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The Development of the Revolutionary Movement in China Outside the Soviet Districts and the Work of the Communist Party

Comrade Kon Sin (China)

I. Concerning the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

The struggle of the imperialists for the partitioning and re-partitioning of China and the obvious treachery of the Kuomintang have evoked the indignation and a further tremendous upsurge of the broad masses, not only of the workers, peasants, and toiling population, but also of the petty bourgeoisie, which is becoming more and more revolutionised and is taking a constantly increasing part in the anti-Japanese mass struggle. Throughout China meetings and demonstrations are growing in number, and the strike, boycott, and insurgent movements and all other possible forms of the anti-imperialist struggle are developing. Allusion should be made here to the following important facts:—

(1) Spread of the anti-Japanese partisan struggle in Manchuria and in other districts occupied by Japanese imperialism. In spite of the capitulation before Japanese imperialism of Generals Ma Cheng Shang, Su Pin Weng and others, in spite of the partial defeat of anti-Japanese troops, the mass struggle against the Japanese occupiers has not merely not ceased; it continues to grow and to develop and is rising to a higher stage.

If earlier the chief anti-Japanese military forces in Manchuria were composed in the main of Old Kirin troops, under the command of Ma Cheng Shang, Su Pin Weng, and other generals, now they are composed of broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, students, and toilers generally who will not subordinate themselves to the regime of the Japanese occupation. In spite of the numerical shrinkage in the official anti-Japanese troops, the armed fighting forces of the workers, peasants, and toilers in Manchuria and other occupied districts are growing rapidly and consolidating themselves. The strength of these divisions is estimated at the moment at not less than 250,000 men. Many of them are connected with the C.P. of China, standing under its influence and leadership.

Our Party is penetrating into the armed divisions of the anti-

Japanese volunteers. Recently there occurred among the Manchukuo troops a mutiny, with the result that 600 men went over with their arms to the camp of the anti-Japanese volunteer corps.

The work of the Party among the workers in the occupied districts is being strengthened. In the course of the last year and a half three political strikes against Japanese imperialism and Manchukuo were organised by us in one large city. These strikes ended in a partial success for the workers. In many villages peasants' committees were organised. In Manchukuo demonstrations and a tax boycott were organised, resulting in the formation of anti-Japanese partisan troops, which are under our immediate leadership. At the present time these partisan troops have secured

CONTENTS

	Page
Speech of Comrade Kon Sin (China)	625
Speech of Comrade Knorin	630
Speech of Comrade Arifin (Indonesia)	638
Speech of Comrade Garlandi (Italy)	639
Speech of Comrade Vassiliev (C.P.S.U.)	640
Speech of Comrade Varga	642
Speech of Comrade Mitzkevitch Kapsukas (Baltic States)	645
Speech of Comrade Tzkhakaya (C.P.S.U.)	646
Speech of Comrade Spence (Y.C.L., England)	646
Speech of Comrade Petkov (Greece)	647
Speech of Comrade Kolarov	648
Speech of Comrade Kostanyan (R.I.L.U.)	649
Speech of Comrade Andre Marty (France)	652
Speech of Comrade Hernandez (Spain)	653
Speech of Comrade Mif (C.P.S.U.)	655
Speech of Comrade Oldner (Czechoslovakia)	657
Speech of Comrade Martynoff (C.P.S.U.)	658
Speech of Comrade Raymond Guyot (Y.C.L., France)	659

great successes. They have grown from 4-5,000 men to more than 10,000 men. In one single administrative district our divisions have grown from an initial 100 men to 3,000 men.

In those spheres of operation of the partisans where the population is overthrowing the power of the Japanese and Manchukuo, the masses are creating the embryonic form of an elected people's power. Although this movement is still divided and is afflicted with a whole series of shortcomings and faults, although this power is not yet established firmly on its feet, nevertheless our Party in these districts is already at the direct head of a guerilla war and is organising in embryonic form an elected people's power.

Special attention should be called to the great work performed by the C.P. of China in connection with the events in Jehol.

The Party mobilised in the first place its members and the anti-imperialist revolutionary masses for the fight at the front, applying in doing so the tactic of the national-revolutionary united front from below, and developed the anti-Japanese struggle. Among the reactionary troops, volunteers, railwaymen and other workers anti-Japanese mass organisations were called into life, among others the "Anti-Japanese Mass League of Chinese and Mongols." When the Japanese troops occupied Jehol, the Anti-Imperialist League led, under the slogans of our Party, the armed struggle against the Japanese occupiers. In its report the Party leadership of the province of Hopei writes that most of the great and bitter struggles against the Japanese were led by our comrades. In the struggles between the Japanese and the brigade of Ding Hsi Chung more than 130 of our comrades and several thousand members of the Anti-Imperialist League took part.

While the Kuomintang was actively supporting the devastating and bloody war of the Japanese troops against the valorous masses of the people and finally betrayed Jehol and Northern China, our Party was directing a widespread movement of protest, and summoned the soldiers to a revolt against the treacherous reactionary generals who refused to offer resistance to the Japanese invasion. In Kalgan we organised two great anti-Japanese mass meetings. At each of them more than 30,000 people were present. The revolutionary workers arrested the Kuomintang traitors, demolished the headquarters of the Kuomintang, shattered the yellow and Kuomintang trade unions of the railway men and power-station workers, arrested the strike-breakers, organised a court of justice to sit over the leaders of the yellow and Kuomintang unions and created their own trade unions.

Finally, our Party carried on, in the organisation of the anti-Japanese movement among the railwaymen, the workers of the power-station, and among the anti-imperialist masses generally, an energetic campaign for the arming of the people, organised anti-Japanese volunteer corps, fought stubbornly to win over the soldiers of the reactionary troops. All this resulted in armed divisions being created with a strength of 5,000 men, among whom were industrial workers.

All this means the establishment of fulcra and of a reliable foundation for the further development of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in Northern China.

(2) The Anti-War, Anti-Fascist, and Anti-Imperialist Congress in Shanghai. The Congress has let loose a fresh wave of the mass movement of the workers, peasants, and other toilers in the various provinces and towns of China. In very many factories, educational institutions, and barracks, in villages, etc., the masses elected delegates to take part in the Congress. The Anti-Imperialist League was likewise able to mobilise tens of thousands of people for the preparatory work for the Congress. Anti-imperialist organisations were established predominantly in the large-scale factories. By means of the united-front tactic more than forty mass organisations were mobilised in preparation for this Congress. For the arrival of the delegates to the Anti-War Congress—Lord Marley and others—in Shanghai, the anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist mass organisations organised a mass reception and an anti-war demonstration, at which there occurred conflicts with the Kuomintang troops and with the American, English, French, and Japanese police. The Shanghai workers rescued the arrested fighters from the hands of the imperialists and the Kuomintang men. Despite repeated attacks on the part of the armed police, the demonstrators did not relinquish their hold of their Red Flag.

From the various provinces of China—among these being Kuomintang provinces also—more than 2,000 delegates were

elected to take part in the Congress. The workers in 150 Shanghai factories sent to the delegates to the Anti-War Congress a letter in which they expressed their readiness to fight together with the international proletariat against imperialist, counter-revolutionary war and against fascism.

The Congress was held illegally. There took part in it 70 authorised representatives of the 2,000 elected delegates, as well as delegates of the branches of the Anti-Japanese League in the various parts of the country; in addition, representatives of the volunteer corps in Manchuria, of the soldiers of the 19th Army and representatives of Soviet China and of the Red Army. At the Congress a Far-East Section of the World Anti-War Committee was founded.

In connection with this broad anti-imperialist mass movement the influence of our Party grew stronger and the Party made contacts with those mass organisations with which formerly it had had none. There is no doubt that the Congress gave a fresh impulse to the further growth of the anti-imperialist struggle in the factories, villages, barracks, schools, etc.

(3) In Fukien a rapid process of revolutionisation is taking place among the workers, peasants, and toiling masses and among the soldiers of the 19th Army. A fresh impetus in the anti-imperialist struggle and the struggle against the Kuomintang is also to be noted. Under the pressure of the revolutionary masses the generals and politicians of the province of Fukien were compelled to break officially with the Kuomintang and to declare war against Chiang Kai-shek as an open agent of Japanese imperialism and a traitor to the national interests of China.

The events in Fukien are no chance events. During the defence of Shanghai in January, 1932, the 19th Army was able in the street fighting to inflict a number of defeats on Japanese imperialism, thanks only to the support of the proletariat and the toiling masses of Shanghai. The soldiers and many officers of the 19th Army know that very well. A section of the officers of this army realise, after the defeats they suffered in conflict with the Red Army, that in the event of further action against the Red Army great defeats are unavoidable. But if they are sent not against the Red Army, but against Chiang Kai-shek, and if certain elementary democratic liberties are conceded to the population, then this army can carry through the liberation of China. Independently of whether the American and other imperialists make use of the events in Fukien for their anti-Japanese aims, independently of whether the Fukien generals consistently fulfil their promises given under the pressure of the anti-Japanese movement, there has come about the opportunity of a common struggle of the toiling masses of Fukien and the soldiers of the 19th Army for the realisation of the demands made by the Chinese Soviet Government and the Red Army in their proclamation of January 10, 1933, concerning the united front of the armed struggle against Japanese imperialism.

Without a doubt the events in Fukien are giving a mighty impulse to the further development of the anti-imperialist movement and will raise it to a higher stage.

But the successful development of the anti-imperialist movement in China is chiefly to be traced to the correct leadership on the part of the Communist Party, and through it the strict maintenance of the correct line, to the elastic application of the tactic of the national-revolutionary united front and timely exposure of the demagogy and manoeuvres of the Kuomintang, the social democrats, Trotskyist-Chengduhsuists, and other counter-revolutionary organisations. The success of this movement is likewise the result of the stubborn struggle of our Party to overcome all difficulties and to combine correctly legal with illegal work.

After the events in Jehol our Party exposed with success the capitulatory and treacherous argument of the Kuomintang of the impossibility of an armed resistance against Japan owing to the great weakness and poverty of China and the Chinese people, an argument that was propagated with particular eagerness after the conclusion of the armistice in the North between the Kuomintang and Japan. The anti-imperialist mass organisations at once seized the opportunity to draw up a programme in which completely concrete measures for the organisation and waging of the national-revolutionary war against the Japanese and other imperialists were worked out. Here are the main points of this programme:—

(1) General mobilisation of the nation, organisation on a mass scale of anti-Japanese volunteer and partisan corps, organisation

of a collection in support of the anti-Japanese volunteer and partisan corps in Manchuria, Jehol, and other occupied districts; organisation of anti-Japanese reconnoitring and diversion detachments, of communications, transport and first-aid columns, agit-brigades, pickets for the carrying out of the boycott of Japanese goods; mobilisation of the entire population for the armed anti-imperialist struggle at the front and at home.

(2) General mobilisation of the land, sea and air fighting forces: not a soldier, not a shell, not a plane, for the massacre of the people themselves or for a war among the militarists; immediate stop to the attack on the Soviet districts, in order on the one hand to give the Red Army the chance of waging war against Japanese imperialism and on the other to use all non-Soviet troops for the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

(3) General arming of the people; all weapons and ammunition available in the arsenals and armouries, as well as all aeroplanes, guns, warships, etc., bought abroad are to be used for the arming of the people; the entire population is to be granted the possibility of military training.

(4) Immediate carrying out of the following concrete measures for the raising of means for the national-revolutionary war:—

(a) Confiscation of property and goods belonging to the Japanese imperialists: trading firms, banks, factories, railways, pits, mines, ships, etc. This represents a handsome sum, for Japan's capital investments in China amount to more than eight milliard yen.

(b) Stoppage of payments of debt and interest to Japanese imperialism.

(c) Confiscation of property belonging to all traitors to the national interests of China.

(d) Introduction of a uniform progressive income-tax.

(e) Collection of donations abroad among Chinese emigrés and all workers sympathising with the movement for national independence in China.

At the same time the various anti-imperialist mass organisations together brought into being an anti-Japanese national "Society for the Salvation of the Homeland" for the struggle for the realisation of the demands enumerated above and for the leadership of the national war of liberation.

This programme gave the impulse to the revolutionisation of the toiling population of Fukien and the soldiers of the 19th Army.

Another example bears witness to the concrete Bolshevik leadership of the C.C. of the C.P. of China. In 1932 our C.C., in its letter to the Provincial Party Leadership and all Party comrades in Manchuria, not only issued concrete instructions concerning the carrying out of the national-revolutionary united front in Manchuria and other occupied districts; it indicated also the concrete and differentiated approach to the different types of partisan corps.

The first type of partisan corps are those consisting solely of troops of the old Kirin army; the command of them belongs to old generals who place themselves under the leadership of the Kuomintang and rely upon the support of the landowners, manufacturers and merchants. They are absolutely hostile to any revolutionary mass movement of the workers and peasants. As regards these corps, our Party has provided for the carrying out of the united front from below with the soldiers under certain conditions and the conclusion of fighting agreements with the command of isolated divisions for the purpose of executing certain military operations.

To the second type of partisan corps may be counted, for example, the troops of Wang Dei Ling, which in the majority consist of rural, petty bourgeois, and even proletarian anti-Japanese partisan detachments. Here the influence of the Kuomintang is considerably less. The leadership of these troops tries to secure the support of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry and makes use of the methods of national and social demagogy. As regards this kind of partisan movement, our Party organisations must, apart from the united front from below, apply also, to a certain degree and extent and in the appropriate form, the tactic of the united front from above. Here too, of course, through the conclusion of fighting agreements for the purpose of securing certain concrete military aims.

To the third type of partisans may be counted the various peasant partisan troops ("Big Knives," "Red Lances," "Self-

Defence Formations," etc.); they include in their ranks also workers, petty bourgeois and intellectuals, but in the main they consist of peasants. Owing to their political immaturity and weaknesses in military technique, a section of them—in agitation for the armed struggle against Japanese imperialism and its agents—make use of religious motives. A large section of these detachments is subject to the leadership or the influence of the landowners, big peasants and old Kirin officers, who cannot guide this movement on to a really revolutionary course and very often use it for their reactionary purposes. A third section of these detachments are finally under the influence and the leadership of revolutionary elements. These elements are well disposed towards their class brothers, have, however, as yet found no proper, consistent revolutionary course and the corresponding fighting methods. As regards this third type of partisan corps, the degree of success achieved in our struggle against the reactionary leadership and the degree of our political influence among these partisan troops are a determining factor for the forms and extent of the concrete application of the united-front tactic, without excluding from this certain forms of an anti-imperialist bloc.

In addition, the C.C. stated that in all cases the united front from below must form the basis of our work. For any form of united front from above is possible and to the purpose only when we have been successful in building up a powerful united front from below and in fixing, under pressure of the revolutionary masses, the apex.

Proceeding from its appraisal of the concrete situation our Party, on the one hand, worked out a tactic of the national-revolutionary united front, in order to make the most of all anti-Japanese forces, including the wavering forces, on the other hand, however, developed a struggle in order to get the masses of the workers, peasants and petty bourgeois under its influence and to give the anti-Japanese movement a firm proletarian framework. For this very reason we have been successful in strengthening the anti-Japanese partisan corps, which are fighting under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The national-revolutionary war organised by the C.P. of China against the Japanese and other imperialists is not only a struggle for the national liberation of China; it has also already become a factor holding up the offensive of Japanese imperialism against the U.S.S.R. and the outbreak of a new imperialist world-war on the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

The counter-revolutionary Trotsky, in his article in the periodical *Class Struggle* in February, 1933, accuses the C.P. of China of being guilty of speculation on account of the issue of the slogan of the national-revolutionary, anti-imperialist war. He states that this slogan should only be issued in the event of a war on the part of Japanese imperialism against the Soviet Union. Some Chinese Communists were likewise of the opinion that this slogan contradicts the task of the defence of the Soviet Union. Facts have proved precisely the opposite and have refuted most brilliantly this Trotskyist calumny. The arguments of the counter-revolutionary Trotsky and of the opportunist elements within our Party were at bottom directed against the slogan of the national-revolutionary war. They signify in reality a betrayal of the genuine revolutionary struggle of the masses of the Chinese people against the attack of Japanese imperialism on the Soviet Union, thereby doing Japanese imperialism inestimable service in the realisation of its intervention against the Soviet Union.

The C.P. of China is convinced that in the event of a military attack on the part of Japanese imperialism on the Soviet Union, the toiling Chinese masses and the Chinese Red Army, under the leadership of the Communist Party and in alliance with the proletariat of the Soviet Union and of Japan, will be in a position to offer resolute resistance to the Japanese and other imperialist pirates, to smash Japanese imperialism and to contribute towards the transformation of the militarist-fascist, monarchist-police State of Japan, the Japan of the Mikados and the Arakis, into a free Soviet Japan of the workers and peasants.

2. Concerning the Revolutionary Struggle of the Workers in China Outside the Soviet Districts

The second peculiarity of the development of the revolutionary movement in the past period in non-Soviet China is the new upward surge in the strike movement of the working class. At the end of 1932 and the beginning of 1933 we had a certain ebb in the strike conflicts of the workers; this, however, was followed

from May to August by a headlong rise in the strike movement. Whilst in the four months May, June, July and August, 1932, altogether 116,600 workers were on strike during the corresponding months in 1933 there were 290,370 workers on strike.

The strike conflicts of the past period were distinguished, above all, by their great vehemence, expressed in, among other things, the fact that strikes took place repeatedly in one and the same factory. Thus, for example, in the course of two months the workers in 25 Shanghai silk factories organised two general strikes.

In the second place, the strike wave affected, apart from Shanghai, other large trade and industrial centres in China as well. Recently general strikes of the sailors employed by the shipping company "Tai-gu" took place in Shanghai, Kwantung, Fukien, Swatow and Hong Kong; in addition, there were two general strikes of the electricity company of Shanghai. Since May 30, 1925, there has been no such strike among these workers.

Thirdly, an important diminution in such forms of the movement as the presentation of petitions was to be observed; on the other hand, however, a change over to higher, more resolute forms in reply to the furious terror of the Kuomintang and to the offensive of the capitalists. Generally the workers do not leave the factory immediately on proclamation of the strike; they remain in the factory, occupy the managerial offices, seize the stocks of goods, and show to the troops, the police and the bureaucrats of the yellow trade unions a stubborn resistance. The economic strikes frequently become transformed into political strikes.

Fourthly, the Red Unions are extending their influence, preparing for strike conflicts, and are securing more and more the leadership of them. In Northern China our Party is leading the strike of the 30,000 coalminers, in connection with which Red Unions are being founded.

The number of members of the Red Unions has more than doubled recently. In one town a delegate conference of the textile workers was called, at which, after a speech by a Communist, eighty delegates voted in favour of joining the C.P. of China. Such a case has never yet occurred in the history of the Chinese workers' movement.

The upsurge in the workers' movement is resulting in an abatement in the influence among workers of the Kuomintang and the yellow unions; this does not, however, mean that they have yet adequately been exposed to the broad masses of the workers and that the Communists need no longer carry on a vehement struggle against them. The C.P. and the Red Unions have really begun to organise the united front with the masses of the workers in the yellow unions. The influence of the R.T.U.O. has become firmly established in the yellow unions in various branches of industry. We are of the opinion that we can speak already of the beginning of a change in our work in the yellow unions. We have been successful, through our Red Unions, in penetrating among the workers of a number of large enterprises, which up till now have been under the influence of the yellow unions, in liberating the workers from the influence of the yellow leaders and the Kuomintang people, who were opposed to the strikes, and in bringing them into the strike conflict. We had great successes also with the railway workers on some lines in North China.

In spite of the fact that our Party has during the past period achieved great results in the trade union movement, we have not yet completely fulfilled the tasks that lie before us in this sphere. In the workers' movement our Party is still lagging behind the growth of the workers' struggle. A series of strikes took place without our Red Unions and without our Party. The independent leadership in the daily struggles of the workers, the work for the carrying through of strikes on the basis of the daily demands, etc., are not yet satisfactory. In some places our comrades are neglecting the struggle for the daily demands. The struggle of the workers are not adequately linked up with the anti-imperialist movement. Our trade union organisations are on the whole still weak. Our work in the factories is still defective and has as yet no firm basis. In a number of large towns—especially in towns near the Soviet districts—our work has not yet been built up again and put to rights. The winning over of the workers in the yellow unions and in the Kuomintang unions and the getting hold of the unemployed are likewise still in their infancy. The tendency prevailing in the ranks of our Party to disregard work in the yellow unions has not yet been completely overcome.

The united-front tactic is still insufficiently applied. The C.C. of our Party has in the course of Bolshevik self-criticism pointed out these weaknesses and defects and has taken resolute steps for their elimination.

3. The Peasants' and Soldiers' Revolts

The offensive of imperialism, the policy of plunder of the Kuomintang, the exploitation by feudal and manorial lords, the profound economic crisis, and the unheard-of inundations are delivering over the peasant masses of China outside the Soviet districts to utter starvation. As a result, the struggle of the peasantry is increasing more and more in vigour. In Manchuria hundreds and thousands of peasants have risen up in armed struggle against Japanese imperialism. In eight months of the last year 22 peasants' revolts were registered; these were carried out under the leadership of the C.P. The peasant movement in Northern China has matured from a spontaneous, unorganised struggle, not led by the proletariat to an agrarian revolution, to a struggle for the Soviets under the leadership of the proletariat and the C.P. of China.

On the basis of these peasants' revolts the C.P. organised Soviets in Shantung, in I Tsa Sian, etc., and carried out the confiscation of the landed estates. In Shansi the Soviet power was organised throughout the whole district and the 26th Army Corps of the Red Army was formed. The Soviet movement had accordingly extended to Northern China. Here at the Thirteenth Plenum we can, with absolute justice, declare that the C.P. of China has been able not only to establish the Soviet power in the South, but to raise the Red Soviet Banner in Northern and North-Western China as well. At the same time, under the slogan of the struggle against taxes, our Party has created in Szechwan an anti-tax army out of the peasants of 19 districts, which has played and is playing an important part in the struggle against the offensive of the Szechwan generals against the Soviet districts.

Owing to the weakness and inexperience of our Party cadres, "Left" deviations often come to light in the peasant movement, finding expression in the fact that in a number of cases our organisations are losing touch with the masses and mechanically transferring the experiences of the Soviet districts of South China to North China, although the class struggle in the North is not yet so advanced as in the Soviet districts. Right-opportunist mistakes also occur. To this may also be ascribed the circumstance that our local organisations have not yet been able to secure the desired results in armed struggle.

The extraordinarily bad living conditions of the soldiers, the systematic delays in issuing their pay, their complete lack of rights and their dissatisfaction with the capitulation of the Kuomintang to imperialism on the one hand—on the other, however, the victory of the Chinese Red Army—have evoked a great wave of mass mutinies among the Kuomintang troops. This wave has undermined considerably the domination of the Kuomintang. The work of the C.P. in Northern China and in Manchuria for the winning over of the masses of the soldiers and for demoralising the Mandshu and Kuomintang troops has shown concrete results. Owing to the work of the Szechwan provincial committee of our Party in the Kuomintang territory, in Pang Kiang Sian, an entire brigade of soldiers has become mutinous and has thus contributed to the victory of the Red Army in Szechwan, to the taking of new towns, and to the swelling of the forces of the Red Army. In addition, a brigade has mutinied in the districts of Ma Bian, O Bian, and O Mie, so that the Soviet power could be established and a special division of the Red Army could be formed. As a result of our untiring work in the 19th Army, this army has ceased to be an active force in the struggle against the Red Army. But at the same time we cannot help admitting that the work for the winning over of the masses of the soldiers and for spreading sedition among the enemy troops still shows serious defects. As yet this work has no systematic, deliberate character. In conditions of war, intervention, and revolution this work is naturally of first-class importance.

The C.P. of China must realise with absolute clarity that without systematic, resolute Bolshevik mass work among the soldiers of the adversary, it will not be in a position to organise the victorious national-revolutionary war against imperialism and the Kuomintang.

Our Party has in the past period, through its leadership of the Red Army, smashed the fifth counter-revolutionary invasion and already repelled in the main the sixth, thereby extending the Soviet territory. The C.P. is at the head of the anti-Japanese struggle in many places in Manchuria and in the other districts occupied by Japanese imperialism. It is at the head of the strike movement of the urban workers and of the movement of the soldier and peasant masses in resolute struggle against the Japanese and other imperialists, against the Kuomintang, whereby it is hindering Japanese imperialism in the preparations for its offensive against the Soviet Union. In this way our Party has shown itself to be a powerful Bolshevik Party, a Party that in very fact is realising the Leninist-Stalin line of the Communist International. Our Party has in the past period increased its membership by 110,000. It is growing not only in the Soviet districts, but also outside these. The Shanghai organisation has within a few months augmented its strength by two-thirds; of the new members 80 per cent. are workers. Ninety-four new cells have been founded, among them 72 factory cells. Our Party press has likewise grown.

Special mention must here be made of the fact that we have to work under a white terror of such a kind that the workers are beheaded, not only for membership of the C.P., but also for belonging to a Red union, to the I.L.D., and other revolutionary mass organisations. And if, in spite of all, our Party organisations can show such a powerful growth, then the main cause lies in the fact that they are making further progress in their Bolshevisation, that the C.C. of our Party is leading the struggle not abstractly, not formally, but effectively, operatively, concretely. The slogan "Every Party member must recruit at least one new member" has been more than fulfilled. It generally happened that every member recruited four, five, ten, and in some cases even twenty to thirty members.

The Party has been successful in combining the recruiting campaign with the organisation of mass work. Thus, for example, during the recruiting campaign of March 18, 1932, 21 mass fighting actions and one strike were organised. In this recruiting campaign wide use was made of the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks, of the methods of revolutionary competition and the shock brigade. The cells lagging behind received the support of the shock brigades. The campaign closed with success; the percentage of workers in our Party organisation was brought from 60 up to 90.

Thanks to the correct application of the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks we have considerably improved cell work in the sense of raising the level of the activity and initiative of Party members and strengthened the mass work of the cells, as well as their contact with the non-Party masses. The raising of activity and initiative in the work of the local Party organisations is a great achievement of our Party not only in the Soviet districts, but also outside these.

There is a superfluous centralism present in the C.P. of China. In the course of last year we carried through a number of measures aiming at raising the initiative of the lower Party organisations. The Party has divided up its cadres, employed the system of sending representatives of the C.C. into the provinces, and the methods of personal leadership through instructors from the C.C. Especially big results were secured by the Party in the past year in the encouragement and training of new cadres from the midst of the worker and peasant activists. The members and secretaries of the sub-district leaderships of the Shanghai organisation, for example, are in the great majority workers. It is thanks precisely to the bringing of a large number of active workers into Party work that the contact of the Party with the masses has been firmly established and that the operative leadership of the daily struggles has been strengthened. The employment of new cadres, still unknown to the police, for work in the factories, and the support that the masses of the workers accord them, provides them with a certain cover and makes it more difficult for the enemy to break up our organisation.

These successes of our Party are attributable above all to the fact that it has carried on an untiring fight on two fronts for the line of the Party and of the Comintern. But for all that the Party has still a whole series of organisational weaknesses and defects. Most essential are the following:—

(1) Irregular growth and development of the Party organisations. Many organisations in the large cities, particularly in towns lying near the Soviet districts, have not yet been completely restored.

(2) In a number of towns, owing to lack of energetic work, a basis for organisation has not yet been created in many factories. In spite of a certain increase in the proletarian element among the Party members, its growth is not yet adequate by a long way.

(3) Party life in the factory cells has not yet been sufficiently consolidated. The fluctuation among the members has not yet been eliminated. Contact with the masses in the factories is not yet close enough.

(4) Initiative in the work of the local Party organisations is still defective. They are not yet applying widely enough the forms and methods of personal, concrete leadership. In the exercise of self-criticism they frequently go to extremes and they do not yet know how to raise the activity of the membership to a higher stage. The training of new cadres is thoroughly deficient and does not come up to the requirements of the objective situation.

(5) The struggle against provocation and for improvement in conspiracy is still insufficient and is not carried on by all Party organisations with the required seriousness. The C.C. of our Party is exerting all its energies to overcome these defects.

Comrade Piatnitsky has pointed out that in view of the approaching new round of revolutions and wars the firm organisational establishment of the Party is the most immediate task. The delegation of the C.P. of China proposes that it should enter into socialist competition with other Communist brother Parties for the purpose of fulfilling the tasks indicated to us by Comrade Piatnitsky, and that the test of this competitive agreement should take place at the Seventh World Congress. (Applause.)

