resolutely carry out the revolutionary programme of the Three People's Principles are the Chinese Communists and Marxist Leninists.

To sum up what has been said above, the Three People's Principles are the common programme of the National United Front. Therefore, they are the common programme of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Marxism-Leninism is the theory and ideology of the Communists. Although the programme of the Three People's Principles is not entirely the same as the programme of the Communists in the national democratic revolution, the two are fundamentally in accord and it is for this reason that the Three People's Principles can be the common programme of the National United Front.

We may therefore conclude the following:

1. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles are the common programme of the National United Front. All parties and groups participating in the National United Front should therefore support the Three People's Principles and carry them out in order to strengthen the Anti-Japanese National United Front and achieve victory in

the national revolutionary war. Any tendency to despise the Three People's Principles which represent the really great thought of a really great people is wrong whether it exists in the ranks of the Kuomintang or the Communist Party. A contemptuous attitude towards the *San Min Chu I* can only weaken the National United Front and the unity of the nation and is thus detrimental to the future of the Chinese people.

2. In order to truly support Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles it is necessary to oppose the revised Three People's Principles of the bourgeoisie. Such revisionism is nothing more than a betrayal and defilement of the revolutionary spirit of Sunyatsenism. Its aim is to change the revolutionary *San Min Chu I* of Sun Yat-sen into a reactionary theory of opposition to Communism. If we do not take a stand against this kind of revision of the Three People's Principles we can neither revive the revolutionary spirit of Sun Yat-sen nor strengthen the united front and we cannot lead our great people to victory in their struggle for liberation. The work of Sun Yat-sen himself and the declarations of the First and Second Plenary Sessions of the Kuomintang are the best documents on which to base resolute opposition to the falsified *San Min Chu I* of the bourgeoisie.

3. Any attempt to confuse the Three People's Principles and Communism and Marxism-Leninism should be opposed, no matter whether it is initiated by right-wing groups such as that of Yeh Ching or by Marxist groups (for example, through interpreting the *San Min Chu I* in such a way that it appears synonymous with Communism). The scientific attitude is to explain the existing objective relationship between the Three People's Principles and Marxism-Leninism. Any exaggeration either of their similarity or their divergences is not in accord with objective reality. Only a scientific attitude can harm neither the Three People's Principles nor Communism but, on the contrary, strengthen the co-operation between the followers of the *San Min Chu I* and the Communist Party.

4. All attempts to prove that only the Three People's Principles suit China and that Marxism-Leninism does not suit China are wrong and reactionary. Likewise, to try to use the Three People's Principles to fight and disintegrate the theory of Communism is unscientific and counter-revolutionary. There is a proletarian class in China, and there are the ideology and the movement of the proletariat—Chinese Communism and Marxism-Leninism. The important feature of Marxism is its dialectical-materialist approach. Truth is concrete. The Chinese Marxists analyse concretely the historical, economic and class environment in China in the light of Marxist theory and on this basis have drawn up their programme and demands for each stage of the Chinese revolution. To automatically apply to China the programmes and demands suitable for western capitalist countries is not Marxism-Leninism at all but simply infantile mechanism. "The Communists are at once Marxists and internationalists, but Marxism must go through the stage of nationalism before it becomes a reality. There is no abstract Marxism—only concrete Marxism." (Mao Tze-tung—*The New Stage*) The Chinese proletariat is not great in numbers or in "class power", but, owing to the historical and international situation in China, it

is very important in political function and "class power". The Chinese Communists never enforce upon others a belief in Marxism and Communism, but at the same time they oppose determinedly any attempt of the representatives of the bourgeoisie to destroy and paralyse Communism through the misuse of the Three People's Principles.

It will be seen from the above that our stand is both clear and correct. This stand has been clarified by Comrade Mao Tze-tung in his article, "The Tasks of the Anti-Japanese National United Front in China at the Present Stage" published in May 1937 from which I quote below:

"Most decidedly, the Communists are not going to give up their socialist and communist ideas. They will pass through the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution to reach the stage of socialism and communism. The Communists have their own party programme and political programme. Their programme in the democratic revolution is much more thorough than that of any other party in the country. This programme is not in fundamental contradiction with the programme of the Three People's Principles as declared by the First and Second Plenary Sessions of the Kuomintang. Therefore we not only do not reject the Three People's Principles but are willing resolutely to carry them out, to demand that the members of the Kuomintang carry them out in co-operation with us, and to call upon the entire people to realize the Three People's Principles so that the Communist Party, the Kuomintang and the entire nation will struggle unanimously for the three great aims of national independence, democratic liberty, and the livelihood and happiness of the people."

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In *China's New Democracy*, Mao Tse-tung unequivocally reaffirmed his intention to establish a socialist republic modeled after the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (U. S. S. R.). There was no agrarian reformer mentality about Mao when in January 1941 he declared Lenin and Stalin to be his most reliable mentors.

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, which published *China's New Democracy*, was extensively investigated by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.<sup>1</sup>

Mao's *Problems of Art and Literature* consists of a masterful exposition of the subordination of the arts to the changing needs of Communist propaganda. In the Chinese People's Democratic Dictatorship, no one is permitted to indulge in frivolous interest in art for art's sake. Those who write about "love of the human race" are regarded as manifesting dangerous bourgeois proclivities. Like their Soviet counterparts (sec. B, exhibits Nos. 20, 24, and 30), Chinese artists and writers must conform to the prevailing interpretation of the class struggle. The full implications of thought-control in Mao's China have been excellently described in a recent study.<sup>2</sup>

If foreign correspondents were deceived by Mao's June 1944 remarks about Chinese need for more democracy, they could blame only themselves. Mao plainly declared that Chinese comrades were introducing a new spirit of "democratic centralism" in all their work. Just what democratic centralism amounted to in theory and practice had already been amply demonstrated by many Soviet authorities.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> IPR Hearings, vol. 15, p. 5758.

<sup>2</sup> Richard L. Walker, *China Under Communism: The First Five Years*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1955, Chapter 8: Culture and the Intellectuals.

<sup>3</sup> Merle Fainsod, *How Russia Is Ruled*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. 121-151, 180-184.

## EXHIBIT No. 97

[New York, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, n. d. (1943?). Mao Tse-tung, *China's New Democracy*. Pp. 12-23, 34-37]

NOTE.—*The text of this pamphlet originally appeared in the January 15, 1941, issue of the magazine CHINESE CULTURE, under the title "The Politics and Culture of New Democracy."*

## CHINA'S NEW DEMOCRACY

By Mao Tse-Tung

## I. WHITHER CHINA?

After the war of resistance began, a cheering and inspiring air prevailed among our countrymen. The former brow-knitted faces were no longer seen, for all believed that our nation had at last found a way out. It is only the recent atmosphere of compromise and the tide of anti-Communism which grows higher daily, that has again created a state of bewilderment. This fact is especially obvious among young students and people of the cultural field whose senses are more acute than those of others. Thus, the question "How to proceed?" or "Whither China?" again stands before us. Because of this, it may be worth while to utilize the opportunity of the publication of the *Chinese Culture* magazine to say a few words about the trend of Chinese politics and Chinese culture. I am a layman in cultural problems. I wish very much to make a study of them, but in such work I have only taken the first step. However, many thorough-going articles have been written by our comrades in Yen-an on the subject, so this rough sketch of mine may be looked upon as a mere prelude. To the senior cultural workers of the country, our work here serves only as a humble suggestion, through which, we hope, joint discussion can be aroused and a correct conclusion that suits the needs of our nation drawn. A scientific attitude should be one that "searches for the truth from concrete facts," and problems can never be solved with vain, self-assertive and self-important attitudes. The catastrophe of our nation is grave. Only a scientific attitude and a spirit of responsibility can lead us to the road of emancipation. There is but one truth. This truth is determined not by subjective boasting but by objective practice. Only the revolutionary practice of millions of people can be taken as the gauge for measuring truths. Such is our attitude in the publication of the *Chinese Culture*.

## II. WE MUST ESTABLISH A NEW CHINA

For the many past years, Communists have struggled not only for the political and economic revolution in China, but also for the cultural revolution, all aiming at the construction of a new society and a new country for the Chinese people, in which not only a new system of politics and economy but also a new culture will prevail. This means that we have not only to change politically oppressed and economically exploited China into a country politically free and economically prosperous, but also to change a country whose people are so ignorant, backward and long ruled by an old culture, into a civilized, progressive

one ruled by a new culture. In brief we must construct a New China. And to establish a new culture of the Chinese nation is the aim of our work in the cultural sphere.

### III. CHINA'S HISTORICAL CHARACTERISTICS

What is this new culture of the Chinese nation that we are going to establish?

Any given culture (as a form of ideas) is the reflection of a given political and economic system of society, though the former in turn exerts immense influence upon the latter; and politics is the concentrated expression of economy. This is our fundamental point of view toward the relationship of culture, politics and economy. Hence it is the given politics and economy that first determines the given culture, which only subsequently itself exerts influence upon the politics and economy. Marx said: "It is not the ideology of the society that determines its existence, but the existence of the society that determines its ideology." He also added: "Philosophers of former times only explained the world, but the important point is how to change and improve the world." This is the first scientific explanation in the history of mankind, correctly to answer the question of the relation between ideology and existence, and that became the fundamental starting point of Lenin's motive, revolutionary theory of reflection which was developed from this Marxist point of view. In our discussion of China's cultural problems, this starting point should never be neglected.

It is quite clear then that the old culture which we wish to sweep away cannot be isolated from the old politics and old economy of our nation, and the new culture which we aim to establish cannot be isolated from our new politics and new economy. The old politics and old economy are the foundations of the old culture; and the new politics and new economy of the new culture.

What is the content of the so-called old politics and old economy of China? And what is the content of the old culture?

Since the Chow and Chin dynasties, China has been a feudal society. Her politics and economy have been feudal in character. So has her culture—the reflection of her politics and economy.

Nevertheless, since the aggression of foreign capitalism, and since some capitalist elements gradually grew within Chinese society, *i. e.*, in the hundred years from the Opium War to the present anti-Japanese war, China gradually turned into a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. At present, in the occupied territories, the society is colonial in character; in the non-occupied areas, it is semi-colonial; while in both of them the feudal system still dominates. This is the character of the present Chinese society, or the "national condition" of China. The dominant politics and economy are therefore colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal in character; and so is the culture.

These dominant politics, economy and culture are the objects of our revolution. It is the old colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal politics, economy and culture that we aim to sweep away, and it is new politics, economy and culture, something exactly opposite to the old, that we are going to establish.

Then what should be the content of the new politics and new economy of the Chinese nation? And what should be the content of the new culture?

The historical process of the Chinese revolution must be divided into two stages: first the democratic revolution and then the socialist revolution—two revolutionary processes quite different in character. The democracy mentioned here is not the old democracy of the old type, but the New Democracy of the new type.

Therefore it may be concluded that the new politics, economy and culture of the Chinese nation are nothing other than the politics, economy and culture of the New Democracy.

This is the historical characteristic of the present Chinese revolution. Whoever, while engaging in revolutionary work in China, does not comprehend this historical characteristic will not be able to direct the revolution or carry it on to victory. On the contrary, he will be forsaken by the people and will inevitably become a pitiful failure.

#### IV. CHINA'S REVOLUTION IS A PART OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The historical characteristic of the Chinese revolution is that it is divided into two steps, that of democracy and that of socialism. The democracy of the first step is not democracy in its general sense, but a new, special type of a Chinese style, the New Democracy. How then was this historical characteristic formed? Did it originally exist during these hundred years or was it generated only afterwards?

A superficial study of the historical development of China and the world will reveal that such a historical characteristic did not exist in the days of the Opium War or in the period immediately following it, but took shape after the first imperialist world war and the Russian October Revolution. Let us now stop to study the process of its formation.

It is evident that if the present society of China is colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal in character, the process of China's revolution must be divided into two steps. The first step is to change the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal form of society into an independent democratic society, while the second step is to push the revolution forward to establish a socialist society. What we are carrying on now is the first step of the Chinese revolution.

This first step may be said to have begun from the days of the Opium War in 1840, *i. e.*, from the time when the Chinese society commenced to change from its original feudal form to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal form. During this period, we had the Tai Ping Revolution, the Sino-French War, the Sino-Japanese War, the Reform Movement of 1898, the 1911 Revolution, the May 4th Movement, the May 30th Movement, the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolution, the December 9th Movement, and the present Anti-Japanese War. All the above movements, to speak from a certain point of view, were for the realization of the first step of China's revolution. They were movements of the Chinese people in different periods and in different degrees to realize such a step—to oppose imperialism and feudalism and to struggle for the establishment of an independent democratic society. The 1911 Revolution was only its realization in a more concrete sense. This revolution, in its social

character, was a bourgeois-democratic revolution and not a proletarian-socialist revolution. It is not yet consummated, and therefore needs our further effort, because the enemies of this revolution are still extremely strong at present. The word "revolution" in Dr. Sun's famous saying: "The revolution is not yet consummated, and our comrades must still exert their efforts" refers to this bourgeois-democratic revolution.

A change took place in the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution after the outbreak of the first imperialist world war and the formation of the socialist state on one-sixth of the earth's surface through the success of the Russian October Revolution in 1917.

Before that, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution belonged to the category of the old bourgeois-democratic revolution of the world, and was a part of it.

Since then, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution has changed its character and belongs to the category of the new bourgeois-democratic revolution. As far as the revolutionary front is concerned, it is a part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

Why? Because the first imperialist world war and the victorious socialist October Revolution changed the historical direction of the world, and drew a sharp dividing line between two historical stages.

At a time when world capitalism has collapsed in one part of the earth (a part occupying one-sixth of the earth's surface), while elsewhere it has clearly shown its symptoms of decadence; when the remaining part of the capitalist world cannot go on without relying more than ever on the colonies and semi-colonies; when the Socialist state has been established and declares its willingness to assist the struggle for the liberation movements of all the colonies and semi-colonies; and when the proletariats of the capitalist countries are being freed day by day from the influence of the imperialist social-democratic parties and also declare themselves willing to assist the liberation movement of the colonies and semi-colonies; at a time like this, any revolution of the colonies and semi-colonies against imperialism, or international capitalism, can no longer belong to the category of the old bourgeois-democratic revolution of the world, but to a new category. It is no longer a part of the old bourgeois or capitalist world revolution but a part of the new world revolution—the proletarian-socialist revolution. This kind of revolutionary colonies and semi-colonies should not be considered the allies of the counter-revolutionary front of world capitalism, but allies in the front of the world socialist revolution.

Although according to social character, the first stage of the first step of this colonial and semi-colonial revolution is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic, and its objective demands are to clear the obstacles in the way of the development of capitalism, yet this kind of revolution is no longer the old type led solely by the bourgeois class and aiming merely at the establishment of a capitalist society or a country under the dictatorship of the bourgeois class, but a new type led wholly or partially by the proletariat and aiming at the establishment of a New-Democratic society or a country ruled by the alliance of several revolutionary classes in its first stage. This kind of revolution, due to the variations in the condition of the enemy and in the conditions of this alliance may be divided into a certain number of

stages during its process, but no change will occur in its fundamental character which will be the same until the arrival of the socialist revolution.

This kind of revolution is a great blow to imperialism, and therefore is not permitted but opposed by the imperialists. On the other hand, it is permitted by socialism, and is assisted by the Socialist state and the international socialist proletariat.

