

# INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 14 No. 28

# PRESS

7th May 1934

# CORRESPONDENCE

## The XIII Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

### Discussion on the Reports of Comrades Kuusinen, Pieck and Pollitt

#### Revolutionary Crisis, Fascism and War

#### Speech by Comrade Manuilsky

### 1. The New Factors in the International Situation

The new factors which are to be observed in the development of the world economic crisis are:—

(1) In individual capitalist countries (U.S.A., Japan, Germany) a certain revival of economic life was to be observed in the summer of 1933, connected in the first place with the increase in orders for armaments, in the second place with the carrying out of inflation, in the third place with certain government measures directed towards an artificial, albeit short-lived increase of production and raising of prices. This revival, which was of a speculative character, only lasted a few months and was followed in the United States by another sharp decline in industrial production and prices. Nevertheless, it is essential to emphasise that this new decline has not yet reached the very lowest point which characterised the development of the crisis in the past.

(2) The intertwining of the world economic crisis with the general crisis of capitalism has gone so far that one cannot speak of the possibility of the world economic crisis coming to an end. This does not preclude the possibility of isolated improvements in the economic situation, but the basic line of development of world capitalism, determined by its general crisis, will go uninterruptedly downward. It is becoming ever increasingly clear to millions of people that there can be no return of capitalism to its pre-war condition, that "prosperity" was only a short-lived episode on the background of capitalist stabilisation. In connection with this the crisis on the one hand grows ever more "political," while on the other hand the factors of the general crisis of capitalism—fascism, war, the revolutionary movement of the masses—appear in it ever more markedly as factors in the destruction of the capitalist system.

(3) The attempts of the bourgeoisie to rescue capitalist society from ruin (Roosevelt's plan, the Ottawa Conference, economic autarchy), even though they may have brought about some improvement of a temporary character in the economic situation,

have nevertheless proved bankrupt as a means of overcoming the general crisis of capitalism. The statesmen, appearing in the role of sorcerers who have found a remedy for curing the doomed system, remind us ever more and more of the Swiss banker Necker on the eve of the great French revolution.

(4) During the past year the elements of fascism and war have matured more rapidly than the elements of revolutionary crisis. And none the less the revolutionary crisis, which up to the time of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., had matured only

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in individual capitalist countries, is now on the way to growing over into a revolutionary crisis of the whole world system of capitalism. This does not mean that this revolutionary crisis will seize all capitalist countries at the same time. It only means that the quantitative changes caused by the economic crisis in world capitalist economy will bring qualitative changes in their train. These may not be a revolutionary crisis in this or that individual country, and nevertheless there will be a revolutionary crisis of the entire system of world capitalism. Such a revolutionary crisis will develop on the basis of the further deepening and sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism. The inner dialectical connection of the processes of the maturing of the revolutionary crisis, of fascism and war is determined by the extremely rapid shiftings in the correlation of class forces. Fascism, if it does not receive an adequate repulse from the toilers, will grow over into imperialist war, and imperialist war breeds fascism, as may be seen from the example of Italy. On the other hand, imperialist war will bring revolution in its train (as we see from the examples of tsarist Russia and the Central European States), and revolution will call down an attack upon itself by the capitalist world, as is shown by the experience of the intervention in the U.S.S.R. And if at the present time there is a force which is holding back imperialist war, then it is the threat of proletarian revolution and the fear felt by the bourgeoisie for the U.S.S.R.

(5) The feverish preparations of the capitalist States for new imperialist wars have created a pre-war atmosphere. The years of clandestine work by the general staffs, the fears of work of the League of Nations as a weapon of imperialist wars, the years of pernicious, pseudo-pacifist propaganda by social democracy, which has been preparing for war, are now being brought to completion. All the characteristic factors of a pre-war atmosphere are present: the rupture of international treaties and agreements (the violation of the Versailles and Washington pledges), the growth or secret and open armaments, the militarisation of economic and public life in the capitalist countries, the intensification of political reaction. Economic war, as the prelude of imperialist war, is in full swing. Fascism, with its unbridled chauvinist propaganda, with its gospel of savage nationalist man-hatred, is creating a psychological atmosphere for bloody massacres; a crusade is going on against the Communists, manifestations of mass discontent are stifled with merciless cruelty, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is taking on an ever-more terrorist character, stipulating the possibility that the bourgeoisie will once again risk throwing the peoples into a bloody slaughter. And the toiling masses of the whole world must know that from the first day after its outbreak the new imperialist war will still further accelerate the process of fascisation of all capitalist States; it will create an atmosphere of reaction in which it will be difficult to breathe, unless the toilers put an end to the capitalist system before it drags them into the catastrophe of war.