Owing to the weaknesses and defects cited, the results achieved by our Party and the revolutionary movement are, measured by the requirements and possibilities of the objective situation, still unsatisfactory. The objective situation in China gives to-day the absolute opportunity of getting the revolutionary masses throughout China on our side. The revolutionary masses of the workers, peasants and toilers generally obviously do not intend to let themselves be enslaved by the Japanese and other imperialists. They are ready to make great sacrifices in the struggle against Japanese and other imperialists, for the sake of the indivisibility and independence of their country. There exists the absolute possibility of turning the masses of the starving, unemployed and homeless toilers into active fighters for national and social emancipation, for rice, bread, land, work, housing, and therewith for the overthrow of the rule of the imperialists and their agents, the Kuomintang generals and other Chinese militarists.

But we have not yet transformed this possibility into reality. It is just here, in this lagging of the subjective factors behind the possibilities of the objective situation, that the disparity in our work is to be found. For this reason the overcoming of this lagging behind is at the present time, next to the tasks named by Comrade Wan Min in his speech, the most important militant task of the C.P. of China in ensuring the complete victory of the Soviet revolution throughout the whole of China.

Comrades, we Bolsheviks are a long way from being content to stop at the results already secured this year in heroic struggle. We are exposing our mistakes and shortcomings for the very reason that we have before us tasks that are still more serious, more complicated and greater; for the very reason that the question of the further development and the victory of the Soviet revolution in China—already to-day one of the decisive factors in international politics—is of such far-reaching significance for the victory of the World October. We are convinced that our brother Parties, on the basis of the development of a Bolshevik self-criticism, will liquidate the defects in their defence of Soviet China, regard this work as one of the most important tasks before every Communist Party and systematically supervise its carrying out. The C.P. of China is fully convinced that the Communist brother Parties will fulfil the tasks set them by the present E.C.C.I. Plenum and will give their support to the Chinese Party in its struggle for the victory of the Soviets throughout the whole of China. (Applause.)

Fascism, Social Democracy and Communism

Comrade Knorin

1. Our Tactics Were Correct

COMRADES,—Six years have now passed since Rudolf Hilferding, at the Kiel Party Congress of German social democracy, put forward a new programme of post-war social democracy, the theory of "organised capitalism" and of "peaceful growing into socialism through democracy."

The world situation was then characterised by the relative stabilisation of capitalism.

It was under these conditions that two world congresses met in 1928—the Congress of the Second International in Brussels and the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow. And while the social democrats at their Brussels world congress declared in their decisions that capitalism had healed its wounds, at that very same moment, in those same months in the autumn of 1928, our Sixth Congress of the Comintern pointed out the commencement of a new **third** period in the post-war crisis of capitalism, the period of the shattering of the stabilisation of capitalism and the growth of a revolutionary upsurge of the masses.

Within a year the approach of an economic crisis of over-production was already making itself felt throughout the whole world. **But social democracy was still fascinated by the theories of "organised capitalism" and of "development without crisis."** Brought face to face with the approaching bankruptcy of the Weimar Republic, German social democracy, at the Magdeburg Party Congress in 1929, still boasted of its strength. Dittmann declared that "there is more socialism in Germany than in the U.S.S.R." Wells declared: "If there is to be dictatorship, then let it be our dictatorship." Social democracy was intensifying the terror against the revolutionary proletariat, against the growing revolutionary upsurge of the masses, showing ever more clearly its anti-democratic face.

In sharp contrast to the opinions voiced by social democracy, we pointed out at our Tenth Plenum in July, 1929, that the contradictions between classes and states were growing, that a new revolutionary upsurge was rising, that an economic crisis was not far off.

Time passed. The economic crisis was already raging over the whole world. In the spring of 1930 the bourgeoisie threw the social democrats from their ministerial posts in Germany. In the autumn the Labour Government in England suffered defeat. The theory of "organised capitalism" collapsed; the social democrats put forward the "theory" that capitalism was seriously ill and that it behoved the social democrats to cure it.

And at this time at the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. we showed the masses the growing contrast of two systems, the system of socialism in construction and the system of decaying capitalism; we recorded the growth of the prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis in a number of countries, pointed out that for the toiling masses the only way out of the crisis is revolution.

Finally, at our last Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, when social democracy had already lost its head and had commenced babbling about a counter-revolutionary situation, we firmly and determinedly stated that the stabilisation of capitalism had come to an end, that the world was confronted with great clashes between classes and states, that there was a possibility of abrupt changes and upheavals, that the transition to a new round of revolutions and wars had commenced.

In all our estimates of the situation we have been proved right. Our analysis had been justified from year to year. We had no need to revise our views on any point. But everything which was put forward against us by the theoreticians of the bourgeoisie and, above all, by social democracy, all this has been falling to pieces from year to year like a house of cards. We have based ourselves and continue to base ourselves on the only scientific theory—the theory of Marxism-Leninism, but social democracy long ago betrayed Marxism.

In the two main keypoints, in Germany and in the Far East, the contradictions of the capitalist system have reached their greatest accentuation. The revolutionary upsurge has continued to grow throughout the whole world. In China, the Soviet revolution has spread. In Spain, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and

many other countries there have been severe class struggles. But for the time being, fascism has conquered in Germany. For a short time the German bourgeoisie has consolidated its power. War is spreading in the Far East. An attack by Japan on the U.S.S.R. is on the order of the day. But we can nevertheless point to the fact that our glorious Communist Party of Germany has done everything for the struggle against fascism which was in its power and which was dictated by the given concrete correlation of class forces. We can also say that the Japanese and Chinese Communist Parties have done everything which was in their power and which was dictated by the given concrete correlation of class forces for the struggle against war. And if at the present time fascism comes to power in a number of countries, if the war danger has become an immediate one, nevertheless we can say now with even greater assurance than at any time before: the forces of the revolution are growing despite fascist terror and social democracy. No gangs of Hitler and no armies of Araki are able to hold up this growth of the forces of revolution.

Our analysis of the situation is correct, our tactics are correct. This is proved by a glance over the development of events for the last five years since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International.

2. The Contemporary Capitalist State

At the present time, as Comrade Kuusinen said here, on the basis of the unalterable laws of its development, the world is already directly approaching a new round of revolution and wars.

The firmest foundations of capitalist society are being shattered by the gigantic destructive force of the crisis, the growth in the strength of the U.S.S.R. and the growth of the revolutionary movement of the toiling masses in the capitalist countries themselves. The contradictions between classes and states are being accentuated to a catastrophic degree. Not one single capitalist state can be certain that its frontiers are secure. Not one single capitalist government is confident of what to-morrow will bring. Everywhere sharp encounters are proceeding between the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction.

The preparations for the war between states are **taking the form of a war of the most powerful forces of the bourgeoisie against the Communist Party and the working class. The contradictions between the capitalist countries are being accentuated to the highest degree.** Meanwhile a wave of nationalism is rising and this is being utilised by the bourgeoisie for setting up in a number of countries the power of the **most extreme reactionary, chauvinist, fascist parties of the bourgeoisie.** The darkest forces of reaction, remnants of the Middle Ages, are being mobilised in order to defend capitalism, which is in its death throes.

But nevertheless the ruling classes see that they are not masters of the situation in their own system. The capitalist world is drifting rudderless towards its own ruin. Capitalism has outlived its day. The best thinkers of capitalist society are beginning to grasp this fact to an ever greater extent. Their sympathies are ever more turning to us. Hundreds of writers, scientists, engineers and technicians are following the work of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. with great sympathy. Soviet China, which has become an important political factor in the Far East, is winning the sympathies of broad sections of the intelligentsia, especially in America and in the Far East.

The crisis of capitalism is so profound that even Mussolini in his speech to the National Council of Fascist Corporations in November, 1933, was compelled to state:—

"We have reached a point where, if the state were to go to sleep for twenty-four hours, this interval would be enough for the ushering in of a catastrophe. From now on there is no sphere of economy in which the state can afford not to interfere. If we want to put off the last hour of this capitalist system, then we have to establish state capitalism, which is nothing more nor less than state socialism turned inside out. And this constitutes the crisis of the capitalist system in all its universal significance."

If the contemporary monopolist-capitalist bourgeois state went

to sleep for twenty-four hours, then capitalism would collapse and power would pass into the hands of the Communists—this is what Mussolini, the prominent representative of contemporary monopolist capital, here admits.

But in proportion as the crisis grows deeper, and things go worse for the bourgeoisie, the parasitic state apparatus of the bourgeoisie grows ever larger and larger.

The more capitalism reaches its state of over-maturity, the more does the bourgeoisie base itself on the army, the police, and on all modern military technique for the suppression of the resistance of the toiling masses, the more does it apply the terror against the toiling masses. The rule of the bourgeoisie becomes a bloody regime under which workers' demonstrations and peasant uprisings are fired upon, the villages of colonial peoples are attacked with gas and aeroplanes and where the prisons of the so-called advanced, cultured, civilised countries use the methods of the mediæval inquisition. The October Revolution in Russia and the Civil War which followed it have already been far exceeded in the number of their victims by the Chinese revolution and the struggle in Germany.

But despite the fact that terror has become the common method of government employed by the bourgeoisie, nevertheless it had not succeeded in consolidating its rule. This is why the ruling financial oligarchy is trying still further to strengthen the state apparatus, to create a state power, the aim of which is to overcome the internal contradictions of the capitalist system by means of terrorism, the bloody suppression of the growing revolutionary movement, the mobilisation of all forces of the capitalist state for the struggle against the toiling masses. Therefore in the present period, on the eve of a new round of revolutions and wars, the financial oligarchy naturally adopts the policy of fascism, this last desperate attempt of the most reactionary terrorist, nationalistic groups of the bourgeoisie to retain state power in their own hands by strengthening the state apparatus of suppression, terror and civil war against the toiling masses, this attempt to find a way out of the crisis by means of intensified preparations for a new imperialist war, for a new re-partition of the world.

The present wave of fascism is not a sign of the strength, but a sign of the weakness and instability of the whole capitalist system, which the bourgeoisie is trying to strengthen by enlarging the state machine and by adopting fascist methods for the suppression of the masses. The bourgeoisie is going over to government by methods of terrorist fascist dictatorship, not of its own sweet will, but of necessity. It is organising for itself a mass support from among the petty bourgeoisie who have been driven distracted in the conditions of the crisis, promising them that it will support the petty proprietor. It is forming terrorist gangs out of nationalist-chauvinist elements. It makes these gangs a part of the state apparatus, and, relying upon them, declares civil war against the working class because its old normal apparatus has already lost the power to cope with the task of suppressing the down-trodden classes. It is doing away with bourgeois law because the prestige of the bourgeois state power and law has ceased to have any influence on the working masses, because the illusion of the possibility of peaceful development of capitalism and of the democratic path to socialism is vanishing, because decisive struggles are approaching, because the bourgeoisie has been brought face to face with the inevitability of extremely severe wars which represent a danger to itself, because parliamentarism is no longer able to secure the defence of capitalism against the growing revolutionary movement, and to secure the preparations for a war for a re-partition of markets among the imperialists. It is beginning to interfere in economic activities, to carry out so-called state capitalistic measures because the whole system of capitalism has been undermined, because the collapse of a single bank or trust is beginning to threaten the whole state apparatus with collapse. It cannot therefore be wondered at that such a financial-capitalist government, such an arch-reactionary government as the fascist government of Hitler or Mussolini, tries to merge the banks or talks of nationalising them. This is not a step towards socialism. On the contrary, it is an attempt to save the power of finance-capital from complete bankruptcy.

But the victory of fascism becomes inevitable and possible only where social democracy has succeeded by means of its system of centralised mass workers' organisations in holding back its proletarian adherents from a united revolutionary front with the Communists, in preventing the winning over of the majority of the

proletariat, despite the most profound crisis, to the side of the Communist Party and thereby preventing the success of the class struggle of the proletariat and thus discrediting Marxism and the class struggle in the eyes of the broad masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Fascism cannot win even in one country without the direct help and support of social democracy which, over a prolonged period of time, splits the ranks of the proletariat, holds it back from struggle, weakens its fighting capacity by way of police violence, terror and deception, delivering it over to fascism with its hands bound.

Fascism and German Social Democracy

The more organised the masses are, the more difficult the situation of capital is, the more rapidly and the more completely does the fascist dictatorship effect the abolition of all non-fascist or not completely fascist organisations and the more does it stand in need of so-called State-capitalist measures and of the corporate system. Mussolini in Italy achieved the abolition of the bourgeois parties gradually, because their existence did not greatly hinder the fascist dictatorship. Mussolini for a time tolerated social democracy because in Italy it played a relatively small role. He destroyed it when it entered upon its first severe crisis. Hitler came to power in a country which is "**thoroughly organised**," in a country in which it is impossible to strengthen the centralisation of leadership without destroying all bourgeois parties and organisations, and in which it is impossible to do away with that struggle which weakens the bourgeoisie itself, the mad struggle between different capitalist groups for the distribution of a diminishing share in the surplus value, of a diminishing quantity of profit, the struggle to have their losses made good by the State, without destroying the representations of these groups (parties, organisations). Hitler came to power in a country in which the working class was more highly organised than in any other. But the trade unions of the German proletariat, the leadership of which had been seized by the social democrats, had long ceased to be militant class organisations. The largest party, that which led the majority of the proletariat, had become social fascist. The Communist Party, despite the rapid growth of its influence, had not yet been able to undermine the influence of social democracy.

Without its revolutionary class leadership, the working class is not capable of action of any kind. In order to be able to carry on revolutionary activity, the working class must be united around its revolutionary party. Since the Communist Party did not yet have the majority of the working class behind it, the fate of the German proletariat depended on the conduct of the social democrats.

In order to suppress the working class, fascism set itself, above all, the task of destroying the Communist Party. But in such an accentuated situation as existed, and continues to exist, in Germany, the social democratic party, and the trade unions in particular, could have become reservoirs for the gathering together of elements discontented with fascism. Even in March certain organisations, even such a reactionary organisation as the Steel Helmets, were becoming such reservoirs. Because social democracy was still **sufficiently strong** to hold back the masses from resistance to the advance of the fascist dictatorship by means of its system of centralised organisations, but was already no more **sufficiently strong** to insure the stability of the capitalist system by its support, fascism, when it came to power **destroyed its assistant, social democracy**, and broke up the social democratic organisations in order to pulverise the working class, in order itself to attempt to lead the working masses, now disorganised and deprived of their organisations, to incorporate them in the system of the fascist state or, if this proved impossible, at least to pulverise them. The tempo at which the German fascists have effected the incorporation of all bourgeois parties and capitalist organisations and also that of social democracy and the reformist and Christian trade unions—this tempo is to be explained not by the fact that Hitler has learned anything from Mussolini, but **first and foremost** by the fact that Hitler came to power under conditions when German capitalism could be saved for the time being only by the immediate subordination of all its parts to the over-centralised dictatorial power of the fascist state. **Secondly**, it is to be explained by the fact that in Germany the parliamentary system, and together with it social democracy which had participated in the government since 1918, had become bankrupt and corrupt more than in any other country. German social democracy was ready to agree to anything; German social democracy itself permitted Hitler to come to power, but

fascism demanded of social democracy such large doses of nationalism and chauvinism, such a subordination to the will of finance capital as would in any case have meant the destruction of its organisations, incorporation, merging with the Nazis, and social democracy, while no imperialist war had as yet broken out, could not yet bring its organisation to this point, although it tried to do so. This fact is proved by the resignation of Wels from the Second International at the beginning of March, 1933, and by the social democratic fraction in the Reichstag which voted in favour of Hitler's policy on May 17, 1933. Hitler was obviously in a hurry. The whole situation in Germany, the catastrophically serious position of German capitalism, compelled him to make haste. German social democracy has perished as a party after having played to the last its role as concubine of the German bourgeoisie, after having satisfied to the extent of its powers all the desires of all its masters from the democratic party to the party of the national socialists.

Social democracy perished because it killed itself politically and morally, having refused to combat fascism, capitulated before fascism, consented to enter its service.

The fact of German social democracy's bankruptcy is so evident even to the Second International, even to its theoreticians and its publicists, that any attempt to deny it would be ridiculous. But while admitting the bankruptcy of German social democracy, the other parties of the Second International try to hide their own bankruptcy. They want to conceal the fact that they have lost their political line, that they are drifting rudderless; they want to represent things as if it were only German social democracy that had gone bankrupt, as if the blame lay on the leaders of German social democracy, as if the blame lay on the special conditions existing in Germany, as if the blame lay on the mistakes of German social democracy and not on the policy of the Second International, not on the fact that they have become social fascists. For us, the whole point is that they have become social fascists.

But there is nothing new in all this criticism directed by the Second International against German social democracy, against its disaster, against its bankruptcy. Wels only did what MacDonald had done before him, only less skilfully and with different consequences. Then Wels and Vandervelde criticised MacDonald; now Vandervelde, Blum, Henderson and Bauer have criticised Wels. MacDonald split the English labourites, went over openly to the side of the bourgeoisie, kept his post as Minister of the Crown. He proved to be necessary. Wels proved to be unnecessary. He was driven away. The quarrel between Wels and Vandervelde has ended in a temporary reconciliation because Wels could not join the German national front and was compelled to return to the Second International. This is how it was: he left the Second International, went to Hitler, was not accepted, was told—"Better serve in the Second International," and returned to the Second International, where he was accepted.

The theoreticians of the Second International, in criticising German social democracy for the fact that "the German revolution of 1918 did not consummate the historical tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848, want to save the so-called "honour" of so-called "democratic socialism," to make it at any rate appear as if their whole strategic plan had not proved bankrupt, to preserve the life of the Second International somehow or other. By explaining the defeat of its leading party which had compromised their tactics and strategy, by the specific conditions prevailing in Germany, they wanted to keep the masses of other countries under their leadership to save the leaders and the system which have proved bankrupt, to save and resurrect social democracy.

But all these attempts to explain the catastrophe of the German social democratic party are absolutely futile. It is, of course, true that the revolution of 1918 did not consummate the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of 1789 and 1848, and it is true that social democracy, by crushing this revolution, established the Weimar constitution on the basis of Junker landownership, preserved the Junkers and the Hohenzollern officers, securing their pensions. It is, of course, true that in 1918 social democracy did not take the path of socialist revolution, although all conditions were present for it, but in alliance with the Junkers and officers smashed the socialist revolution which was beginning. But that is by no means all.

In the last analysis the main point is that since 1918 German social democracy has realised the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the form of the Weimar republic,

which, under conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, in particular in such a country as Germany which suffered defeat in the imperialist war, could not be anything else but the reactionary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The point is that while fighting against all really revolutionary forces in the country, it granted complete freedom to the fascists, and by breaking up the revolutionary labour organisations German social democracy led the German proletariat under the yoke of fascist dictatorship. Without German social democracy there would not have been fascism in Germany. Without the direct help given by social democracy, the bourgeoisie cannot set up fascist dictatorship, cannot rule the country.

4. If Social Democracy in 1932 . . .

Three years ago Mueller, who was then a "Left" social democrat of Breslau, wrote a fantastic novel entitled *If in 1918 We had . . .*, that is to say, how events would have developed if social democracy had been a revolutionary party in 1918. We could now draw a utopian picture of what might have happened if social democracy in July, 1932, had been willing to defend Weimar "democracy"—just that and no more—if it had only been willing to defend the Weimar "democracy." At that time we proposed to form a united front with social democracy for the declaration of a general strike. The working masses were in favour of a general strike. They were only awaiting instructions from the trade unions and the social democratic party. The social democratic workers hesitated to answer the call of the Communists and to act against the social democracy. If social democracy had accepted the Communist proposal of a united front for a general strike, if it had only made use of its State apparatus for offering resistance to the fascist coup in Prussia, then the fascists would have been compelled to retreat. The petty bourgeois and peasant masses would have come over to the side of revolution. The fascists, unable to seize power, would have collapsed. The symptoms of collapse in August, 1932, were very marked, despite the fact that Prussia was already in the hands of Papen's commissars. The Communists were ready for a struggle. The struggle was frustrated by the social democrats. In January, 1933, the situation was already less favourable, but the social democrats would none the less have been stronger than the fascists. If the social democrats had supported the January demonstration of the Communists against fascism in Berlin, Hitler would not have dared to sneak into power. If, even on January 30, 1933, social democracy had accepted the Communists' proposal of a general strike, had declared a general strike and not held the masses back from a strike, had not frustrated the general strike, Hitler could have been beaten by the united forces of the whole proletariat, despite the fact that time had been lost and that a nationalist upheaval was already there.

How long the Weimar republic would have been maintained after such a strike would have depended only on the working masses themselves. The Communists would have continued the struggle to win over the majority of the working class with still greater energy. They would have shown the masses that the only way out of the crisis lay in socialism, that the fascists could only finally be defeated by setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat. But such a militant union against Hitler would not yet have meant a socialist revolution until the majority of the working class followed the Communists. This would have been in its way a struggle against a "Kornilov revolt." The German Communists would have fought together with the social democratic workers against the gangs of Hitler and the Steel Helmets, at the same time exposing the weakness, the vacillation of Braun and Severing, exposing their attempts to come to terms with Hitler, preparing to create those conditions under which the proletariat could really take power into its own hands.

But German social democracy held the masses back from struggle, capitulating to Hitler without a fight; it even welcomed Hitler as a man of working origin. German social democracy itself destroyed the Weimar republic once and for all and committed suicide.

But this is happening not only in Germany.

In Spain, after the revolution of April, 1931, social democracy came to power in coalition with bourgeois parties. Having come to power, Spanish social democracy went wholly and completely over to the counter-revolutionary path of German social demo-

cracy. The Spanish coalition government, basing itself on the old State apparatus of the monarchy, on its **Guardia Civil**, police and army, waged a struggle against the masses of workers and peasants who were fighting for bread, for social insurance, for the seven-hour working day for the workers and for land for the peasants; for the right of self-determination for the oppressed nations. The feudal landlords, monasteries and churches retained their rights. Remnants of feudalism, remnants of serfdom and of the Middle Ages continue to exist. Not one revolutionary measure has been put into effect. Nothing has been done to organise the resistance to the forces of counter-revolution. But the Communist Party is subjected to persecutions, its press is gagged. Revolutionary workers and peasants are being persecuted. And there is nothing surprising in the fact that, thanks to this policy of social democracy, the masses are turning against it, that at the recent elections Spanish social democracy suffered a severe defeat.

Spanish social democracy also criticises the policy pursued by German social democracy, but it pursues this policy itself, for social democracy cannot do otherwise, with whatever "Left" phrases it may seek to hide itself. Spanish social democracy will, just as the German social democracy, surrender power to the fascists if the Spanish Communists do not quickly isolate it from the masses.

In Austria Otto Bauer has frequently written that Austrian social democracy in 1918 could not pursue a policy for the achieving of socialism, because Austria is a small country and would have been crushed at once by the intervention of the Powers if it had tried to rise against capitalism. But Otto Bauer wants to conceal the fact that in Austria too—where he was in power—not only was nothing done for the setting up of socialism, but even the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution were not thoroughly carried out, the influence of the Junkers was not destroyed nor that of the Habsburg officers. Otto Bauer, while criticising German social democracy, wants to conceal the fact that on December 1, 1929, he already had something akin to the Prussian twentieth of July, that Austrian social democracy, disguising itself in radical phrases, has retreated and is retreating step by step to make way for the fascist dictatorship, that Austrian social democracy is frustrating the struggle of the Austrian proletariat against incipient Austro-fascism, in just the same way as this was done over a period of many years by German social democracy. Otto Bauer forgets that only four years ago his friend and associate, another Austro-Marxist, Karl Renner, was trying to prove that social democracy, learning a lesson from Italy, should try to collaborate with the fascists, renounce parliamentary activity, fight to retain its jobs in the State apparatus. Consequently Karl Renner four years ago was already seeking theoretical arguments for that shameful policy which Loebe and Kuenstler pursued in the German Reichstag on May 17, 1933. This must not be forgotten.

Austrian social democracy, thanks to this policy which it has pursued, has grown considerably weaker during the last few years. Nevertheless, it is still incomparably stronger to-day than Austrian fascism. If it wanted to make use of the strength of the Austrian workers who follow it, the Austro-fascists would vanish from the face of the earth. With antagonisms sharpened as they now are not one general staff—and Bauer is always referring to these staffs—would venture to interfere. Social democracy, by its passivity, alienates the petty-bourgeois masses from the proletariat. By its policy of refusing to fight, it is demoralising the proletariat. It is preparing for its complete capitulation to fascism, for the surrender of both Vienna and Austria to the fascists. By its whole policy it is preparing for the defeat of the Austrian proletariat.

Five-sixths of the Australian proletariat still follow Austrian social democracy. The Austrian workers are in favour of the general strike; they want to fight. But they still believe that social democracy represents their organisation, which will call upon them to fight when this is necessary. If social democracy would call a general strike, the proletariat would be united in the struggle against fascism, and would repulse the fascist offensive. The Communists would be the first organisers of the struggle. The Communists would not raise the question of immediately setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat until the majority of the working class were behind them. For the time being they would only carry on agitation for the dictatorship of the prole-

ariat, for Soviet power as the only salvation for the working class of Austria from poverty, want and fascism. They would wage a struggle for hegemony in the Austrian labour movement, prove that the only salvation, the only way out of poverty and want, lies in the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only after winning over the masses would they undertake an armed uprising for the setting up of Soviet power.

But the Communists would fight against fascism, together with the social democrats if the social democrats were willing to fight.

The Austrian Communists cannot yet successfully conduct a general strike against the united front of social democracy and the whole bourgeoisie since they cannot get the main sections of the proletariat to follow them. But they set themselves the task of showing the workers the way to fight against fascism. They make it their task to organise the struggle which the social democrats do not want to wage. If social democracy takes advantage of the relative weakness of the Austrian Communists and surrenders power to the fascists, the responsibility will lie solely on social democracy for all those horrors which will fall to the lot of the Austrian working class. The Communists will not capitulate. They will fight on alone against fascism and war, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In Latvia and Estonia fascist dictatorship is being set up. And here again, just as in Austria, it is social democracy which decides the question whether there is to be a fascist dictatorship or not. It, and it alone, bears the responsibility for the fate of the Latvian and Estonian working class in the present concrete situation.

Without the direct help of social democracy fascist dictatorship would not have been set up in Germany, cannot be set up either in Austria, in Spain, in Latvia, in Estonia or in any other country.

In Czechoslovakia fascist dictatorship is rapidly being established. In April, 1933, the secretariat of the E.C.C.I. had already written as follows to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia:—

"The process of the fascisation of Czechoslovakia is proceeding in its own special way. To speak at the present time of a Brüningiade in Czechoslovakia, and all the more so of a Brüningiade which is just beginning, would mean to underestimate the seriousness of the present moment and the possibility of a sudden attack and provocation against the Communist Party on the part of the present government, and also to underestimate the counter-revolutionary role of social democracy. The main thing for Czech Communists at the present time is to grasp the fact that the 'Burg' (Masaryk) group represents the leadership of the Czech bourgeoisie which is trying to carry out the national concentration and fascisation of Czechoslovakia under the banner of the defence of 'democracy' and of a military so-called 'defence' of the Versailles system in alliance with fascist Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania under the leadership of France, both against the proletarian revolution and also against the fascist revisionist plans of Germany. The wave of nationalism in Germany was directed against the Weimar republic as the expression of Germany's enslavement to the victorious countries. The symbol of victory of Czech nationalism is the 'Burg'; it represents the main channel uniting nationalist tendencies which are arising in the Czech people, and under conditions of a growing menace to Czechoslovakia it will play this role to a still greater extent than hitherto."

In this way, as we see, the fascisation of Czechoslovakia is being accomplished up to the present moment. Social democracy is here playing a most active role as the force which ushers in fascism under the banner of defending democracy.

Social democracy in Czechoslovakia is the initiator of the extraordinary law, of plans to suppress the Communist organisations and the Communist Party. Czech fascism is being established by Czechoslovakian social democracy and by its coalition with the bourgeois parties. But of course this process of fascisation will not stop there. It is not absolutely necessary that Czechoslovakian social democracy will be removed as was the case with German social democracy. Its end may come somewhat differently and in a less tragic form than was the case in Germany. But in the last analysis the consequences will be the same. Czechoslovakian social democracy is killing itself as a party by doing away with "democracy" in the country. Czech social democracy is showing in practice that it is not only not a socialist party but not even a demo-

cratic party in the old Masaryk sense of this word. It is a party of the reactionary bourgeoisie, and together with it is establishing fascist dictatorship.

The success of fascism is the consequence of the fascisation of social democracy, the consequence of the fact that social democracy has become a social-fascist party, as we had already stated at the Sixth Congress of Comintern.

If social democracy in 1918 had been a revolutionary Marxist Party, Europe would have been socialist long ago.