Thus, this kind of revolution has become a part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

“China’s revolution is a part of the world revolution.” This correct thesis was proposed as early as 1924–27 during the period of China’s Great Revolution. It was advanced by the Communists and was approved by all who participated in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle of the time. Only the meaning of the theory was not much developed then, and what we mastered was only a dim comprehension of the question. I remember that when Mr. Chiang Kai-shek spoke at Swatow in 1925 during his expedition against Chen Chiung-ming, he also said: “China’s revolution is a part of the world revolution.”

This “world revolution” is not the old world revolution of the bourgeoisie which has long become a matter of the past, but is the new world revolution, the socialist revolution. In like manner, the “part” means not a part of the old bourgeois revolution but a part of the new socialist revolution. This is an exceedingly great change, a change unprecedented in the world history and the history of China.

It is basing themselves on the correct theory of Stalin that the Chinese Communists advanced this correct thesis.

As early as 1918, Stalin said, in his article commemorating the first anniversary of the October Revolution:

“The following are the three most important points out of the great world significance of the October Revolution. First, it enlarges the scope of the national problem, from the partial problem of opposing national oppression to the general problem of the liberation of oppressed peoples, colonies and semi-colonies from the yoke of imperialism. Secondly, it widens the possibility and opens the true road for this liberation, greatly promotes the liberation work of the Western and Eastern oppressed peoples, and attracts them into the common, victorious anti-imperialist course. Thirdly, it forms a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East, *i. e.*, it establishes a new anti-imperialist revolutionary front connecting the Western proletariat and the Eastern oppressed peoples through the Russian Revolution.” (Stalin: “The October Revolution and the National Question,” *Pravda*, Nov. 6 and 19, 1918.)

Since the publication of that article, Stalin has again and again developed the theory regarding the colonial and semi-colonial revolution, its separation from the old type, and its transformation into a part of the proletarian-socialist revolution. This theory was most clearly and correctly explained in an article published on June 30, 1925, when Stalin carried on a controversy with the Yugoslavian nationalists of that time. The article, entitled “The National Problem Once Again” read in part:

“Comrade Semich refers to a passage in Stalin’s pamphlet *Marxism and the National Question*, written at the end of 1912. It says

there that 'the national struggle is a struggle of the bourgeois classes among themselves.' By this he seems to hint at the correctness of his own formula for defining the social meaning of the national movement in present historical conditions. But Stalin's pamphlet was written before the imperialist war, at a time when the national question had not yet assumed world-wide significance in the eyes of the Marxists, and when the basic demand of the Marxists concerning the right of self-determination was considered to be, not a part of the proletarian revolution, but a part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. It would be absurd to ignore the fact that, since then, a fundamental change has taken place in the international situation, that the war, on the one hand, and the October Revolution in Russia, on the other, have converted the national question from a part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a part of the proletarian-socialist revolution. As early as October 1916, Lenin in his article, 'The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up,' said that the main point of the national question concerning the right of self-determination has ceased to be a part of the general democratic movement, that it has become a constituent part of the general proletarian-socialist revolution. I shall not mention the subsequent works on the national question by Lenin and other representatives of Russian Communism. In view of all this, what significance can now be attached to Comrade Semich's reference to a certain passage in Stalin's pamphlet written in the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, since, as a result of the new historical situation, we have entered a new epoch, the epoch of the world proletarian revolution? The only significance that can be attached to it is that Comrade Semich quotes without regard for space and time, without regard for the actual historical condition. By that he violates the most elementary requirements of dialectics and fails to take into account the fact that what is correct in one historical situation may turn out to be incorrect in another historical situation."

From this we know that there exist two kinds of revolutions. The first, belonging to the bourgeois or capitalism category, has become a matter of the past since the outbreak of the first imperialist world war in 1914, and especially since the October Revolution of 1917. From then on, the second kind of world revolution commenced, the proletarian or socialist world revolution, with the proletariat of the capitalist countries as its main force and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies as its allies. No matter to what class or party the oppressed people who participate in the revolution belong, or whether or not they consciously or subjectively understand its significance, so long as they are anti-imperialist, their revolution is a part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution, and they themselves become its allies.

The significance of China's revolution is greatly magnified today, because it is happening at a time when the political and economic crises of capitalism have brought the world step by step toward the second imperialist war; when the Soviet Union has reached the transitional period from Socialism to Communism and has the ability to lead and to assist the proletariat, the oppressed peoples and all the revolutionary peoples of the world; when the proletarian forces of the various capitalist countries are growing stronger and stronger; and when the Communist Party, the proletariat, the peasantry, the

intelligentsia and the petit-bourgeoisie become a mighty, independent political power. At such a time, should we not estimate that the world significance of China's revolution has been greatly magnified? We should. China's revolution is a magnificent part of the world revolution!

This first stage of China's revolution (which again is divided into many sub-stages) according to its social character, is a new bourgeois-democratic revolution, not the newest proletarian-socialist revolution, though it long ago in the past became a part of the latter, and is a magnificent part, a magnificent ally of it at the present. The first step or stage of this revolution is certainly not to, and certainly cannot, establish a capitalist society dictated by the bourgeoisie, but to establish a New Democracy ruled by the alliance of several revolutionary classes. After the accomplishment of this first stage, it will be developed into the second stage—to establish the socialist society of China.

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We Communists never repel the revolutionary people (provided they do not capitulate to the enemy or oppose the Communists). We shall persist in the united front with all those classes, strata, political parties, political cliques and individuals who insist on fighting against the Japanese to the end, and shall cooperate for a long term with them. But we shall not allow others to repel us or to split the united front. China must keep on resisting, consolidating and progressing. Whoever wishes to surrender, to split, or to go backward will not be tolerated by us.

#### VIII. REFUTATION OF "LEFT" DOCTRINAIRISM

If it is impossible for us to go the road of capitalism with a bourgeois dictatorship, would it be possible then for us to go the road of socialism with a proletarian dictatorship? No, it is just as impossible.

Without doubt, the present revolution is only the first step, and a second step—the step of socialism—will be developed in the future. It is only when China arrives at that stage, that she can be called really felicitous. But for the present, it is not the time to practice socialism. The present task of China's revolution is the task of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, before the accomplishment of which, it is empty verbiage to talk about the realization of socialism. China's revolution must be divided into two steps, the first being that of New Democracy, the second that of socialism. Moreover, the period of the first step is by no means a short one. It is not a matter that can be achieved overnight. We are not Utopians. We cannot isolate ourselves from the actual conditions right before our eyes.

Some ill-minded propagandists purposely mix up these two revolutionary stages, promoting the theory of "a single revolution," so as to prove that all revolutions are included in the San Min Chu I and that there is no ground for the existence of Communism. Armed with this "theory," they actually oppose Communism and the Communist Party, the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies, and the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region. Their aim is to annihilate fundamentally whatever revolution there is, to oppose the thorough realization of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the anti-

Japanese war of resistance, and to prepare "public opinion" for their future capitulation to the Japanese robbers.

Such a situation is deliberately created by the Japanese, who, seeing that military force alone could not subjugate China even after the capture of Wu-han, have to resort to the aid of political offensive and economic enticement. Politically, they try to tempt the wavering elements within the anti-Japanese camp, to disrupt the united front, and to ruin the Kuomintang-Communist cooperation, while economically, they plan the intrigue of "industrial cooperation." The Japanese robbers permit the Chinese capitalists to invest 51 percent in Central and South China, and 49 percent in North China, of the capital in the "cooperating" industries, and return to the Chinese capitalists what has been confiscated from them, allowing the confiscated enterprises to be counted as their share of capital. Tempted by such a trick, some conscience-lacking capitalists, represented by Wang Ching-wei, jump at the trap, forgetting justice in front of private benefits, and surrender to the enemy. Others, who have been hiding in the anti-Japanese camp, yearn to go too, but they are timid, afraid that the Communists will stand in their way, and that the people will stigmatize them as traitors. Therefore, they assemble their fellows, and make decisions—to do some preparatory work beforehand in cultural and press circles. With such a plan fixed, they waste no time. Some "metaphysical devils" are mobilized, some Trotskyites are hired to take up their pens and madly bark at the Communists. The result is that a lot of "theories" are invented, such as that of "a single revolution," that Communism is not suitable for China, that there is no necessity for the Communist Party to exist, that the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies destroy resistance and sabotage guerrilla warfare, that the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region is a feudal partition, that the Communist Party is not loyal to the Government, disrupts unification, ferments intrigues and tries to make trouble, and so on and so forth, in order to deceive those who do not quite understand the real situation, so that when opportunity ripens, the capitalists may have reasons sound enough to enjoy their 49 per cent or 51 per cent shares at the expense of the benefit of the whole nation. This trick of theirs is merely the preparation of public thought and "public opinion" before the realization of the capitulation. These gentlemen seem to be serious-minded indeed when promoting the "theory" of "a single revolution" to oppose Communism and the Communist Party, but in their hearts there is nothing other than the sharing of the 49 percent or the 51 percent! How they have racked their brains! The theory of "a single revolution" is the theory of "no revolution." Such is the real nature of the beast.

But certain persons who do not seem to be ill-minded are also fascinated with the theory of "a single revolution" and lend themselves to the subjective thought of "accomplishing both the political revolution and the social revolution by one stroke." They do not understand that a revolution is divided into stages. We can proceed from one revolution to another revolution, but cannot "accomplish everything by one stroke." Their erroneous point of view inevitably confuses the revolutionary steps, decreases effort in realizing the present task, and is therefore very harmful. That the first one is the prerequisite of the second, and that one must follow the other closely, not permitting a bourgeois dictatorship to be inserted between them,

that is correct, and is the Marxist theory of revolutionary development. On the contrary, if we say that the democratic revolution has no definite task or definite period of its own, and other tasks that can only be accomplished in other periods, such as the task of social revolution, may be included in those of the democratic revolution, such an empty idea—the so-called “to accomplish all by one stroke policy”—should not be adopted by real revolutionaries.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 98

[New York, International Publishers, 1950. Mao Tse-tung, *Problems of Art and Literature*. Pp. 5-7, 13-14, 32-40]

#### EDITOR'S NOTE

*A conference on the Problems of Art and Literature as related to the struggle for liberation in China was held from May 2 to May 23, 1942, in Yen-an, then the capital of the Liberation Movement. Writers and artists from all parts of China came to participate in the Yen-an Conference—from Japanese-occupied Shanghai and Nanking, from Kuomintang Chungking, as well as from the liberated provinces.*

*The conference seems to have been conducted in a leisurely manner; only three formal plenary sessions were held, the rest of the time being devoted to individual study and group discussions.*

*Mao Tse-tung, Communist and Liberation leader, opened the conference on May 2 with a short introduction presenting the fundamental questions of the Liberation struggle and the role of writers and artists in this struggle (see pages 7-14). He spoke again, on May 23, and this time extensively, at the closing session of the conference, analyzing the work of the conference and giving detailed answers to the moot questions which were raised during the three weeks' debates and discussions (see pages 15-48).*

*It is worth noting that this writers' and artists' mobilization in May, 1942, was held five months after Pearl Harbor. The organization of a nation-wide conference on literature and art during that very critical period for China—the military and political struggle against the Japanese invaders and for Chinese unity—attests to the confidence of the Liberation Movement and the understanding of the need and manner of mobilizing all the popular forces, including the cultural, in the waging of a war of national liberation.*

#### INTRODUCTION

Comrades: You have been invited to this meeting so that we may discuss the correct relationship between literature and art, on the one hand, and revolutionary work in general, on the other, with a view to properly developing our revolutionary literature and art, and making them more effective in support of our other revolutionary activities.

By this means, we shall be able to defeat our national enemies and fulfill our task of national liberation.

Our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation is being waged on a number of fronts, and on the cultural as well as on the military front. While victory over our enemies depends primarily upon soldiers with guns in their hands, nevertheless troops alone are not enough. We must also have a cultural army in order to accomplish our task of uniting the nation and defeating the enemy.

\* \* \* \* \*

*The question of learning:* This is a question of studying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and society. Anyone who considers himself a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary writer, especially a writer who belongs to the Communist Party, must have a general knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. At present, however, many of our comrades fail to understand even the most fundamental concepts of Marxism-Leninism. It is, for example, a fundamental concept that objective conditions determine the subjective, that the objective conditions of class struggle and national struggle determine our thinking and our sentiments. In fact, these comrades reverse this principle. They say that everything begins with "love." Speaking of love, there can be only love of a class, or class-love, in a class society. Yet these comrades seek a love that stands above all class distinctions; they seek abstract love, abstract freedom, abstract truth, abstract human nature, etc., and thereby prove how deeply they have been influenced by the bourgeoisie. We must uproot this influence and bring an open mind to the study of Marxism-Leninism.

It is true that writers and artists must learn more about the methods of creative work but Marxism-Leninism is a science which every revolutionary must study, and writers and artists are no exception. Writers and artists must also study our society—they must study the various classes composing society, their relation to each other, their conditions, attitudes, and psychology. Only when they have thoroughly understood all these factors can they give our literature and art a rich content and a correct orientation.

\* \* \* \* \*

3. Since we realize that our literature and art must serve the masses, then we can go a step further and discuss (1) the inner-party problem of the relation between the literature and art work of the party and party work as a whole; and (2) the problem of our relations with those outside the party, *i. e.*, the relation between party writers and artists and non-party writers and artists; in other words, the problem of a united front in literature and art.

Let us consider the first problem. All culture or all present-day literature and art belong to a certain class, to a certain party or to a certain political line. There is no such thing as art for art's sake, or literature and art that lie above class distinctions or above partisan interests. There is no such things as literature and art running parallel to politics or being independent of politics. They are in reality non-existent.

In a society with class and party distinctions, literature and art belong to a class or party, which means that they respond to the political demands of a class or party as well as to the revolutionary task of

a given revolutionary period. When literature and art deviate from this principle, they divorce themselves from the basic needs of the people.

The literature and art of the proletariat are part of the revolutionary program of the proletariat. As Lenin pointed out, they are "a screw in the machine." Thus the role of the party's work in literature and art is determined by the over-all revolutionary program of the party. Deviation from this principle inevitably leads to dualism and pluralism, and eventually to such views as Trotsky advocated: Marxist politics but bourgeois art.

We are not in favor of overemphasizing the importance of literature and art but neither must we underestimate it. Although literature and art are subordinate to politics, they in turn exert a tremendous influence upon politics. Revolutionary literature and art are part of a revolutionary program. They are like the aforementioned screws. They may be of greater or lesser importance, of primary or secondary value when compared with other parts of the machine, but they are nevertheless indispensable to the machine; they are indispensable parts of the entire revolutionary movement. If we had no literature and art, even of the most general kind, we should not be able to carry on the revolution or to achieve victory. It would be a mistake not to recognize this fact.

Furthermore, when we say that literature and art are subordinate to politics, we mean class politics and mass politics, not the so-called politics of a few politicians. Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, represent the struggle between two opposing classes, not the behavior of isolated individuals. The war of an ideology and the war of literature and art, especially the war of a revolutionary ideology and the war of revolutionary literature and art, must be subordinate to the political war because the needs of a class and of the masses can be expressed in concentrated form only through politics.