But the greatest event of the past year was the coming to power of the fascists in Germany. This was an event of no small importance. In the first place, the setting up of the fascist dictatorship in Germany has driven one of the most powerful Parties of the Communist International, the Communist Party of Germany, into illegality, into an illegality more severe than has ever been seen in history before. Millions of toilers followed this Party. Of all the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries it was closest to winning over the majority of the working class. This fact alone makes it impossible for us to disregard this event, to neglect to make use of the lessons which all the other sections of the Communist International have to learn from this murderous blow that has been struck at the German proletariat. The setting up of the fascist dictatorship in Germany is bringing about a new regrouping of forces among the capitalist Powers; it brings nearer to a tremendous degree the outbreak of new imperialist wars; it is a blow not only at the German proletariat, but it is directed in all its sharpness against the focus-point of world Bolshevism—the U.S.S.R. It has drawn the whole of Central Europe into the orbit of fascist development; it has accelerated the process of fascisation in all capitalist countries, intensifying the hurricane of reaction, rousing the storm of revolution with its fitful blasts. Another reason why the Plenum cannot disregard this event is because it has caused a tremendous transvaluation of values in the minds of the world proletariat—of less extent, it is true, than at the time of the World War, but none the less a transvaluation the importance of which should

not be underestimated. It has accelerated the process of the integration of world social democracy, and this likewise constitutes a new factor of the political development since the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and the economic crisis in capitalist countries on the other have brought their train-crisis of social democracy. The bankruptcy of German social democracy in the face of fascism, together with the feverish preparations of the capitalist world for an imperialist war, have converted this crisis into the incipient disintegration of the Second International.

But the setting up of the fascist dictatorship in Germany has caused some vacillations in the less stable links of the Communist Parties. In France, England, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Austria, and even in Germany itself, there were found individual persons for whom this test proved too severe. The stance taken on the German question has become a touchstone showing the degree of Bolshevisation of the various sections of the Communist International, the degree of their Bolshevik stamina, their ability to meet abrupt changes in the course of events, changes with which the end of capitalist stabilisation is inevitably connected—with their heads held high. And we must say at the Plenum with supreme satisfaction that the sections of the Comintern have stood this test with honour. Only think, comrades, what would have happened if this event had occurred a few years ago when the Bolshevisation of the sections of the Comintern was proceeding in alternating crises. Such an event would inevitably have been followed by a profound crisis in the Comintern. And in contrast to this at the present day the German Communist Party has not only had no crisis, but it is upholding the banner still more heroically, raising it still higher, drenched in the blood of its best sons, of the best fighters in the working class. The conduct of Dimitrov at the Leipzig trial alone causes our hearts to beat with pride at the thought that our world Communist Party has reared many Dimitrovs, that tens of thousands of German Communists are evoking respect even among the enemies by their steadfastness and by their supreme devotion to the cause of the world proletarian revolution. And against the background of this mass heroism all the more shameful is the desertion of the Renns and Neumanns, who in their political line reflect the demoralisation of those sections of the backward workers who have followed social democracy and who have lost their bearings after the capitulation of German social democracy to fascism. Engels once wrote: "The movement of the proletariat inevitably passes through different stages of development; at each stage some people get stuck and do not go further." And Renns and Neumann have got stuck in the social democratic swamp, have got stuck because they were criminally anxious to take advantage of the blow inflicted on the German working class in order to defame the Party and its Bolshevik leadership.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the line of the C.P.G. and of its leader, Comrade Thaelmann, in avoiding an open armed battle with the fascist gangs, was absolutely correct. At the present time, as is clear from the trial of the burning of the Reichstag, it was the plan of the fascist scoundrels to provoke this battle in order to cut off and physically annihilate the vanguard of the German working class. And this was also what German social democracy and the whole Second International wanted when they rejected the Comintern's proposal of March 5 for a united front of struggle against fascism. To lead the German Communists under the axe of fascism, to finish off at one stroke the advanced detachments of world Bolshevism, the C.P.G.—this was also in line with the wishes of the Welses. It was just for this reason that the Welses, who did not want to fight fascism, declined the repeated attempts of the C.P.G. to organise a joint struggle of the social-democratic and Communist workers against fascism.