If social democracy in 1933 had merely been a democratic party, Europe would not have become fascist.

The present crisis of social democracy is a crisis arising out of its rapid fascisation, out of its capitulation to fascism.

5. The Peculiarities of the Present Crisis of Social Democracy

The present crisis of social democracy is radically different from its crisis which began at the time of the imperialist war.

The Second International is disintegrating; on the international scale it is disintegrating into national groups, and in the various countries—into individual groups reflecting the degree of fascisation of the various strata of social democracy in a given country. It is an expression of the fact that at the present time social democracy has turned traitor, not only as a revolutionary party, but also as a reformist party, as a democratic party. It is therefore perfectly correct at the present time to speak not only of the political defeat but of the ideological catastrophe of social democracy.

This ideological catastrophe leads to the fact that the groups into which social democracy has disintegrated criticise each other, accuse each other, employing isolated scraps of their old ideological equipment.

In Germany there is now no social democratic organisation. German social democracy comprises the **Prague** group, which puts forward the slogan of "revolution against Hitler, for the restoration of democracy," the **Berlin** group of Loebe-Kuenstler which has adapted itself to the fascist regime in so far as it was permitted to do so, the **Paris** group which adds a few radical phrases to its social democratic ideological confusion, and, in addition to these, dozens of small groups and writers who criticise their own old ideology, but are unable to rise to the level of Marxism, of Communism, who have utterly lost their heads and by their ideological confusion seriously hinder the struggle of the working class. Each of these groups by its methods is holding back the masses from going over to Communism.

In France the group of Renaudel-Déat, which is openly going over into the camp of bourgeois nationalism, the group of Blum, which is striving to maintain the old positions, the "Action Socialists" group, which expresses the "Left" swing of the working masses. **In England** there are the national labourites, the labourites, the independent labourites; and in Austria and Switzerland there are the beginnings of disintegration, and there are two parties in Holland. In almost every country there are already at least three social democratic parties and in each social democratic party there are dozens of different viewpoints which are united only by their common role as main social support of the bourgeoisie and by the struggle against the Comintern.

The Second International is attempting to unite formally this chaos of nationalist parties, of confused groups and groupings. It advocates reconciliation between Blum and Renaudel (the last session of the bureau of the Second International adopted a decision on this point), between Wels and Seidewitz. It calmly endures the resignation and return of Wels. It writes resolutions in which all hopes are pinned on the miracle which is supposed to take place in Geneva, where the collapsing League of Nations and the bankrupt "Disarmament Conference" are supposed to unite and disarm all the imperialists. This, indeed, is tantamount to losing all sense of seriousness. This, indeed, means not only losing their political line but their heads as well. And this takes place because there was not any special policy of German social democracy, because there was and is one common policy of the whole international social democracy, because the fate of German social democracy is shared by the social democratic parties of all countries. All of them are rallying together in the counter-revolutionary united front with the whole bourgeoisie for the struggle against the proletarian united front; all

of them are pursuing the policy of weakening the proletariat; all of them are social fascists, parties which capitulate to fascism.

But what are the causes of this crisis of social democracy?

The causes of the crisis of social democracy consist firstly in the fact that the world is on the eve of a new round of imperialist wars, the preparations for which have already led to a rabid outburst of nationalism. Therefore the Second International is collapsing because the social democracy of each country is going over to the side of its bourgeoisie. Secondly, present-day social democracy could only exist in the bourgeois system of government when parliamentarism existed. In view of that extraordinary centralisation of State power it has already become unnecessary in the direct apparatus of government in a number of countries. Thirdly, the growth of poverty and want among the masses has led to social democracy losing its mass influence. This is compelling it to comply still more quickly with the demands of its bourgeoisie, to become fascised at a still more rapid rate.

Every social democratic party contains several fractions which reflect the ideological collapse of social democracy, but it is the **Rights who act**. They are openly coming to fascism, openly harnessing themselves to the chariot of nationalism. The "**Lefts**" remain passive and can only chatter, holding back the masses from going over to Communism. The Rights act and organise; the "Lefts" write "Left" resolutions, and with their radical phraseology, with their "Left" speeches about the dictatorship of the proletariat, plans about the reforms of social democracy, etc., they try to keep the masses in the counter-revolutionary united front with the bourgeoisie. This is the division of labour, this is the role of the "**Lefts**."

In these circumstances of the disintegration of social democracy the small groups of Trotsky, Brandler, etc., serve the bourgeoisie for holding back the masses from going over to the Communists, for the purpose of subjecting the working class to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They try to carry out what is at present the most important and most difficult task for the bourgeoisie—a task which the old social democracy has already lost the power to fulfil. In addition to this they are the main purveyors of theories and arguments against the U.S.S.R. and the Comintern. And they are carrying out a third task which is also of importance to the fascists—the pulverising of the labour movement, the task of converting it into a conglomeration of sects and groups. This is their role as an advanced detachment of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. The Communist International, which is fighting against social democracy, must at the same time carry on a struggle for the destruction of the groups of Trotskyists and Brandlerites, who are encouraged by the fascists, against the disintegration of the labour movement into small groups, a struggle to unite it under the leadership of the Communists.

6. We Are Marching Towards Revolution . . .

The crisis of social democracy represents one of the most important component parts in the general crisis of the capitalist system. In Germany the masses of the people do not want to live under Hitler's jack-boot, nor do they want to return to Weimar democracy. In Poland, Hungary, Italy, fascist dictatorship is obviously weakening. Austria is in the melting pot. In Latvia and Esthonia a considerable part of the population is looking for a party capable of expelling the governing clique overnight, although these masses are not yet prepared for proletarian revolution. In Japan the will of the masses for revolution is breaking through the system of rabid terror. Mighty revolutionary events may begin with complete unexpectedness. It is therefore our duty to put on the order of the day the question of struggle for Soviet power, of overthrowing the power of the ruling classes.

It is our duty to put forward everywhere the programme of Soviet government and to mobilise the masses around it, to make them ready so that, knowing our aims, they may be able, given a suitable correlation of forces, when a revolutionary situation is ripe, to take power into their own hands. There is not yet a revolutionary situation in any one of the decisive imperialist countries, but such a situation may mature in a very short time. The present stage is no longer a stage of peaceful development. For the majority of countries the present stage is no longer a period in which it is simply necessary to expose social democracy. The present stage in Germany, in Austria, is no longer simply a period of struggle to win over the majority of the working class, but

a period of the formation of a revolutionary army for decisive class battles for power, a period of the mobilisation of such cadres as are prepared to make any sacrifice in order to destroy the existing regime, in order to lead the proletariat to victory. What does this mean? **Spontaneous pressure, spontaneous unrest** is to be observed among the masses, although it is not yet breaking out openly to the surface. The Communists do not always make use of this spontaneous unrest, do not always give direction to it. The Communists are not always on the alert when discontent passes beyond the confines of economic demands, when it is directed **against the State as a whole.**

We must be more sensitive to this **spontaneous pressure, this spontaneous unrest among the masses.**

In Germany the masses are trying to find in what way, to what extent and in what forms it is possible to combat the fascist dictatorship. All that is needed is the beginning of some large strike or demonstration, and the way will be open for the discontent of the masses to burst forth.

Therefore, in conjunction with the slogan of struggle for power, we ought to put on the order of the day the slogan of the **general strike**, of a general strike organised and carried through by the Communists, and for which it is essential to mobilise the masses by developing economic strikes.

In Austria the slogan of the general political strike was put forward by the social democrats under mass pressure, but the social democrats are more afraid of revolution than of fascism. The Communists must exert all their efforts towards giving shape to the spontaneous pressure of the masses, who demand such a strike. The Communists must be the chief agitators for the general strike. This applies in the same degree to Latvia. And it applies in just the same degree to all other countries which are under the threat of the setting up of fascist dictatorship.

In Poland, while there has been a large strike movement this year, there have been fewer political strikes, but this ought not by any means to signify, and it does not signify, that the resolution of the Twelfth Plenum on a general strike in Poland can be forgotten.

In Czechoslovakia, under the social democratic coalition government, there have been a number of good political strikes directed against the State. They can and ought to take place again. The development of events of the last few weeks in Czechoslovakia permits us to hope that there will be a growth in the political strike movement in Czechoslovakia.

America, England and France, of course, still remain countries where the strikes are mainly economic, but here, too, it is necessary to raise the strike movement from the level of the economic strike to that of the political strike. America in particular may soon be confronted with large political strikes. The American Party ought now to direct the unrest of the masses in this direction.

What slogans can now be put forward for the mass political strike? These slogans ought to rouse the masses for the struggle for power, to lead the masses from defence to attack. In Austria, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, everywhere where fascism is advancing, the political strike sets itself the task of defending the elementary rights of the workers, of fighting against the realisation of fascist dictatorship, of fighting against the present government, which is realising fascism.

In Germany the following slogans may be put forward for the political strike: freedom to elect factory committees, release of all arrested persons, removal of the Storm Troops from the working-class districts, overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, setting up of Soviet power.

But in the formation of the revolutionary army the most important point is the tactic of the united front. Basing itself on the spontaneous unrest of the masses, the Communist Party must appeal to the social democratic and non-Party workers, not letting the movement out of its hands for an instant. The Communists must explain that the way to fascism can be barred by vigorous joint action of all workers under the leadership of the Communist Party. They must explain that if social democracy did not fight against fascism in Germany, this has nothing to do with the split in the labour movement. The blame for the fascists coming to power in Germany, as in any other country, lies solely on the social democrats. The splitters are the social democrats, who formed a counter-revolutionary united front with the bourgeoisie. Always, at any moment, a revolutionary united front for struggle against the bourgeoisie, for struggle against fascism, could be formed, if social democracy would be willing to fight against fascism. It will

be formed against the will of social democracy when the workers become convinced that social democracy is betraying them to the fascists.

There is nothing worse than not to understand this.

A positive feature in the tactics of the united front in Germany has always been that the German comrades always told the social democratic workers the truth about their party and always correctly indicated the way which they ought to go. And it is perfectly correct when they now say that the most important thing is, not to permit the re-establishment of social democratic leadership in the labour organisations, above all in the trade unions, not to permit the labour organisation to be utilised for holding back the working masses for struggle.

The negative feature in the tactics of Guttman in Czechoslovakia was that Guttman advocated unity for unity's sake, that he was not guided by the task of forming a revolutionary army to fight for the political aims of our Party, for the struggle for power, but called upon his comrades to adapt themselves to the backward tendencies and views of the social democratic workers.

Therefore the tactics of the united front of Thaelmann were revolutionary, while the tactics of the united front of Guttman were opportunist, liquidationist.

Inasmuch as Guttmanism, if we may so express ourselves, has penetrated in certain sections of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, it has, of course, wrought great harm in this Party, but the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is sufficiently strong, has sufficiently strong cadres and sufficiently strong connections with the masses to amend the mistakes under the leadership of Comrade Gottwald and to march forward to new victories.

7. The German Question and the Communist International

Three great questions at present form the touchstone of the revolutionary maturity and class-consciousness of every Communist Party, of every Communist, of every revolutionary. **Firstly**, the question of the U.S.S.R., the understanding of the role and significance of the U.S.S.R. for the international proletarian revolution, the understanding of the policy of the U.S.S.R., the understanding of the fact that the U.S.S.R. is a model for the transformation of all countries. He who does not devote all his strength to the defence of the U.S.S.R. is no revolutionary, he is a counter-revolutionary, an opponent of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an opponent of the socialist revolution. **Secondly**, the question of the attitude to the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Soviet Republic. He who does not devote all his strength and organisational abilities to the defence of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Soviet Republic is breaking up the international union of Communists, is not fighting for the union of the proletariat of imperialist countries with the toiling peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies, is not thinking seriously about the dictatorship of the proletariat, about the Soviet power in his own country. **Thirdly**, the question of the attitude to the German revolution, the understanding of its problems and of the struggle of the German proletariat. He who does not understand the German question does not understand the paths of development of the proletarian revolution in Europe. He who does not devote all his powers to the support of the German proletariat is not fighting for the proletarian revolution in Europe, because the victory of the German proletariat would mean the victory of the proletarian revolution throughout the whole of Europe, and the defeat of the German proletariat would retard the development of the proletarian revolution in other European countries.

Germany was and remains the weakest link in the chain of imperialist States. Germany is a country in which class contradictions are most accentuated. Germany is a country in which all the contradictions of the capitalist world are intertwined in the sharpest form. And, besides this, Germany is the heart of capitalist Europe, a country which is economically and politically interwoven with all the capitalist countries of Europe. That is why the proletarian revolution is nearer in Germany than in any other country. And the victory of the proletariat in Germany means the victory of the proletarian revolution throughout all Europe, since capitalist Europe cannot exist if it loses its heart. It is therefore clear that German questions are the **fundamental questions** on the eve of the second round of wars and revolutions. And this places upon all Communist Parties, upon all Commun-

ists, a supreme responsibility for the fate of the German revolution.

The success of fascism in Germany was a great touchstone, a test of how each Party and each Communist understood the international situation and the course of development of the revolutionary process. This test showed us our strength and also, of course, the rotten elements which still, unfortunately, exist in our ranks.

We must, above all, note with great pleasure that our young Spanish Communist Party and its central organ, **Mundo Obrero**, itself in the fire of revolution, has from the very start correctly appraised the situation in Germany, the significance of German events, and has been able to develop a great campaign of international proletarian solidarity with the German proletariat. The Polish Communist Party likewise launched a vigorous campaign of solidarity while itself fighting under the yoke of fascism.

The Austrian, Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and a number of other small parties developed a mass movement and carried on work of enlightenment among the masses quite energetically, in proportion to their strength. The Communist Parties of the United States, France, and Czechoslovakia showed themselves much weaker—that is, in proportion to their strength—on the question of supporting the German proletariat. The American comrades for a considerable time did not devote serious attention to this question or explain the meaning of the events in Germany to the masses. The English Communist Party, after a certain inertia in the first days when it evidently underestimated the necessity of a struggle against fascism, later on was able to develop a serious and uninterrupted campaign and to take up a clear political line. In Czechoslovakia the anti-fascist campaign of solidarity, which did not begin badly, was greatly weakened, thanks to the opportunism of the Guttman group, which controlled the Party press, with the “ultra-Left,” historically “Left” Comrade Reimann. (Laughter.) (PIATNITSKY: “Ultra-Left” in inverted commas.)

They had some “historical Rights.” I think we may say with equal justice that they have some “historical Lefts” who in reality are Rights. (Laughter.)

The same applies to France, where Trotskyist views were rife in the Party during March and April to the effect that the C.P.G. had capitulated, where the *Cahiers de Bolchevisme* busied itself more with hunting out the “mistakes” of the C.P.G. than with exposing the treacherous role played by social democracy in the victory of fascism in Germany, than in mobilising the masses against German fascism.

But, comrades, if we may point to a number of successes achieved by our parties in this sphere, and which show the growth of a real internationalism, nevertheless even in those places where our campaign of support of the German revolution and our work of explaining the meaning of the German events was conducted best of all, we must consider it far from satisfactory. In particular our campaign of support and defence of the German proletariat in connection with the trial of Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov and Tanev was far from adequate. If we compare this mass campaign which we have just now developed with the campaign which was developed by the international proletariat in connection with the Sacco and Vanzetti case, then we must admit that that campaign was more widespread than the present one. We have not yet been able to rise to this level although the political importance of the Leipzig trial is much greater than that of Sacco and Vanzetti. At that time we were at the very beginning of the revolutionary upsurge. Now we are on the eve of the second round of wars and revolutions. Our mass movement against fascist terror can become the starting point for mighty political actions and movements of the working class.

8. The Struggle Against “Left” Social Democracy and the Right Deviations in the Communist Parties

And here, comrades, I must ask what were the grounds for, what was the meaning of the attitude adopted by Guttman, who directly sabotaged the printing and popularisation of the resolution of the E.C.C.I. on the situation in Germany, and also what were the grounds for the theses of Comrade Reimann's opportunist colleagues from the editorial staff of the *Cahiers de Bolchevisme*?

These comrades lost the revolutionary perspective, succumbed to the influence of social democracy, in particular to the influence of the Brandlerists and Trotskyists, who are waging a furious campaign against the Comintern and the C.P.G.

At the time when the capitulation of social democracy to Hitler in Germany was evoking indignation among the working masses of other countries, when the workers who were indignant at the conduct of the German social democrats were threatening to go over to the Communists, social democracy initiated a big manoeuvre against the U.S.S.R. and the Comintern so as to discredit them in the eyes of the toiling masses. The Czechoslovakian social democrats declared that the U.S.S.R. had deceived the hopes of German proletarians by not starting a war against fascism. This obviously provocative campaign, however, did not have much success.

Then a campaign was started to the effect that the U.S.S.R. was betraying the cause of the working class by maintaining normal diplomatic relations with Germany. But that language of power in which the U.S.S.R. talked to Germany compelled this campaign to cease.

For us Communists it is no dishonour if the largest and most arrogant capitalist country, the United States, recognises, the U.S.S.R. after sixteen years in order to strengthen the cause of peace and its own position. For us Communists it is no dishonour if Mussolini invites Litvinov to come to Rome. The U.S.S.R. speaks to all of them in a language of power. For us Communists it is a supreme acknowledgment when our bitterest enemies are compelled to negotiate with the U.S.S.R. if they are compelled to reckon with the power of the U.S.S.R., with the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is now no longer fitting to talk simply of a contrast, it now behoves us to talk of the preponderance of the U.S.S.R. over any imperialist state individually and over whole groups of imperialist countries. When the campaign against the U.S.S.R. collapsed, the social democrats put forward the slogan of boycotting German goods. Several papers at that time reported incorrectly that the Communists were not taking part in the boycott because, they alleged, the boycott was in conflict with the economic interests of the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. has no interests which are different from the interests of the world revolution, and the international proletariat naturally has no interests which are different from those of the Soviet Union.

But what good could the boycott bring to the proletariat of Germany and the German revolution? An accentuation of economic war in the interests of competing groups of capitalism. Can a boycott undermine the existence of a capitalist country? Obviously not. Why should we take part in such a boycott for the conduct of which the social democrats themselves undertake nothing, which the social democrats wanted to foist upon the Communists, which was aimless and doomed to failure?

The most coherent argument produced by the Austrian social democrats in their reports about the boycott was that Austrian social democracy ought to boycott Germany because the Germany of Hitler was preventing tourists from coming to Austria. What significance has this for the interests of the international labour movement? For the proprietors of Austrian hotels—yes, but for the international labour movement, hardly. If it is a question of the real interests of the German revolution, if the boycott will constitute a real support for the revolutionary movement in Germany, for the struggle to overthrow Hitler, if there will be a real mass movement for the boycott, if there will be a mass movement in Germany itself, then it is the Communists who will organise such a boycott.

Powerless in their bankruptcy and in their rage against the Communist International and against the U.S.S.R., the Brandlerists and Trotskyists have begun to say that it is not only the German social democratic party that has gone bankrupt, that the German Communist Party is bankrupt, too. In order to conceal the bankruptcy of the S.P.G., they are trying to show that both parties are bankrupt. These cowards and scoundrels have begun to demand that the C.P.G. should have commenced an uprising at the moment when Hitler came to power. The aim of this manoeuvre was obvious—to discredit the only party which is capable of organising the masses for revolution, of leading the masses to revolution. The most “Left” of them, for example, Fenner Brockway, at the time when the C.P.G. was already evoking the admiration of everybody by its heroism—at the “international” conference of the renegade groups—introduced their own formula to the effect that

"not only has the policy of social democracy proved bankrupt in Germany, but the C.P.G. is also responsible for the German catastrophe; although it has proved revolutionary and sound in the main, yet its collapse is to be explained by incorrect tactics."

It may well be asked if Guttman did not accept this "Left" thesis when he declared that "certain weaknesses of the C.P.G. in adopting the united front facilitated the victory of Hitler," that "if we do not acknowledge the mistakes of the C.P.G., then we must necessarily take the view that the fascist dictatorship was inevitable." Did not these "Lefts" present a list of the "mistakes" of the C.P.G. to the editors of the *Cahiers de Bolchevisme*? Did not these "Lefts" give the arch-sphinx, Comrade Humbert-Droz, his argument that by its answer to the appeal of the Second International the Comintern began a new tactic on the question of the united front?

These people, together with the Remmele-Neumann group, made common cause with "Left" social democracy. They lost their heads at the decisive moment and became the mouth-piece of the social democrats, became liquidators in regard to their own party.

It is therefore necessary above all to take a clear stand in regard to social democracy and first and foremost in regard to "Left" social democracy, this most dangerous foe of Communism.

In the elections at Geneva, after the great political events of last year, the social democrats won a great victory and the Communists suffered defeat. The workers say truly: how can we vote for the Communists when we cannot see the difference between Communists and social democrats. In Geneva the social democrats are the "Lefts" and the Communists the Rights. But the "Left" social democrat Nicole in Geneva formed a bloc with the bourgeois parties, formed a coalition government and got into power. In the name of this coalition government he is now proclaiming "workers' and peasants' democracy" in Geneva, proclaiming Geneva to be a socialist republic. It is said that several Communists are attracted by this and welcome the government of Nicole. But Nicole has more than once used "Left" phrases and then more than once "gone to Canossa" to capitulate to the Rights. We have no reason whatever for trusting the "ultra-Left" Nicole. We must present him with demands, expose him, say already now that Nicole is in alliance with the bourgeoisie, that he will not go against the bourgeoisie but will go together with the bourgeoisie against the workers. We must imbue the masses with the consciousness that the proletariat cannot come to power otherwise than by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and smashing its State machine.

We must say that there is no essential difference between the "Left" social democrats and the Right bourgeois parties. If the Rights shoot down hundreds and thousands of workers and boast of it, the "Left" social democrats of the type of Nicole shoot down scores of them and will weep: "This is what I, a democrat and pacifist, have been brought to by the Communists." This is the only difference, comrades.

There are not, and cannot be, any Lefts except in our Party. We are the only Lefts. Either in our ranks or fight against us!—there is no other way. We must conduct the most ruthless fight against the "Lefts" because they represent the bourgeoisie's last line of trenches.

In order that our line in regard to social democracy may be clear, a determined struggle is necessary against opportunism in our own ranks.

The Remmele-Neumann group came forward under a "Left" disguise, Guttman under a Right. But both the one and the other are the mouth-piece of social democracy. The fact that social democracy is going through a profound crisis only shows that a still sharper struggle is necessary against it, against all its groups and at the same time a struggle on two fronts in our own ranks. Only in this way will we be able to carry out those supreme tasks which confront us.

The most important task for all Parties now, but especially for the German, Czechoslovakian and Austrian Parties, is to ensure political leadership over the masses, to react in good time to events to give out political slogans at the right time.

The second most important task is to be able to combine illegal work with a truly mass character of this work.

The third task is to ensure real continuity in the work of each Party organisation, beginning with the nucleus and ending with the Central Committee, so that we may not permit events to slip by us, so that we may react to all events.

The fourth most important task is proletarian internationalism, not in words but in deeds.

And in the combination of all these tasks the best living example for the moment was, and remains out of all illegal parties the Communist Party of Poland, this oldest mass illegal party.

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Our tasks are hard, but our aims are great and clear. Our path is correct. We can say this to-day with more grounds than at any other time. Only think what would have happened if the Bolsheviks had not combated opportunism in the Second International thirty years ago, if the Communist International had not been founded fifteen years ago, if the Soviet Union did not exist. Then the European labour movement would have been smashed, torn to pieces by nationalism. Fascism would have celebrated its victory. The working class, betrayed by social democracy, would have been without prospects for the future, without leadership.

Now there is no power which can smash us. The fate of the world labour movement in the last analysis lies in our hands. Social democracy is orientating the masses towards an epoch of fascism; we are proving that a new round of revolutions and wars lie ahead. Whether revolution will forestall war, we do not know. But war, too, is unable to terrify us, for after it comes revolution. The U.S.S.R. has grown into the mightiest power in world politics. Socialism has been made a reality on one-sixth part of the earth's surface. The Chinese Soviet Republic is growing. We will leave this Plenum with the slogan of struggle for Soviet power throughout the whole world.

What is now demanded, above all, of every Communist is one thing—the will for the struggle for power.

The will to power means a stubborn, hard, self-sacrificing struggle to win over the majority of the working class, to form a revolutionary army of utterly devoted fighters for Communism.

The will to power means stubborn work in defending the daily interests of the working class in the factories, the enterprises, the trade unions, the labour exchanges.

The will to power means a hard and stubborn struggle to win the allies of the proletariat for the revolution, to win over the peasant masses, the masses of the petty bourgeoisie in the towns who have been ruined by the crisis, for he who does not think of allies is not facing the question of power seriously, is not thinking seriously about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The will to power means a struggle against war and fascism for the defence of the U.S.S.R. and of the Chinese Soviets, for the defence of the German proletariat.

I recall the ancient Russian saga about Nikula Selyaninovich, who possessed tremendous strength, but could not find a pulley.

"If I could find a pulley," he said, "I would lift up the whole earth."

We have found this pulley.

This pulley is work among the masses.

Our strength is tremendous, and if we apply this strength to mass work, if we overcome our weaknesses, really get to work in the factories and plants and trade unions, then, despite the whole world bourgeoisie, despite fascism, we will overturn the whole world and assure the complete victory of the proletariat. (Prolonged applause.)

Comrade Arifin (Indonesia)

In spite of many weaknesses in organisation and execution, the heroic struggle of the naval workers in Surabaya and of the sailors of the "Seven Provinces" is of tremendous importance for the further development of the revolutionary class struggle in Holland and Indonesia. Here, for the first time in the history of the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses of Holland and Indonesia, white and coloured workers have fought side by side with energy against their common exploiters and oppressors, against the lowering of their standard of living experienced in common. The bloody action of the imperialist bourgeoisie has still further accentuated the discontent and indignation of the workers.

In the army too—in which, as a result of perpetual cuts in pay, discontent has been noticeable lately (breaches of discipline, desertions, distribution of leaflets, etc.)—a feeling of solidarity with the revolutionary naval workers and sailors has prevailed. In some barracks in Batavia the soldiers pasted up a poster inscribed "Long live the fleet, follow the example of the 'Seven Provinces'!" Our weakness, however, lay in the fact that this movement was inadequately prepared not only among the soldiers and sailors but also among the toiling masses, and that no determined revolutionary leadership was available. For this reason the central task of the Indonesian Communists with the help of the Comintern is to accomplish as rapidly as possible the political and organisational strengthening of the illegal Communist Party of Indonesia.

A month before the demonstrations and refusals to go on duty took place in the fleet, the reformist executive of the seamen's union instructed their representatives in Surabaya by telephone to prevent "illegal actions" on the part of the naval crews. The social-democratic leaders declared in the Dutch parliament and in the "National Council" that "no government can tolerate mutinies," and that "if the worst comes to the worst, force may be used!" The social-democratic leaders and the reformist leadership of the union attempted by every means to prevent and to sabotage the revolutionary united front of the Dutch and Indonesian crews, and by employing democratic phraseology to uphold the rule of imperialism. In spite of it all, the sailors of the "Seven Provinces" established the united front and mutinied, and great masses of the naval workers refused duty beforehand.

Ever since the mass strike of the railway workers in Java in 1923 all strikes have in practice been prohibited, and workers who go on strike may be sentenced to six years' penal servitude. On this is based the "favourite" argument of the national-reformist heroes that strikes are totally impossible in Indonesia. Nevertheless there have been strikes this year; namely, in certain rubber plantations in the Province of Batavia and Malang (Java), and also in certain printing works in Madiun and Batavia. In one case the struggle of the Indonesian workers was directed against Indonesian employers. The "Committees for the Defence of the Interests of the Toiling Population," formed at the beginning of this year in many localities in Java on the initiative of the masses themselves, arranged mass demonstrations of protest against the disgraceful treatment on the part of the employers of the workers in the above-mentioned undertakings. The first success achieved by these strikes and mass actions was that the cuts in wages and raids on the workers' provident funds planned by the employers were abandoned.

Another sign of the revolutionary mood of the workers and toiling masses of the peasants was provided by the hunger marches frequently occurring this year in various districts of Indonesia. Peasant revolts are on the increase. They are expressed in the mass refusal to pay taxes and violent resistance to the agents of imperialism.

The "committees for the defence of the interests of the toiling peasant population" already mentioned, embracing, as united-front committees, all workers irrespective of party or religion, first came into existence this year. They have spread rapidly all over Java, and they also instigated solidarity actions on the occasion of the conflict that broke out recently between the workers and the management of the "Nederlandsch-Indische Spoorwegmaatschappij" (railway company), known for short as "N.I.S."