Revolutionary political experts who have mastered the science or art of revolutionary politics are merely leaders of the hundreds of thousands of political experts among the masses. Their task is to crystallize and pass on the ideas of the political experts among the masses and give these ideas to the masses in a form which they can understand and put into practice. They must not be like the aristocratic "political experts" who build a wagon in a closed room or who pretend to be oracles of wisdom and think they have a world monopoly of something very exclusive.

Herein lies the basic difference between the political experts of the proletariat and those of the propertied classes. Herein also lies the basic difference between the politics of the proletariat and the politics of the propertied classes. It would be incorrect to neglect this point or to regard the politics and the political experts of the proletariat as narrow-minded and vulgar.

Let us now consider the problem of a united front in literature and art. Since literature and art are subordinate to politics, and since the key problem of Chinese politics today is that of resisting Japan, it becomes the prime duty of our party workers in literature and art to unite on an anti-Japanese platform with all writers and artists outside the party (from party sympathizers, petty-bourgeois writers and artists to writers and artists of the bourgeois and landlord classes).

We should also rally them around the issue of democracy. Some of these writers and artists will not support this cause, so that unity in this sphere necessarily will be somewhat limited.

Furthermore, we should strive for unity on specific problems confronting writers and artists, such as the question of practice and approach. We advocate proletarian realism and, here again, some will disagree. Unity on this question, therefore, probably will be even more limited than on the issue of democracy.

Unity may be achieved on one issue while struggle and criticism may be required on another. Although each of these issues may seem to stand alone, actually they are related. Thus, even if unity is achieved on a certain issue such as the question of resisting Japan, struggle and criticism must be continued. If there is only unity and no struggle in a united front or only struggle and no unity, we should be repeating the mistakes committed by some of our comrades in the past, namely, right "surrenderism" and "tailism" or left isolationism and sectarianism. They constitute what Lenin called a sloppy policy. This is true of politics as well as of literature and art.

Petty-bourgeois writers and artists constitute an important force in the united front of literature and art. They exhibit many weaknesses in their thinking and work but they are more sympathetic toward revolution than other groups and are somewhat closer to the workers, peasants, and soldiers. We must help them overcome their weaknesses; we must win them over to work for the workers, peasants, and soldiers. These are tasks of particular importance.

4. Literary and art criticism constitutes a major weapon which must be developed to carry on a struggle in literary and art circles. As many comrades have rightly pointed out, our past work has been inadequate in this respect.

Criticism of literature and art presents a complicated problem requiring special study. Here I shall discuss only the problem of basic standards of criticism. I shall also comment on various problems raised by comrades and the incorrect views expressed by some.

There are two standards for literary and art criticism. One is the political standard and the other, the artistic standard.

By the political standard, artistic production is good or comparatively good, if it serves the interests of our war of resistance and unity, if it encourages solidarity among the masses, and if it opposes retrogression and promotes progress. Conversely, artistic production is bad, or comparatively bad, if it encourages dissension and division among the masses, if it impedes progress and holds the people back.

Shall we distinguish between the good and bad on the basis of the motives (subjective intention) or the effects (actual practice in society)? Idealists stress the motives and deny the effects; mechanical materialists stress the effects and deny the motives. We are opposed to both approaches.

We are dialectical materialists; we insist upon a synthesis of motive and effect. The motive of working for the masses cannot be separated from the effect which is welcomed by the masses. The motive and the effect must dovetail. A motive engendered by individual self-interest or narrow group-interest is not good. On the other hand, a good intention of working for the masses is of no value if it does not produce an effect which is welcomed by the masses and benefits them.

In examining the subjective intent of a writer, that is to say, in determining whether his motive is correct or good, we cannot depend upon his own declaration of intent; we must analyze the effect which his behavior (his creative product) has on society and the masses. The standard for examining a subjective intent is social practice; and the standard for examining a motive is the effect it produces.

Our criticism of literature and art must not be sectarian. Bearing in mind the general principles of the war of resistance and national unity, we must tolerate all works of literature and art expressing every kind and shade of political attitude. At the same time, we must be firm in principle and in our position when we criticize. This means that we must criticize severely all literary and artistic work which present viewpoints that are opposed to national, scientific, mass, and Communist interests because both the motives and the effects of this so-called literature and art jeopardize our war of resistance and wreck our national unity.

From the point of view of artistic standards, all works of higher artistic quality are good, or comparatively good while those of inferior artistic quality are bad, or comparatively bad. But this criterion also depends upon the effect a given work of art has on society. There are few writers and artists who do not consider their own works excellent.

Also, we must allow free competition of various types and shadings of artistic work. At the same time, we must criticize the work correctly, by scientific and artistic standards, in order gradually to raise art of a lower level to a higher level, and to change art which does not meet the requirements of the people's struggle (even when it is on a very high level) to art which does.

We know not that there is a political standard and an artistic standard. What then is the proper relation between them? Politics is not at the same time art. The world outlook in general is not at the same time the methods of artistic creation. Not only do we reject abstract and rigid political standards but we also reject abstract and rigid artistic standards. Different class societies have different political and artistic standards as do the various classes within a given class society. But in any class society or in any class within that society, political standards come first and artistic standards come second.

The bourgeois class rejects the literature and art of the proletariat, no matter how high their artistic quality. The proletariat must likewise reject the reactionary political essence of bourgeois literature and art, and extract their artistic quality very judiciously. It is possible for outright reactionary literature and art, the creative work of fascists, to have a certain measure of artistic quality. Since reactionary productions of high artistic quality, however, may do very great harm to the people, they must definitely be rejected. All literature and art of the exploiting classes in their decadent period have one characteristic in common—a contradiction between their reactionary political content and their artistic form.

We demand unity between politics and art; we demand harmony between content and form—the perfect blending of revolutionary political content with the highest possible level of artistic form. Works of art and literature without artistic quality are ineffectual no matter how progressive they are politically.

Thus we condemn not only works of art with a harmful reactionary content but also works done in the "poster-and-slogan style," which

stresses content to the exclusion of form. It is on these two fronts that we must fight in the sphere of literature and art.

Many of our comrades suffer from both defects. Some tend to neglect artistic quality when they ought to be devoting much more attention to advancing artistic quality. But even more important at present is their lack of political quality. Many comrades lack fundamental political common sense, with the result that they entertain all sorts of confused notions. Let me give you a few examples of the notions entertained in Yen-an.

1. "The theory of human nature"—is there such a thing as human nature? Yes, certainly, but only concrete human nature. In a class society human nature takes on class characteristics; there is no abstract human nature which stands above class distinctions.

We stand for the human nature of the proletariat, while the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie advocate the human nature of their respective classes. And while they may not express it in so many words, they consider that theirs is the only kind of human nature. In their eyes, therefore, the human nature of the proletariat is contrary to human nature. There are in Yen-an some who think along similar lines; they advocate the so-called theory of human nature as the basis for their theory of literature and art. This is absolutely wrong.

2. "The origin of all literature and art is love, love of mankind." Love may be a starting point, but there is still another even more basic starting point. Love is a concept which is the product of objective experience. Fundamentally we cannot start from an idea; we must start from objective experience.

The love that we writers and artists with our intellectual background bear for the proletariat stems from the fact that society has forced upon us the same destiny as it has forced upon the proletariat and that our lives have been integrated with the life of the proletariat. Our hatred of Japanese imperialism, on the other hand, is the result of our oppression by Japanese imperialists. Nowhere in the world does love exist without reason nor does hatred exist without reason.

As for love of mankind, there has been so such all-embracing love since the human race was divided into classes. The ruling classes have preached universal love. Confucius advocated it, as did Tolstoy. But no one has ever been able to practice it because it cannot be attained in a class society.

A true love of mankind is attainable, but only in the future when class distinctions will have been eliminated throughout the world. Classes serve to divide society; when classes are eliminated, society will be united again. At that time, the love of mankind will flourish but it cannot flourish now. Today we cannot love the fascists nor can we love our enemies. We cannot love all that is evil and ugly in society. It is our objective to eliminate all these evils. The people know that. Cannot our writers and artists understand it?

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## EXHIBIT No. 99

[*World News and Views*, November 18, 1944. P. 372]

## CHINA NEEDS DEMOCRACY &amp; UNITY

By Mao Tse-tung

*We print here an important interview given on June 12 by Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, to Chinese and foreign correspondents visiting Yen-an, the capitol of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. In view of recent reports on China it has special topicality.*

“I HEARTILY welcome you all coming to Yen-an. Our war aim is the same as ever, and the same as that of the entire people of the world—to defeat Japanese militarism, to defeat the Fascists. The whole of China, as the whole of the world, is united on this issue.

“Your visit to Yen-an coincides with the opening of the Second Front in Europe. This is an historic moment for the whole world, because the Second Front will have profound influence not only upon Europe but upon the Pacific and Chinese theatres of war as well. China together with the rest of the world is anxious to go forward, to achieve the final victory.

“All the anti-Japanese forces in China must now concentrate their entire efforts on fighting the Japanese militarists side by side with this decisive offensive in Europe. The present offers a great opportunity to us.

“You must all be very anxious to learn about the internal situation in China. Here I shall speak a few words: the attitude of the Chinese Communist Party towards Kuomintang-Communist relations has been defined over and over again in the declarations and manifestoes of the Chinese Communist Party and its organs. I shall repeat them here again:

“The Chinese Communist Party has never wavered from its policy of supporting Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the policy of continuing the co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the entire people, and the policy of defeating Japanese imperialism and struggle for the building of a free democratic China. This was true in the first stage of resistance. This was true in the second stage of the war. This is also true today, because this is and has always been the wish of the entire Chinese people.

“But China has drawbacks and they are serious ones. They can be summed up in one phrase—the lack of democracy. The Chinese people are badly in need of democracy, because through democracy alone can the anti-Japanese war gain strength, China’s internal and external relations be put on a proper basis, the victory of the war of resistance ensured and the country be built upon sound foundations. It is democracy too that can ensure China’s postwar unity.”

Questioned by the correspondents, Mao announced that the negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist

Party have been going on for a long time and he hoped that there would be fruitful results out of these negotiations. He could add nothing new for the present.

As for the Second Front, he added:

“In future it will be seen that the repercussions of the Second Front are felt in the Pacific as well. Apparently at the moment it might seem that its effects on China are not direct. But China’s problems have to be settled by the Chinese themselves. The improvement of the situation outside by itself cannot solve China’s own problems.

“In order to defeat the common enemy, to achieve sound and peaceful internal relations and also sound and peaceful international relations, we hope that the National Government and the Kuomintang and other parties will carry out a thoroughly democratic policy in different spheres. The whole world is in the midst of the war. The war in Europe has entered a decisive phase, while decisive battles are also approaching in the Far East.

“But China is still in need of more democracy, which is necessary to further the anti-Japanese war. Only through democracy can our resistance be strengthened. This has been proved by the experiences of the U. S. S. R., U. S. A., and Great Britain. The experiences in the past and particularly of the last seven years of resistance have also proved it.

“Democracy must be all-sided—political, military, economic and cultural, as also in Party affairs and internationally. All these spheres must be democratised and everything must be united. But this unity must be based on democratic foundations.

“Political unification is necessary, but only on the basis of freedom of press, platform and organisation. Only a government based on democratic franchise can strengthen the political unification of the country.

“No doubt, unity in the military sphere is more necessary, but even this could be achieved only on democratic principles. If there is no democratic life inside the army, democratic relations between the officers and men, between soldiers and the people, and also between the different armies, then such armies cannot be unified.

“As to economic democracy, what is meant is the introduction of an economic system which is based not on restriction of production and lack of provision for consumption by the vast mass of the people; but one which will give impetus to further production and ensure proper distribution and uniform consumption.

“And only democracy can promote the development of education, thought, the press and the arts. This is cultural democracy.

“Party democracy means that there should be democratic relations inside the Party and among the different parties.

“I repeat that we are today badly in need of unity, but only the unity that is based on democracy can be real and abiding. It is true for China’s internal problems, but it is equally true for the coming League of Nations. Only by democratic unification can Fascism be uprooted and a new China and a new world be established. That is why we stand for the Atlantic Charter, and the declarations of the

Moscow, Cairo and Teheran Conferences. And these are what we expect of the National Government, the Kuomintang and other parties and other people's organisations.

"These aims are what the Chinese Communist Party itself is striving to achieve. In our efforts to defeat the Japanese imperialists, we, the Chinese Communists, have introduced a new spirit of democratic centralism in all our work.

"It is on this basis that we can build a new China, defeat our enemies and build in the future sound and peaceful internal and external relations."

*(A short extract from this interview was printed in "World News and Views" on July 8, 1944. This fuller version is from "People's War," Bomay, 20th August, 1944.)*

## VIII. AUSTRALIA

While denying that it received directives from Moscow, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia did admit in March 1940 to being "influenced" by study of Comintern decisions.<sup>1</sup> Down to June 22, 1941, "scholarly" Australian comrades found no difference between the war aims of Great Britain and Nazi Germany. Invasion of the Ukraine naturally created a new objective situation. With an eye to postwar activities, the Australian Communist Party now clamored for the training of guerrillas who should be taught the art of producing homemade bombs.<sup>2</sup>

Sharkey's pamphlet (exhibit No. 101) demonstrates the fact that in 1942 the Australian Communist Party was trying hard to carry out Lenin's early advice with regard to labor politics. In August 1945, the general secretary of the party insisted that postwar endorsement of the labor government must be considered only as a partial step toward the destruction of the capitalist system (exhibit No. 102).

In his report on Communist infiltration into artistic and scientific organizations (exhibit No. 103), L. H. Gould neglected to explore the possibilities of espionage work. For this important aspect of Communist fronts, one can turn to the report of the Royal Commission on Espionage.<sup>3</sup> Also, to the exceptionally interesting account of the Petrov affair by Dr. Michael Bialoguski, the Australian undercover agent who induced the MVD head, Vladimir Petrov, to defect in April 1954.<sup>4</sup>

As has been previously noted (this section, exhibit No. 46), use of dentists and physicians as espionage agents struck some people as indescribably ludicrous at the time of the McCarthy-Stevens hearings. Dr. Bialoguski tells how Australian Communists relied upon his services down to the very day that he testified at their request, but by no means in their behalf.<sup>5</sup> And the Petrov documents show that at least as late as 1953 the MVD in Australia was looking around for suitable prospects among dentists.<sup>6</sup>

At the present time, the influence of the Australian Communist Party has been greatly undermined by the Petrov disclosures. Communist infiltration of key industries, however, constitutes an obstacle to the normal development of the Australian economy.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paul Hasluck, *The Government and the People, 1939-41*, Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 1952, p. 586. Hasluck's work contains a brief history of the Communist Party of Australia together with references to Communist literature.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 591.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Espionage*, Sydney, Commonwealth of Australia, 1955.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-31. Michael Bialoguski, *The Petrov Story*, London, Heinemann, 1955. See also John S. Mather (editor), *The Great Spy Scandal*, London, Daily Express, 1955, pp. 74, 139, 159.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236. *Australian Spy Report*, pp. 278, 426.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81-80, 260-267.

<sup>7</sup> J. C. Horsfall, *Australia*, New York, Praeger, 1955, pp. 20, 24.