Among the toiling youth, too, an accelerated radicalisation is to be observed this year. In many parts of North and West Sumatra young workers organised illegal meetings in the forests and thus broke through the law prohibiting assembly; they organised demonstrations of protest against exploitation and

oppressive measures and in this way bore the toiling masses in town and country along with them into the struggle.

One indication of the radicalisation proceeding at increased tempo among the toiling masses is the more or less radical tone of the nationalist press and the constant appearance of new oppositional newspapers issued by various nationalist parties or groupings calling themselves "independent."

The economic and agrarian crisis in Indonesia has this year become incomparably more profound and more acute. A representative of colonial capital, Dr. Feuillant de Bruyn, has written that the exports of Indonesia amounted last year to only 574 million gulden, while in 1928 they amounted to 1,509 millions, representing in 1932 a drop of 63.9 per cent. compared with 1928. The average fall in the price of colonial export products amounted from 1928 to September of this year to no less than 63.29 per cent. In addition, de Bruyn establishes that wages in agricultural concerns have fallen frequently by 60 to 70 per cent., and among officials and office workers by 30 to 40 per cent. Another representative of colonial capital, Mr. de J. Hulshoff Pol, declared that the index of the standard of living in Indonesia (1928 equalling 100) has fallen now to roughly 44. In Indonesia Dutch imperialism is on the verge of State bankruptcy.

In this situation the policy of Dutch imperialism is assuming more and more brutal forms. The burden of debt, which should be paid off in money, has to be worked off by the debtors, that is the toiling masses. This means that the imperialist government intends to introduce forced and slave labour openly and to the fullest extent. The toiling masses are being robbed of every liberty of movement. Even for the treacherous national-reformist parties the liberty of the press, of association and of assembly is being sharply restricted and workers, clerks and officials employed in State undertakings or undertakings subsidised by the State are forbidden to become members of these parties.

Two tendencies can now be clearly established in the nationalist movement in Indonesia: the formation of an openly reactionary right-wing bloc, and a "left" orientation.

The nationalists of the Right show now again, as in the years 1926-7, their betrayal of the anti-imperialist movement. They are capitulating to the imperialists more and more openly. They are propagating in every possible way the liquidation of all resistance, and the rejection of the slogan of the immediate independence of Indonesia. Alarmed by the approaching revolutionary storm, they are more and more preaching class-peace and class-harmony. In the eyes of the Indonesian bourgeoisie the flaming image of the—to them so alarmingly—invincible Soviet Revolution in China is shining more and more vividly—a Revolution that is finding a tremendous echo among the toiling masses of Indonesia and of all Asia. That is why the Indonesian possessing and feudal classes are pursuing openly a policy of co-operation with imperialism.

In these approaching collisions between counter-revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, the "left" nationalists, who represent essentially the interests of the Indonesian petty bourgeoisie now being pressed from both sides, are attempting by means of still more "left" phrases and manoeuvres to prevent the workers and poor peasants turning away from them. In fact, however, they are making not the slightest effort to organise and lead the workers and poor peasants for the revolutionary struggle. They mask their treachery with the marvellous theory that the toiling masses of Indonesia have no revolutionary mentality, that they are frightened of an energetic struggle. In practice then these "left" nationalist heroes are carrying on the same liquidatory policy of capitulation as their colleagues of the Right. They are worthy allies of the Dutch social democrats à la Fimmen and Co.

The policy of Dutch social democracy is, as regards Indonesia as well, that of the most disgraceful betrayal of the workers and support of Dutch imperialism. They fear the loss of Indonesia no less than their bourgeoisie, and therefore renew their offers of service just at this time, when the danger of an imperialist war in the Pacific is more acute than ever before and simultaneously the waves of revolution are again rising higher. That, of course, is nothing new. The entire policy of the Second International in relation to the independence movements of the colonial peoples has for the last thirty years been nothing other than an uninterupted chain of the basest treachery towards Revolutionary Marxism. The social-imperialist leaders are constantly trying to

denounce Indonesian revolutionaries by representing their revolutionary activity as "Communist" and "directed straight from Moscow." In the main, however, they direct the fury of their incitement to pogroms against the Indonesian Communists, who, in the most profound illegality, and in spite of the most bitter persecution and terror on the part of the imperialists and their agents, are winning, owing to their courageous, untiring and persistent revolutionary activity, more and more influence and confidence among the broad masses of the toiling masses in town and country. The Dutch social democracy and the I.F.T.U. recently established a running press service for combatting the Communists, and the social democrat Stokvis founded a daily paper that represents avowedly "a liberal point of view"—that is to say, defends the rule of Dutch imperialism. A role similar to that of social democracy is being played too by the renegade Sneevliet, who has sunk into the Trotskyist counter-revolutionary bog.

In spite of this intensified general attack on the part of the imperialist bourgeoisie and their social-democratic, Trotskyist and national-reformist agents, the revolutionary forces in Indonesia are growing at an increased rate and our influence over the workers and the masses of the poor peasants is spreading irresistibly. This is mainly the result of the fact that we are working boldly and untiringly in a proper revolutionary manner to carry out as rapidly as possible the tasks before us.

Of the greatest importance for the extension of our influence is, too, the specially strengthened Leninist attitude adopted after the Twelfth Plenum and the last Party conference of the C.P. of Holland by our Dutch brother Party as regards the question of Indonesia's movement for independence. The solidarity campaigns for the revolutionary movement among the naval workers and sailors; the last election campaign in Holland, fought by the C.P.H. under the banner of the revolutionary united front of the Dutch proletariat and the masses of the Indonesian workers and peasants; and enabling a member of the suppressed C.P. of Indonesia to make use of a seat in the Dutch parliament for agitation in the interests of the work of our illegal Party; the regular and correct reaction to every terrorist action of imperialism in Indonesia; the persistent pointing to the iron necessity for the close revolutionary co-operation of the Dutch revolutionary proletariat with the toiling masses of Indonesia—all this has evoked a power-

ful echo among the masses of the workers and peasants in Indonesia and has contributed not a little to the extension and firm establishment of the influence of the Comintern.

The weakness of the work of our Dutch brother Party is, among other things, that the campaign for the release of the sailors sentenced to penal servitude for from six to eighteen years (the 19 Indonesian sailors already sentenced have received altogether 210 years' penal servitude), as well as the campaign for the immediate abolition of the notorious exile camp Digul, where thousands of our best comrades are still imprisoned, is not being carried on vigorously enough. It is the revolutionary task not only of the C.P.H., but also in my opinion of the entire International, to release a mighty wave of protest against the infamous verdict of the Dutch court-martial and against the murderous banishments on the part of Dutch imperialism.

It is our task, besides the consolidation of the present results and the continuation and strengthening of our work up till now, to realise with the least delay the political and organisational consolidation and strengthening of the C.P.I., to organise energetically the training of Bolshevik cadres, to perform persevering and bold work in the existing reformist trade unions and nationalist mass organisations and to found new trades unions and mass organisations. It is further our task to develop a broad anti-imperialist front for the liberation of the toiling masses from the influence of national reformism and social democracy, to work perseveringly and undauntedly, to set about the ideological and organisational preparation of mass strikes, to give far-reaching support to the revolutionary movement among the peasantry for refusal of payment of taxes, rent and other debts, in order to popularise as widely as possible the chief slogans and tasks of the agrarian revolution. Beyond that one of the most important of our tasks, which we must carry out without fail, is the performance of revolutionary mass work against imperialist war and against the intervention plans of the imperialists against the Soviet Union and Soviet China.

With the help of the Comintern and by making the best use of the revolutionary experiences of our brother Parties in China, Japan, Germany, Poland, Bulgaria and other countries, we will be successful, despite all terror, in organising and carrying out the victory of the Indonesian Revolution. (Applause.)

Comrade Garlandi (Italy)

A criticism of our work brings us to the following conclusions:

(a) It is to-day impossible to develop an independent class action without resolutely transferring the predominant weight of the mass work of the Party and the illegal trade unions to the mass organisations established by fascism and to the factories, as they are to-day; (b) the development of legal opportunities; (c) the main task is to get into contact with the masses inside the fascist organisations.

By applying these methods we have already achieved some rather important successes. These can be extended only through a more and more intimate connection between the Party headquarters and the lower organisations, and through the constant ideological supervision of all sections of the Party organisation for the purpose of combating the numerous remnants of sectarianism, of Bordighism, maximalism, or anarcho-syndicalism.

The directives of our Youth League for the winning of the toiling youth are sectarian and out of date. The attitude of our youth to the Dopolavoro was no longer adequate to the importance that this organisation has acquired in recent years. The old slogan "Leave the Dopolavoro" and the directive of the "disintegration of the Dopolavoro" have favoured tendencies towards passivity and sectarianism. The directive to work in the local groups, circles and clubs of the Dopolavoro, in order to create out of them centres of economic, social and political class action against fascism, first placed the problem of the disintegration of the Dopolavoro in the proper light. This disintegration will thereby be the result of a broad, day-to-day activity, aiming at drawing the entire masses into the struggle against fascism.

This year we have registered nearly a hundred movements of various kinds and varying strength. In actual fact there might have been about three times as many separate movements. This mass movement is a sign of the aggravation of the class struggle, which, in addition, compels fascism to manoeuvre and evoked its

last demagogic offensive, the proclamation of the corporative order.

I want to name some of the types of movements which we have had during the year 1933.

In a part of Tuscany dissatisfaction prevailed owing to the shortage of water. A small incident, detached protests, became the occasion for an agitation in the whole neighbourhood. A movement broke out. The crowd stormed the town hall. Reinforcements of troops and carabinieri were called up. With the militant spirit engendered by a shortage of water the farm workers demanded from the landowners an increase in wages. A strike broke out. After a few days wages were raised by two lire. Besides this, the government took steps to supply the population with water. The movement was independent of the fascist organisation and was anti-fascist in spirit. It ended with a victory.

Another case: Among a large number of unemployed printers in a big industrial town discontent prevailed because the period during which unemployment relief could be drawn was restricted, and as a result the printers could draw no more relief. The printers insisted on the summoning of a meeting, in which their demands were unanimously accepted, and the pay-office of the fascist organisation received instructions to come to the aid of the unemployed. This agitation was instigated by some Party comrades.

A further case: In a stocking factory in Central Italy the management ordered that the women workers should pay 1.50 lire for every broken needle. At this the women decided on passive resistance, which was carried out for three or four hours. The employer was compelled to accept the demands of the women workers.

Another example: In Leghorn, an important mercantile and naval port in Italy, a comrade who had just been released from

prison died of an illness he had contracted in prison. The funeral of this comrade transformed itself into a great Communist demonstration. From mouth to mouth went the word: "All appear at the funeral." A mass of three thousand people followed the coffin. Many of them wore a red carnation in the buttonhole as a symbol. Police and fascists were seized with panic, and when the funeral was over they set upon the crowd. Many were arrested and wounded. Not since 1926 have we in Italy had a mass demonstration of such dimensions and such an emphatically Communist character.

One more example: Terni armaments factory, in Spezia. For some time the management failed to pay out the piece-wage. This caused great discontent among the workers. Alarmed at the militant mood of the workers, the management, in agreement with the fascist trade union leaders, brought in a small group of fascist workers in order to discover and penalise the most active elements among the masses. At that the workers stopped work in the shop, set upon the fascists, beat them and threw them out of the factory. The workers in the factory declared a strike and demanded that the fascists should leave the works. The management was compelled to comply with this demand. The political significance of this movement was that for the first time for four or five years the mass of the workers combined under the slogan: "Remove the fascists from the works."

These few examples, which we have taken from the sum of the movements in the last year in Italy, show: (a) That the masses are moving; that it is not true that the masses are passive; that, on the contrary, by means of struggle, even in our position the partial demands of the masses can be victoriously carried through. (b) The presence of one single active fighter often suffices to release a movement and to give it an elementary organisational form and a direction. (c) There is a tendency prevailing in the Party to regard the employment of legal slogans and legal forms of action as a phase detached from the movement, only after which it is possible to proceed to higher forms of struggle and to the overstepping of fascist legality. This view leads to capitulation to fascist legalism and enables the fascist trade union leaders to manoeuvre. The revolutionary leadership must secure the transition from the legal and semi-legal forms of action to the open anti-fascist struggle actually in the course of the actions. Naturally this transition is conditional on the drawing of the decisive masses into the struggle (not merely on the coming into action of small groups) and also on the level of the militant spirit of the masses. On the other hand, the utilisation of fascist legality is not something unavoidable; it is possible for a mass action to assume from the beginning a very advanced anti-fascist, political character. (d) In the trade unions the fascists are carrying on a very flexible policy. The Communists and functionaries of the Red trade unions must keep very much on the alert in order to frustrate the manoeuvres of the fascists and the employers. (e) Fascism cannot suppress the strike as a form of proletarian class action. The strike breaks down with a rough hand the fascist legality and divides the mass of the workers sharply from the political and trade union apparatus of the fascists and employers.

In all the movements organised by us, where we have exercised a certain influence, the **united front** has been realised. But the united front action is still too half-hearted and too limited. The tendencies in opposition to mass work are the same as those

that deny the importance of the united front and the existence of socialist workers in the country, and that underestimate the counter-revolutionary role of social democracy.

In applying the directives of the March appeal of the E.C.C.I. we made proposals to the executives of the socialist party and the republican party in emigration. Our political action was undertaken against the executives of the emigré parties. By means of this action our Party has achieved a great political success which must be considered as a great positive result of the united front action on the basis of the March appeal. There are to-day in all these parties groups that support the united front and employ it in a concrete manner. Abroad we have assembled around the united front committees against war and fascism tens of thousands of Italian workers, of whom each year many return home (last year 100,000 from France alone). Hundreds of these have taken with them into the various Italian organisations directives of our Communist Party and the idea of the united front action, and we are able to assert that many of them have become centres of mass work in Italy.

Our central problem to-day is to make our contact with the masses permanent, to consolidate the C.G.T. groups to fashion the organisational forms of our mass work in so lively a manner that the continuity of this work is assured. We have, for instance, not yet found the permanent organisational form of the trade union opposition in the fascist trade unions and workshops.

The numerical strength of our Party is sufficient for the development of a considerable mass work. A large number of the new members who have come over to us have become Communists only under the rule of fascism. We are beginning to test the experiences of concrete mass work. This creates cadres and develops their abilities.

The influence of the Party is growing. In spite of its considerable shortcomings, our recruiting work brings us each year a few thousand new followers. The example of an organisation in the North, which can boast of 8,000 followers—although here it is not a matter of real Communists—indicates the very symptomatic urge of the masses towards our Party. We have made a deep breach in the working-class basis of reformism, maximalism and anarcho-sindicalism.

For the immediate future we may sketch the following tasks:—

- (1) Stubborn continuation of our activity on the basis of the line laid down by the C.C. of our Party and by the C.I., by applying the united front and penetrating into all opposing organisations.
- (2) To give to the work among the unemployed, which at present forms one of the weak spots in our work, a new impulse.
- (3) The greatest attention to the organised forms of the mass movement, creation of C.G.T. groups really capable of working, consolidation of all forms of mass organisations, consolidation of the permanent contacts of the Party with the masses, creation of really effective Communist fractions in all mass organisations.
- (4) The winning of the toiling youth must be the constant care of the entire Party. The first successes achieved in the work among the young workers must be used as key positions for broad and determined work.

If we work on these principles, then we are giving the Italian proletariat its political leader, who will lead it into decisive struggles against capitalism and fascism and to victory. (Applause.)

Comrade Vassiliev (C.P.S.U.)

The numerical strength of the Communist Parties in the capitalist and colonial countries has undergone the following change since the Twelfth Plenum: Then the total membership, in round figures, was 860,700; at the present time it has dropped to 684,400. This drop in membership is due to the fact that the Communist Party of Germany was driven underground. Comrade Pieck told us that now the C.P.G. has about 100,000 members. At the time of the Twelfth Plenum its membership was over 300,000.

There is nothing unusual in this fall in membership. When the Party was driven underground a certain number of members could not adapt themselves and dropped out. Many members lost contact with the Party leadership and, although they still remain Party members and continue their revolutionary work, at times quite successfully, they are not formally recorded as such. The actual membership of the C.P.G. is undoubtedly

higher than the figure indicated by Comrade Pieck. The 100,000 that Comrade Pieck mentioned should be regarded as the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the growing army of the German revolution, which has hundreds of thousands in its ranks.²¹

The Communist Party of Germany has been strengthened in spite of the vicious fascist terror. The Communist Party of Poland, too has been strengthened and is continuing to grow, especially in the main industrial centres. The Communist Party of China has increased its membership from 310,000 at the time of the Twelfth Plenum to 410,000 at the present time, in spite of the concerted efforts of international capital. Moreover, the Communist Party of China has already the backing of a strong State apparatus, the government of the Chinese Soviets.

We thus can declare at the Thirteenth Plenum that while the

C.P.S.U. has tremendously grown, having the support of a mighty apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship, militant growth and strengthening of the subjective factors is to be observed at three points, constituting the weakest links of the capitalist system, which hastens the maturing of another round of proletarian revolutions.

It should at the same time be stated that, notwithstanding direct instructions of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., not a single Party has as yet begun to work systematically on the recruiting of new members and on the improvement of its social composition. As a result, our Communist Parties make extremely little headway, if any at all (Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, France), although the masses of the working class are becoming more radical. Fluctuation is still very high.

The most characteristic example in this respect is perhaps the C.P.U.S.A. According to statistics of the Central Committee of that Party, 27,000 people joined its ranks from 1931 to October 1, 1933, while its membership is now altogether only about 20,000.

The C.C. C.P.U.S.A. has issued instructions to concentrate activity on the most important points, established what districts are to be tackled, and drew up calendar programmes for each district separately. Yet neither the C.C. nor the Polcom, nor a single district committee of a concentration district could give any information of how work had progressed in these districts by the time of the November Plenum of the C.C. C.P.U.S.A.

The Communist Party of France recruited 25,000 members during 1930-32 and lost 33,000, or 134 per cent.

The British Party has gone through a peculiar kind of "Piatiletka," a five-year period of stagnation, with a membership of about 5,000, notwithstanding the great changes which have taken place in broad sections of the British proletariat.

The Communist Parties (and their central and local leaderships) seem to be unable to notice changes in the situation, the maturing of class conflicts, and do not change their slogans, do not take the necessary organisational measures. It is because of these facts that the Parties are lagging.

What is wanted in order to bring about a change in this respect, which is of greatest importance in the work of the Communist Parties? First of all, it is of course necessary to follow a correct political line. Without such a line it would be vain to hope to overcome this state of affairs. It is necessary that the correct political line, such as workers would want to fight for, should be effective, a line which would keep the Party always ready and able to react to any deviation, and especially to the Right-wing opportunists, who are still the main and basic danger in the present period.

At this Plenum, it seems to me, attention should be particularly focused on that form of the Right deviation which is expressed in the failure to understand (or not understand correctly) the direction of the principal blow, a confusion between the direction of the principal blow and the principal enemy. That form of the Right opportunist deviation could be observed in the interval between the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Plenums in all countries.

The principal enemy is the bourgeoisie, dominant fascism, but, in order to overthrow fascism, the principal blow should now be directed against the social democratic parties. It is the main task of the Communist Parties of these countries to isolate the social democratic parties from the masses.

Confusion of the principal enemy (the bourgeoisie) with the direction of the principal blow (against social democracy) actually leads to the social democratic idea that the social democratic and Communist Parties have one common fascist enemy. When this confusion reaches the factory nuclei, the struggle against the social democrats is discontinued or mitigated. We have seen this in Germany and in Austria, where our comrades retarded the passing over of social democratic workers to the Communist Party. We can still see that in those countries in the continued underestimation of how important it is to work among the social democratic workers and in the reformist unions. It is therefore particularly important that this strategic point of Leninism should be driven home to the Party nuclei. Every Party member working in a factory, in a trade union, among the unemployed, must understand that he must carry on individual agitation and organisation work, he must understand against whom he is to concentrate his blow in order to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Another dangerous form of opportunist deviations at the present time, which has a very bad effect on the practical work in the Communist Parties, is an incorrect interpretation of the instructions of the Communist International to the effect that the most important link in developing mass revolutionary struggles lies in immediate demands of the workers and peasants. It is the most important link in revolutionary mass struggle, but it must be linked up with the concrete question of struggle for power.

Why must this be repeated? Because our position on these questions is not yet properly understood and carried into effect. Why? Apparently because those who are supposed to follow that line are, in one degree or another, not in their place.

To repeat Lenin, it should be said that "the main question now is to ensure every man being in his place."

Without a correct policy of placing people, without checking up on fulfilment, we cannot set up a good leadership.

Another practical suggestion to be made on this question, which should be adopted by the Plenum, is that districts and sections should be broken up into smaller units, and the territorial Party organisations accordingly. Particular attention still has to be centred on improving the work of the factory nuclei. Our German, Polish, Italian and Bulgarian comrades say that in their organisations, i.e., in some of the best sections of the Comintern, the lower Party organisations, and particularly the factory nuclei, are very poorly carrying on political work. Still worse, of course, is the work of the factory nuclei of the Communist Parties of France, Great Britain and other countries. It is nevertheless perfectly obvious, and experience of the German Communist Party has shown, that unless the factory nuclei become more active there can be no question of winning the majority of the working class or of preparing for the final struggles for power.

How is this weakness to be overcome? Close analysis of the situation in the factory nuclei shows that their weakness is twofold:—

(1) The leading elements of the factory nuclei are feeble and the guidance given by the higher Party committees is inadequate.

(2) Party work in the mass organisations is weak, especially in the trade unions and in the sport societies.

The correctness of this statement can be checked up on the experience of Germany. The factory nuclei of the German Party adapted themselves to underground work very quickly. They established their underground printshops in the course of a few weeks, and started to publish and circulate illegal Party literature. It has been, however, much more difficult to establish contact with the masses.

When fascist reaction made its attack on the mass organisations and demolished them, the Communists, members of these organisations, having no strong fractions, were naturally also dispersed and disrupted. If there had been in the trade unions, in the sport societies or other mass organisations of Germany strong Communist fractions before the fascist coup d'état, fractions supported by underground factory nuclei, the fascist reaction which broke up the machinery of the mass organisations would have been unable to smash the organisations themselves as underground Communist fractions would have remained intact and would have had the support of the illegal factory nuclei. The latter, in their turn having good connections with the fractions of the mass organisations, would have been able, even when the organisations were destroyed by the police, through these fractions to establish contact with their membership and thereby establish for themselves transmission belts to the masses while working under cover.

This weakness in the matter of setting up fractions inside the mass organisations has not yet been overcome by the Communist Party of Germany. Hence the feeble trade union work in the German Party and hence the great difficulties encountered even by the good factory nuclei in their mass work.

In other capitalist countries the situation with regard to fractions in the trade unions and other mass organisations is even worse than it had been in Germany on the eve of the fascist coup d'état. The Communist Party of Germany after all, had done much work in creating fractions in mass organisations prior to Hitler's coming to power.

The Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia, France and America are so far still only talking about this problem, while not a single one of them is doing any systematic work in the trade unions or other mass organisations. Hence, inadequate guidance given to the work of fractions, hence the intolerable weakness of

mass work of the Communist Parties, which will inevitably continue until the importance of having Communist fractions in the mass organisations is fully realised.

The main lessons to be drawn from the German Communist Party's becoming an underground organisation are as follows:—

Membership cards and the system of dues stamps must be done away with in good time. Many Communists were arrested in Germany because the Party had not done away with membership cards quickly enough and continued for a long time to collect membership dues on the basis of stamps.

It seems to me that the Communist Parties which are still legal should think of this question right now. Obviously, membership cards and stamps are not an indication as to the work of Communist Parties when they are legal. If, for example, the Communist Parties of Great Britain and of France can still hope to remain legal organisations for many months to come, I nevertheless believe that it would be no bad idea if their central committees, as well as the central committees of other legal Parties, would take immediate steps to abolish membership cards and stamps.

Party officials must be shifted from one part of the country to another and, in each Party organisation, from district to district as soon as the first signs of the Party being outlawed are visible, as soon as police raids begin. The lesson to be taken from Germany is that very serious attention should be paid to cover up the active Party members working on a district or section scale. When this question is acted upon and the active Party members are shifted, it is very important to think of the material side, of expenses, rooms, and so on. The Party must consider these matters before it is too late, and not wait until repressions begin.

Experience of the German Communist Party raises very sharply the question of sending the active Party members out of the country altogether under certain conditions of police terror. The German fascists have apparently decided to exterminate the active Party elements, believing that it would be easier to deal with spontaneous outbursts of dissatisfaction of the masses who have no political experience and no organisational traditions. But the Party must, in good time, ponder over these plans of the ruling classes and by taking the necessary measures, prevent their realisation.

The structure recommended by the Org. Department of the E.C.C.I. at the time of the Twelfth Plenum has fully justified itself in Germany and in other countries where the Communist Parties are outlawed. It can be again recommended as the principal scheme of organisation of our Parties to-day.

As to the methods of setting up Party leadership under conditions of illegality, the old Bolshevik method used in the years of 1908-13, has fully justified itself; it has been successfully applied by

the Communist Party of Germany in the last few months on the advice of the Communist International.

The question of emergency Party committees has to be dealt with especially. Experience in Germany has confirmed the correctness of the instructions previously given by the Comintern, that there is no need to set up special reserve committees, as that gives no practical results. To guarantee continuity of leadership under illegal conditions, the principal thing to do is:—

(1) Shifting in good time of the responsible leadership.

(2) Systematically to promote new people whose capability has been seen on practical work.

Greater conspiracy is necessary in the factory nuclei when terror becomes intense. Such conspiracy is achieved primarily through flexibility in the organisational practice of the groups and nuclei of factory departments, shifts and brigades. The German Party advanced the idea of organising groups of five. That was wrong and the C.P.G. found it out quickly from its own experience. The idea of the groups of five and three originated in the practice of the Russian Bolsheviks in the Revolution of 1905. But the Russian Bolsheviks created groups of five not as conspirative organs for the mobilisation of the masses, but as militant organs of the Party, forming an organisational foundation for the partisans' armed struggle against the Czarist autocracy. Lenin warned most emphatically against organisational schemes of establishing groups of three and five in the sphere of practical work of the Party.

In so far as the Communist Parties have not yet entered a period of immediate armed conflict for power, the question of military groups of three and five is impractical. The main organisational tasks before the Parties driven underground is to create at the big factories strong factory nuclei which would guarantee good and constant connections with the masses.

The next lesson to be drawn from Germany concerns the establishment of an illegal Party press, timely preparation of illegal technical means (and training of people) creation of a distributing apparatus. All legal Communist Parties must immediately proceed with these measures. As a basis, work should be directed along the channels of factory newspapers, creation of illegal technical means at the disposal of the factory nuclei, organisation of distribution of illegal factory papers among the workers of the factories in question.

Finally, Party members, and especially active Party members, must be earnestly prepared to act as Communists should, in face of a trial or in time of investigation.

These are not all questions connected with being driven underground. But the most essential thing the Communist Parties must remember is Lenin's words that without an iron Party organisation, all talk about preparation for the final struggles for power is futile. (Applause.)

Comrade Varga

In the four years since the outbreak of the industrial crisis there has been an extreme sharpening of the agrarian crisis which has been chronic ever since the end of the war, and so far there is not the slightest sign of any alleviation. The agrarian crisis has spread over all branches of agriculture, without exception, in all bourgeois countries. While in industry we can speak of a sort of "war boom," there is nothing of this sort in agriculture. The only agricultural product which has shown any improvement in connection with war preparations is wool.

The main cause for the new sharpening of the agrarian crisis is the industrial crisis, which reduces the consumption of food by the proletariat and also cuts down the demands of industry for raw materials for manufacturing purposes: cotton, hemp, rubber, etc. The industrial crisis accentuates the agrarian crisis, while the mass ruin of the peasantry reduces the sales of industrial goods and thus accentuates the industrial crisis.

The agrarian crisis is expressed first of all in a continued and uninterrupted fall in the prices of all agricultural products. To give a few examples:—

In July, 1929, wheat in Winnipeg was 30.3 gold francs for 100 kilograms. In October, 1933, the price was 7.7 gold francs, i.e., exactly one-quarter. In June, 1929, 100 kilos of corn in Braila cost 24.2 gold francs; in June, 1933, the price was 4.7, i.e., less than one-fifth. In July, 1929, 100 kilos of Danish butter in London

cost 442 gold francs; in July, 1933, the price was 165, i.e. only two-fifths. The price of cotton has dropped to one-third to what it was in 1929, rubber to one-eighth, and silk to one-quarter.

The result of this tremendous drop of prices was that production became a loss to the producers, especially the peasants, because very important factors in the cost of production, such as taxes and interest, as well as ground rent and other forms of rent, either showed no reduction at all or else dropped only very slightly.

The importance of this is brought out by the American statistics showing that 30 per cent. of the production cost of wheat in 1929 is taken up by rent. Adjustment of prices to such production costs was bound to have devastating effects on farming in all agrarian countries, especially in those devoted to monoculture.

Up until the past year those European countries which imported food supplies—Germany and France—were least of all hit by this drop in prices, because the prices could be kept high above the world market prices by means of tariffs, quotas and complete prohibition of certain imports. In Germany, for example, the tariffs on cattle are so high that even if a person could acquire a cow in Denmark for nothing, it could be sold in Germany only at a loss!

But the continued decline of the purchasing power of the pro-

letariat on the one hand, and the relatively high prices and the forced intensification of agricultural production for war purposes on the other hand, have resulted in the fact that even in these countries the home demand is coming to be covered by agricultural production within the country, and **protective tariffs are losing their effect** and prices are dropping rapidly. This gives rise to the slogan which is now being rapidly spread throughout the capitalist world: **Raise less grain, fatten less hogs and raise less cotton.**

The complete rottenness of the whole ruling system is expressed most sharply in the fact that while hundreds of millions of unemployed and poor peasants are going hungry and cold, clad in rags, food products and raw materials for textiles are coming more and more to be systematically destroyed as "superfluous" under capitalist conditions. In Germany rye is being subjected to chemical treatment for use as cattle fodder. In the United States during the past few months three million hogs have been bought from the farmers and destroyed, which fate awaits three million more.

This autumn ten million acres of ripe cotton (approximately one-quarter of the total cultivated area) was ploughed into the earth. In Brazil, ten million sacks of coffee are destroyed each year. Whole shiploads of oranges are being thrown into the sea. Tea crops are not being gathered because the sale will not pay for the cost. The same thing is happening in many countries. **Never in the history of the human race has there been anything like this. The contradiction between the forces of production and the relationships in production become clear to every worker and peasant.** But even this systematic destruction of the fruits of the earth, which are so desperately needed by hundreds of millions of starving people, has not been able to check a further **drop in prices.**

According to official American statistics, the decline in prices in 1933 (as compared with 1926) was as follows:—

For goods sold by the peasants, 48.2 per cent. of the 1926 prices.

For goods bought by the peasants, 70.2 per cent. of the 1926 prices.

This means that conditions have grown worse as compared with 1926 by 35 per cent.

We find a similar situation in Germany: according to official statistics, agricultural products in the middle of November were 6 per cent. below the prices of 1913. Industrial goods were 14 per cent. higher. The proportion has shifted by 20 per cent. to the detriment of agricultural producers.

The price-scissors are still more evident in the case of the peasants, because they do not receive the market prices for their goods, but much lower prices, dictated to them by the grain or cattle dealers to whom they are indebted.

The drop in prices and the scissors have made the burden of rents unbearable, based as they are on the former high prices of agricultural products and fixed unalterably at these high rates in the mortgage debts, rent contracts and taxes.

In the struggle of the poor peasants for their "independent" existence the peasant farm itself is going to ruin. The impoverished peasant is no longer in a position to keep up his equipment and his livestock from what he receives for his products. **A decline, a process of ruin, is taking place in agriculture.** Just to give a few examples: The consumption of artificial fertiliser has fallen off 25 per cent. to 30 per cent. in capitalist countries during the last four years. The sale of **agricultural machinery** is falling off rapidly; in the U.S.A. it has dropped to one-seventh and in Poland to one-thirtieth of what it was four or five years ago. In most countries, particularly in countries having one crop, we see a **tendency to reduce the area under intensive crops for manufacturing purposes** (cotton, hemp, tobacco, sugar beets, etc.), an abolition of the division of labour in agriculture, and the tendency of peasant farms to revert to the production of food for their own use and to exchange in kind.

The result of this agricultural crisis can be formulated from the class standpoint as follows:—

The continued process of differentiation which is characteristic of capitalism as a whole: the sinking of the poor and middle peasantry into the ranks of the village poor, of the proletariat, and the advancement of the minimum percentage into the ranks of the rich peasants, which, under conditions of the agrarian crisis, lead to mass ruin of the poor and middle peasants. The poor peasants are being expropriated at a rapid rate. The land is going more

and more into the hands of the banks, usurers and speculators, while the former owners are becoming exploited tenants on their former holdings.

The contrast between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world in this connection is particularly glaring: the October Revolution placed the land of the big landholders at the disposal of the peasantry free of charge. Capitalism is rapidly expropriating the land of the peasants.

For the Communist Parties this development signifies objectively a marked facilitating of its task in the rural districts: to wrest from the bourgeoisie the political hegemony over the exploited labouring population in the rural districts, which has already been accomplished in some countries, and to transform the labouring population in the rural districts from a reserve force of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the proletariat into an ally of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. Never in the history of capitalism was the objective situation as favourable as it is to-day for successful work among the population of the rural districts. The situation of all elements, particularly the agricultural labourers and the village poor, has been growing rapidly worse. The decline in agricultural wages, as compared with 1929, is, in the U.S. for example, as high as 60 per cent.

The situation of the village poor, of all those people who have owned or rented a little plot of land, but who have had to supplement their earnings by hiring themselves out as wage earners, is absolutely intolerable. There is no construction work or factory work in which they can be employed, and not only this, but unemployed workers from the industrial centres and big cities are streaming back into the villages, back to their relatives, to keep themselves from starvation, which reduces the possibility of finding work to a minimum.

The general discontent of all elements of the exploited majority of the rural population is one of the most important factors in the maturing of the revolutionary crisis.

The victory or the defeat of the proletarian revolution depends to a very great extent upon whether or not the tenant farmers and poor farmers can be won over for the revolution and the middle peasants can be neutralised, as already stated in the Agrarian Thesis of the Second Congress of the Comintern. The correct policy of the Bolsheviks with regard to the agrarian question was one of the decisive factors in the victory of the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union: the incorrect agrarian policy was a decisive factor in the collapse of the Hungarian revolution.

The peasant masses have been set in motion. In almost all countries the mass ruin of the poor peasants is finding its political expression in general discontent and in far-reaching revolt among the peasantry. This movement of revolt takes various forms in different countries depending upon the concrete conditions: strikes or refusal on the part of the farmers to deliver their products, tax strikes, and rent strikes, all the way to forcible occupation of the land, as in Spain, and in the civil war which is being systematically carried on by the Red Army of Workers and Peasants in China against the landowners' government of the Kuomintang.

This revolt among the peasantry is a most serious threat to the bourgeoisie, and all the more dangerous as the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat becomes sharper and as the revolutionary crisis materialises.

This danger for the bourgeoisie is increased as a result of the special role of the peasantry in the apparatus of force of the bourgeois State. It is first of all the sons of the peasants who furnish the human material for the bourgeois apparatus of force: gendarmes, carabinieri, police, and prison warders are recruited primarily from among the sons of the peasants. The army is made up for the most part of sons of peasants, in accordance with the relative importance of the peasantry in proportion to the total population. This is true particularly of the professional cadres of non-commissioned officers (for class reasons workers are not readily promoted to the ranks of non-commissioned officers). The general discontent among the peasantry thus threatens the reliability of the apparatus of force, which is of such decisive importance in the struggle against the working class.

But if we now ask ourselves the question: Have the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries succeeded, under these objectively favourable conditions, in liberating the labouring and exploited majority of the population in the rural districts from

the political influence of the rich peasants—and thus of the ruling classes in general—we can by no means give a general answer in the affirmative, although unquestionably much progress has been made in this direction. This applies, above all, to a few countries—China, Poland, Bulgaria and Spain. In other countries, such as the U.S. and France, the peasant or farmers' movement is overwhelmingly under the leadership of the rich farmers; our Party has succeeded only to a very slight extent in getting this movement under its leadership and in directing it against monopoly capital, which exploits the poor peasants and farmers as well as the city workers. And, finally, the bourgeoisie in a number of countries, first of all Germany, has succeeded in temporarily directing the revolt of the peasantry into fascist channels.

The causes for our inadequate progress in winning over the exploited and labouring peasants are many and varied. First of all comes the fact that in the decisive capitalist countries the influence of social fascism has not yet been broken down. The social fascists class the peasantry simply as food producers quite regardless of class, in contrast to the industrial workers, whom they characterise as consumers, as purchasers of food products. Instead of showing that industrial and agricultural workers, and poor and middle peasants, are being exploited by the same ruling classes in the cities and in the rural districts, the social democrats have drawn a line of demarcation between the cities and the rural districts, building up two fronts.

Thus a sort of "united front" has arisen between the social democrats and the agrarian interests: the social democrats supported the policy of the agrarian interests, proclaimed the community of interests of all "farmers," and established organisations which included all classes of the agricultural population, all the way from the big landowners to the poor peasants (of the "Landbund" type).

The false ideology of the community of interests of all "farmers" must be completely uprooted in order to free the exploited majority of the labouring elements in the rural districts from the political influence of their exploiters. This can only be achieved in the daily struggles, both against the agrarian interests and against the social fascists. We must show the poor peasants that there is absolutely no community of interests between the agrarians and the exploited rural population and that the city workers and the exploited population in the rural districts have one common enemy which they must combat—namely, monopoly capital.

The struggle now centres around one point: will the masses of poor peasants who have now been stirred to action come over to our side, or will they, as was the case in Germany, temporarily strengthen the fascist camp? In my opinion, this is the great question which faces us at the present moment.

The landless and poor agricultural population is in general still struggling, in spite of the agrarian crisis, to retain its land or to increase its holdings through additional purchases or rental of land.

The landless agricultural worker dreams of purchasing or renting land, while the poor peasant dreams of enlarging the little plot of land which he rents or owns,* quite regardless of the fact that the process of differentiation, which is being tremendously accelerated by the agrarian crisis, is day by day throwing more "independent" peasants into the ranks of the proletariat.

This prevailing effort on the part of the agricultural workers and village poor to obtain land, to have farms of their own, is being intensified as a result of the fact that it is becoming more and more difficult for an agricultural labourer to keep body and

* Failure to recognise this: refusal to divide land and the attempt to organise nationalised land immediately and exclusively into Soviet farms—was the main cause for the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary, since it found no support among the masses of poor peasants.

soul together through his wages alone. As Marx already pointed out, under capitalism the replacement of workers by machinery in agricultural—in contrast to industry—has always been final. A certain portion of the agricultural workers was always being driven out of agriculture permanently as a result of the introduction of machinery; and labour forces were always drifting from the rural districts into the cities and industrial centres. Threshing machines, milling machines, tractors, and combines have made millions and millions of agricultural workers superfluous. But, while before the war the expansion of industry in capitalist countries more or less absorbed the labour power which had become superfluous in agriculture, now, in the period of general crisis, this is no longer the case. Chronic mass unemployment in industry makes this impossible. Even in such highly industrialised countries as the U.S. and Germany, the exodus from the cities into the rural districts in the present economic crisis exceeds the influx into the cities from the rural districts. The more difficult it is to find wage work, the stronger is the urge among the rural population to cultivate land on their own, in order thus to utilise idle labour power. This accounts for the fanatical clinging of the peasants to their own or rented land, for which they are ready to undergo the greatest deprivations.

The demand for land among the poor population in the rural districts opens the way both to bourgeois parties and the social fascists and fascists for various manoeuvres of betrayal, and prompts them to promise those in the villages owning no land, or very little, the breaking up of the big holdings and the distribution of the land according to a bourgeois type of agrarian reform. When they get into the government they break these promises, as Hitler did in the most brazen manner, or else they fulfil them in such a way as to make the big landholders the winners, while the poor peasants suffer for it.

One of the main tasks of our work in the rural districts is to link up the consistent exposure of the treacherous character of bourgeois agrarian reform with propaganda for the confiscation without compensation of big landholders, and agitation for the seizure and distribution of large holdings wherever the revolutionary movement of the peasantry appears to be strong enough.

To sum up: **The maturing of the revolutionary crisis puts the question of power on the order of the day in a number of countries.** The winning over of the majority of the working class is the first necessary preliminary condition for the success of this struggle. But in most countries this alone is no guarantee for victory, for the conquest of power, or, as shown by the example of the Hungarian Soviet government, for the maintenance of power once it is conquered. It is absolutely necessary to win the exploited majority of the rural population away from the political influence of the rich peasants and thus of the bourgeoisie. When the rural population is on the side of the ruling classes, as was the case for the most part when Hitler came into power in Germany, and when certain sections of the industrial proletariat are under the influence of the social fascists, the struggle for power becomes very difficult, particularly in countries where the peasantry constitutes the absolute and relative majority of the population.

Our Parties must make better use than they have so far of the favourable situation which exists: continued sharpening of the agrarian crisis and growing revolt of the peasantry, in order to carry out the tasks which were assigned them by the Second Congress. The objective conditions for successful work are at hand.

Everywhere the Parties must work to carry out what the Bolsheviks achieved in 1917 and what our Chinese Party is now successfully carrying out—they must transform the masses of the labouring population in the rural districts from a counter-revolutionary force into a revolutionary force. **Objectively, owing to their class situation, the great mass of the exploited population in the rural districts belong in our camp. It is up to us to win them over.** With their help we will emerge as victors from the maturing revolutionary crisis. (Applause.)

Comrade Mitzkevitch-Kapsukas (Baltic States)

It is no accident that the increasing strength of fascism in Esthonia and Latvia, and the intensification of the fascist regime in Poland, Lithuania and Finland, coincide with the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and with increased preparations for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The active fascists in the countries mentioned maintain close connections with the German fascists. It is a fact, for instance, that the fascists in Esthonia have received not only financial support from the German Propaganda Ministry, but that they were also provided with printing equipment formerly the property of a German social-democratic newspaper.

The Esthonian and Latvian Germans have their own organisations, but they are assisted with organisers, etc., from Hitler Germany. They pretend that they maintain no connections with other Esthonian and Latvian fascist organisations, but, in fact, they form an integral part of the fascist organisations in these countries.

However, fascism in Esthonia and Latvia cannot be considered as merely a German export. It is supported not only by the German Junkers, but also by the native bourgeoisie. The relations of the Esthonian and Latvian fascists with the German fascists are clear enough, but their relations with the Russian White Guardists have not yet been sufficiently exposed. Both German fascists and Russian White Guardists dream of an armed crusade against the Soviet Union. The social demagogy of the Esthonian and Latvian fascists, following Hitler's example, has also not been sufficiently exposed to the masses.

There is increasing activity on the part of the German fascist agents in Finland and Lithuania also, not to mention Western Ukraine. Kalsta, one of the leaders of the "radical" wing of the Finnish fascists, was trained in Germany and is now doing his best to apply the Hitlerite tactics to Finland. The German fascists have a decisive influence in the Memel area and they also enjoy the support of certain groups of Lithuanian national fascists.

The realisation of the plans of the Hitlerites, in alliance with the British reactionaries, would mean the complete abolition of the independence of the Baltic States and their degradation into a colony of German imperialism. It would mean the return to power of the Baltic Junkers and the confiscation of Esthonian and Latvian lands by these Junkers. With the assistance of special funds placed at their disposal these Junkers are already beginning to exploit the ruin of the native Esthonian and Latvian farmers to buy up their land for a song and add it to those estates which have remained in possession of the Junkers. On the other hand, however, the participation of Esthonia, Latvia and the other Baltic States in a military adventure against the Soviet Union would mean terrible misery and impoverishment for the working masses of these countries and would undoubtedly hasten the coming of the revolutionary solution which would depose the bourgeoisie once and for all.

This fact causes sections of the Esthonian, Latvian and Lithuanian bourgeoisie to prefer a pro-French and pro-Polish policy and leads to internal struggles in the camp of the native bourgeoisie. A section of the old bourgeois parties is in favour of the introduction of fascism via the peaceful, democratic method, and prefers the Finnish and Polish form of fascism to the German. The struggle concerns the methods necessary for the establishment of fascism and the question of leadership. The Communist Party therefore considers it necessary to fight against both the open fascists and against those who wish to establish fascism in a roundabout fashion. In Esthonia the situation calls for the immediate organisation of illegal Communist bodies, or, where such bodies are already in existence, their consolidation and strengthening.

It is necessary to point to various weaknesses on the part of the Polish and other Communist Parties. Above all, these parties have not succeeded in mobilising the masses sufficiently in the struggle against the preparations for anti-Soviet intervention and against chauvinist nationalism. Further, the manoeuvres of Polish fascism and the arguments of the social fascists have not been sufficiently exposed. Insufficient resistance has been offered to German, Polish and other brands of nationalism. This is true in particular of German nationalism in Upper Silesia and in the Memel district. The masses in Upper Silesia have not been suffi-

ciently informed of our attitude in the national question and of the nature of the revolutionary solution of the crisis. The Party has also failed to oppose with sufficient energy the concrete evidences of national oppression. Insufficient attention is paid to the distribution of our literature in German both in Upper Silesia and in the Memel district. This explains to some extent the fact that the membership of the Polish Communist Party in Upper Silesia has dropped. Whilst achieving undoubted successes on other fields, the Polish Party has achieved very little in the struggle against nationalism, and therefore this struggle is one of its most urgent present tasks.

The influence and the activity of our Party in the national-revolutionary movements in Western Ukraine and West White Russia have also decreased. National-socialist influence has increased in both these districts, and a fierce anti-Soviet campaign has been conducted without meeting with sufficient resistance from our Party. The Western Ukrainian Communist Party is the weakest part of the Polish Party organisation, and the Central Committee of the Polish Party must pay increased attention to this question. In particular, attention must be given to the state of the Communist intellectuals, whose ranks in Western Ukraine are weakened by the presence of all sorts of doubtful individuals. The intellectuals come mostly from nationalist circles and in many cases they still maintain their former connections with these circles. There has been insufficient watchfulness in this question in Western Ukraine, in West White Russia, and even in the Polish Party itself.

The recently-exposed attempts of the class enemy to disrupt even the leading bodies of our Party organisations in Western Ukraine, West White Russia and in Poland itself, must serve as a lesson for all sections of the Communist International, because the class enemy may adopt these tactics in other countries also, particularly in view of the growing danger of imperialist war. Other sections of the Party in the Baltic States have also suffered in a similar fashion.

The peasant insurrection in Central Galicia last summer brought 100,000 peasants into action and was the biggest peasant revolt since the foundation of bourgeois Poland. This revolt opens up a new era in the revolutionary peasant movement and is of great international significance. Our Party played a great rôle in preparing the ground for the revolt and took a direct part in it; but it did not succeed in securing the leadership. It was caught napping by the spontaneous outbreak. The Party organisations in the districts concerned showed themselves incapable of reaction with the necessary revolutionary energy and initiative to the events. Our local organisations underestimated the importance of the movement and joined in only under pressure from above. One of the factors making for the weakness of our local organisations is the lack of large industrial centres.

The events have shown that spontaneous risings on the part of the masses are possible even where they are least expected and therefore our local organisations must be trained to react immediately to such events even without instructions from above. This applies to other countries also.

The Central Committee of the Polish Party and the Cracow District Committee reacted efficiently and rapidly, but it cannot be said that everything possible was done. Whilst the bourgeoisie rapidly organised its forces to meet the revolt and police were sent into the affected districts from all parts of Poland to suppress the revolt, our Party organisations did nothing to organise a counter-mobilisation and send support into the areas affected. No attempts were made to organise local peasant committees, not to speak of the organisation of a centralised leadership. Even at a point when the police were compelled to withdraw completely from the affected area and no State authority existed there at all our comrades made no attempt to organise peasant committees.

Only the active support of the peasants by the workers, and vice-versa, can offer a basis for an effective alliance, and without such an alliance victory is impossible. There have already been numerous instances where peasants have intervened to support fighting workers, for instance, in Hainovka and Bieloostock, but up to the present we have seen no organised and effective support given to the peasants by the workers. At the instance of our Party many workers adopted solidarity resolutions, but this was not

enough. Much more should have been done to support such a serious revolt, all the more so as the peasants expected it. The workers in the Dombrova industrial basin should have been mobilised, delegations of workers should have been sent to the fighting peasants and vice-versa. In this way a heavy blow could

have been dealt at the "Narodniki" fascists, who are doing their best to divide the workers and peasants.

All these questions are of very great importance for all sections of the C.I., and they should receive thorough treatment in the Party press. (Applause.)

Comrade Tzkhakaya (C.P.S.U.)

The illegal status of many sections of the C.I. gives rise to a new situation calling for the application of new methods of revolutionary work for the triumphant Bolshevik victory in the struggle against our savage class enemy. We must, even under the terrorism of the fascist bourgeoisie, skilfully utilise the slightest legal possibility for carrying on revolutionary work. We must always stand at the head of the masses in all their actions—great and small—beginning with strikes, hunger marches and all kinds of protests and demonstrations of the workers in the factories, and of the agricultural workers and all proletarian and semi-proletarian elements in the towns and in the rural districts. It is particularly important to-day to have strong cadres steered and politically trained, especially the intermediary functionaries. It is these intermediate cadres which link up the Party with the masses.

Before the open fascist dictatorship in Germany, the weakness of our Parties was particularly evident in the lack of strong organisational contacts in the leading branches of the economic life, in the large enterprises. It is not easy to grasp the necessity of all forms of work and struggle in these leading enterprises, and this necessity is not sufficiently understood to-day, even in a number of leading countries (such as the U.S.A. and England), where the work is for the most part restricted to revolutionary demonstrations and "hunger marches." But to-day, in the new situation, on the eve of

decisive battles, this is not sufficient for a leading revolutionary Party, such as we must have in every capitalist country.

Of course, we have to continue at once a ruthless struggle against the social democrats, especially against their "Left" wings, which are protecting and rescuing capitalism.

This calls for the following measures:—

(1) Each Party must be better equipped ideologically with a Marxist-Leninist approach, and in the struggle on two fronts it must be transformed, with the tool of self-criticism, into a monolithic structure.

(2) While maintaining a skilful centralisation and carrying on strictly conspirative work, the Party must be decentralised by the building up of strong local organisations.

(3) In all the daily revolutionary work from day to day illegal work must be linked up with legal work, wherever there is the slightest possibility. And this possibility always exists.

(4) We must be professional revolutionists and not spare ourselves in revolutionary work. But at the same time we must avoid arrest as far as possible by shifting workers from places where the class enemy is likely to discover them out into other districts. That is what we did in the Revolution of 1905 and in the following two revolutions, with much fewer cadres. And we won. We will win with you in the other five-sixths of the world, first of all, I believe in Germany, China and Japan. (Applause.)

Comrade Spence (Y.C.L. England)

Before and since the time of the National Conference of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth, where a resolution was unanimously passed to approach the Y.C.L. with a view to establishing a working agreement on the revolutionary struggles of the young workers in Britain, we have conducted a very good activity with the membership for the realisation of this.

Although the numerical strength of this organisation is very small, we should not underestimate the importance of winning them. It will be a blow against "Left" reformism in Britain; a strengthening of the League and Party; and a big defeat for Trotskyism, not only in Britain, but throughout the world, because the I.L.P. in Britain is in the centre of Trotskyist activities at the present time.

Comrade Gallacher in his speech at this Plenum, has said that he and the Central Committee of our Party are against the slogan of "a Y.C.L. factory cell alongside every Party cell" as a fighting slogan of the Y.C.L., and bring forward the following arguments:—

(1) That it is not a mass slogan. The Y.C.L. do not say it is a mass slogan, but that the activity in carrying out this slogan means mass activity.

(2) That this is a mechanical slogan. Why do our Party comrades look upon this as a mechanical slogan? It is the Party comrades, in our opinion, who have a mechanical conception of this slogan.

It should be understood that while a slogan may be general in its wide application, we have also to make it concrete and particular. From this the Party and League membership will be able to understand how they have no conduct activity among the youth and build revolutionary and Communist youth organisations.

(3) There are many antagonisms existing now between the Party and the League in Britain, but it is because of the absence of Party work among the youth.

Only a few years ago we had a situation of entire separate organisations, and in many districts members of the Y.C.L. could not even hold meetings in the Party premises, because of the existing antagonisms between the Party and the Y.C.L. As a whole, the relations between the Y.C.L. and the Party have recently greatly improved.

At the basis of this attitude and position was the bad social democratic traditions existing in our Party, and their continued existence even to this day in some locals is greatly helped by our social democratic forms of organisation, because the existence of loose branch organisations is not in line with the role which our League must play in the struggles of the youth.

It should be said at this Plenum that the British Party is not sufficiently endeavouring to carry out the decisions of recent Plenums in regard to youth work. We have a situation in many parts of the country where the Party, instead of working for the realisation of League organisation alongside the Party organisation, are actually merging the League with the Party. While I do not say that this is a deliberate policy of liquidation of the League, it is in practice a denial of the importance and role of the League.

Therefore, the Central Committee of our Party should take the following steps to improve its work amongst the masses of young workers, and strengthen the Party leadership and organisation of the Y.C.L.:—

(1) Politically struggle within the ranks of the Party against all weaknesses and incorrect tendencies on the part of the leading organs and units of the Party to the question of youth activity and the building of a mass Y.C.L. and to really struggle for a League cell alongside every Party cell.

(2) The Central Committee should hear a report at its first meeting after the Y.C.I. Plenum, and on the basis of its decisions and the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. take practical measures for directing the work of the League to the masses of young workers.

(3) In doing so the Party should give chief attention to assisting the League, and the Party organisations themselves carrying out specific youth activity.

(4) That the Party and the Y.C.L. should regard this activity as one of the most effective means of struggle against the campaign in the Labour Party amongst the youth, drawing the masses of the Labour League of Youth into the anti-war fight and away from the Labour Party.

(5) The Party must give greater assistance to the Y.C.L. in its task of winning the membership of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth for conditional affiliation to the Young Communist International.

Comrade Petkov (Greece)

The fascist organisations in Greece are showing increasing activity. The Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions are mobilising the working class in the struggle against fascism and they have met with certain successes. In Salonica, for instance, successful protest strikes of one hour or half-an-hour were organised in the tobacco factories against the murderous activities of the local fascists. Further, mass demonstrations and protests were organised in all towns throughout the country, particularly in Piraeus, Athens, Larissa, and Kavalla. Political and anti-fascist slogans were adopted by the workers in numerous economic struggles.

However, the anti-fascist work of the Party and the unions is not entirely satisfactory and the most important deficiencies are:—

(1) The political anti-fascist strikes which have been organised are not in proportion to the rapidity of development of fascism and bear no effective relation to the number of economic struggles.

(2) The Party has not yet organised any effective work within the fascist organisations themselves. Our press does not react energetically enough to the chauvinist propaganda and the demagoguery of the fascist organisations.

(3) Although the Party decided months ago to form anti-fascist mass organisations, this has not yet been done. The few anti-fascist organisations which exist are sectarian in character and unstable.

(4) The Party and the unions do not expose sufficiently the assistance rendered by the reformists to the development of fascism. They have not succeeded in winning the broad masses of the reformist and unorganised workers for a united front anti-fascist struggle.

(5) The work of the Party for the mobilisation of the masses to protect the oppressed national minorities from the attacks of fascism is insufficient. This applies in particular to the Jews, who are threatened with a repetition of the pogroms which took place in 1931.

(6) The Party has not succeeded in carrying the anti-fascist struggle into the factories and amongst the transport workers, and it has also failed to connect up the economic struggle of the workers with the anti-fascist struggle.

The Greek bourgeoisie is now arming feverishly for war. Evidence of this is offered by the policy of economic autarchy, the increased activity of the armament industry and the increased armament propaganda in the bourgeois press.

Loyal to its international principles, our Party conducts a persistent struggle against these war preparations and our press carries on an uninterrupted campaign of enlightenment concerning these preparations. Our work in the army has increased and our strength also. Every day our central organ publishes two columns of letters from soldiers and sailors. However, with isolated exceptions, we have not yet succeeded in connecting up the partial struggles of the workers and of the unemployed with the struggle against war. Our anti-war work is still too weak, particularly in the war industries themselves and amongst the transport workers. We did not succeed in organising even one action on the part of the transport workers against the sending of military equipment to Japan. Our work in this respect must be strengthened, as also must our co-operation with the other Communist Parties of the Balkans.

The situation of the working class and of the toilers in general has deteriorated this year. The wages of the seamen have been forced down by about 30 per cent. The unemployment support won by the workers in hard struggles has been practically abolished. In the rural areas the activities of the bailiffs have become a mass phenomenon.