## EXHIBIT No. 100

[*World News and Views*, June 22, 1940. P. 352]

## AUSTRALIA—SOLIDARITY WITH THE SOVIET UNION

By Bell Keats

The recent decision of the Menzies Government to outlaw the *Communist Party of Australia* is a tribute to the militancy and class-consciousness of the Australian Labour movement. Perhaps the most marked indication of this is the powerful solidarity campaign on behalf of the Soviet Union, which has been the reply of the working class to the slanders and lies of the capitalist press.

So clear and determined has been the voice of Australia's workers on this question that even Labour leader, *Curtin*, was compelled to declare that "Australian Labour is more concerned with the defence of Australia than the oil wells of Baku"—this being in reply to the suggestions in the press that the Allies should bomb the Soviet Union's important oil base at the time of the Finnish war.

The culmination of this campaign on behalf of the Soviet Union was the momentous decision of the *New South Wales Labour Party Conference*. But for some two months prior to this, by means of resolutions and public statements by their leaders, the workers of Australia showed the capitalists where they stood. At the beginning of February, the powerful *Iron-workers' Union* passed a resolution:

That this meeting condemns the provocative attitude of the daily papers and the radio broadcasting stations towards the Soviet Union, and demands from the Prime Minister an assurance that the Australian Expeditionary Force will not be used against the Soviet Union.

A few weeks later the *Queensland Trades and Labour Council* condemned the "action of the Menzies Government in sending troops overseas and the attempts being made to incite war against the Soviet Union which would lead to war in the Pacific."

Shortly after, the *New South Wales Trades and Labour Council*, representing over 300,000 organised workers, carried, by an overwhelming majority, the following resolution:

Council views with disgust the campaign of vilification being waged against the Soviet Union, and recognises it as an attempt to swing public opinion behind a policy of changing the direction of the present war into an attack upon the Workers' State.

*We warn the imperialist governments, including the Menzies Government, that such a policy will not be tolerated by the workers of Australia, who will resist to the utmost any attempt to develop an anti-Soviet war out of the present international situation.*

Similar sentiments were expressed in March at the meeting of the Australian Council of the *Australian Railways Union*, when the Federal President, *T. Moroney*, declared:

I believe that the future welfare of the workers in this and other lands is dependent upon the continued existence of the Soviet Socialist Republics. I hope that the workers of Australia will realise that behind the barrage of abuse and falsehood directed towards the Soviet Union, lies the undying hatred of the capitalist class for a country that offers happiness and economic security to all its peoples. . . . The facts that make Soviet Russia the most feared and hated among the capitalist class rulers of other countries should give pleasure and satisfaction to us of the Labour movement in Australia—including the Australian Labour Party.

Strong statements in support for the Soviet Union have been made in recent weeks by many outstanding Australian Trade Union leaders.

At the end of March, the *New South Wales State Conference* of the *Australian Labour Party*, carried by a majority of 195 votes to 88, its historic "Hands Off Russia!" resolution. This resolution fortified a declaration by conference, to which there was unanimous support, demanding that "every energy should be utilised to bring about world peace, to avoid the needless slaughter of millions."

This decision by official Labour in New South Wales—a State which comprises half the Labour strength of Australia—has given a lead to the working class not only throughout the Australian Commonwealth, but overseas, where the workers of other lands have watched, with pride, the strong stand taken by Australia's workers on the war and on the Soviet Union.

The conference was attended by 358 delegates from unions and State Electorate Councils. It was probably the strongest, and almost certainly the most important of all A. L. P. conferences held since the First Imperialist War.

The *resolution* on the Soviet Union was as follows:

Conference makes it clear that whilst being opposed to Australian participation in overseas conflicts, we are also opposed to any effort of the anti-Labour governments to change the direction of the present war by an aggressive act against any other country with which we are not at war, including the Soviet Union.

*J. R. Hughes* President of the N. S. W. Labour Council, in introducing the resolution, said:

Without consulting the people, an Australian anti-Labour Government committed us to this war. . . . Our war should be against poverty. That's the only war in which we should engage. . . . "Hands Off Russia!" is the policy of the Labour movement to-day, as it has been in the past. We must never permit the imperialists or the military dictatorship group to interfere against a country where, at least it can be said, the people have abolished capitalism.

The "Hands Off Russia!" resolution was later endorsed by Trade Unions and workers' organisations throughout the Commonwealth.

The banning of the Communist Party, and all the terror which the Government will doubtlessly unleash, will not prevent the Australian working class in their march towards peace and Socialism.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 101

[Sydney, Communist Party of Australia, December 1942. L. Sharkey, *Australia Marches On*. Pp. 6-12, 24-28, 39-42]

### THE LABOR GOVERNMENT IN AUSTRALIA

V. I. Lenin

The Parliamentary elections took place in Australia recently. The Labor Party, which had a majority in the Lower House, having 44 out of 75 seats, suffered defeat. Now it only has 36 seats out of 75. The majority has passed to the Liberals, but this majority is very unstable, because in the Upper House, 30 out of 36 seats are occupied by Labor.

What a peculiar capitalist country is this in which Labor predominates in the Upper House and recently predominated in the Lower House and yet the capitalist system does not suffer any danger! An English correspondent of a German newspaper recently explained this circumstance, which is very often misrepresented by bourgeois writers.

The Australian Labor Party does not even claim to be a Socialist Party. As a matter of fact, it is a liberal bourgeois party and the so-called Liberals in Australia are really Conservatives.

This strange and incorrect use of terms in naming parties is not unique. In America, for example, the slave-owners of yesterday are called Democrats, and in France the petty-bourgeois anti-Socialists are called "Radical-Socialists." In order to understand the real significance of parties one must examine, not their labels, but their class character and the historical conditions of each separate country.

Australia is a young British colony.

Capitalism in Australia is still quite young. The country is only just beginning to take shape as an independent State. The workers, for most part, are emigrants from England. They left England at the time when Liberal Labor politics held almost unchallenged sway there and when the masses of the English workers were Liberals. This is the result of the exceptionally favorable, monopolist position England occupied in the second half of the last century. Only now are the masses of the workers in England beginning (slowly) to turn towards Socialism. And while in England the so-called "Labor Party" represents an alliance between the non-Socialist trade unions and the extreme opportunist I. L. P., in Australia the Labor Party represents purely the non-Socialist trade union workers. The leaders of the A. L. P. are trade union officials, an element which everywhere represents a most moderate and "capital serving" element, and in Australia it is altogether peaceful and purely liberal.

The ties between the separate States of Australia in united Australia are still very weak. The Labor Party has to concern itself with developing and strengthening the country and with creating a Central Government. In Australia the Labor Party has done what in other countries was done by the Liberals, namely, introduced a uniform Customs Tariff for the whole country, a uniform Federation Act, a uniform Land Tax and uniform Factory Acts.

Naturally, when Australia is finally developed and consolidated as an independent capitalist State the conditions of the workers will change, as also will the Liberal Labor Party, which will make way for a Socialist Labor Party. Australia serves to illustrate the conditions under which exceptions to the rule are possible. The rule is:—A Socialist Labor Party in a capitalist country. The exception is:—A Liberal Labor Party which arises only for a short time as a result of conditions that are abnormal for capitalism.

Those Liberals in Europe and in Russia who try to "preach" to the people that class war is unnecessary by pointing to the example of Australia only deceive themselves and others. It is ridiculous to think of applying Australian conditions (an undeveloped, young country, populated by Liberal English workers) to countries in which a state and developed capitalism have long been established.

*June, 1913, "In Australia," Collected Works, Vol. XVI.*

## INTRODUCTION

Taking as his starting point Lenin's thesis on the role of the Labor Party in the development of Australia as an independent capitalist State, L. Sharkey has analysed the Referendum proposals of the Labor Government and the Statute of Westminster in a way that it is not the privilege of the Ruling Class or the reformists to do.

Lenin's article, "Labor Government in Australia," was written soon after the defeat of the Fisher-Hughes Labor Government at the general Federal Elections held in May, 1913. The Labor Party lost its majority in the House of Representatives by the narrowest margin, but still retained a considerable majority in the Senate. The new Government was headed by Joseph Cook, leader of the Liberal Party. The Liberal Party of those days changed its name in 1916-1917 to the Nationalist Party and later, in 1931-1932, to the United Australia Party. The Liberals were, as Lenin said, really "Conservatives."

It is interesting to note that simultaneously with the Federal Elections of 1913, the Labor Government submitted to a referendum of the people proposals to amend the Federal Constitution. These were rejected along with the Labor Government. As a matter of fact, the defeat of the Fisher-Hughes Government was attributed to the people's objection to the Government's attempts to extend the powers of the Federal Parliament.

In those days the "States Rights" outlook was much stronger than to-day. "The ties between the separate States of Australia in United Australia are still very weak." (Lenin.) It was only 13 years since Federation had been achieved. It took many years to win the various States over to the idea of Federation. When at last, in the late 'nineties, a Constitution was drafted that was acceptable to the States, it imposed very definite limits on the powers of the Federal Government. Hence there appeared the conflict of State and Federal Rights which has sharpened with the passing of time. We have State Laws and Federal Laws which frequently overlap to create a legal paradise for lawyers who must be paid huge fees. We have State arbitration awards and Federal awards and every trade unionist knows what confusion that creates. We have State and Federal taxes, and Social Services and marketing schemes and a thousand other questions where State and Federal powers meet and overlap to create conflicts and difficulties.

The only way in which the Constitution can be altered is by means of the Referendum and then not only by a majority vote of the people but also by a majority of the States.

Joseph Stalin, in his speech on the Soviet Constitution, said that, unlike a programme which "deals mainly with the future, a Constitution deals with the present." In other words, it must reflect the class changes and developments that inevitably take place and must, therefore, undergo alterations and modifications.

Since 1900 when the Commonwealth Constitution came into operation we have seen two world wars, a rapid expansion of industry and a great strengthening of the working-class movement.

The Constitution, which was designed in what Dr. Evatt calls a "Horse and Buggy" age, needs alteration if it is to "deal with the present," if it is to reflect the developments of the capitalist system in Australia and the class re-alignments that have taken place.

The vast additional wartime powers the Federal Government has under the Constitution will largely disappear at the end of the State of National Emergency and we shall return to the division of power between the State and Federal Parliaments as existed prior to the war unless the Constitution is altered as the Curtin Labor Government proposes.

If the Government's proposals are carried, the powers of the State Governments will be severely limited and we shall have a National State that will be more in the nature of an Australian Union than an Australian Federation of States.

*R. DIXON, November, 1942.*

#### PART ONE. TOWARDS "UNITED AUSTRALIA"

The September, 1942, session of the Federal Parliament meeting in Canberra was a history-making one. The significance of the issues raised in the two Bills presented by Dr. Evatt were somewhat obscured by the background of the world at war for its liberty, but, in "ordinary" times, these two proposals would have constituted far more than the proverbial nine days wonder for the Australians.

For in those proposals, namely, endorsement of the Statute of Westminster and to confer vast new powers (now assumed temporarily for the purposes of the prosecution of the war on a national basis) on the Federal Australian Government in permanence, lay the culmination of a long process of development. From the original convict colony, Australia has now emerged, as Lenin put it, as "an independent capitalist State." Such is the inner meaning of the two Bills presented by Dr. Evatt.

The uniform legislation referred to by Lenin, in the end covering all aspects of the economic, social and political life of the Australian continent, will logically flow from and continue to develop in an ever widening circle from these proposals, if carried, which appears probable. The States would then lose much of their importance, mainly carrying out functions delegated by the Central Government. "The ties between the separate States of Australia" will no longer remain weak, but Australia will be "finally developed and consolidated as an independent capitalist State," that is, with sovereign powers in her foreign affairs and united internally as one nation, and not half a dozen quite separate States or weakly united States. The six "colonies" at first, due largely perhaps to distance and lack of communications, lived their early existence separately, and even commenced to develop as separate "nations." There was keen rivalry between the various States, they were jealous and sometimes even bordered on hostility towards each other. The States were concerned with preserving their individuality, even down to different uniforms for their public servants, differently constructed trams and trains, public buildings and so forth. The different railway gauge systems which are to-day such a hinderance to the country are a heritage of State separatism and "independence."

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#### PART TWO. WHY THE LABOR PARTY LED THE WAY

"The Labor Party has to concern itself with developing and strengthening the country and with creating a Central Government. In

Australia the Labor Party has done what in other countries was done by the Liberals, namely, introduced a uniform Customs Tariff for the whole country, a uniform Federation Act, a uniform Land Tax and uniform Factory Acts.”

All of this legislation on a national scale was established by the Labor Party prior to 1913, when Lenin wrote his article, “The Labor Government in Australia,” during the terms of the Watson-Fisher Labor Governments. Evatt’s Bill, in the main, is the further development, the completion of the process.

Australian national sentiment has always been a strong factor in A. L. P. ideology; the first A. L. P. objective was “for the cultivation of an Australian sentiment”; one of Lang’s strongest appeals to the people was his pronounced nationalism; this national sentiment has influenced the A. L. P. leaders at all times; this is to be noted even in such relatively minor matters like their substitution of “Advance, Australia Fair” for an English patriotic tune on the A. B. C. broadcasting programmes.

The main point, however, to be noted in the above quotation from Lenin, is that the Labor Party has fulfilled the functions of the Liberal bourgeoisie in other countries. In the older countries, the Liberal bourgeoisie were the destroyers of the feudalists and feudal survivals, organising national states and unifying them as capitalist States by means of the political and economic measures indicated by Lenin.

In carrying through these tasks, the Liberal bourgeoisie sometimes even resorted to revolutionary, armed actions. In England, whilst the struggle was at times acute, the Liberals did not have to resort to armed measures, in the days, that is, of the “great Liberal Party,” although Cromwell smashed feudalism by revolution in England, but the Liberals carried their programme through Parliament and then “withered away,” much in the same way, as Lenin explains, that the Australian Liberals, the leaders of the A. L. P., will also give way to a Socialist Party after having realised an independent State in Australia.

The question arises as to the role of the Australian bourgeoisie itself in all of this development of “independent capitalism” and why it was that the Labor Party took the lead on a number of the most important propositions concerning this process and generally fulfilled the tasks the bourgeois Liberals of older countries were concerned with?

In general, the Australian bourgeoisie, like their brothers in other Dominions, supported and assisted the development of “independence” because, in the end, it adds to their possibilities. The earliest campaigns for self-government were conducted by the representatives of the growing bourgeoisie; Parkes, Wentworth, Dunmore Lang and others. But they were hampered by sectional capitalist interests. It is these competing capitalist interest and rivalries that underlie the clinging to their sovereign rights and resistance to a Central Government by the States. In this way, the bourgeois parties directly connected with these interests were retarded in their progress towards unification by these sectional capitalist interests. In the same way, the close financial and economic relations of a large section of the Australian bourgeoisie with British capitalism retarded the development of independent Australian conduct of foreign affairs by these parties.

The agrarian capitalists looked to Britain for a market for their products. Big industrial and financial concerns wanted capital from the British money market. Big importing concerns also are closely connected with the British concerns. These capitalist interests, faced with strong competition in the British market from other Dominions, the Argentine and other countries, were sensitive to any reaction that might upset things a bit. The Labor Party, which collaborates with the capitalist class as a whole, is not so tied to any particular capitalist sectional interest and is therefore in a better position to legislate for Australian capitalism as a single entity.

The bourgeois parties, however, do display the same centrifugal tendency, just as in the other Dominions. The U. A. P., before the war, and in anticipation of it, did appoint the first independent Australian diplomatic representatives to Washington, Tokio and Chungking, while they hesitated to formally ratify the Statute of Westminster. The different approach of the A. L. P. and U. A. P. was shown in the fact that Menzies could announce "That Britain is at war and therefore Australia is at war" when Britain declared war on Hitler, in contrast to the Curtin Government, which declared war in the name of Australia on Japan and the Axis satellites.

Australia was last to ratify the Statute, because the imperialists in the U. A. P. considered this "anti-British." Menzies, however, did propose its adoption to Parliament, but it was set aside, owing to the pressure of other problems. In the debate on Dr. Evatt's motion, some of the U. A. P. declared ratification was unnecessary, because it had been adopted in practice already.

The U. A. P. also conducted Referenda aimed at giving the Federal authority greater powers, but not so sweeping as the Referendum proposals of Dr. Evatt. It is precisely the greater freedom of the Labor Government from sectional capitalist pressure that enables it to organise the national war effort more effectively than was possible for the Menzies Government. The Labor Government also has the great advantage of a closer relationship with the Trade Union movement.

The Menzies Government would not interfere with this or that capitalist interest because of its connections with those concerned and it had earned the enmity of Trade Unions. The Labor Government is able to organise the capitalist economy for the war more efficiently, just as it was able to take the lead in developing "independent" Australia, because of these advantages, because of its relative freedom from capitalist sectional interests as opposed to the interests of capitalism as a whole.

However, there have been and are to-day conflicts within the Labor Party itself on the question of unification, of "United Australia," as distinct from the present Federation of Australian States. Dr. Evatt's Referendum proposals are opposed by State Labor Governments; N. S. W. Premier McKell voiced opposition to tax uniformity, but was overwhelmingly defeated at the N. S. W. Labor Party Conference, Easter, 1942, but opposition within the N. S. W. Parliamentary Labor Party continues; Ex-Premier Forgan Smith, of Queensland, is bitterly opposed to the Referendum proposals. The reasons are that the State politicians are reluctant to part with their authority and the positions which they hold in State politics.

These State political Labor Party leaders are also custodians of the interests of capitalist concerns within the States. Forgan Smith's defence of the interests of the multi-millionaire concern, the Colonial Sugar Refining Co., is well known. Forgan Smith and the Queensland Labor Government display far more concern for the well-being of the C. S. R. than they have ever done for the interests of the toilers. This is one of the many conflicts that divide the Labor Party and reflects the underlying crisis in that Party that has so long been evident.

The struggles and conflicts within the Labor Party, over many years, between the big unions and the leaders of the A. L. P. and Labor Governments, reflect the basic contradiction between the policy and role of the Labor Party as the chief political architect of an independent capitalism in "United Australia," and the interests and aims of the working class which demand a Socialist Australia.

It is because of the existence of this fundamental contradiction between the aims of the Labor Party Liberal leadership and the working class, together with the greatly changed conditions of life of the latter, as Australia develops as a full-fledged capitalistic State, side by side with the decay of world capitalism, that led Lenin to conclude that the Labor Party in Australia, historically, would occupy only a brief interlude and be replaced by a "Socialist Labor Party."

This party, whose coming Lenin foresaw in 1913, was born in 1920, when the Communist Party of Australia was founded as an affiliated section of the World Communist Party, the Communist International.

The fundamental difference in the objectives of the Communists and the A. L. P. stand out with the greatest clarity. The A. L. P. had a role to play in regard to Australia's national development, but it was not a Socialist one. The A. L. P., as Lenin stated, laid no claim to be a Socialist Party. It but fulfilled the tasks performed by the bourgeois Liberals of older capitalist lands in establishing a centralised, "democratic" capitalistic State, establishing a new capital independent State. That, we conclude from Lenin's analysis, was the mission of the A. L. P.

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#### PART FIVE. THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS

"Naturally, when Australia is finally developed and consolidated as an independent capitalist state the conditions of the workers will change, as also will the Liberal Labor Party, which will make way for a Socialist Labor Party." (V. I. Lenin, "In Australia.")

The mass Socialist Labor Party, as we have noted, is already in existence in the person of the Communist Party. The conditions of the working class of Australia are rapidly changing also. The working class of Australia is no longer the working class to which Lenin referred: "The workers, for the most part, are emigrants from England. They left England at the time when Liberal Labor politics held almost unchallenged sway there and when the masses of the English workers were Liberals. This is the result of the exceptionally favourable, monopolist position England occupied in the second half of the last century."

The toilers of Australia no longer consist of people who were born in England in a period which induced a belief in Liberal ideas, but

were born in Australia during the existence of the general crisis and the decay of capitalism. The Australian working class is no longer what it was before the First World War. It has experienced the imperialistic world war and the succeeding depression and disillusionment; the Australian working class has been profoundly influenced by the Great October Socialist Revolution and the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union and by the deathless struggle of the Red Army against fascism.

It has had the great experience of the world economic crisis of 1929-'32 and the years of depression, whose effects were felt until the commencement of the present war. The Australian working class has had the experience of the great anti-fascist war, in which it is called upon to play a new and decisive role. The younger workers coming into industry today were not born in the days when Australia was an easy-going "colony," primarily agrarian, with an expanding capitalism, at a time when it was comparatively easy to obtain work, when there was often a shortage of labor, when thoughts of war and invasion of Australia never even entered the heads of the masses.

It was in this "wide, high and handsome" period that the "independent," individualist character of the Australian toilers was most pronounced. The workers were not so dependent on capital, on employment in mass industries, which made them more independent in character than their fellows in more strongly established capitalist States. It is precisely this background and these qualities that have made the Aussie "Digger" the fine and resourceful soldier that he is. Monopoly capitalism must never be allowed to crush the characteristics of independence, pride in themselves and initiative of the Australian masses.

Conditions, as Lenin wrote, are indeed changing. Australia is now an industrial country in which monopoly capitalism has superseded the old "liberal" small scale, competitive capitalism.

As a consequence of the rapid progress of industrialisation, the working class has grown greatly in numbers. Under the stress of war needs, vast new sections are being proletarianised; former land-workers and small business people and, particularly, large numbers of women, hitherto backward politically because excluded from participation in economic and industrial life, are now entering the large factories and joining the Trade Unions for the first time. This is enormously increasing the strength and the political importance of the working class in the affairs of the Australian nation.

The conditions are changing and have changed. The young worker of to-day faces quite a different world to the old, seemingly secure, "peaceful" world of his father.

The working class feels the new conditions and its own increasing strength more every day. It is in this setting that Communism reaches mass dimensions and will continue to grow organisationally and politically, and the Labor Party will continue to lose its old influence over the proletariat, thus fulfilling that which Lenin wrote: "The conditions of the workers will change, as will also the Liberal Labor Party, which will make way for a Socialist Labor Party."

The Liberal role of the Labor Party will become exhausted, according to Lenin, as an independent Australian State is realised. Conditions will change and the domination of the working masses by a

Liberal Labor policy will give way to an Australian working class party, independent of the bourgeoisie, both ideologically as well as organisationally. The policy of class-collaboration will be entirely eliminated. The new party will be based on proletarian ideology, principles and practice, that is to say, on Marxism-Leninism.

What can be the future of the A. L. P. in these new circumstances?

It is, of course, not likely that the A. L. P. ideology and policy of Liberal-class collaboration will disappear "suddenly," overnight, as it were. It is a process intimately bound up with the tactics of the United Front of the working class, which leads, as the workers become more radical, and as the Communist Party waxes stronger and the A. L. P. wanes, to something more than a United Front between the A. L. P. and the Communists, that is, towards a merger, a fusion, the organisational unity of the Communists and the A. L. P. masses, to form one great mass party of the toiling people, based upon and practising Socialist principles. The Liberal Right-wing leadership of the A. L. P. cannot be "won" for Socialism. They will continue to defend the capitalist state. There will most likely be a split with the Right-wing or, at the best, the expulsion of the Right-wing from the Labor movement during the course of the development towards one united party of the working-class. That is how Dimitrov pictured the development towards the single party in his great address on the United Front and People's Front at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, and that was the policy of the French and the Spanish Communist Parties. The masses in the A. L. P. and the Communists unite in one part, in opposition and struggle with the Right-wing, which has split and divided the working class. It is not a question with us of any crude smashing of the A. L. P., but a working out of Unity between the two parties, the Communist Party and the Socialist masses of the A. L. P., whose starting point is the United Front of the working class, based on agreement between the A. L. P. and the Communist Party.

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#### EXHIBIT No. 102

[Sydney, Central Committee, Australian Communist Party, 1945. J. B. Miles (General Secretary Australian Communist Party), *Jobs, Freedom, Progress*. Pp. 3-21]

#### **JOBS, FREEDOM, PROGRESS**

Report delivered at the 14th Congress of the Australian Communist Party, held in the Sydney Town Hall, August 9-12.

The report was delivered on August 10, that is, before the certainty of an immediate Japanese surrender was known.

Since our 13th Congress, almost two-and-a-half years ago, the world situation has greatly changed. At that date Nazi Germany was still a powerful force. The mighty victorious offensives of the Red Army had begun the liberation of Europe, the resistance movement was growing, especially in France, but the peoples of the conquered countries were still suffering under the rule of the Nazi criminals and their satellites.

The invasion of Italy had not started and the landing in France was over a year ahead.

Australia was not yet free from danger.

What are the main changes?

The Hitlerite armies have been completely defeated, Germany is occupied and controlled by the victorious armies of the anti-Fascist coalition. All Europe is liberated.

The Allies are defeating and driving back the Japanese. A few more months of struggle will result in the liberation of all Pacific Islands, China and Korea, and the occupation of Japan. The entry of Soviet Russia into the Pacific War, and the new bomb may bring an early collapse of Japanese Imperialism.

The great anti-fascist coalition, led by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, cemented in common struggle, has remained firm in the face of desperate efforts to disrupt it. Yesterday's news from Moscow is a serious blow to the anti-Soviet disruptors.

The Teheran Agreement (Dec., 1943) on joint blows, brought victory in Europe. The Teheran concord was followed by the Crimea Agreement (Feb., '45) which began to develop the Allied plans to assist the liberated countries and to control Germany. The Crimea Conference led to the San Francisco Conference at which the United Nations adopted the World Charter to maintain peace between the nations.

The recently concluded Conference at Potsdam elaborated the Crimea decisions for control of Germany, the removal of militarism, elimination of cartels and monopolies, on reparations, for the trial and punishment of war criminals, to re-educate the German people and encourage democratic institutions in Germany. France and China are invited to join the Council of Foreign Ministers along with the Big Three. Further steps were taken toward solving the Polish problem, including territorial changes. It was decided to proceed with preparation of peace treaties with Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Finland and Rumania. The rebuff to the Franco Government is significant. The possibility of new aggression by Germany is removed for a long time if not for ever. In any event the territorial changes and the new Governments in Eastern Europe strengthen the strategic position of Soviet Russia thus contributing to the maintenance of peace.

The three leaders stated that the Conference "strengthened the ties of the three Governments and extended the scope of their collaboration and understanding." They left the Conference "with renewed confidence that their Governments and people, together with the other United Nations, will ensure the creation of a just and enduring peace."

#### NEW LABOR STRENGTH

The victorious anti-fascist struggle has strengthened the labor and democratic movement everywhere.

One result of first importance is world trade union unity, which is soon to be strengthened by the Congress in Paris.

Most of the new governments in Europe are representative of the democratic organisations of the liberated peoples. These governments pursue political, economic and social policies in the interests of the masses, against the collaborators, the landlords and the monopolists. And in these countries the forces of trade unionism are stronger than ever.

The defeat of the Tories and the election of a Labor Government in Britain is a great victory for progress; it reveals a parting of the ways between the democratic movement of the people of Britain and the Tory temporary allies.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is free and allied with her victorious partners. More than that, the Socialist land, despite the terrible costs of the war, has emerged stronger than on the day of the treacherous Nazi attack. This is a result of the Soviet people's unity, the creative power of Socialism, and the leadership of Lenin's Party guided by Generalissimo Stalin.

When to all this is added the support of millions of new friends throughout the world it is beyond dispute that the influence of the Soviet Union for peace and democratic progress is, indeed, most powerful.

The Communist parties have become stronger in most countries and Communists are in the governments of several European countries. A vast increase in numbers and strength has taken place in France, Italy, Belgium, and China. The recent and current discussions in the United States and elsewhere about the Communist organisation in the States will lead to a strengthening of the parties in the Americas and wherever the Browder influence extended.

These changes are the basis upon which it is possible that the struggles for a long period of peace, for the extension of democracy, or a more powerful labor movement, for economic restoration and for higher standards of living will be successful.

During the years before the war the fascists and the appeasers, the enemies of Soviet Russia and of the labor movement and the colonial liberation movements were able to prepare for and plunge the world into war. The Labor and other democratic forces were not united.

The war, however, brought unity of the anti-fascist nations, unity of the democratic peoples, which has proved to be stronger than the fascist States and their Fifth Columns.

The history of the years before the war and of the war years emphasises the Marxist view that the people, especially the labor movement, must not leave foreign affairs to the capitalist class, that foreign affairs should not be left exclusively even to progressive governments.

The initiative must not again pass into the hands of reaction. What are the aims we must set ourselves in relation of foreign policy? Japan will be brought to unconditional surrender but, while changes will take place in Australia's contribution, there can be no relaxation of the effort of the Australian people for complete victory in the Pacific. We Communists will continue to support the Labor Government and to organise the widest possible unity of the nation behind the Government. The Pacific tasks, and assistance from Australia for Britain, for devastated Europe and for China demand a continuation of our production policy. That is, our aim is maximum production. This means to take a leading part in safeguarding the workers' conditions, in obtaining redress of grievances, in combatting employer provocation and disruptive influences in the workers' ranks. It means to act with vigor and determination for settlement of disputes before discontent leads to a stoppage. It means no capitulation before

employer or Arbitration Court attempts to impose on the workers' loyalty to the anti-fascist cause, and it means action by the unions and the whole labor movement to overcome Government weaknesses.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

For action against Japan the situation in China has not improved. The dictatorship of the Kuomintang, its refusal to unify and democratise China, the open treachery of scores of Chinese generals and the Mihailovitch role of many Kuomintang generals, weakens the struggle against Japan. A continuation of the situation in China is dangerous for the postwar world. A divided China may mean civil war and that can lead to other and serious complications in Pacific relations. A solution of the China problem is essential for peace and progress in the Pacific and throughout the world. There can be no doubt that the entry of the S. U. into the Pacific war will contribute to the solution.

Little time remains to gain added strength for the struggle against Japan through a change of British policy in India. The release of some Congress leaders and the recent conference in India was symptomatic of world trends. But the divisions already fostered by the imperialists made the talks abortive. We can be sure that the Labor Government of Britain will receive much support and any necessary encouragement from the people of Britain for an early solution of the Indian problem in line with the Atlantic Charter.

Australia should support the application of Atlantic Charter principles to all peoples and nations, this is particularly important in relation to Burma and Malaya, as well as India, and to Australia's near neighbors, the Indonesians.

Independence and democracy will hasten the industrialisation of the Pacific and other undeveloped countries, expand world trade and contribute toward realisation of the economic and social aims of the Allied Agreements and of the World Trade Union Conference.