The working class has offered energetic resistance to the attacks made upon it. In the first nine months of 1933 no less than 337 strikes took place as compared with 199 in 1932. The number of striking workers involved reached 60,000. The most important strike took place in Kavalla, where the workers occupied the factories. This struggle began as a strike amongst the tobacco workers and then developed into a local general strike with the enthusiastic support of the overwhelming mass of the population and solidarity strikes took place in all the most important tobacco centres.

An important feature of the strike struggles in 1933 was the increasing role played by the revolutionary unions. 237 of the 337

strikes, or 70 per cent., were led by the revolutionary unions, whilst in 1932 only 117 strikes, or 58 per cent. were under the control of the revolutionary unions. 40,000 workers took part in the strikes under the control of the revolutionary unions as compared with 31,500 in 1932.

Apart from the growing strike movement amongst the workers, there have also been strikes amongst the artisans in Kavalla and Xanthi and amongst the employees of the motor-bus company in Athens. There was also a strike of university students and some very important actions on the part of the State employees.

During the last three months of 1933 the strike movement extended rapidly. An important feature is that the movement is seizing on decisive sections of the proletariat despite all the efforts of the reformists to prevent the outbreak of strikes. A political mass strike took place in Alexandroupel under Communist leadership. Big class struggles are maturing in Greece and the Party and the unions are mobilising their forces to organise these sectional strikes and prepare the way for a political general strike.

The Party was able to achieve these successes, thanks to the assistance rendered by the Communist International in 1931 in the liquidation of the unprincipled fractional struggle which had shaken the Party for two years. Party discipline was restored and a merciless struggle conducted against both Right and "Left" wing deviations. In its whole policy and activity the Party is guided by the appeal of the Executive Committee of the C.I. and the directions of the Twelfth Plenum. However, the Party is not blinded by the successes which it has achieved and it is well aware of its failings. Owing to the insufficiency of the work of the Party in stressing the political nature of strike actions there was a great disproportion between political and economic strikes. Despite the increasing role played by our revolutionary unions, many strikes developed spontaneously and were led by us only after their outbreak. And finally, we did not succeed in organising the sectional strike movements into one powerful and effective whole.

It would be a great error to assume from the fact that our own influence is increasing that we have therefore necessarily caused any decisive weakening of reformist influence and that in consequence the work for the destruction of the mass basis of social fascism is now no longer so important.

The situation in this respect is rather peculiar in Greece in that there is no social democratic party. The individual social fascist trade union leaders who came forward as candidates for parliament at the last elections in September, 1932, received hardly a thousand votes throughout the country, but nevertheless they have great influence on the workers and control the unions of the decisive sections of the proletariat (railwaymen, dockers, seamen, metal workers, electrical workers, etc.). On the one hand we achieved successes in weakening their influence, we won the majority in important trade unions, for instance, the postal employees and the tramwaymen in Athens and the textile workers in Piraeus, but on the other hand, we lost control of two important unions, the gas workers in Athens and the miners in Aliverion.

The Party recognises the correctness of the appeal of the E.C.C.I. concerning the united front, but it has not succeeded in utilising it sufficiently to carry the united front into the factories and expose the reformists. Negotiations were conducted with the reformist leaders, but they were not accompanied by the necessary work amongst the masses.

At the moment an attempt is being made by the social fascists, jointly with the agrarian party, to win the radicalising masses by forming a new "Left" Party. That represents a serious danger for us and it must be countered by an intensification of our enlightenment work. At the same time the Party must not neglect its struggle against the government and against the reckless demagoguery of the bourgeois opposition.

Since last August we have succeeded in organising a series of actions in the rural areas against the activities of the bailiffs in their efforts to distraint for overdue taxes, etc. Many thousands were embraced by these actions. Twenty strikes of landworkers have taken place, embracing about 2,000 workers. Cases of land seizure by the peasants are on the increase. However, in general these actions are more or less spontaneous and the Party work in the rural areas is not in accordance with the favourable situation existing there. One of the results of this is the disproportion be-

tween the strike movement in the towns and the movement in the rural areas. The work of our village cells is not good and insufficient attention is being paid to the immediate demands of the peasants.

There has also been considerable confusion in the Party concerning the complicated question of seeking allies for the proletariat from amongst the population of the rural areas. The Party must now fundamentally improve its work in the rural areas and conduct a great campaign of enlightenment among its members concerning the character of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and its speedy development into a proletarian revolution. Basing itself on the landworkers and the village poor, the Party must seek to establish the hegemony of the proletariat in an alliance with the main masses of the rural population.

Our work amongst the unemployed is sporadic and is conducted usually during the winter only. In the first eight months of 1933, 159 actions were carried out by the unemployed workers, and 45,000 workers took part in them. However, despite these gains we have not succeeded in organising permanent committees of the unemployed workers.

The chief weakness of the Party and the unions is the lack of

Comrade Kolarov

The draft thesis declares very correctly that: "Fascism is trying to secure a mass basis of monopolist capital and to consolidate and forge this mass basis by winning the petty bourgeoisie and approaching the restive peasantry." However, the fact that fascism is trying to win the peasantry does not mean that the peasantry is the basis of fascism, that social support, that class or classes whose interests fascism reflects or defends. And, further, it does not follow with fatalistic inevitability that the peasantry is destined to be the prey of fascism. The support of fascism in the village is the rich peasantry. The toiling peasantry, like the proletariat, is an exploited class oppressed by the fascist dictatorship.

The toiling peasantry is quite able to resist the fascist offensive, providing that the Communist Party does not neglect its work in the rural areas and providing that it succeeds in winning the working peasants for an alliance with the proletariat along Leninist lines. The example offered by Poland and Bulgaria affords ample proof of this. Further, wherever fascism has established its dictatorship the process of disillusionment has begun among the peasantry.

The chief task of the Communist Party in the rural areas is to expose the capitalist and feudal character of fascism to the working peasants and to win them for the proletarian struggle against fascism. The class struggle must be developed between the landworkers and the landowners, between the poor peasants and the landowners, between the small-scale producers and their exploiters, the banks, the trusts, the speculators and the usurers. The toiling peasants must be mobilised in a struggle for their immediate daily demands.

In all countries fascism adopts a more or less peasant mask, and the most important sections of its economic programme refer to agriculture. The openly fascist party in France calls itself an agrarian and peasant party. Dollfuss, the fascist dictator of Austria, is the leader of a peasant party which calls itself the christian-social party. Fascism in Czechoslovakia is being carried out by a government in which the leading role is played by an agrarian party. The fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria is maintained by the "people's bloc," whose most powerful group is a "peasant league."

When the fascist seizure of power was still a long way off, Hitler even issued the "revolutionary" slogan of the "seizure of the land by the peasants without compensation." Later on, when this slogan promised to become dangerous to the rich landowners, it was deleted from the programme. However, even after this exposure, the fascist agrarian programme retained its demagogic and deceptive character. Even now the national socialists promise the peasants land, but in the East and at the expense of Soviet Ukraine. The land policy of the German fascists rests on their policy of war and intervention against the Soviet Union. They hope thereby to guide the struggle of the German peasants against the landowners into the channel of their counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet policy.

any close connection with the workers in the big factories. Another unsatisfactory feature is the disproportion between the influence of the Party and its organisational strength, for instance, in Athens we received 10,000 votes, but the circulation of our Party organ reaches no more than 2,000, whilst we have only 400 organised members in the town.

We have very much to do. We must intensify our fight against reformism, strengthen our groups in the big factories, prepare the Party ideologically and organisationally for the approach of illegality, and intensify our anti-fascist and anti-war struggle. Our work in the rural areas, amongst the women, and amongst the oppressed nationalities must be radically improved and we must afford greater support to the Young Communist League and make it into a real mass organisation. We must work for the ideological and organisational development of our Party and continue a merciless struggle against all deviations for the Bolshevik consolidation and unity of the Party. Only in this way shall we be able to win the majority of the working class, establish an alliance with the peasant masses and the national minorities under the hegemony of the proletariat and set up the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry. (Applause.)

When they were in the "opposition" the German fascists conducted a demagogic agitation against taxation, against distraint and against forced auctions, and they even took part in collisions between the peasantry and the authorities. To-day the German fascists utilise the State apparatus in order to compel the peasants to pay their taxes voluntarily, and at the same time they blame "Jewish capital" and the "Marxists" for the burden of taxation in order to conceal the plundering of the State treasury by the rich agrarians and the industrialists. A new manoeuvre has taken the place of the old, and it is more difficult to expose.

Another important point in the fascist agrarian programme is the "increased profitability of agriculture" by autarchy and by the "breaking of interest slavery." However, the demagogic deceit of the fascist agricultural programme is completely exposed by its actual agricultural policy. When the German fascists came to power they reduced the mortgage obligations of the landowners and saved many of them from bankruptcy by subsidies from the State treasury. The landowners and rich peasants were given the free use of the labour power of unemployed workers, and in this way the profitability of capitalist agriculture was actually increased. By introducing high import duties on agricultural imports, regulating agricultural production and distribution, the fascists did in fact increase the profits of the landowners and rich peasants. The masses of the toiling peasantry, however, suffered still further impoverishment and oppression. The increase of agricultural import duties, and the resultant increase in the cost of living, still further decreased the capacity of the home market, caused the production of wheat to drop and hit the masses of the poor and middle peasantry.

The working peasants are already feeling the effects of the national socialist "peasant" policy, and the disillusionment is growing rapidly. Mass agitation for the fulfilment of the fascist promises to the peasants is growing. Demonstrations, and even collisions, have taken place, and many members of the fascist Storm Troops have been found on the side of the peasants. This situation offers favourable ground for the development of Communist agitation.

Particular attention must be paid to the landworkers who have been degraded into little more than the serfs of the rich landowners. The organisation of these workers and the organisation of strikes on the big estates represent the most important task of the Communists in the rural areas. Another very important task is the organisation of the struggle of the landless and poor peasants against land rents and for the distribution of land.

Our Party must expose the real character of the fascist agricultural programme to the peasants, and, above all, our Party must show the peasants that their fellow-peasants in Soviet Ukraine, the land which the fascist agrarian robbers of Germany covet, have demonstrated the only way in which the peasants can obtain the land—namely, by the overthrow of the landowners and

capitalists, the establishment of the Soviet power, the confiscation of the large estates, together with all agricultural machinery and other inventory, and their distribution without charge amongst the landless and poor peasants.

In those districts where small-scale peasant production predominates the Communists must seize on the growing indignation of the poor peasants against the burden of taxation, against the "voluntary sacrifices" imposed upon them, against the ruthless depression of prices by the trusts and their agents the rich peasants, and against the fascist "peasant leaders" who are the open agents of the rich landowners and the usurers.

It is also of very great importance to expose the real nature of the autarchy programme of the fascists. The peasants must be shown that their alleged emancipation from dependence on the world economic system means the limitation of production, the destruction of productive forces and the lowering of the income of the working peasantry, with a view to the preparation of imperialist war and intervention in the interests of the German imperialists and landowners.

The slogans set up by the German C.P. for the work in the rural areas are in accordance with the urgent needs of the working peasants, and if the Communists develop a persistent and self-sacrificing struggle they will succeed in mobilising the rural areas for the struggle against fascism. The capitulation of the social fascists to fascism has severely damaged their influence in the rural areas. The defection of the peasant leaders into the fascist camp has further cleared the way for the Communist Party. The situation is developing to such an extent that the C.P. is becoming the only Party not only for the workers, but also for the working peasants.

In France the centre point of fascist agitation is the price of agricultural commodities in general, and for grain in particular. The French fascists of the "agrarian and peasant party" have grasped the great importance of this question for the masses of the small-scale producers. Last summer the French government introduced a demagogic law fixing the price of grain at 115 francs per hectolitre. Our Party exposed this deception of the peasants in its press and in parliament, and showed that the speculators and the trusts would never respect this law. It was not long before the prophecies of the Communists were shown to be correct. The millers and the speculators deliberately ignore the fixed price and the government does nothing, but, unfortunately, our Party is not sufficiently in touch with the peasant movement which is rapidly springing up against the capitalists and the government. It has not afforded sufficient support to the peasants. The Communists must guide the struggle of the peasants into revolutionary channels and direct it against the capitalists, the rich landowners and their joint instrument, the capitalist State.

The French C.P. is faced with the Right-wing opportunist danger of letting this question develop into parliamentary and legalist channels under social-fascist pressure or of succumbing to the influence of the rich peasants. A decisive struggle must be conducted against this Right-wing danger, which is the chief danger at the present moment. The Party must concentrate on the landworkers and on the poor peasants, and it must not close its eyes to the real mass struggle in the rural areas. If the C.P.

remains passive on the ground that the slogan of the working peasants: "We'll pay in grain or not at all!" is unacceptable, then it will isolate itself from the peasant masses and weaken the resistance of the latter to the demagogy of the fascists, as well as losing those positions it has won in certain districts through the establishment of a united front between workers and peasants.

The growing danger of fascism in rural France must not be underestimated. This danger is intensified by the fact that the indignant and angry peasantry fail in most cases to recognise the industrial proletariat and its Party as their natural ally in the struggle against capitalist exploitation, and as a result fall into the toils of the fascist demagogues.

Under pretext of a struggle against the trusts and the speculators the fascists are inciting the peasants against "Marxism" and "collectivism," and against the subordinate officials and employees, whose income the government is trying to reduce still further with the assistance of the social fascists. The C.P. will be able to foil these manoeuvres of the national and social fascists only if it takes up the cause of the working peasants with determination and supports, organises and leads their fight for better prices and leads it into anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist channels.

The Polish C.P. has made great progress with regard to the work in the rural areas, but its attitude in the question of agricultural prices cannot be considered as satisfactory. It has done nothing effective to gain the leadership of the movement to boycott the markets. It has left the field to the people's party, which exploits the dissatisfaction of the peasants to incite them against the proletariat and against its Party. The Party must defeat its most dangerous enemy in the rural areas, the fascists of the people's party, in this question of agricultural prices.

The Japanese fascists are paying considerable attention to the rural areas. The critical situation in the Japanese villages, the revolutionisation of the starving tenant-holders and peasants and the increasingly frequent raids on rice depots, etc., represent the key to the "peasant programme" of the Japanese fascists. The war is aggravating the situation and accelerating the development of the revolutionary crisis, and therefore one of the most urgent tasks of the Japanese fascists is to drive a wedge between town and country, to win the weaker links in the backward villages for fascism and to incite the peasantry against the revolutionary proletariat.

The Japanese C.P. is a small Party, but it does not neglect the work in the villages. However, it must utilise the existing possibilities still further and intensify its mass work amongst the peasants and the tenant-holders.

A review of the situation in the rural areas after four years of intense agricultural crisis shows that the masses of the peasantry in all capitalist countries are in a state of violent indignation against the existing order. The atmosphere in the rural areas is pregnant with revolutionary revolt against the ruling class and their governments. The situation in the rural areas is one of the factors making for the speedy development of the revolutionary crisis and the entry of the capitalist world into a new cycle of wars and revolutions. (Applause.)

Comrade Kostanyan (Communist Fraction of the R.I.L.U.)

The strike struggles of 1933 were remarkable for their intensity and bitterness. In Poland and Spain some strikes lasted three and even nine months. They were also characterised by the rapidity with which local struggles developed into district and even general strikes. They were in general offensive in character and usually successful. Another remarkable point was the increasing political tendency (particularly in Poland, Bulgaria, Germany, and even France) and the increasing role played by the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions or trade union oppositions.

In considering the character of the strike struggles in the present period we must not forget that the conditions created by the crisis, the intransigence of the employers, supported by State terrorism, have made the position of the workers still more difficult. In most countries a strike under present-day circumstances is a much more difficult matter, demanding greater determination and courage than ever before.

The organisational consolidation of the revolutionary trade unions remains behind the increase of their political influence, even more than is the case with the sections of the Communist International, but the weakness is not only organisational. The revolutionary unions and oppositions are lagging behind the development of events. It is urgently necessary that the Communist Parties, the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary trade union oppositional movements should react swiftly and effectively to all changes in the situation, that they should keep up with the development of the class struggle, and that they should put forward the necessary slogans and demands and use the necessary forms and methods demanded by the developing situation. Without this we shall not be able to follow the policy of independent leadership in economic struggles successfully.

Following on the last plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Red International of Labour Unions in 1932 the work of the German section deteriorated considerably, particu-

larly with regard to the activity in the factories. In England our Scottish miners' union has lost ground. The main cause of our failure lies in the neglect of the work within the reformist and other unions. The experience of recent years has proved conclusively that the suggestion that we should concentrate our trade union work chiefly upon the unorganised and unskilled workers is utterly wrong.

In England our comrades have still not got over their tendency to neglect the work in the reformist unions, although this is really the only possible form of revolutionary trade union work. In no other way will the British Communist Party be able to remedy its chronic isolation from the masses of the workers, and in no other way will it be possible for us to create a revolutionary trade union opposition. Fortunately this work has now begun, and certain successes—the rank and file movements—have been obtained, particularly amongst the railwaymen and the busmen. The oppositional railwaymen's movement has 200 branches and a firm foothold in 25 important railway depots. The movement issues its own organ, "The Railway Vigilant," which has a circulation of 10,000 copies. The rank and file movement amongst the busmen has a firm foothold in 25 garages and four tramway depots, and about 50 per cent of the busmen (15,000) are behind the movement. A strike of 13,000 busmen was organised in London against the will of the reformist officials. Last December the movement won five out of six seats in the elections for the busmen's section of the union. The rank and file candidates received 12,335 votes as against 4,244 for the reformist candidates. The organ issued by the busmen's rank and file movement has a circulation of from 10,000 to 12,000 copies. The central organ of the oppositional trade union movement, "The Trade Union Militant," has a circulation of about 20,000 copies.

The chief weakness of the rank and file movement is that the Communist Party does not give an effective lead, most Communists take no part in the movement, there are no Communist fractions in the movement, and not enough is being done to overcome the doubts which exist here and there as to the correctness of working within the reformist unions.

In France the revolutionary trade union federation (C.G.T.U.) does practically no work at all within the reformist and other unions and no fractions have been organised in such unions, although the ground is becoming increasingly favourable for such work. However, despite the express instructions of the R.I.L.U., this work has not received the necessary attention on the part of the C.G.T.U.

In Spain the oppositional work in the reformist V.O.R.I. has a considerably better foothold than in the C.N.T., and our supporters do not yet realise the significance of the work in the latter body. Our supporters do not work for a united front with the anarcho-syndicalist workers with sufficient energy, excusing themselves on the ground of the terrorism of the anarcho-syndicalist leaders. Our Spanish comrades are inclined to overestimate the decline of the reformist and anarcho-syndicalist unions, although here and there the V.O.R.I. has even won new members. Particularly regrettable is the fact that certain unions which have left the V.O.R.I. have not come to us, but have remained autonomous or have fallen under the influence of the C.N.T. On the other hand, unions which have left the C.N.T. have even gone over to the V.O.R.I. Of the fourteen unions which left the V.O.R.I. in Cordova, not one came over to us. However, during the past few months the work of our Spanish comrades has been improving.

In the United States the work in the reformist unions is still in its infancy, thanks to the opportunist underestimation of this work which prevailed in the Communist Party, although in the past six months the American Federation of Labour has won 500,000 new members, and an oppositional movement is developing within the A.F. of L. According to the statements of our American comrades, the Trade Union Unity League runs from 300 to 400 oppositional branches. The autonomous unions have grown tremendously of late, but the revolutionary work in them is only just beginning. The most important of the independent unions have about 146,000 members, but only a section of these (30,000 we are told) are under the influence of the Trade Union Unity League. The chief weaknesses of the work in the United States are: the incorrect idea of a section of our leaders that the A.F. of L. no longer leads strikes, and that it is collapsing, an incorrect attitude towards the members of the A.F. of L., who are called "aristocrats of labour" and regarded as hopeless, and the idea

that the tasks of the revolutionary unions and those of a revolutionary opposition in the reformist unions are not compatible.

In Czechoslovakia the revolutionary unions have any considerable influence only amongst the carpenters, the motor drivers, and the food workers. Our positions in the reformist unions are very weak. The reformist unions have won new members in recent years and organise decisive sections of the workers (metal workers, railwaymen, miners, chemical workers, etc.). The ferment amongst the reformist workers has been insufficiently utilised and opportunist errors have been made in the application of the united front tactic. Practically no attempts have been made to lead independent economic and political strikes.

In Scandinavia also the work in the reformist unions is very weak. Certain progress has been made in this connection in the Far East, and in particular in Japan, China, and India.

Events since the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. show that, despite the destruction of the opportunist theories, both Right and "Left" wing, there is still in practice an objection to and even in some cases positive sabotage of the work in the reformist and other unions. The majority of our officials have still not grasped the fact that without powerful oppositional groups within the reformist unions we shall not be able to prevent reformist treachery or expose it, we shall not be able to extend our influence on the masses of the workers still organised in these unions, and we shall not be able to win them for the proletarian revolution. This work is of particular importance at a time like the present, when the Second and Amsterdam Internationals are in decay. A stern fight must be conducted against the illusion that the social democratic influence will destroy itself without our struggle against it, that the automatic result of the decay of the Amsterdam International will bring the reformist workers streaming into our camp.

Many of our comrades are unclear about the question of work within the fascist unions and many doubt the necessity of this work. However, in China and in Italy we have already seen good results from this work. In Italy, where fascist unions enjoying a complete monopoly exist, we have already lost valuable years. Despite all the advice and decisions of the C.I. and of the R.I.L.U., our comrades have grasped the necessity of this work very tardily. However, the work is now proceeding gradually, and already we have been able to book successes. Our comrades in Italy have even occasionally refused to stand shoulder to shoulder with the workers in the fascist unions when they were fighting for their legal rights, or they have ignored these struggles or intervened too late. Forms and methods of work in the fascist unions have still to be found and our influence in them must receive a firm organisational basis. It is an urgent task of the Communist Party of Italy and of our General Confederation of Labour to smash once and for all the idea of boycotting the fascist unions.

This question is also of urgent significance in Germany. Any repetition of our errors in Italy must be prevented from the very beginning. In accordance with a decision of the German Communist Party our revolutionary trade union opposition has already taken up the extremely difficult work with the fascist unions with a view to organising a revolutionary opposition and organising the workers in independent class trade unions.

In Poland the work within the fascist unions is so weak that it is practically negligible, although these unions enjoy mass influence in the armament industry and in certain State undertakings. There must be a change here if any success is to be achieved.

In China the Kuomintang and the yellow trade unions resemble fascist unions, although they are not identical with them. This year for the first time our comrades made a really serious attempt to penetrate into the yellow Kuomintang unions in Shanghai, and particularly the tobacco and textile workers' unions. The chief weakness of this work is that no serious attempt has been made to give our successes an organisational basis, and that no attempt has been made to penetrate into the yellow seamen's union, particularly in the districts adjacent to the soviet areas.

Another reason for the insufficient progress of the revolutionary trade union work is that the reorganisation on the basis of the factory has either not been carried out at all or that the reorganisation has been formal only. The latter is the case in France, particularly among the miners. In many cases the reorganisation has meant little more than giving the sections new names. The officials of our movement have not yet grasped the significance of the decision to reorganise on the basis of the fac-

tory, etc. They do not understand that in the present situation, with fascist dictatorship in Germany and developing fascism in other countries, this question is of decisive importance. If they do not face it seriously now, when will they do so?

But it is not merely a question of formal reorganisation. Neither our unions nor our oppositional movements react with sufficient speed to the daily demands and needs of the workers. The workers do not always find the necessary support from us in their troubles, even when they are small: victimisation, etc. A very serious matter is that our comrades often do not realise that the partial demands of the workers must be linked up with the general class struggle of the proletariat, and in the given situation with the work for the preparation of the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, the struggle for power. Our plenary session has put forward the struggle for power as the main slogan, but this does not diminish the significance of the struggle for partial demands; on the contrary, it increases its importance at a moment when capitalist society is on the threshold of a new cycle of wars and revolutions.

Democracy in our trade union organisations still exists on paper only in many cases; it is often violated by administration from above. Our leading comrades still fail to grasp that this question is one of vital importance for our organisations and that without real democracy our organisations cannot, and in fact do not, grow.

Another question is that of the quality of our officials. For the most part the quality is not in accordance with the magnitude and the difficulty of the tasks facing us. A section of our officials are still troubled with reformist tendencies. The work for the training of our officials is very poor. There must be a change in this respect, for we need Bolshevik officials in our trade union movement. Our comrades very often forget that our best forces must be drawn from the factories. In many cases insufficient attention is paid to the question of drawing non-Party workers into the leading work and our leading bodies are often composed completely of Party comrades. This question must be taken up seriously, because without a firm body of non-Party activists we shall lose touch with the masses.

Our trade union schools are not what they might be. Even the R.I.L.U. itself has not done everything possible to improve this work. Our international trade union school will begin serious work next year only.

The final question of importance is the relation between Party and trade union. There are still misapprehensions concerning this relation amongst both members of the Party and of the revolutionary unions, etc. A very bad distortion of the relation between the two is that which makes no practical difference between the two. The practical work in many of our trade union organisations is exactly the same as that of the Party. In many cases even the membership of the Party and trade union organisations is the same. Almost the whole of our trade union press suffers from this purely formal and mechanical adoption of Communist formulations, including even our factory press. The result is that almost no difference appears to exist between Party and trade union and the latter looks like a pale reflection of the former. This means that we have increased difficulties in winning those workers who are not members of any party and are not developed enough to join the C.P. Under such circumstances our trade union organisations must almost cease to be trade union organisations at all, and it is impossible for them to fulfil their task of winning the masses of the organised and the unorganised social democratic, anarchist, syndicalist and other workers for the proletarian revolution.

This lack of understanding for the difference between Party and trade union has even led to proposals to create a new sort of preliminary organisation for workers who are not yet "advanced enough" for the revolutionary trade unions. But the revolutionary trade unions are not advance-guard organisations in the sense in which the Party is, they are not organisations which embrace only the very best elements. The working class has only one advance guard, and that is the Communist Party,

which leads various mass organisations, including the revolutionary trade unions.

According to Lenin, the trade unions are the "elementary, lowest and simplest" organisations, easily open also to those "who are still full of bourgeois democratic prejudices," and the proposal for these preliminary organisations means that those making it are not clear about the character of the unions.

Despite the instructions of the C.I. and the R.I.L.U. for increased work on the part of the Communist Parties for the leadership of the trade unions, concerning the relation of Party to trade union, and the necessity of forming Communist trade union fractions, things have remained much as they were. Where such fractions exist, it is chiefly on paper. Another side of the same error is that some trade union leaders try to avoid the leadership of the Party and work on their own. Such tendencies have even become dangerous where, for instance, Communist trade union leaders have refused to carry out instructions of the Party. This phenomenon is a remnant of social democratic reformist traditions. The revolutionary trade unions cannot work successfully without the constant leadership of the Party and the assistance of the Communist fractions.

Every Communist appointed by the Party for responsible trade union work must be trained in the spirit of Bolshevik firmness and irreconcilability towards opportunism, he must be an energetic fighter for the Party line in the trade unions, and his efficiency must be measured by the energy with which he fights against both Right and "Left" wing opportunism, whereby the former is still the chief danger in the present situation. In this connection the decision of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. and of the Bureau of the Communist R.I.L.U. fraction of the 20th March, 1932, "On the work in the trade union fractions" must be borne in mind:—

"The fight against the opposition in the revolutionary trade unions must be conducted with other methods than those used in the struggle against Right or 'Left' wing oppositions in the Party. . . . The struggle must be carried on exclusively in trade union questions and questions of discipline and within the framework of the trade union statutes (naturally, this presupposes the most determined struggle against those Communist officials in the trade unions who oppose the carrying out of the Party line). A persistent and patient campaign of enlightenment amongst the masses is more than ever necessary in the trade unions. . . . The struggle against the violation of trade union discipline must be carried on, above all, by patient efforts at conviction, and disciplinary measures should be used only in extreme cases, and even then solely on the basis of trade union democracy. In the struggle against opposition in the revolutionary trade union organisations we must therefore distinguish more than ever between leaders and masses. Our task of isolating the leaders of the opposition and convincing the masses of their followers cannot be carried out merely by simple accusations of reformism, or anarcho-syndicalism, but through persistent and patient enlightenment."

Unfortunately, not all those Communists who have been entrusted with the trade union work have grasped the importance of these instructions, and this is a great hindrance for the correct carrying out of the Party line and for the defeat of opportunism in the trade unions.

Our task is to carry the decisions of the C.I. and the R.I.L.U. concerning the trade union work into practice. We must secure fundamental improvements in our trade union work and develop our revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary trade union oppositional movements into powerful connecting links between the Party and the masses of the workers. We must organise the growing revolutionary activity of the workers and utilise the favourable situation which exists to solve our main strategic task, the winning of the majority of the working class for the struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Applause.)

Comrade Andre Marty (France)

In France we have a much slower rate of fascisation than in the other countries. The French bourgeoisie is combining and applying two methods: the method of open fascisation, and the much more dangerous method of exploiting the democratic sentiments of the masses.

The first method finds expression in the changes in the programmes of the old reactionary organisations, such as "Federation Republicaine de France" (Marin group, Comité de Forge), Democratic Alliance, Democratic People's Party, Union of Economic Interests. It is further expressed in the appearance of fresh organisations of an outspokenly fascist character, such as the movement of "Solidarité Française" (Coty), which at present embraces 250,000 persons, 22 per cent. of them peasants, 13 per cent. employees and 12 per cent. workers. Their programme is taken from Hitler word for word. Their campaign for "defence of the race" aims chiefly at "protecting" the French workers against immigrants. Moreover, this slogan is also used by the "Left," the democrats and even the social democrats who demand restriction of immigration. The workers are told that the three million alien workers are responsible for unemployment. The Fighting League of the Patriotic Youth which has experienced a fresh upsurge, is closely connected with the "solidarité française."

In the country districts the agrarian party is pursuing a fascist policy. It is proclaiming the necessity of a "real economic and social revolution in which the peasants will have to play the main role."

The old "democratic" organisations and the social democracy offered a sham opposition to these organisations. In reality, however, they support them by means of chauvinist incitement.

Hitler's seizure of power at the end of January was followed in France by a furious campaign against Hitler's cruelties. The whole of the bourgeois and social-democratic press, which systematically maintains silence in regard to the slaughter in Indo-China, protested in thousands of leaflets against the cruelties of the Nazis. At the same time the big campaign of disarmament which up to then was the watchword of the democratic press, was dropped and the increased danger of war threatening from the Nazis was depicted to the masses of workers and petty bourgeois.

The second stage: Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations. This event was followed by a fresh wave of chauvinist incitement. Daladier issued a new slogan when he declared on May 12, 1933, in the Senate:—

"France is a thoroughly peace-loving country. We are working at high speed in our State factories in order to fortify our frontiers—our army is ready for defence."

Third stage: The so-called "plebiscite" of Hitler on November 12 called forth a fresh upsurge of the chauvinist wave in France. "Le Peuple," the organ of the C.G.T., wrote on November 9:—

"Any weak attitude on the part of the Powers would mean encouragement to the Nazi bands."

And this was written after Jouhaux had declared to the Trades Union Congress that the proletariat is prepared to abandon its demands in order to defend its liberties. In other words, the social democracy is in favour of civil peace at home in view of the threatening war. Paul Faure and Vandervelde have still more cynically expressed this readiness of the French and Belgian social democrats to defend their imperialist fatherlands.

In view of this chauvinism, this hostility to fascism abroad, how is fascism developing at home? It suffices to see the declaration of Marquet, who represents the socialist fraction which has gone farthest on the path of fascisation:—

"Parliament cannot solve the economic problem. For this purpose a trade union organisation is needed, embracing not only the workers, but all that is organised against everything which represents disorder. Is that fascism? What spiritual and moral poverty!"

That is fascism of the purest water. And not only the socialists of the Marquet-Déat fraction, but also all democratic organisations of the Left are developing an out and out fascist programme on the same lines.

It cannot be said that our Party did not stand firm in face of this tremendous onslaught. It replied: The enemy is in our own country. It repeated that all forces must be concentrated on the defence of the daily demands of the workers; it launched an anti-fascist campaign in which it achieved certain successes, as for

instance, the anti-fascist World Congress, in which our Party actively participated; the World Youth Congress; the campaign for the support of the refugees from Germany. The Leipzig trial was greatly popularised and met with big response.

But the pressure was so strong that hostile ideology was able to penetrate our ranks. The reasons for this are the following: (1) A certain slackening of the struggle of the Party against imperialist war. (2) Underestimation of the danger of this chauvinistic wave. The Party allowed itself to a certain extent to be lulled by the demagoguery developed by the Left parties. The first slogan which it issued was: give two blows for every blow delivered by the fascists. But our task should have been to show the workers in a concrete manner what the fascist rule has brought, i.e., to conduct an ideological struggle. Thus for a time we ran the danger of following the wrong ideology of the Neumann-Remmele group in Germany, which issued the slogan "Strike the fascists wherever you meet them." (3) The Party has developed a certain tendency to be diverted to the sphere of exterior anti-fascist struggle.

The fascist danger is becoming very real in France. If we draw the conclusions, with the greatest reservations, from the bye-elections during the last eight months in France, we have to record that the socialist party has suffered a considerable loss of votes: about 30 to 40 per cent. Our Communist Party has increased its vote, but only inadequately in the workers' centres, at most eight per cent., and this only in exceptional cases; in the rural districts we have to record a loss of votes. Only a small portion of those toilers who are abandoning the socialist party are joining the camp of the semi-fascist, reactionary parties; another portion is coming to us, whilst a third is still vacillating. We have not yet succeeded in winning this section over to us. Here we see the danger and the result of the broad chauvinistic campaign which was conducted last year in the sphere of exterior anti-fascist struggle.

What is the situation of the movement of the masses and what activity is the Party developing?

In regard to the labour movement, the Party has for a whole year been lagging behind the movement of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie. At present the labour movement is growing, and, thanks partly to the unceasing activity of the Party, it has again attained its normal place in the advance-guard of the masses. But our Party has not yet succeeded in raising the political level of the economic struggles. There has even been a certain resistance in this respect.

On the other hand, the Party has not yet succeeded in launching big movements. It was able to take over the leadership in some movements, but other struggles, as for instance that of the miners, remained under the influence of the reformists. The Party has improved its work in the unemployed movement; the recent march of the unemployed of the North to Paris represents a serious success. Our weakness consists in the fact that we are drawing into the movement only those unemployed who receive benefit; but precisely those sections who succumb most easily to the demagoguery of the fascists, i.e., the immigrant workers, colonial workers and the youth, are not touched by our work.

In regard to the movement of the civil servants who are at present in a state of ferment, our Party is developing greater activity than a year ago. To-day the Party has decisively taken in hand the organising of the united front from below and the initiation of actions.

With regard to work among the soldiers, our influence is reflected in the 600 letters received by "L'Humanité" during the last year, as well in a number of very important demonstrations. In the course of the last summer, for instance, the soldiers of three regiments seized their rifles and even fixed their bayonets in order to enforce the release of their arrested comrades. And this happened in spite of the composition of the French army in which for two soldiers called up there are three non-commissioned officers or colonial soldiers.

The main cause of our weaknesses in mass work among the workers and civil servants lies in the fact that our Party has very weak positions in the factories. The Party cells are still built up on a local or residential basis; the factory cells are mostly composed of comrades allotted to the cell. We have very few real factory cells. After our recruiting campaign in October their number increased, but it must be admitted that much still remains to be done.

The movement in the rural districts greatly developed from the Autumn of 1932 to the Spring of 1933. One hundred and seventy thousand peasants have taken part in 55 manifestations, which, it is true, were organised by the fascists' agrarian party and the peasants' organisations, but the masses went beyond the aims put forward by the agrarian leaders. Thus, for instance, in Chartres the toiling peasants forced their way into the Town Hall and held the mayor prisoner for an hour; in Paris, on January 15, 20,000 demonstrated in the streets under slogans which were strictly opposed to the legalistic slogans issued by their leaders; fierce collisions with the police took place. The agrarian party and the big landowners, who became frightened of the movement of the toiling peasants and workers, thereupon began to put a brake on the movement in the rural districts.

Thanks to its timely mobilisation by the C.C., the Party has made a big step forward in this sphere. But the government, in view of the great resentment prevailing in the rural districts, intervened and adopted measures which have proved to be purely demagogic manoeuvres, but for the moment pacified the masses. This was possible solely because simultaneously there again arose in our Party anti-Leninist tendencies which had paralysed the mass work in the rural districts for so many years.

One tendency sees in the rural districts only the agricultural worker and overlooks not only the middle peasant, but also the small peasant, and of course forgets the demands calculated to win the small peasant for the revolutionary movement and to neutralise the middle peasant. The second, likewise opportunist, tendency sees only the middle peasant and even the rich peasant; it overlooks the industrial and the rural proletariat. Hence it capitulates to the price campaign of the big landowners. It is following in the wake of this campaign and thereby placing itself on a narrow legalistic basis, even in the question of the struggle against distrainers.

The C.C. has not succeeded in finding and maintaining the correct line in order to conduct this struggle on two fronts in the question of work in the rural districts. As a result, this sectarian attitude prevented us from setting up peasants' committees and caused us to neglect the work in the rural organisations. The second consequence of this sectarian attitude was a stagnation of the movement in the rural districts during the Summer and Autumn, although resistance to the distrainers could be observed. It is necessary for the Party to lay down its attitude in this question and before all to develop its activity in the rural districts.

The urban petty bourgeoisie carried out a number of mass demonstrations at the beginning of Autumn and had several conflicts with the police. In this sphere we have to record some small successes. Also in the sphere of work among the ex-servicemen we can record some successes.

In view of the threatening fascist danger the role of the youth is growing tremendously. The French delegation considers as justified the reproach made by Comrade Chemodanov against the Party for not having carried out the leadership of the Y.C.L. after the Twelfth Plenum.

In France, too, we can record a growth of the revolutionary pressure. The strike at Citroen was very important owing to the great number of workers participating in it (18,000), the fact that it took place in the capital, its long duration (85 days), and the

fact that after the strike was concluded the struggle in the factory lasted for another 25 days. This strike was a palpable proof of the fighting determination of the masses.

The French bourgeoisie realises the approach of the revolutionary danger and is preparing for the open dictatorship. Ideological steadfastness is the first precondition for our Party's ability to offer resistance. Every organisation and every member must know how to orientate himself independently on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teachings. In this sphere we are very backward, be it in the question of the social democracy or in the three questions put by Comrade Knorin: Soviet Union, China and Germany. There were even vacillations among some members of the Political Bureau. It is true, efforts have been made to correct these mistakes, but these efforts were not energetic enough in order to realise the line of the C.I. One of the most important tasks confronting the Party is to overcome the resistance to the line of the C.I., a resistance which is confusing the Party and paralysing its activity.

In order to develop the initiative from below it is necessary to decentralise the apparatus of our Party. We have in our Party not only centralisation but ultra-centralisation. For instance, one district committee demands of all organisations that all material which is issued, leaflets, pamphlets, etc., are to be submitted to the secretariat of the district committee. This means that any action is rendered impossible and all initiative throttled. The necessity of decentralisation is being confirmed by a number of successes in this sphere.

In connection with the danger of illegality the question of cadres is arising, in which respect we have not yet adopted a correct policy.

From the survey drawn up by the C.C. in July, 1933, it is evident that the Party, which polled 796,000 votes in May, 1933, remains a mass Party. In the Seine department it is the strongest political party of the working class. The C.G.T.U., in which the Party is playing a leading role, is a mass organisation. It wields considerable influence in such unions as that of the railway workers, who can play a great revolutionary role. Our influence among the soldiers is remarkable. We have a majority on a considerable number of municipal councils (164), and in 264 municipal councils we have a minority. Our Party possesses hundreds of cells in the rural districts, which we shall have to convert into village cells. "L'Humanité" is the first political workers' paper in France. The daily circulation of the paper is 125,000, of which 10,000 go to Alsace-Lorraine. Together with the provincial papers and factory papers in German we reach 200,000 readers daily. Together with the revolutionary trade union papers and the papers of the organisations sympathising with us the number of readers rises to 400,000. We have revolutionary workers, as is proved by the strike committee at Citroen. The French proletariat has good revolutionary traditions. The Party proved its capacity to conduct an international struggle already during the occupation of the Ruhr ten years ago, in the Moroccan war in the year 1925.

The problem confronting the C.P. of France is to utilise its forces, to guarantee the steadfastness of our political line the more the crisis sharpens and the revolutionary upsurge increases, in order to prepare for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the liberating power of the Soviets. (Applause.)

Comrade Hernandez (Spain)

The social democrats, Trotskyists and other renegades from Communism, announce that a new era of fascist terror began with the seizure of power by Hitler, and that the working class movement has suffered a severe defeat. They seek to cause a wave of pessimism and to rob the masses of their confidence in the Communist International which they make responsible for the events in Germany. At a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, which took place in April, 1933, a delegate from Salamanca expressed the same opinions and was expelled from the Party.

Hitler's seizure of power in Germany was the beginning of such an anti-fascist wave that there is no German consulate in Spain which has not had its windows smashed. There were also numerous strikes and demonstrations to compel German vessels to strike the swastika flag. Hundreds of trade unions adopted protest resolutions. Hitler's rise to power was a signal to us to strengthen our struggle against fascism in Spain. A workers' and peasants' militia

has been formed and the meetings of the monarchists and the agrarian party have been prevented in numerous towns and villages throughout Spain.

Last September the news that the fascists planned a march on Toledo was met by a united general strike in which Communists, social democrats and anarchists participated. Workers occupied the railway stations and the fascists had to depart in the same trains in which they had arrived. On the roads detachments of workers held up the fascist lorries, soundly drubbed the occupants and destroyed the lorries.

All the reactionary parties announced a peasant march on to the capital for the 18th August. In its campaign against this plan our Party mobilised the masses to such an extent that the reformist leaders and even the anarchist leaders, who declare that the only fascist danger in Spain is a Red one, were compelled to declare themselves in favour of a general strike.

The achievements in the building up of socialism in the Soviet

Union have made a deep impression on the Spanish workers. Even the social democratic leaders, who at one time were loud in their slanderous anti-Soviet campaign, are now compelled to admit in their official pronouncements that the Soviet Union is the land of the workers and peasants and that it is the only country in the world without starvation and unemployment. The establishment of Soviets in China and the victories of the Chinese Red workers' and peasants' armies have also had their revolutionising effect on the Spanish workers.

The preparations for imperialist war embrace Spain also. Spain is the bridge of French imperialism to its North African colonies, and joint military operations of the two armies are announced for this year. Spanish imperialism also supports the preparations for war against the Soviet Union. In the first six months of 1933 Spain exported commodities to a total value of 2,750,000 yen to Japan, a total eight times larger than the total for the corresponding six months of 1931. The value of Japanese exports to Spain totalled no more than 830,000 yen in the same period. It is clear that the main portion of this enormous increase is due not to an increase in the export of olives and oranges, but potash and other war materials. In Spain also the only industry which is flourishing is the war industry.

In conjunction with the French Communist Party our Party issued an appeal against the war in Morocco. Anti-militarist work is of particular importance in Spain because pacifist illusions are widespread. Owing to the fact that Spain took no part in the world war, the Spanish workers have no real idea of what imperialist war actually means. The support accorded by the social democracy to the preparations for war must be exposed. When the military budget came up for discussion in the Cortes, a social democratic leader from Asturia sent a telegram to the workers of an armament works in Trubia, declaring that they must support the adoption of the military budget as otherwise they would lose their jobs. The Spanish social democracy betrays not only the proletarian revolution, but even the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. It defends not only the capitalists, but even the rich landowners and the feudalists. A characteristic example of social democratic treachery was the putsch in Casas Vieyas. The anarchists incited the workers under their influence and announced the social revolution for the 8th January. The peasants of the little Andalusian village of Casas Vieyas followed the anarchist slogans, took up arms against the government and seized control of their village. The social democratic authorities sent detachments of the Civil Guard and special shock battalions against the peasants with the instructions that no quarter should be given even to the wounded. In accordance with these instructions the Civil Guard barricaded their prisoners in a barn and set fire to it, those who tried to escape were machine-gunned. When the matter came up in parliament the social democrats declared that that sort of thing was inevitable in civil war and 112 social democratic deputies voted their confidence in the government.

As in all other countries the social democracy in Spain is preparing the way for fascism. Social democrats have passed the law for the protection of the republic and the law of the 8th April against strikes. The latter law was drafted by the chairman of the Spanish social democratic party. The law against the carrying of weapons was directed solely to disarming the workers. One of the latest of these laws is that for the preservation of public order and against vagabondage which legalises the police terror against the workers. The law providing for "agrarian reform" is in reality nothing but an attempt to prevent the peasants taking matters into their own hands and seizing the lands. The balance sheet of the republic after 30 months of its existence registers: 360 dead, over 2,000 wounded, and over 9,000 political prisoners.

In order to prevent these facts causing the workers to abandon the social democracy, the latter indulges in even greater demagoguery. Largo Caballero, the leader of the Spanish social democracy, a Privy Councillor under the Primo de Rivera regime, and the throttler-in-chief of the Spanish revolution, declares himself to be a fighter for the dictatorship of the proletariat, quotes Lenin frequently and persuades his friends and associates to call him "the Spanish Lenin." In view of the rapid leftward swing of the masses, the social democrats are even compelled to call themselves Communists. There is no difference in principle between the socialist and the Communist Parties according to Caballero, both are Marxists.

The Communist Party has played a great role in recent events

in Spain, but the Communist campaign for the exposure of social democratic demagoguery was not effective enough and the lessons of the German events were not sufficiently utilised. Everything possible is being done to establish a united front from below with the social democratic and anarchist workers and in the amnesty campaign, 64 Party and youth organisations and 150 reformist and 22 anarchist trade unions were approached. In Asturia a number of strikes were organised jointly with the socialists. Unfortunately the recent elections showed that the demagoguery of the social democracy still has a strong pull on the masses of the workers. Despite a revolutionary situation the Communists have not succeeded in convincing the masses of the workers that the Communist Party is the only Party which really represents the interests of the workers and peasants and fights fascism.

We have to fight not only against the social democracy, but also against the anarchists, who are even more numerous and have even more influence than the Italian anarchists had. The putsch tactics of the anarchists seriously damage the Spanish working-class movement and their indiscriminate violence has whipped up a hatred of the workers on the part of the petty bourgeoisie. The anarchists oppose economic strikes and declare that any immediate partial demands on behalf of the workers are so much humbug. The anarchist tactics are worthily represented in the anarchist press. The semi-official organ, "La Tierra," is financed by Deterding and conducts a filthy campaign of vilification against the Soviet Union. Anarchism is a terrible malady in Spain, particularly in Catalonia, where no less than 45 per cent. of the industrial proletariat is concentrated. Up to the present we have not succeeded in breaking down the influence of the anarchists. We have achieved certain successes, but they are not sufficient. A process of ferment is going on in the anarchist ranks and whole organisations of workers have broken away from them, but they have not come over to us. We were not successful, except to a certain extent in Malaga, in countering the boycott propaganda of the anarchists in the elections.

A special feature of Spanish fascism is that it comes not only from the bourgeoisie, but from various sections from the extreme Right to the anarchists. Spanish fascism has a certain amount of influence not only on the petty-bourgeoisie, but also on the peasantry and even on certain sections of the workers. In our struggle against fascism we let ourselves be provoked into violence in the beginning. This error has since been corrected, but the necessary defence against fascist violence is still not sufficiently based on ideological and political enlightenment.

With the assistance of a fascist dictatorship the Spanish bourgeoisie hopes to crush the revolution. The elections of the 19th of November were conducted under a reign of terror. In view of the increasing activity of the workers and peasants the bourgeoisie and landowners are attempting to establish an open dictatorship with a view to crushing the advance guard of the proletariat and introducing fascism. The considerable increase in the reactionary vote was largely due to falsifications. There has been no real stabilisation of the counter-revolutionary forces.

In 1930 there were 527 strikes in Spain, in 1931 the figures had jumped to 3,643. This year, according to incomplete information, there were 101 political strikes, 52 political and economic strikes, and 662 economic strikes. In Spain any movement quickly takes on a political character. The chief characteristic of the recent struggles was their longer extent and their greater volume. Almost all strikes have been accompanied by violence, collisions with the Civil Guard, etc. In many places striking workers have occupied the factories, etc. In Andalusia and Estremadura alone there were no less than 354 raids on food stores.

The revolutionary movement in the rural areas is developing to the accompaniment of violence. In Vallaneuva de Cordova the landworkers killed the Civil Guards and seized the estates, hoisting the Red Flag on the farm buildings. In Moron de la Frontera landworkers seized agricultural produce and sold it on their own account. In Aryona the landworkers went on strike, drove off the Civil Guard and the landowners, established their own authority and confiscated foodstuffs. In another district poor peasants seized thirty-two estates on one day and divided up the land amongst themselves. In some districts the peasants conduct their operations under the Red Flag and with shouts in favour of the Communist Party. This spontaneous seizure of the land is taking on a mass character in many districts. In many places the peasants are holding on

tenaciously to the land they have seized and the government does not dare to proceed against them.

Workers, peasants, soldiers, students and even sections of the petty bourgeoisie are taking part in the revolutionary movement, but the dangerous thing is that although the movement is proceeding under Communist slogans it is not in the hands of the Communist Party. Only here and there has the Party succeeded in gaining control of the movement. The Communist Party has not succeeded in harnessing this great volume of revolutionary energy and creating the stable organisations of workers and peasants which would permit the masses to seize power. However, this great movement shows us that the recent gains of the Right-wing need not fill us with pessimism. The Communist Party is growing and its mass influence is increasing. We must not forget that a year ago the Communist Party was in the hands of the Adame group of renegades who pursued an anti-Communist policy, expressed contempt for the agrarian revolution and sabotaged the decisions of the C.I. In the name of the Spanish Party I must declare that the C.I. rendered invaluable help in disposing of these renegades without the loss of a single organisation or more than half a dozen members.

In July, 1931, we received 60,000 votes, but at the last elections we received 400,000 votes. Our gains were made chiefly in the proletarian districts and in those agrarian districts where the revolutionary agrarian movement is active. However, in Catalonia we received practically no votes owing to our failure to break the anarchist influence. Despite our successes our work was not satisfactory, and in particular we failed to utilise the trade unions. To-day, however, we have a central organ and district organs in important

provinces such as Asturia, Barcelona and the Basque provinces, and we also have special organs for the youth and for the women.

With regard to the united front campaign there is some success to be reported. The elections permitted us to go before the workers and peasants with our programme and the result was a considerable increase in membership. Our political general line is correct, but that is not enough and we must learn to lead the masses on the basis of practical experience. Our chief tasks are to popularise the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government, to expose the socialists and the anarchists, to fight for the class unity of the proletariat, to intensify our work in the reformist and anarchist trade unions, and to create our own trade union federation. We must fight for the immediate demands of the workers and peasants and create organs, factory and peasant committees, which will permit the masses to advance to the seizure of power, and we must rally the whole of the workers and peasants against the fascist danger.

In order to fulfil these tasks we must reorganise our Party and train our members. We must not neglect the anti-militarist work in the barracks, despite its extreme difficulty, and we must carry out the decision of the Twelfth Plenary Session, which demands that the Young Communist League should be made into a mass organisation.

Comrades, these are great tasks, but we are confident that we shall be able to fulfil them, and this plenary session will be a new weapon for us in our struggle. With the support of all other sections of the C.I., and particularly the C.P. of the Soviet Union, we shall carry the Spanish revolution to victory. (Applause.)

Comrade Mif (C.P.S.U.)

If we look at the strike movement in the countries in the East, we are at once struck by the increase—although at an unequal pace—in the number of strikes and in the number of workers participating in these strikes, especially during the past few years.

I will take only six countries of the East (China, India, Indo-China, Japan, Korea, and Turkey), for which we have strike statistics:—

In 1928 the number of strikers was	..	967,000
In 1929 " " " "	..	1,384,000
In 1930 " " " "	..	732,000
In 1931 " " " "	..	1,037,000
In 1932 " " " "	..	1,422,000

If we take up the question of the relative importance of these countries in the general world struggle of the working class, I would like to call your attention to the following table dealing with eleven countries, five of them imperialist countries: the United States, England, Germany, France, and Czechoslovakia, and six Eastern countries: China, India, Indo-China, Korea, and Turkey, including one imperialist country, namely, Japan:—

In 1920 4 per cent. of the total number of strikes occurred in Eastern countries.

In 1921-24 9 per cent. on a yearly average occurred in Eastern countries.

In 1925-28 23 per cent. on a yearly average occurred in Eastern countries.

In 1929-32 34 per cent. on a yearly average occurred in Eastern countries.

The colonial world was stirred to action after, and as a result of, the October Revolution. But the first round of national liberation movements and wars in the East developed primarily under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie, while the proletariat at that time did not come forward as an independent force. Since 1925 there has been a marked shifting about in the camp of the fighters against imperialism.

The proletariat of the Eastern countries is beginning to play a leading rôle. A tremendously important factor in the winning of the hegemony of the proletariat is the number of strikes, which are setting off millions of sparks in all directions, while all about is the combustible material of extreme and bitter indignation, starvation, desperate tyranny and shameless insults.

The example of various Eastern countries inevitably leads to the conclusion that imperialism has stirred to life a revolutionary working class, which is coming more and more to resort to strike—

that vital weapon in the revolutionary action of the labouring masses.

In China in 1932 the number of strikers exceeded 1,200,000. In this connection we must point out also the increase from year to year in the territory covered by strike movements, and the extreme stubbornness shown by the Chinese proletariat in its struggles. This is evident from the long duration of the strikes and from the great number of repeated struggles. During the past few years in China there has been a wave of general strikes in various branches of production (the silk workers and the textile workers in Shanghai, and the textile workers in Tientsin and Nantung, and the miners and the postal workers in Honan, etc.). It is necessary also to emphasise the militant character of the strikes, which are coming more and more to be accompanied by the seizure of the enterprises and bloody clashes with the police and troops, and stubborn resistance to the police and troops on the part of the workers. In a number of cases the workers take the law into their own hands in fighting for their demands. Strikes are coming more and more to be linked up with the struggles of the unemployed. The political and anti-imperialist character of the strikes is becoming more and more pronounced. A leading rôle is coming to be played by the Communist Party, which has begun to correctly formulate and put forward the demands of the workers, having learnt to give a concrete character to these demands. Without this advance in the strike movement, in the Labour movement, the victories of the Chinese Red Army would have been impossible, and the success achieved in the struggle for Soviets in China would be inconceivable.

In India the working class is slowly making preparations for a new offensive. 71,446 workers went on strike during the first half of 1932. During the first half of 1933 as many as 98,551 workers went on strike. This does not include lock-outs or political strikes. In September and October, 1933, the strike movement continued to grow. These struggles are accompanied by the increasing activity on the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. During the last days of October, 1933, there was a new mass movement in the direction of a general strike.

The strikes of the workers, and the vast numbers of proletarian meetings and demonstrations in India testify to the maturing of a new revolutionary advance in this country.

What I have said about China and India holds true, although to a lesser degree for the other countries of the East, where the struggles of the working class are increasing from year to year, and

where the proletariat is following with ever-greater determination the path of struggle leading to its ultimate triumph.

The tremendous achievements of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in China are beyond all question. But I should like to point out what, in my opinion, are the chief weaknesses and defects, the overcoming of which must now be the central aim of the Chinese comrades. First of all, it must be admitted that the previous observations on the inadequacy of the struggle of the Chinese Communists for the independent leadership of strikes still hold good to-day. This is clear, for example, from the two general strikes of the silk workers, where, unfortunately, we did not play any role at all. Nor is there yet any satisfactory contact with the enterprises, which greatly reduces the chances of winning, although the general situation is exceptionally favourable. The Red Trade Unions must be transformed into mass organisations and a solid base must be established among the rank and file in the enterprises. This is the only guarantee for building a strong proletarian backbone in the general national movement, in the anti-imperialist struggle which is developing.

The work of our comrades in the Yellow Trade Unions has already begun to emerge from its stagnation. We can point to the first achievements in this field. For example, fairly strong revolutionary trade union opposition groups have been formed in many unions.

But at the same time there is still a marked tendency among our comrades to underestimate the work in the Yellow Trade Unions, which have been drawing in and influencing considerable masses of workers. Thus, according to the figures of the "International Labour Review" of November, 1933, there are 410,067 members in the Yellow Trade Unions in China. There is no question that this legal form of organisation of the workers must be utilised by us to the full and that we must intensify our work many times over to win the workers in these unions over to our side. But this will be impossible if we look upon all members of the Yellow Trade Unions as counter-revolutionists, as have some of our Chinese comrades. On the other hand, we must point out cases in which our comrades proceed prematurely to disrupt the Yellow Trade Unions. Barely have they mustered their forces and developed their initiative group, when they start beating up and driving out the Kuomintang trade union bureaucrats when the great mass of members are not prepared for such action and are not won over to our side, with the result that when we conquer the leadership, the number of members of the union falls off sharply.