Doubtless the enemies of our Party will continue to distort our attention to other countries, to allege lack of concern for the welfare of the Australian people. Our reply is that, today as in the past, our foreign policy has no other aim than a world in which Australia can live in peace and be strong, free, democratic and prosperous.

The overall problem of foreign policy is to maintain the unity of the nations and to struggle for the great aims of the agreements from the Anglo-Soviet Treaty to the decisions reached at Potsdam. These aims express the aspirations of the peoples of the world. We Communists are convinced that they can be realised in our time. Mankind moves through struggle toward these goals and the further goal of Socialism.

However, there will not be progress merely because good agreements have been written and signed.

From the first removal of Nazi control, in North, Africa, through Italy, and France, Greece, Belgium, Trieste and Poland, to the control of Germany, reaction has caused difficulties and conflicts and will continue to do so till deprived of its power. There is never ending provocation directed against the Soviet Union, to confuse the people and disrupt the United Nations.

When the press is admitted to a conference of nations, e. g., San Francisco, the cables are filled with disruptive speculations, lies and

exaggerations. When the provocateurs are kept away, as at Potsdam, the press proprietors scream their hatred in the name of a free press.

These and other evidences (e. g., Argentina, Churchill's election propaganda), which find full reflection in Australia, should free us from any illusions that the way forward will be smooth and easy.

We Communists must see the whole situation and struggle for clarity in the minds of the workers and other democrats. We must neither deny the significance of the world changes nor exaggerate them, we must correctly estimate the power of reaction to hinder the march of progress, we must neither underestimate the forces of progress nor the struggle ahead.

We have come through a period when finance and industrial capital, including monopolies in the bourgeois democracies, played some part in the struggle to destroy the most brutal, rapacious, aggressive imperialism. With the passing of direct danger to independence, in Australia, in Britain, the United States and other countries, with the coming of victory, big business reveals more and more its class interest which cannot be reconciled with the interests of the working class and other toilers.

It is the most dangerous error to draw the conclusion that because Soviet Russia enters agreements with imperialist States that the working class can accept the leadership of imperialists and their parties.

Does that mean that Communists reject the possibility of the inclusion of some capitalists in national unity and in support of the international agreements? It does not!

The issue in this connection is not for or against cooperation with other classes for common aims, it is the independence, unity and strength of the working class, of the labor movement. Without independence and the power of unity, co-operation means submission to capitalist class interests. There can be no real strength in the labor movement unless there is independence. And only such strength will win the confidence of the farmers and middle classes and command the respect of possible allies in the capitalist class.

Capitalism remains capitalism, monopoly remains monopoly, and the class of monopolists, with support from the majority of the capitalist class will strive relentlessly and ruthlessly for its own policies, national and international.

To restrain and finally overcome imperialist policy our Party and Communists everywhere must base themselves nationally and internationally on the united front of Labor, on the leading role of the working class in alliance with the middle classes. We must teach the toiling people that their aims of peace, democracy and prosperity can be realised only through action which will restrain and finally master the trusts.

Without attempting to exhaust all questions of foreign policy something must be said about the so-called Australian territories. The progressive character of the legislation introduced by Mr. Ward brought howls of indignation from the Australian exploiters of island labor. We support this Government measure, it is a step forward which will raise living and cultural standards, bring organisation and national consciousness to the island peoples, thus preparing the way for nationhood and self-determination.

Immigration is linked with foreign policy, especially in relation to "White Australia." Friendly relations, peace and security, trade expansion and rising living standards demand an end to this insult to our colored allies and neighbors. We Communists want no flood of immigrants from any country to provide a reserve army of labor for the exploiters. With industrial expansion and with care for Australian living standards, there can take place a planned increase of population through immigration without discrimination on grounds of color or race.

In addition we must combat all racial and national prejudice, paying particular attention to the menace of anti-semitism.

#### NATIONAL PROGRAM

What is our post-war national program? We want a strong, democratic, independent Australia, co-operating within the Empire and with other nations for the aims already dealt with.

We are proposing no radical alterations to the economic and social demands put forward by our Party since the beginning of last year.

In the forefront we place the restoration of Servicemen and women to civil life, provision of education for those who want training, jobs for all, and care for those who are maimed and ill. There is also the transfer of war industry workers to production of consumer goods in ample quantity. The prospect of an early end of the Pacific war emphasises the need to speed up all rehabilitation plans. The State Governments should operate the war factories to produce the needs of the people. The housing problem demands temporary measures (use of army structures and empty premises) as well as construction in the shortest possible time of great numbers of permanent homes. Rail unification, water conservation, control of erosion and harbor construction can be carried out. Those and other needs, more schools kindergartens and nurseries, better health service, community centres and other recreation facilities, are practical proposals for realisation of the demand, jobs for all, with increased real wages.

We welcome the actions of the Government in easing some controls. But this movement should take place more quickly, e.g., relaxation of wage-pegging, army releases, provision of material and manpower for housing. However, some controls must continue if economic chaos is to be avoided. In particular, prices and supplies must be controlled for so long as the demand is likely to exceed supply. The prices of goods in short supply on an open market would be determined by the rich and the speculators to the great disadvantage of the workers and others on the lower incomes.

Government assistance and encouragement of cooperatives is also necessary to secure farm equipment and supplies, to market farm products and help to stabilise prices. Both farmer and consumer will benefit.

We must avoid illusions about realising the program demand whether it be national, State, regional, local or industry. We are not sowing illusions by window dressing, the demands cannot be realised except through struggle by a united labor movement supported by the middle classes.

In the resolution the Central Committee has put the issue of Government control and nationalisation in more immediately practical terms.

This is no retreat from our support for nationalisation; including legislation already enacted, it is the way toward better organization of the national economy and toward control and mastery of the trusts.

In the August Review Comrade Sharkey refers to my objection to the Browder views on Free Enterprise. It is well that we did not adopt his views, we would have become a tail of the reactionaries who have used the Free Enterprise slogan so much in past months. Freedom for the monopolies, freedom of exploitation, freedom for their press, to suppress, lie and distort is the reality behind their use of the slogan.

But we Communists do not object to the private enterprise of the small producer and trader, whether in industry or on the land. We want to see ex-service men and women, who wish to have farms and businesses, given favorable opportunities to begin the new life and to be protected from the greed of the bankers and the monopolists.

#### PRIVATE MONOPOLY

All that was said earlier on the real character and role of monopoly capital in the capitalist democracies is clearly confirmed when we examine its propaganda and activity in Australia over many months and today.

The attitude of the Liberal and Country Party leaders, the press and the many other organs of reaction, to the Soviet Union and the Labor Government, to the Trade Union movement and our Party; their opposition to the Banking legislation, the Repatriation Act, their reflections on the Army, including their distortions about equipment, their campaign on the A. C. T. U., the World Trade Union Congress and Comrade Thornton, etc., etc., demonstrates where they stand.

In this they are assisted by Trotskyites, Right-wing Labor Party leaders, A. W. U. bureaucrats, Lang and followers and by reactionary clerics. They brand everything progressive as Communist, Socialist and revolutionary. They aim to isolate the Communist Party, to split the labor movement, to isolate Labor from the farmers and town middle classes, to defeat the Labor Governments and put monopoly in control.

Is the attack on the Party merely a facade for other aims? It is not! The attack is due to the strength of our Party and its influence. Hence the growth of the anti-Party campaign and the efforts to disrupt the Trade Unions based on anti-Party activities. The reaction is not making a mistake and, is not merely manoeuvring to have us overestimate our influence. One has heard such views from an odd member and from some friends.

The main answer to the disruptors and to the slanders is unity in action for the needs of the working people. But, at the same time, we must skilfully and vigorously answer the lies about our aims, our attitude to democracy and on the issue of violence. It is not difficult to expose their claim to be democrats and to reveal their great responsibility for the violence of the Fascists. We must be continually on guard against provocation.

The Liberal Party which has the same leaders as the U.A.P. represents big business interests. There are evidences of conflict in that Party but there is also some unity and growth. Do not underestimate the Liberal Party.

The Liberal Party is successfully appealing to confused liberal middle class people. To avoid sectarianism we must differentiate. Our line of reply is Labor unity and breadth of appeal to farmers and all progressive minded people of town and country.

The Liberals appeal to the soldiers, their aim is to divide; our program is in the interests of all working people. The Liberals appeal to the middle classes. Our national, local and regional programs will win support from small business people, the professions, scientists and artists.

The Liberals appeal to women; we stand for equal status, equal pay, for housing, child care and wage increases. In action with them we will win greater support from women in industry and the housewives.

The Liberals appeal to youth. We must explain to the young men and women that their future lies with Labor, for education, sport and jobs, and help them to organise.

#### FEDERAL ELECTIONS

Our Party continues its support for the Labor Government. We regret the loss of Mr. Curtin as we do the loss of President Roosevelt. Labor Party policy today is liberal and progressive. The present alternative Government is not a more left Government but Menzies and Fadden, the Liberal Party and the Country Party. The Labor Government has a good program for rehabilitation, employment and social legislation. What is needed is mass support for that program; it is our task to organise that support, and to press for less bureaucracy and more action.

With the easing of the war situation the Labor Party and the Government succumb to the pressure of reaction and tend away from the Unions. They provide shelter for "red baiters," and some leaders give aid to Trade Union disruptors, e. g., Mr. Martens and Mr. Beasley. They try to justify themselves with the theory that such action holds middle class votes but their weakness may lose votes. Our criticism must be developed in the spirit of unity and with constructive proposals.

We support the A.C.T.U. economic program. No doubt another speaker will deal with the wages plan. The budget results for the year 1944-45 show that taxation on lower incomes could be eased at once. More rapid adjustment of manpower is necessary and practical, this would ease rationing as well as housing.

For the Federal elections reaction is preparing now. It is too early for the methods of an election campaign, but we can activate our Party and the Trade Unions and assist the members of the Labor Party. It will be a vital election. We can show what the Labor Party has done, what are its plans, and strive to have it add to its achievement between now and the election. We can do more to dispel disgruntlement and show what the alternative of Menzies & Co. would mean; it would mean political reaction, economic crisis and social conflict.

We will work to defeat the reactionary candidates and return the Labor Government to office.

But also, and of great importance, Congress will be asked to endorse a number of nominations by our Party. Where we do run we aim to win, to strengthen the labor movement in the Federal Parlia-

ment. Therefore, our slogans cannot be identical in the two groups of constituencies. Our own candidates and their committees should work from such a slogan as "Send a Communist to Canberra." This is imperative for success. It is important for another reason. There is some evidence of tailism in relation to the Labor Party, fear that reaction may win and the wrong conclusion, withdraw from the field, give wholly unconditional support to the Labor Party candidate. Anyway we can't win. So it goes. There are friendly non-Party people who hold this view and it penetrates our ranks. It is opportunist, a variety of Browderism, it leads to liquidation, not only of our Party but of the independence of the Labor Movement.

Our Party has a worthy record. Our role before and during the war has greatly increased our strength and prestige. However, we are not so powerful as our bourgeois and right-wing Labor enemies sometimes say. We don't run the Labor Party or the Trade Union movement though we are an influence, especially in the Trade Unions.

We do not yet lead a majority of our class. We have had several successes in Municipal elections, but we have only one member of Parliament.

In 25 years we have laid a solid foundation and have become a mass Party but to win the majority and to gain our Socialist objective, we must become much stronger in the course of struggles for our immediate program.

#### PARTY ORGANISATION

There is some evidence that fluctuation has declined. Even so it is too great. We will know better after the re-issue of cards later this year.

The organisation proposals issued for discussion and consideration by Congress met with much approval. There was some criticism and some expression of doubt. The Central Committee has always rejected for Australia the United States scheme of no form of factory organisation.

Our own experience had shown the need for some modification (such as proposed in the new draft) and we were in part influenced to issue the first draft on information about changes in Britain.

We have been correctly giving emphasis to local work and encouraging large local branches.

The Central Committee drew the conclusion that much of the favorable acceptance of the first draft was based on wrong views. It was claimed by factory and District comrades that the least active members of factory branches would be aroused to action in local branches. The plan was welcomed by local branch and Zone leaders as a means to strengthen their own work. With this there was an absence of appreciation of the importance of the proposed Party factory committees and of factory and trade union work by Zone Committees and local branches.

Our discussions on the situation in the United States added weight to doubts about the first draft. It is proposed to reject the first draft on organisation and adopt the second one. The new draft proposes to retain the two basic organisations, factory and local, but it also carries forward in more precise terms developments in relation to factories which have been proceeding for some months.

About the large local branches we do not yet have enough information on which to base detailed conclusions. There is no doubt that this change is a correct step, but there are some trends which could lead to turning inward with the growth of social and cultural club life. Some branches are grouping activists in such directions without a correct balance for political mass leadership.

Our local branches must not be mere clubs for members and educational centres; in a Communist manner they must take up the problems of the people, develop unity in mass work for local demands, in municipal and parliamentary campaigns; they have a responsibility to organise in the factories of their locality and to carry out trade union work. Adapting themselves to the social composition of the locality the branches should organise agitation and propaganda in line with the Party program and campaigns, and take Socialist education to the people.

Adoption of the second draft on organisation will result in some changes to the draft Constitution, at least as to the basic organisation. I have heard some criticism of the proposal to issue dues stamps each quarter instead of each month. The questions seem to be: Is it a hardship to pay 6/6 or 3/3 at once instead of the monthly amount? Will payment by instalment and the absence of a stamp until payment is completed, cause difficulties about standing and admission to meetings? These questions should be answered from the views of the mass of members, and not solely from the bookkeeping angle.

I have time only to warn that there is a lag in dues collection and payment to the Centre, and similarly in relation to what we call quota payments. If not arrested this will cripple our activity. We need 100 per cent. collection and payment to higher organs. The example of our service comrades should inspire all of us to obtain support from friends.

To keep within my time I must leave trade union questions, including that of the A. W. U., to others.

The new preamble, drafted by Comrade Sharkey, is based on the conditions of today, on our program and perspectives. It should receive conscious attention by all comrades.

Arrangements have been made for contributions to the discussion on Party education, our press, women and youth, hence my remarks are brief.

The American experience drives home the danger of neglect or ignorance of basic Marxism, it underlines the value of continual study and restudy if we are to be strong enough to resist alien class influences and strong enough to do our class duty. It emphasises also the basic importance of testing our views through wide discussion in the Party and before the masses.

The limit on paper supply has retarded the development of our newspapers and the Review. But we have advanced. We will have a daily paper. The issue of "Tribune" twice a week was coupled with the use of new avenues of distribution. It is correct to use the commercial means of distribution but some comrades regarded this as ending their responsibility about circulation. Extending the circulation of "Tribune" and other papers and building toward a daily, through newsagents as well as in other ways, remains a task for

members, branches and committees. What is needed is understanding of the new problems of distribution, how to increase the circulation, and action.

The number of women in our Party has increased but the proportion remains low. Women comrades continue to develop and carry out good work on State, District and Zone Committees and on Branch executives. Our women propagandists are doing much to extend the influence of our Party and to win new members. However, more must be done by our women comrades and by our organs to raise the political ability of our women members and develop more speakers. The work of our Women's Committees must become more balanced by a definite turn to the factories and unions, but not to turn away from the home, the mother, child care, health and related interests.

To improve our youth work, both politically and organisationally, we need less generalisation about it being a Party responsibility and more study of the movement by those members of Committees and branches who are given responsibility in that sphere; more study of the practical experiences and theory by our Trade Unionists who assist to organise young men and women. There is confusion between organisation of children and the labor youth movement which should be seen as a movement of young men and young women. More young members of our Party ought to take up this work and all who are in the youth movement should devote more time to the study of Marxism.

You will be asked to approve a reduction in the numbers of the Central Committee. Experience even before the travel restrictions showed that most of the members of the C.C. who work at a distance from the Centre were but nominally members. Last Congress increased the number to 45, the amalgamation added 4, with 1 member of the Control Committee, a total of 50.

The Central Committee concluded that a smaller number, 35 full members and no candidates, is suggested, and a full attendance will give more time for adequate reporting and discussion.

Our geography, distances and expense of central meetings and two-way personal contact have been and remain problems for us.

When necessary on special subjects expert comrades would be drawn in for consultation.

This more realist approach to the size of the Central Committee, along with greater personal contact to and from the Centre with the easing of transport, will strengthen the leadership in every way.

#### TOWARDS SOCIALISM

You have appointed a Resolutions Committee which will make a report following our deliberations and give attention to written proposals received by the Secretariat. But I should indicate the main content of the latter.

Most of the letters and reports reflect careful examination of the draft. The majority deal with re-wording in the interests of clarity of meaning, some from the standpoint of better English, grammar and punctuation. Insofar as there is political difference this is not radical and may be described as aiming rather more to the left than the draft. I think the re-draft will be strengthened in that way.

Some comrades want more programmatic detail and additional points; most of this would spoil the resolution as a basic, not a detailed statement of the political situation, perspectives and tasks. It is an omission that there is no reference to the Australian Aborigines.

It will be possible to strengthen the treatment of nationalisation and Socialism without getting off the earth or away ahead of the masses. However, let us not forget that the direct struggle for power in Russia, led by the greatest Party of all, began with the slogan "Peace, Bread, Land." Let us remember that in the days of our first big growth, 1930-32, we had slogans about Soviet Power and Socialism but we grew because we gave leadership for the needs of the workers, unemployed, farmers and middle class people suffering from the crisis and the capitalist offensive. We also learned more about Socialism and improved Socialist education in the Party and among the working people.

It is our Socialist duty to give leadership to the masses for their economic and political demands; to organise Labor unity and unity of the people in struggle against the exploiters; to combine with this mass work Socialist education of the working class and its allies; to raise higher the Socialist education of all members of our Party. We have to win thousands of new members and strengthen our organisation. In that way we will prepare for any sudden changes. Along that road lies the end of capitalist rule and the beginning of Socialist reconstruction in Australia.

#### REPLY TO THE CONGRESS DISCUSSION, DELIVERED ON AUGUST 12

Our Congress took place at a time when a number of happy coincidences occurred. When we held our public rally last Thursday night we were able to refer to the entry of the Soviet Union into the Pacific war. Yesterday we began our deliberations with the knowledge that Japan had offered to lay down arms providing that the Son of Heaven would be safe. Today we learn that the Allies have agreed to the Japanese offer if it means the acceptance of the Potsdam decisions and that they are prepared to use the Son of Heaven, as one comrade put it yesterday, as a rubber stamp. Well, he is of very poor quality, and such a rubber stamp is not likely to last very long. So our Congress probably coincides with the end of the world war.

These events have inspired us.

Let us remember that peace must be maintained, let us remember that you have agreed on the basis of the reports and the discussions that valuable though the international agreements are, the carrying out of these agreements, the maintenance of peace, depends not on the fact that agreements have been written and signed, but on the solidarity of the peoples of the world who do not want another war. And that means it depends upon the Soviet Union and the people of good will in other lands and on the Communist Parties throughout the world, and all people who will unite with the Communists against imperialist reaction, against the monopolists.

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## EXHIBIT No. 103

[Sydney, Central Committee, Australian Communist Party, 1945. L. H. Gould, *Arts, Science and Communism.*]

## ART, SCIENCE AND COMMUNISM

## INTRODUCTORY

My report on the work of the Arts and Sciences Committee begins with the concluding remarks of Comrade Miles at the 13th National Congress when, as you will recall, he raised the issue of advancing culture among Party members and among the masses. In the two-and-a-half years since then we have witnessed in Australia a lively and a very substantial development in the arts and sciences.

The anti-fascist war, with its sombre realities and exalted patriotism has engendered everywhere among the worthwhile people of the world new attitudes and new habits of life. This occurs in every great crisis. Men think more deeply, they are constrained to examine ideas and events with anxious care. The struggle for very existence against the ersatz-men of fascism is far too serious for the superficial and the meretricious. War is implacable, said Lenin. Victory demands the last ounce of effort and skill.

This earnestness of approach is manifest in the realm of culture, too. The war stimulated to an extraordinary degree man's interest in music, in literature and in "the things of the spirit" generally. This quickening of cultural interest was one way by which progressive humanity voiced its protest against the sordidness and banality of the dying order of capitalism. What a contrast between the spirit of embattled democracy at Tobruk, Stalingrad and Kokoda and the behaviour of our Menzies and Faddens who, even in the very thick of the military struggle, placed their mean, trashy, pettifogging economic interests ahead of the nation's needs! There you have another explanation for the new creative trends among Australians and the return, so to speak, to Shakespeare and Beethoven and the other masters of our great cultural heritage.

Art and science were integrated into the national war effort, and so our first task should be to note, among hundreds of examples that could be recounted, some of the outstanding cultural achievements in the recent past. There was the excellent exhibition of 150 years of Australian art, organised by the National Gallery. In Newcastle tens of thousands viewed the painting of a National Gallery Travelling Exhibition, which incidentally was housed in the Newcastle Trades Hall. Who will dispute the stimulating influence of this just people's war against fascism? Take the Dobell painting of Joshua Smith. More than 150,000 persons visited the gallery where this painting was hung. This extraordinary number is surely not merely due to the special features of the picture and the litigation over the award. Because of the war, the arts and sciences have gained countless new converts and adherents.

To proceed. We have had many cultural conferences, the latest being a national conference of scientists on the problem of soil

erosion. There was a very splendid conference convened by what is now the People's Cultural Council. We had the Encouragement of Art Movement (E.A.M.) which developed into the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (C.E.M.A.). In addition, we may note such events and developments as the People's Chorus, the Sydney Film Society, the further advance of the New Theatre League and also other "little theatre" movements, the proposal for a national theatre, the Studio of Realist Art, a number of art exhibitions by workers in factories, and many more. Within the Party, Marx School has contributed considerably to cultural progress by staging successful concerts and art shows. The Tribune, Communist Review and our inter-State press, by publishing theoretical and popular articles on art and science, have also stimulated much interest and practical activity in culture.

Australian art is in a much healthier state today than it was 30 months ago, and in this advance the Communist Party has played no mean part.

It would be a mistake to think that all this art and science activity throughout the country has been due entirely, or even in large measure to the work of our Arts and Sciences Committee. That is not so. But we did start our work in good time, and in the intervening period between the 13th and 14th National Congresses of our Party, we have been able to participate in cultural work in a big, serious and systematic way. The Arts and Sciences Committee was established soon after the 13th Congress. We should note that the Communist Party is the only party in this country which has recognized the importance of art and science by setting up a special committee to guide the work of its members in these spheres. Our Party always did include art and science in its purview and policy. By the 13th Congress, and certainly by now, the maturity of our Party enabled us to proceed in this sphere in a manner that is making a substantial impress upon the cultural life of our country.

Yes, the people's war for democracy finds realisation in the spheres of arts and science also. We can quote one more fact, and leave it at that, by saying that in the last two-and-a-half years we have recruited into our Party literally hundreds of artists, doctors, scientists and technicians, and other specialists comprehended by the term "arts and sciences."

Our first job was to clarify the theoretical problem. Theory must guide our path here as in other spheres. What is culture? At the 13th Congress, Comrade Miles said: "We have a high cultural level. Ability to do things with the hands in a trained way is a part of culture\*. Political knowledge and the capacity to do politically the things we have to do is also culture."

We have no narrow conception of culture—although in this report emphasis will be laid on those aspects of human interest and endeavour with which the term culture is usually identified. We may give another definition, not necessarily complete, but a workable one and suitable for our purposes here: "Culture means the methods, techniques and arts by which progressive humanity satisfies its needs and gives expression to what it experiences and to what it

\*"By the possession of capable hands and their constant use, man acquired wisdom."—Anaxagoras, exiled from Athens about 450 B. C. for propagating "subversive" ideas.

aspires." Marxism is culture. Marxism is the highest form of culture today because it is the social force, the historical agent, which is consciously transforming the world of economic chaos, and national oppression, class privilege and tyranny into a new realm of freedom, to the classless society of Socialism in which the evils, the waste and torments of today will be only a hateful memory.

Marxism will make of the world a garden fit for the human spirit. Within 20 years Marxism has transformed countries such as Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan, hitherto stagnant and virtually moribund in some mid-Asian backwater by-passed by the stream of history, into modern technically-advanced States with blossoming cultures.

Our interest in arts and science as Marxists is not due to any narrow political aims. We are scientists, we are philosophers with the responsibility of both understanding the world and changing it.

Art, in its origins and functions, can be understood only by relating it to the labor process. Labor, human toil, is a nature-imposed necessity, because man must toil to produce his food, his clothing, his shelter. Man had to eat first before he could philosophise: "In the beginning was the deed." Utility preceded the quest for beauty, but, of course, in time the satisfaction of purely utilitarian requirements fused with the quest for beauty.

That was the first theoretical task—to relate the whole problem of culture to the labor process and the Labor Movement.

Further on theory. The Arts and Sciences Committee had to exercise vigilance against harmful alien trends which penetrate the Labor Movement in various forms and at times seep into our own ranks.

There is no need to speak of such abominations as anti-Semitism or other "race theories" propounded by the fascists. I have in mind here the ideas which wrongly invest the monopolists and their agents with capacities for social vision and similar virtues which they simply do not possess; and those movements which provide the apologia for capitalist exploitation, such as philanthropy, "prison reform" and a host of other hole-in-the-corner reforms which Marx trenchantly castigated 100 years ago. Communists are enlightened citizens and acutely sensitive to the misfortunes of their fellow-men. They will render accordingly whatever immediate assistance they can to sufferers. The basic approach, however, is not charity, or any form of dependence, but the organisation of the broad democratic masses for struggle for emancipation from capitalism, with its anarchy and economic deprivation, its wars, its vulgarity, its hurts to the dignity of man.

Every gesture for social progress and the advancement of humanity's culture is beset by the Trotsky-fascist, the escapist, and the philistine. You know how these harmful trends are sometimes brought directly into the Labor Movement. How much easier is it then for the bourgeoisie to inject their ideology into the consciousness of the people by means of the song, the film and the novel.

Another theoretical problem is how to apply the advice of Lenin about working over and mastering the cultural heritage of the past, the culture produced in slave-holding society, in priest-ridden society, in feudalism and in capitalist society. There is much in the past which has significance for us. We must not hesitate to accept the good; at the same time we have to learn how to avoid uncritical

acceptance of sanctions, habits and traditions of the past which present day life must reject.

In our efforts to raise cultural standards, we have to guard against cultural snobbery. Just as some Comrades will not recruit a worker to Party membership because he cannot "talk Marxism," so in art there may be tendencies to reject categorically the art produced by workers, or the art which appeals to workers, because it does not as yet measure up to accepted standards.

We are deeply interested in Australian culture. We base ourselves upon the traditions, the literature and the culture of our own country. We are better Australians because of our interest in international culture, and conversely, better internationalists because, being Australian citizens, we interest ourselves deeply in the culture of our own land.

#### ART IN PRACTICE

Then there is the problem of theory and practice, how theory integrates into practice. Let me mention a few aspects. It is idle to talk about culture unless we are prepared to give practical leadership in raising the economic standards of artists and scientists. We reject the traditional conception of the artist starving in a garret. Our Committee has had to concern itself with awards, wages and trade union organisation, just as other Party members are doing in different spheres. In this connection there is something of interest to report. In the past year or two we have noted a change in regard to "patronage of the arts," as it is called. The Tribune now gives employment, although only part-time employment, to Finey and Mahoney, two brilliant cartoonists, victimised by the Sydney Telegraph because of their refusal to smear the Labor Movement. We have seen the employment by the trade unions of our artist-Comrade Dalgarno for the painting of Labor themes. We find that artists are beginning, although in a very small way yet, to receive support and patronage for their art within the Labor-democratic movement.

When we think of arts and science we mean art and science in the terms of the bread and butter, of the life blood of the people. We do not want an academic or dilettante approach; we want scientists to be useful to society as a whole, let us say in problems of public health and in related questions. It is no use talking or planning culture unless we give effective day-to-day political attention to the development of education, particularly elementary education. And on this point any idea of cultural activity is meaningless unless it includes, as it must, the program of the Teachers' Federation, which is now, incidentally, the policy of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions (A. C. T. U.).

The great founders of our Communist Movement spoke of "uniting Socialism with the Labor Movement." We may formulate our problem: "Unite art and science with the Labor Movement."

#### PRACTICE IN ART

We have an immense field to cover. The Arts and Sciences Committee can comprehend the cultural interests of every single individual in the country. Under the heading of Art there is radio—everybody listens to radio; there is fiction—everybody reads fiction, even if it is only the daily newspapers.

Our Committee has been interested in a multitude of art problems—from the organisation of the training of artists to profound questions of aesthetics, to the history and philosophy of art.

Here is a problem of the content of art that occurred to me some time ago.

You know how the big boss, the monopolist, appears in our Party press cartoons—the big heavy-jowled fellow smoking a fat cigar, with a gold watch and chain, his whole body stamped with coarseness and brutality.

Now that is a good characterisation of the big boss, the free enterprise merchant. But at times it doesn't quite clock.

The public seldom, if ever, meets the monopolist in the flesh. It is usually the monopolist's agent, either in Parliament or in business, or in the State administration who effects contact with the public, and he is generally a personable fellow, courteous, affable with, perhaps, a solid patriotic record. For that matter, the monopolist himself in real life may not be at all like the cartoon.

What precisely is the problem?

The "big boss" is making a bid to regain his old dominion in the economic and political life in the country. He wants undisputed control. Monopoly capital is the basis, the matrix of fascism. The military defeat of Axis fascism is of enormous benefit to mankind, but reaction is by no means dead. And the monopolist, or the "big boss," has at his disposal many agencies and wiles to confuse and weaken democracy.

The cartoon, a very important art form, is limited by the fact that it is generally symbolical, not representational. The cartoon is extremely useful but not always and everywhere.

Here is a challenge to our artists; to the playwright, to produce a drama, or burlesque, or whatever form he prefers in which the true delineations of the monopolist, who fathered fascism, can be discovered. Similarly with our painters, and the choreographers for the ballet.

It is not an easy matter. We need great art to portray the free enterprise merchant, and the real menace he is, behind the mask of "honor," "democracy," and other high-sounding ideals.