The workers have won the 8-hour day, and a radical improvement in labour conditions, and have established a new Workers' and Peasants' State, in absolute contrast to everything which existed before in China. Here also we are faced with great achievements of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. The total membership of our trade unions in the Soviet districts exceeds 320,000. But in spite of this success we have to admit the existence of elements of arbitrary administration, domineering, failure to take concrete conditions into account and a sectarian approach—all of which have come to light in the practical work of various trade unions.

I will give a few examples: In Lianhua, in the manufacture of porcelain, where the piece-work system was formerly in force, the 8-hour day was mechanically introduced without deciding the question of pay, which gave rise to justified discontent among the workers. In Yunsin, co-operative artels were formed, fixing wages without taking into account skill or capacity. As a result of this petty bourgeois levelling down of wages, the artels began to disintegrate.

Furthermore, the All-Chinese Federation of Labour passed a decision not to accept as members of the trade unions handicraftsmen owning their own production equipment. As an example I will point out that in the Hunan-Kiangsi Soviet district, out of a total of 24,000 workers, 18,000 came under this category of semi-proletarian elements in the rural districts—handicraftsmen who go from house to house to obtain orders, and who do not exploit the labour of others but who have their own tools. And it was these broad elements of workers whom our Chinese comrades wanted to keep out of the trade union organisation.

Comrades, we can give a number of examples testifying to the active participation of the trade unions in economic campaigns carried out on Soviet territory, but at the same time we are still frequently confronted with cases in which the trade unions put forward exaggerated demands without taking into account the general

economic situation, and without taking into account the requirements of the Red Army or the necessity for increasing production in the Soviet districts.

The trade unions are playing an important part in filling the ranks of the Chinese Red Army and in strengthening the proletarian elements in it. A great number of very gratifying facts concerning this work of the Red Trade Unions are already known to us. Thus, in one district, when the trade union was carrying on a voluntary mobilisation for the Red Army and aimed to rally 16,000 workers, 36,000 workers turned up of their own accord and enlisted in the ranks of the Red Army.

But there are cases in which individual trade unions have made a complete failure of such campaigns. Thus for example, in the region where the 26th corps is located, which is, to be sure, the most backward of regions, our organisations were not able to carry out a successful campaign of mobilisation for the Red Army.

Now I wish to say a few words about the work of the trade unions in the border regions. I will take the case of Minshan, which is situated on the border between the Soviet and white districts, and for which a bitter struggle is being carried on. When the Red Army approached this region 1,000 workers in the Minshan coal mines went on strike, putting forward the following demands: (1) immediate payment of wages due; (2) five days off a month and wage increases beginning with the new year; and, what is particularly important (3) the introduction of Soviet labour laws. This example of successful work shows the propaganda carried on by the workers in the Soviet districts for winning over the working masses in the districts under the Kuomintang and the border districts. But this is by no means true of all districts. The attention of the trade union workers in the Soviet regions should be called to this fact so that they will work still harder to popularise the achievements of the working masses in the Soviet districts and come forward more and more actively as the leaders and organisers of the struggles of the working masses in the border regions.

The agrarian revolution is the backbone of the colonial revolutions. We see before us the historic importance of the actions of the peasant masses. In the Arabian East, in the Eastern countries inhabited by coloured people, and in the Far, Middle and Near East great masses of peasants are joining the struggle against international imperialism.

In Japan the movement, which in its initial stages was a purely rent movement, is growing into a general struggle of the peasants, judging by the demands put forward. Passive resistance is being replaced by active struggle. We hear more frequently of demonstrations, refusal to obey local authorities, attacks on the houses of the landlords and on police forces, on prisons and on courts. In the history of the Japanese peasant movement, rent conflicts have always tended to develop into actual peasant uprisings, and this is coming more and more to be a characteristic feature of developments to-day.

In Korea the number of cases of peasant actions is growing from year to year.

In India we also observe a rising wave of mass action among the peasants, which is primarily of a spontaneous character. Refusal to pay taxes and rents in this country are being accompanied by clashes with the police and the troops. For the time being the Indian Communists are limiting their activities to initial steps—establishment of contacts, extending of their influence and work in the direction of organising a peasant movement.

The struggles of the peasants are spreading and gaining in intensity in other countries of the East, although at an uneven pace. The organising role is being played by the proletariat, and ever-larger numbers of workers are being drawn into the general stream of revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle.

The East has taken its place, and a prominent place at that, in the international proletarian revolutionary struggle.

National reformism is now going through a severe crisis and is on the verge of complete bankruptcy. The national reformists are now placed between the devil and the deep sea, under conditions of savage imperialist aggression in the colonial countries on the one hand, and under conditions of tremendous advance of the labouring masses in these countries against brutal oppression and exploitation on the other hand. National reformism is capitulating before the attacks of imperialism and revealing to the masses its real counter-revolutionary nature. This gives the Communists of the Eastern countries the possibility of dealing a decisive blow to

national reformism and of completely breaking down its influence among the working masses.

Everywhere, in all the countries of the East, the forces of the Communist International are growing, leading the working masses of the Eastern countries and directly linking up their struggles with the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat.

I wish now to say a few words about the heroic struggle of the Communist Party of Japan, which calls for special attention. In spite of the mass arrest (7,000 during 1932 and 7,681 for 9 months of 1933), in spite of the continuous change in leadership (during the past year alone there have been three sets of leaders), in spite of the treachery of certain leaders (Sano, Nabeyama, etc.), in spite of the increase of chauvinism throughout the country, and in spite of the illusions spread by the ruling class to the effect that the war against China was crowned with success—the Communist Party of Japan has not wavered. It has followed a correct Bolshevik line, and in spite of the severe blows which it has suffered it is continuing its work successfully. The influence of the Party in the trade unions is now growing. The factory newspapers issued by the Party cells serve as a model of work among the masses. These newspapers show a skilful approach to the masses, a concrete formulation of demands and a linking up of daily struggle with the general slogans of the Party.

Comrade Oldner (Czechoslovakia)

To-day the question of democracy is of great importance in view of the fact that our chief task is to prepare the working class and the toiling masses in general for the seizure of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in view of the fact that the social democracy puts forward the slogan of "democracy" against the dictatorship of the proletariat. In our country the question is of particular importance because the social democracy is supporting the fascist dictatorship with the slogan "Defend democracy!" and because imperialist war is being prepared by the "democratic" States, France, Czechoslovakia, etc., against the "dictatorial States," Germany, Hungary, Italy, and, naturally, the Soviet Union.

It is in this decisive question of democracy that the opportunists in the C.P. of our country have fallen lowest. They wrote in our central organ:—

"The social-democratic workers want democracy and bread, just as the whole of the working class does. The defence of democracy means the defence of bread."

In other words, we are for the same sort of democracy as the social-democratic workers, and this democracy, which for a Communist can be no more than a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, is supposed to mean bread. It is interesting to observe how the opportunists fell so deeply. They started off with the slogan of "workers' democracy" and made a fetish out of it. Workers might say or do anything so long as they were workers. They forgot that not all workers are Communists. They forgot that the social-democratic workers are not merely backward workers, but that they are hampered by social-fascist ideology. And in pursuance of this line Comrade *Guttmann* declared at the last plenary session of the Central Committee of our Party that the Communists would maintain discipline and carry out the decisions of the joint meetings and of the democratically elected workers' bodies.

That is a policy which turns the advance guard of the working class into its tail end. In an appeal of the revolutionary trade unions led by Comrade *Sverma* we find that the difference between the revolutionary front of our unions and the counter-revolutionary front to which the reformist unions belong has been completely glossed over. This appeal declared, *inter alia*, the following:—

"Let us break down the walls with which the masters divide us, let us promise each other (i.e., the revolutionary and the reformist unions) that we will fight shoulder to shoulder in solidarity."

And the evening party newspaper develops the theory that Communists are not destructive, they are not the enemies of democracy and of the State. "Communists are constructive, it was not the Communists who broke down the economic system (naturally the reference is to the capitalist economic system) and brought the world to the edge of the abyss. The Communists are in favour of democracy." Only one little point is completely forgotten in this article, namely, that our form of democracy can be a

Comrades, we must remember that Lenin expressed grave fears that our Communist press would fail under conditions of a new imperialist war. We may say that the Party press of the C.P. of Japan has brilliantly stood this test, following a correct line and developing a heroic struggle for the transformation of imperialist war into civil war.

This process of mobilisation of the peoples of the East is also a process of acquiring vast human reserves in the struggle of the international proletariat.

Of course it is not easy to turn the pages of history at one fell sweep, and it is not easy, especially in these countries, for the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry under the leadership of the Communist Party to achieve victory. It is precisely in these countries that it is necessary to be to-day still stronger than yesterday, and to be to-morrow still stronger than to-day. When we see what is going on in the countries of the East and how vast reserves and powerful forces are being drawn into the struggle, we are imbued with faith that the Communist Parties of the East, under the leadership of the Leninist Communist International, under the experienced guidance of Comrade Stalin, will lead the masses boldly, firmly and with determination on to the coming revolutionary battles. (Applause.)

soviet form only and that it must be preceded by the proletarian revolution.

The agitation and propaganda department of our Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade *Reimann* issued such slogans as the following for May 1: "We are in favour of democracy, but proletarian democracy. We are prepared to take part in the government, but only in a government of workers and peasants."

Is not this slogan a deliberate speculation that the social-democratic workers will not realise that the workers' and peasants' government means the dictatorship of the proletariat, that a backward worker who thinks that the Communists ought to take part in the government will imagine that if Communists and social democrats form a workers' and peasants' government together then there will be no need for a revolution?

Comrade *Reimann* not only failed to fight against right-wing opportunism, but tolerated it and even committed it himself. He wrote in "The Communist Review":—

"The participation of the German social democrats in the government has undermined the basis of the proletarian class struggle."

And we find the same idea in the May 1 slogan of the Agit-Prop Department:—

"The coalition policy of the social-democratic leaders digs the grave of the proletarian class struggle. . . . It will arise again in the proletarian united front."

In other words, if the social-democratic leaders would only leave the government then the class struggle and the proletarian united front would rise again, if the social democracy would go into the "opposition", then it would lose its role as the agent of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class.

Comrade *Reimann's* self-criticism at this plenary session marks an advance, but he was still doing no more than trying to cloak his own errors with the still greater errors of other comrades. In the meantime, however, he has made a declaration criticising not only his former errors, but also his speech to this session.

The second question I want to deal with here is the *peasant* question. The Fifth Congress of our Party began the work of putting our peasant policy on a Leninist basis and the Sixth Congress completed the work. Thanks to this policy we have achieved considerable success, but 1933 saw a retrogression here also and the reason is to be sought in serious right-wing opportunism. In a programmatic article published in our "Village Newspaper" we find a theory of class co-operation developed. The rich landowners issue the slogan of "the village is one family" in order to gloss over the class differentiations, and we find our own newspaper doing much the same thing when it writes: "No one will help the village. The village must help itself." Not a word is mentioned about the leading role of the proletariat.

Further we find a series of demands which are not essentially different from those put forward by the *Jilek-Bohen* group at the Fourth Congress of our Party. The right of the landowner to receive rent from his tenants is recognised providing that this rent is "not higher than the interest on capitalised land price." With this our main slogan for the confiscation of the land without compensation is abolished or pushed into the background. It is one thing for the Party to support a concrete movement in favour of lower rents, but is quite a different matter for the party to put forward such a slogan.

The peasant question is closely connected with the *national question*. In the summer a powerful fascist nationalist demonstration took place in Neutra and 100,000 Slovaks, mostly peasants, took part in it. Not only did our Party take no counter-measures whatever, but our leading organ even commented on this demonstration to the effect that the Slovakian people was going its way, the only correct way, hand in hand with the toiling population of Czechoslovakia. Instead of using such an opportunity to demonstrate the Leninist national policy towards the oppressed national minorities, the "Rude Pravo" our central organ, declared that a demonstration under the leadership of the fascist Hlinka shows that the Slovakian people are "going the right way."

Instead of showing the workers that there are two classes in

each nation, the class of the exploiters and the class of the exploited, Comrade *Sverma* wrote in an article on "The Czechoslovakian Question":—

"The question of what role Marxism is to play in the Czech nation and in the struggle of the Czech nation for emancipation is becoming more and more acute. The Czech nation is at a historical crossing of the ways" (in 1933!).

How is a worker to grasp the fact after reading an article like that that his enemy in this struggle for social and national freedom is within the Czech nation and that he has nothing in common with his enemy, that is the Czech bourgeoisie, in this question?

When that is taken together with the right-wing opportunist deviations in the German question, in the question of the role of the Party, the estimation of the role of the social democracy, the united front, etc., then we can understand how it is possible for Comrade Guttman to propose the formation of an organisation "which is not yet Communist, but no longer social-fascist," that is to say, centrist. These facts explain why the Czechoslovakian C.P. has suffered defeats and failures in a series of instances, and the Party is well aware that the preliminary condition for the fulfilment of the tasks which are before us is the liquidation of opportunism. (Applause.)

Comrade Martynov (C.P.S.U.)

Revolutionary theory, the importance of which was so emphatically stressed by our teachers—Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin—acquires particular significance at the present time when we have a difficult uphill road ahead of us, when the world is entering a new round of wars and revolutions, when the basic question of our movement—the question of power, has come to be a question of vital historic importance, and when the pressure of the class enemy on our Party is gaining tremendous force, both in the sense of fascist terrorism and social democratic manoeuvres.

As a result of the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis we now have on the one hand an advance of the revolutionary movement, while on the other hand we have a mobilisation of counter-revolutionary forces and a savage offensive of fascism. The social democrats—the agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class, and its chief social support—are utilising this process in order to confuse the workers and convince them that now the "epoch of fascism and reaction has set in" and that the proletariat has been crushed in the most important field of struggle in the capitalist world, namely, Germany. How could it come about that a number of our own comrades have accepted this defeatist theory? This has come about because they saw only what was taking place on the surface, and did not know how to, in fact could not, analyse in a Marxist-Leninist spirit the far-reaching processes which are revolutionising the entire situation. Another reason is that in the setting up of an open fascist dictatorship they could see only a growth in the forces of the bourgeoisie, and were blind to the fact that the revolutionary development is hampered and accelerated at the same time as a result of the fascist onslaught of the bourgeoisie, and because they saw only how and where the bourgeois class was moving in the given situation without seeing clearly enough or understanding how and where the toiling masses were going to move in the very near future. This is due to the fact that they did not hold out against the pressure of the class enemy and had not absorbed the important Leninist theory which, in the words of Comrade Stalin, "equips practice with an understanding of not only how and where classes are moving at the given moment, but also how and where they will move in the near future," and which "supplements practice by clarity of perspective . . . and faith in the triumph of our cause."

With the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis the social democrats are not only rapidly becoming fascised, but are at the same time resorting to all possible demagogic manoeuvres to an extent hitherto unknown. Owing to the fact that these manoeuvres have a definite effect on the workers, we must now show particular elasticity of our tactics in warding them off. But if our Parties are not sufficiently equipped with the revolutionary theory of Lenin and not sufficiently imbued with a consciousness of the fundamental difference of principle between our Party and the social democratic parties, and not sufficiently steeled in ruthless struggle

against the social democrats, the application of flexible tactics is very likely to degenerate into Right opportunist tactics or into sectarian fear of building up a united front.

We are not carrying on a sufficiently strong ideological struggle against the fascist variety of nationalism. We are exposing the national and social demagoguery of the fascists by explaining that they are lackeys of the big bourgeoisie. And here we find something approaching the opportunist social democratic theory according to which the fascists are the party of the petty bourgeoisie or of the lumpen proletariat. We also combat nationalism and chauvinism in general, and even here our struggle is not sufficiently developed. But the overwhelming majority of Communists who occupy a correct position on this question are not carrying on a sufficiently ideological struggle against the specific fascist variety of nationalism, and are not pointing out to the masses to a sufficient degree that the fascist forms which nationalism is now taking on are the best proof that it is the badly-smelling ideology of a dying exploiting class coughing out the poisons of its death agony, thereby producing a revulsion against this ideology.

In connection with the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis our Parties everywhere are not putting forward the question of power. But in connection with this maturing of the revolutionary crisis the social democrats are also now putting forward the question of power, but for their own demagogic ends. In order to deceive the workers, the social democrats are now saying also that the only way out of the crisis is socialism, and the transfer of power to the working class. Some of them are even talking about "dictatorship of the proletariat," but with some reservations. The proletariat cannot triumph in the coming decisive battles and cannot rally around the Communist Parties if our Communist Parties do not break down this demagoguery of the social democrats and succeed in linking up the struggle for the smallest partial demands of the masses with the struggle for power, explaining in concrete terms how to go about conquering power and show how the social democrats are now attempting to sidetrack the workers from this real struggle for power through their lying demagogic phrases. Can we say that this campaign of explanation and exposure, in connection with the question of power, is being well carried out? We must frankly admit that it is not. Now, when the question of power has become a vital question of the day, just as during the first post-war revolutionary crisis, all questions of the State acquire exceptional importance—questions which Lenin so masterfully expounded in "State and Revolution" and "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky"—theories which have now been fully confirmed by the development of the two paths—Bolshevik and social democratic. Are we now elevating the question of power to a question of principle in our mass agitation? No, we are not. And this is because we have neglected revolutionary theory, as expressed in the fact that even the famous twenty-one conditions

adopted at the Second Congress of the Comintern have not yet been thoroughly assimilated everywhere at the present time, when they are of particular significance in connection with the attempts of the "Left" social democrats to form a new Second-and-a-half or Fourth International.

Comparatively speaking, it is our Chinese, German, Polish, and Bulgarian Communist Parties, not to mention, of course, the C.P.S.U., which show most interest in theory and in the study of the principles of Leninism. And it is no mere chance that they are our strongest Parties in the actual struggle. Our other Parties—American, British, Czechoslovakian, French, etc.—show considerably less interest in theory and in the study of the principles of Leninism, although we note a growing tendency in these Parties in this direction, especially among their younger members. This theoretical backwardness is one of the reasons why it is comparatively more difficult for them to overcome opportunist vacillations in practice.

Our German, Chinese, Polish, and Bulgarian Parties have been ideologically steeled in bitter struggles on questions of principle. We were recently given a very good example of this by our great comrade, Dimitrov, who, on the Tenth Anniversary of the September uprising in Bulgaria, felt the necessity, even in court, of criticising the opportunist errors of the Bulgarian Party leadership, to which he belonged in 1923.

Our other Parties follow quite a different method in attempting to overcome their opportunist errors. They overcome them without ideological battles, very quietly and inconspicuously, making a family affair out of it. Consequently their overcoming of these errors is not very complete, and relapses are very frequent.

Owing to the neglect of theory by our Parties, they have not yet sufficiently assimilated the principles and methods of Leninism. In order to carry out consistently the line of the Comintern, it is not enough to absorb its directives empirically. They must be also theoretically assimilated. But in this respect the situation in our Parties is far from being satisfactory.

In connection with the problem of theoretical firmness and empiricism I wish to dwell on one question. Some comrades complain that with our scholarly language and politically keen definitions we have difficulty in reaching the masses, for the masses always think in empiric terms. It is necessary to be quite clear on this point. The Russian Bolsheviks always placed theory on a very high level, but at the same time were able to speak to the masses in

such popular language and find such a direct approach to them, aware at all times of what was troubling them, what they wanted and what they were striving for, that their agitation met with ready response among the great masses of workers and peasants. The Russian Bolsheviks were very adept at establishing contacts with the masses. The Bolsheviks maintained, and still maintain, that without this, theory is of absolutely no value, because they are not library scholars but revolutionists, leading mass movements. But the secret of the success of the Bolsheviks lies in the fact that they were not only able to link themselves up with the masses, but were also able to bring the masses with them, and direct their struggle towards the great revolutionary aims of the working class, and in the fact that they did not drag along at the tail of the masses, or bow down to spontaneity, but elevated the masses to the level of the revolutionary tasks which faced them. But the Party must be able to master the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. This theory, based on dialectical materialism, is a very complicated theory.

There is no question that our Parties are growing ideologically and have even grown fast during the past years. But their ideological growth still lags far behind the demands of the day, especially now when the pressure of the class enemy on our Parties is being tremendously intensified, and when great firmness of principle is required to withstand this pressure.

Our journal, the "Communist International," as the leading political and theoretical organ of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, is, or at least should be, a lever for raising the theoretical level of our Parties. But if it is to fulfil this function effectively, our Parties must come to its aid in two ways: First of all responsible comrades from our sections must at last begin to collaborate in a systematic manner with our journal, and not only in the sense of writing for it and supplying it with informative articles, but also with a view to bringing up problems arising from the movement in their countries. They must learn to bring up and work out these problems in a Leninist manner.

The second thing which we demand of the leaders of our Comintern Sections is that they should take energetic steps to obtain a large circulation for our journal in order to raise the theoretical level of our active Party members. This is particularly important at the present time, when many of our Parties are being driven underground and the publication of their theoretical organs has to be suspended, as is the case in Germany. (Applause.)

Comrade Raymond Guyot (Y.C.L. France)

The French delegation considers the criticism of it made at this Plenum—particularly that of Comrade Chemodanov—to be correct.

After the victory of the Party over the "Left" opportunist Barbe-Couthellas group, which held the leadership of the Youth League in its hands, the C.C. of the Party introduced an energetic struggle for the liquidation of the theoretical and practical influence of this alien group within the Y.C.L. The first results of this struggle were that the membership of the League grew in five months from 4,000 to 5,700 and that the positions in the factories were strengthened.

After these first results the attention given by the Party to youth questions diminished; the leadership of the Y.C.L., with Comrade Charrière at the head, brought the League on to an opportunist path. A strengthened leadership became therefore necessary. But instead of this it became weakened. This makes the responsibility of the Party considerably heavier. From this regrettable experience every possible lesson for the future must be drawn.

In the period since the Twelfth Plenum the number of members of the League has dropped. But more serious still is the fact that the connections with the factories became lost and that, as follows from the development of the "Advance Guard," the League's central organ, this retrogressive movement of the organised forces was accompanied by a diminution in influence among the youth. It is equally easy to understand that the training of cadres and the formation of leaderships not only relaxed; they even followed a path directly opposed to the line of the Party and the Y.C.I.

In July of last year the Executive of the Y.C.I. proposed that, in view of the critical situation of our League, an extraordinary League conference should be summoned and a special commission

established to make preparations for this League conference. The fact that the Party leadership at first did not approve of this step is evidence that the alarming condition of the League is not perfectly recognised and that the youth question is in general underestimated and not looked upon as one of the chief tasks of the Party.

The bourgeoisie, however, is bringing all its parties, all its newspapers and writers, into play. Every conceivable effort is being made to militarise the youth and to divert them as an active mass into the channel of their counter-revolutionary policy to the advantage of the profits of big capital. Yet the working youth, whose wages are being cut, who are being handed over to starvation, who in the barracks are being harassed to death with drill, are not letting themselves be caught, but are fighting in their hundreds of thousands in strikes and on the street.

The assertions of the opportunists of the Charrière type that the working youth are passive and demoralised, have nothing in common with reality, with the day-to-day class struggle. Like all opportunists, Charrière ascribes to the workers his own mental condition. In the whole of the recent period, during the Paris Congress, more than 100,000 young workers were mobilised in France against war and fascism; a large number of members of the socialist and even of the Christian pacifist youth organisations took part in this congress. Since August 90 soldiers' letters have been published in "l'Humanité," and there have been 14 demonstrations in the camps and barracks of the bourgeois army. In the strikes at Citroën's and in Dunkirk the young workers were the most active. At Troyes and Strassbourg they opposed the manoeuvres and fought heroically in the street battles against the mobile guards.

What facts have we got to establish?

At a session of the C.C. in November, 1932, it was decided at the suggestion of Charrière to place the provision of recreation centres for the toiling youth in the centre of the League's activity.

The strike conflicts proceeded without preparation, without direction of the activities of the young Communists who, left in the lurch by the League leadership, continued to fight courageously at the head of the youth, as for instance in Strassbourg, but who did not organise the youth and consequently did not free them from the influence of the bourgeois, Christian and other organisations, nor isolated these from the masses. The tasks of the work in the mass organisations was replaced by "disputes" with the leaders of the grouplets of the renegades, Trotskyists and Pupists. It was possible for tendencies towards actual fights against the socialist youth to spread, particularly in the North.

How was it possible for opportunist elements like Charrière to be able to guide the Y.C.L. on to a path opposed to the line of the Y.C.I. and the Party? And how is it to be explained that the Party could so reverse the process of building up the League?

After the Twelfth Plenum of the C.I. the question of the winning over of the youth and of transforming the Y.C.L. into a mass organisation was not thrashed out in discussion by the Party. That is the main reason. The result of this was that the attention of each cell and each Party member was not directed to this main task. The slogan: "Beside every Party Cell a Youth Cell!" was many times repeated but never explained. Not a single Party Cell was mobilised in a concrete manner for the realisation of this task. In practice no effective leadership of the Communist youth was exercised by the Party.

In contrast to the bourgeoisie the winning over of the toiling youth for Communism was still regarded as a secondary task in the belief that one can still manage without it. This attitude prevails not only in the lower and intermediate units of the Party; it has been represented even by a member of the Polbureau.

The youth are resolutely militant, but they are arrayed in their millions in the bourgeois organisations. The majority of the working youth are organised in the Catholic Youth. Tens of thousands are in the Socialist Youth. The bourgeois youth organisations embrace more than 3 to 4 million young people. We have got to work so that this youth is won over and comes to us.

We must put an end to the underestimation of the youth if we mean to carry out, not only in words but in deeds, the central task of the Party: the winning of the majority of the working class; if we mean to make of the Communist youth a reservoir from which the Party can draw forces that are experienced and able to fight in the advance guard of the proletariat.

Once again there have sprung up in the Party views questioning the necessity of the existence of a Young Communist League. It has been proposed that the Y.C.L. should be disbanded and its members regarded as Party members.

This conception has its roots in a faulty conception of the role of the Party and of the role of the Y.C.L. It is not yet clear to every Party member that the Y.C.L. is the organisation of the masses of the youth fighting for Communism, who only through training and through the struggle are being educated to be Party members. In consequence they misrepresent also the relationship

between the Party and the Young Communist League. They imagine that the two organisations are on an equality and connected together through reciprocal delegation of representatives to all organisations. The normal relationship between Party and Youth League can be correctly solved only when the Party organises the youth in the Young Communist League, leads them in a concrete manner and wins them for its policy and tactic.

The slogan: "To every Party Cell a Youth Cell" has met with resistance among some members of the Party. The correctness of this slogan was tested in practice by Party Cells which had worked for the realisation of this slogan. In recent months we have already secured some results in this regard in the course of the recruiting campaign now proceeding.

Our task is to catch up with the Party as regards number of members, in the main by recruiting inside the factories. We must bring each of the 400 Cells of our Party to the point where they turn the slogan: "To every Party Cell a Youth Cell" into fact.

Such work on the part of every Party Cell makes possible the rapid transformation of the Y.C.L. into a mass organisation. In Dunkirk we had no organised mass in the Y.C.L. at all before the strike. The Unitary Trade Union on the other hand was strong and included a large number of the younger dockers. It had put forward demands for the young dockers and had formed on the basis of the struggle for these demands a strong trade union section. The dockers' movement had a great influence on the girls in the local textile mill. Our comrades carried out among them a solidarity campaign and organised an agitation for their own demands. To-day more than twenty mill girls are organised in a trade union section. Combined with these economic struggles we developed the struggle against the imperialist preparations for war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. The young dockers sent collectively their declaration of affiliation to the Paris Congress against war and fascism. Calling up for military service proceeded to the sound of the anti-imperialist struggle. In the trade union a fund was started for the recruits. Finally, at a meeting of 80 young dockers a delegate to the Sixteenth anniversary celebrations in the U.S.S.R. was elected, and confirmed at a meeting of 2,500 dockers and 150 girls from the textile factory. In the course of strike conflict, of this action against war and for the defence of the U.S.S.R., the Y.C.L. Cell was created and reinforced this action. We have to-day in Dunkirk a cell of 29 young Communists, with another cell at the docks.

In Castres, a textile centre, where a magnificent strike is in progress, results similar to those in Dunkirk were secured.

The results of the mass work of the Party among the youth are due to the resolute application of the decisions of the Communist International. By this means the position of the League was improved. Our successes have put a seal once and for all to the bankruptcy of Charrière's opportunist "theories" and consolidated our ranks. In recent months 460 young people became members of the League. In future recruiting campaigns the Party must set itself the task of winning greater masses of the youth. That is the way along which we can carry out our tasks, along which we can catch up with the Party as regards number of members, which will lead to the Party winning for the cause of Communism thousands of young workers, who will put their zeal and their enthusiasm at the service of the cause of the proletariat, of the Revolution. (Applause.)