#### NO ART REGIMENTATION

Our Party allegedly "regiments" the artist. This idea seems to have infected even a few of our artist-Comrades, because they ask us for the "Party line" in art. They want some hard-and-fast definitions or rules which our opponents and the arty-arty people allege our Party imposes on artists. What nonsense! We say: "Comrade artists, what we ask of you is to be Communists! We do not say to you, the poet, that you must write in blank verse rather than in free verse; or to you, the painter, that you must eschew line perspective for color perspective.

"Be Communists! Feel, as a Communist should, a hatred for social oppression and injustice. Try to understand what is happening in the world, what fascism means, what the free enterpriser aims at. That is what we ask of you. If you do, then you will, I am sure, imbue your art with greater feeling and vision. You will know what

to write about, or sculpt, or compose, and the added knowledge and purer emotion will advance your art.

“Reproduce in your art works what interests progressive men and women, and the rest can be well left to yourselves.”

We have had to combat the old “worker-versus-intellectual” distortion—the notion that artists and scientists are some tender specimens of humanity who must be handled as delicately as Dresden china. It is true that artists and scientists, and others as well, do require certain special facilities for their work, and the Party must help. But we deny categorically that artists and scientists who come to our ranks are incapable of political organisation and discipline. My article, “The Intellectuals and the Party” in the Communist Review did evoke some adverse criticism, mainly on the point of proletarianisation. However, I am sure that these few doubts and fears will soon disappear.

I can say that among our artist and scientist Party members we have, on the whole, attained the same high ideological unity as among other sections of the Party membership.

The answer to all these problems, both the real and the imagined, in connection with transforming the newly-recruited members into consistent loyal Communists is Party activity on behalf of the Labor-democratic cause—but taking into account as I have said their ability, inclination and availability for fulfilment of tasks.

I keep coming back to theory, political theory. Why not? All our practice would be blind and barren without it. We have discussed at this Congress the errors of our American Comrades, and they erred, too, in the sphere of culture. We must warn against any swelled-headedness because we did not commit the same theoretical mistakes, although we are entitled to legitimate pride in being singled out for honorable mention in Comrade Duclos’ letter.

If I had time I would give examples in the sphere of the drama, where the proletarian was all too frequently portrayed as a lumpen proletarian; in literature, such as Richard Wright’s “Native Son,” and in the films.

Let me give one example, the film “Mrs. Miniver.” The Tribune condemned it out of hand because of the studied falsification of social character and conditions. In “Mrs. Miniver” the rich and the aristocratic, in the persons of Mr. and Mrs. Miniver, Lady Belden and others, are the repositories of all the virtues; they are portrayed as brave, cultured, sportsmanlike, noble, refined, and so on. But we know the true source of the “culture” and “refinements” of the exploiters! The workers are characterised as—yes, brave enough, but stupid, illiterate or semi-literate, dull and obsequious.

And yet the New York Daily Worker said that “Mrs. Miniver” was an immortal film, and the most brilliant and significant war film produced in Britain.

#### PRACTICE IN SCIENCE

In the field of science we also reach out to all the toilers. For example, the very bread we eat. Our Arts and Sciences Committee submitted valuable and comprehensive evidence before a Government Commission on bread. We are actively interested in housing problems, including a comprehensive report to the Commonwealth Housing Commission, and the submission of material on health and

housing by our Medical Committee. We have been active on immunisation against diphtheria and the anti-T. B. campaign, in which we are officially represented. Then, we have been very busy with soil erosion, regional planning, and in many other spheres.

In the field of medicine a great deal has been accomplished. The medical profession has begun to emerge from a long period of disillusionment and unprogressive influence. The discussions on the social relations of medicine, fatigue in industry, and the basic wage, have had a considerable effect on the B. M. A. membership throughout Australia.

Communists members of the profession have participated in the anti-T.B. campaign, industrial health campaigns, action on the prevention of endemic malaria in Australia, maternal mortality, the blood bank, and other matters of vital interest.

Conferences on industrial health, organised by the Trades and Labor Councils at Newcastle and Wollongong, were addressed by our Committee. The Party policy put forward at the conferences was endorsed by the N. S. W. Trade Union Conference, and forwarded to the A. C. T. U. This policy has favorably impressed quite a few specialists, and won us many new friends.

The Party also participated in the enquiry conducted by the National Health and Medical Research Council on the Australian birth-rate. The memorandum submitted by the Medical Committee attracted considerable attention.

Work is also being done around war neurosis, and it is hoped to publish a symposium on this subject soon.

The Federal Government's decision to retain the Division of Industrial Hygiene of the Federal Department of Labor, after the war, was, in part, due to the proposals made to it by the Arts and Sciences Committee of the Party, and supported by the Australian Association of Scientific Workers and by the Trade Unions.

Action taken by the Party influenced the decision to retain the highly centralised Red Cross Blood Transfusion Service, creating the possibility of a central haematological institute in Sydney and allowing the fullest use to be made of the present knowledge of the R. H. factor.

We have intervened on a number of occasions in defence of the Aborigine—his health, his status in Australian capitalist society, and his future. Our latest action in this sphere was to communicate with the Federal Government about a mobile X-ray unit. We expect that this will now be carried out.

There are two pamphlets being produced; one will be the Party program in science, the other deals with industrial hygiene. Let me only say that these pamphlets were not written by one Comrade, or a number of Comrades; they derive from an immense amount of practical Party activity, including factory gate meetings, conferences, and so on. Industrial hygiene is a wonderful avenue for uniting science with the trade union movement, because even the reformist trade union official is, willynilly, interested in the health of union members.

#### POLITICS AND SCIENCE

We have noticed at times a tendency among our artists and scientists to become submerged, so to speak, in their specialties, and to neglect the political tasks.

We must always remember that, whatever our particular sphere of work—whether we are carpenters, architects, engineers, sculptors, etc.—we are first and foremost Party members, Communists, political leaders and activists rebuilding the world.

Let us take, by way of example, a plan for housing. No matter how good the plan may be technically, we must inquire: Did those who produced the plan recognise the associated political issues? Would the plan, if implemented during the war, have interfered with the struggle for victory? How much social consciousness entered into the elaboration of the plan? In short, in every stage of plans for housing—the first inquiries, the meetings held, the approaches made to the Government, the purchase of materials, the construction, and the occupation finally by the tenants—there must be all the time an injection of social awareness, or politics. If it is only plans we need, we can secure them in any public library, or by commissioning some architect to draw up a given number.

We want the very best art and science for the people—and that is no mere verbal flourish on my part. All our Communist leaders and teachers, from Karl Marx to the present, warned against the shoddy and the vulgarised simplification in art and science. But priority must go to the united political activity of the masses. The essence of good Communist leadership is the ability to educate, arouse and mobilise the masses for activity in defence and advancement of their economic and political interests, in the struggle for which they gain class consciousness, strengthen their capacity for organisation, discipline, for creation; and then “summarise” these attainments by sending their best representatives into the Communist Party. So to the Party scientists and artists we keep repeating: “Be Communists first! Remember that your first responsibility is to give political leadership to your fellows. And don’t for one moment make the mistake of imagining that this concern for politics will mar your abilities as a specialist in culture!”

I will now summarise this section of my report by urging Party members and our supporters to take a more active interest in every cultural activity now developing in our country.

We must give complete support to the educational program of the Teachers’ Federation which is now, as I said, incorporated in A. C. T. U. policy.

We can assist the cause of cultural progress internationally through U. N. C. I. O. The San Francisco Charter includes a section for the establishment of an international organisation devoted to education and culture.

We have suffered one handicap—lack of a journal. But I draw your attention to “Progress,” a publication that has passed through many peculiar experiences and vicissitudes. Some recent changes in content suggest that it may become an organ catering for art and science in Australia. At any rate I urge our members and supporters to take an interest in “Progress,” to read it, submit material, publicise it, and give it a national sale.

#### THE MIDDLE CLASS

Now I want to speak briefly on the middle class. I have in mind here particularly the professional worker, the civil servant, technician, small business man, the lawyer and doctor.

The middle class both in the city and countryside are the natural allies of the workers, because like the latter, and allowing for the exceptions in both cases, it is also oppressed and exploited by big capital. I need not dwell here on "the fate of the middle class." Yet it is among the middle class that reactionary parties seek a social basis for their nefarious ends. We know how the middle class, the "little men," followed Hitler, and followed him to disaster.

The next period may be described as a "battle for the middle class." Perhaps this is not a very good term, but its import is clear and correct. If one were to ask for a simple analysis of the political set-up in Australia, one could say: We have Labor with its Communist vanguard on the one side, and the "Liberal" Party on the other. In between is the middle class, and the issue is: Where will the middle class go?

The present furious campaign against the Communists is not accidental. It is bound up with, among other things, the "Liberal" effort to mislead the middle class.

It is interesting to note the pattern of the slanders against us. We are charged with advocating violence. We are said to think more of outside countries than we do of Australia. Another slander is that we avow an "Asiatic philosophy." Our traducers rip a line or two out of Comrade Sharkey's booklet on the Trade Unions to allege that we are interested only in industrial chaos. It is rank dishonesty, but that is the stuff of capitalist society.

We are the advance guard and the leadership of everything healthy and decent in Australia! Our task is to win access to the people of the middle class, to convince them of the true position, to show them who and what we really are. Experience has proven that where we do effect contact with them we do win them to our side, or at any rate disabuse their minds of the fantastic stories spread about us. Two events stand out in my mind. One, the newspaper lockout which brought an irrevocable cleavage between the newspaper monopolists and many journalists, both top men in the profession and newcomers, who up to then had been solidly under reactionary influence.

The other was minor event in a way, the municipal elections in Kuring-gai, a middle class area, where an openly-known Communist Candidate, Mrs. Whitfield, secured the remarkably high vote of 700. If we can translate these experiences into other spheres, we shall do much to convince these people, with whom we have had little contact up to now, that Communism is progressive and, far from being merely an industrial program, and a bad one at that, provides the only vehicle for industrial, social and cultural progress.

We want our artists, scientists, and others to assist in this work. How can they help in presenting Communism to the middle class, and, of course, to all of the democratic sections of the population? Can they speak openly as Communists? In the limited democracy which is Capitalism this is hardly feasible at all times, although we have advanced very far indeed in that regard! We certainly do not want any Communist, whatever his vocation or trade, to feel that he is under pressure to announce himself openly as a Communist, thereby risking possible victimisation. There is no need for that. I think the best way is for our artists and scientists to be conscious of the problem. They will then be able to decide, in consultation with their Branch or District Committee, just what to do. The real

issue is to have our Communist policy presented to ever-widening sections of the population and the middle class especially, and so convince them that their salvation and destiny lie in unity with the Labor Movement. That, of course, is only one angle. The main avenue for winning the small business people, professional workers and others who comprise the middle class is to assist them in their economic and political problems, and win them away from the "Liberals" who, like the reaction everywhere, will only lead them to destruction.

#### OUR HUMANIST CULTURE

Comrades, I am about to conclude. An outsider listening in to the reports and discussions at our Arts and Sciences Committee meetings might feel like saying: "This is a strange affair. Here are artists and scientists, and people who profess to be interested in the arts and sciences, who talk largely about wages of workers, about Trade Union conditions, and about what is happening in Bulgaria or China." But that is precisely the point. It is meaningless to discuss art and culture unless we discuss concurrently the tasks of aiding and strengthening those social forces which alone provide the sustenance and the very life of culture.

But we warn against any mechanicalness in the political approach to culture. Culture is as rich and as infinitely many-sided as life, which it reflects and organises; it is utterly nonsensical to attempt, as a few Party members unfortunately do, to fit every painting or musical score into some politico-economic category.

The maturity of our Party is evidenced by the fact I have already mentioned, that literally hundreds of artists, technicians, among them the very biggest men and women in the country, have joined our ranks.

What is our Party advocating in the sphere of art and science? I repeat that we have no narrow outlook or aims. Ours is a humanist culture. We are advancing the tradition and practice of humanism. Humanism was an advanced theory, and advanced practice in past generations, in past centuries. It was the tradition, or rather the militant spirit, which defended the common man against the arrogance of the rich and the privileged, which asserted the "this worldliness" of man's interests against those who were trying to fob off humanity with paradises elsewhere. Humanism rejected the claims of those who said, "In the future you will achieve your freedom, but don't worry about things now. Leave things as they are." The humanists castigated those who bemuse men and women with fables about a golden age at some mysterious time in the past. We meet with this deception in various ways. You will hear Mr. Menzies, for example, ejaculate piously: "The future belongs to the youth." We say that the youth need their future now, and for the workers the future is also at hand.

We can truly say that our Marxist culture has restored to mankind its sanity and its dignity. What was it that working class Socialist Russia gave to the world? It gave economic security, freedom for the formerly oppressed nations and peoples, equality of the sexes, and many other benefits including, of course, its great Red Army.

Sometimes in lecturing to an audience of a certain type, I like to start off by saying that the Soviet Union restored sanity to mankind.

Then I go on to explain by reminding my audience of such perversions as a so-called "scientific congress" that assembled in Rome about 14 years ago to study the most effective, the most "scientific" means of destroying wheat. One adds that in the Soviet Union people who destroy wheat are regarded as saboteurs, as criminals, or madmen, and treated accordingly.

It may be argued that there is nothing very wonderful in the idea of not destroying food. A child of eight will tell you that food should be preserved and not, as was done in the economic crisis of 1929-33, dumped into the sea, or burnt, or ploughed back into the soil. That is true, but the fact remains that we are living in a world where it was considered "scientific," "moral" and "good" to dump coffee into the sea, to burn wheat, and to plough cotton back into the earth.

In the crisis of 1929-33, not only were stocks of food destroyed, but also the machinery that produced them. In USA, the wealthiest country on earth, 60 blast furnaces were scrapped in four years, and 23 in Germany. A registered company was formed in England to dismantle, that is, destroy dockyards.

Marxism had to defend commonplace truth, decency, and behaviour against all that madness. We had to assert decency, truthfulness and ordinary neighbourly relations among people, against those who destroyed food, who armed the fascists (and who today are prepared to do business again with the Krupps and the Mitsubishis), who slandered the Soviet Union, who everywhere lied and vilified the Communists.

That is what we mean by our humanist culture—the needs, the hopes, the aspirations of progressive men and women in all lands. We are inflexibly opposed to the cruelty, anarchy and vulgarity of capitalist "civilisation."

We have in Australia a man like Mr. Warwick Fairfax who controls a newspaper with a daily circulation of hundreds of thousands, who is responsible to no one, who can say what he likes against us and the whole of the Labor Movement, twist and distort the news, and give those whom he slanders no means of comeback. This is his conception of "democracy" and of "freedom of speech."

The arts and sciences cannot flourish in so unhealthy a soil. I exclude of course, the spurious "art" and the science of destruction which experienced so lush a growth among fascists and other reactionaries.

We have fought a people's war against fascism. The reports and the Resolution of our great Congress state that the time is not yet ripe to raise the slogan of Socialism. Nobody knows just when Socialism will become a practical issue for the Australian people. Meantime we have our Party Program. We shall work to realise this Program, not as an alternative to Socialism, but because it will help to satisfy the needs of the people; because in so doing it will shorten the road to Socialism.

And the leaders in the struggle for the demands of the immediate future, and for the great Socialist society, will be the toiling democratic masses, whose vanguard is the Communist Party; because only in the workers, only in the toilers, do we find the force for political revolution, for social renaissance and for cultural regeneration.





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