The despicable Trotsky, who has become the chief purveyor of "ideas" for international reaction, was likewise trying to bring about the rout of Thaelmann's Party, which remained loyal to the Comintern. And these malicious plans of German fascism and social fascism in regard to the C.P.G. are most intimately connected with the whole position of the Second International in regard to world Bolshevism and the U.S.S.R.

International social democracy, with Trotsky thrown in, would have liked to see the armed destruction of the U.S.S.R., for it knows that the victory of socialism brings with it the death of social democracy.

And it would have been pure adventurism if the German Communist Party, relying on a part of the proletariat split by social democracy—a part which was moreover isolated from the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and which did not have any armed forces at its disposal—had got involved in a battle with the united fascist gangs and the Reichswehr.

To the same category belong the accusations launched by individual defeatists against the C.P.G. to the effect that after social democracy had declined its proposal for a united front of struggle, it did not develop actions of its own initiative, not only actions of an armed character, but actions in general. And here it is perfectly clear that we have to do with parrot-like imitators of social democracy, who have succumbed to the pressure of social democracy and are trying to shift the responsibility from it on to the German Communist Party. Instead of pillorying German social democracy before the working class of their own country—German social democracy which has forsaken the proletariat in its direst need, which has deliberately led it, unarmed both materially and politically, under the axe of the fascist hangmen—these people are casting a stone at the Party which has courageously done its duty and continues to do its duty to the proletariat. Such people represent an obstacle to the winning over of the social democratic workers, and it is necessary to expose them in order to wage a successful struggle against social democracy.

## 2. The Shiftings in the Correlation of Class Forces

The importance of the coming to power of the fascists in Germany lies also in the fact that it has exercised an influence on the correlation of the forces of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in other capitalist countries.

The reasons for the self-assurance of the forces of reaction are to be sought for in the split of the working class, which is a consequence of the treacherous policy pursued by international social democracy. The treachery of the social democracy helped the bourgeoisie to suppress the proletarian revolutions in the Central European countries in 1919-21, to effect the stabilisation of capitalism on the bones of the working class. It is helping the bourgeoisie at the present time both to pursue a policy aiming at war and the setting up of the fascist dictatorship and to bring about both of these even at the present time in individual capitalist countries.

It is not to-day nor was it during the past year that the working class was split. Here it is not a case of quantitative changes. The new factor consists in the relative importance of the split of the working class in view of the maturing of fascism and imperialist war. In the period of capitalist stabilisation social democracy betrayed strikes, but the workers suffered only partial defeats. Treachery in the face of advancing fascism is a blow at the working class as a whole. This crime is of an almost equally great historical character as the betrayal of August 4, as the bloody suppression of the German proletarian revolution. Consider for a moment how the world would look to-day if the vile social democratic reptile had been crushed within the working class, if the world labour movement were united under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Communist International, coupled with the existence of the Soviet Union plus the Soviets in China. Then there would be no German fascism, no threat of imperialist war.

The setting up of the fascist dictatorship permits the bourgeoisie temporarily to reconcile the interests of various groups, to rally these groups into one shock troop against the working class; it greatly increases the resistance of the bourgeoisie to the proletarian revolution. And over against these serried ranks of the bourgeoisie and the forces of reaction there stands a split working class. This fact alone changes the correlation of forces in the capitalist countries in a direction unfavourable to the proletariat.

This does not mean, of course, that these dynamics in the correlation of forces may not change, and change with extreme rapidity. This process is already going on and will inevitably go on with catastrophic swiftness under conditions of the end of capitalist stabilisation, but the development of fascist tendencies in the capitalist world is for the time being rendering the conditions for the struggle of the proletariat less favourable. The crisis is having a tremendous revolutionising effect on the masses, but it is also creating tremendous cadres of unemployed, especially among the youth, part of whom are to-day being attracted by

fascism with its unscrupulous social demagogy.

Fascist influences are thus penetrating into individual sections of the proletariat.

Take into account, moreover, the increased difficulty of the strike struggle under conditions of the crisis, the ferocity of the employers in the factories, the unheard-of pressure of the State apparatus of terrorist dictatorship upon the working class, the great difficulty involved in developing open forms of the labour movement, and it will be clear to you where the causes are to be sought for the relative stagnation of the labour movement in the capitalist countries between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenums of the E.C.C.I., and why the labour movement in these countries is not marching steadily onward.

And it is precisely in these changes that we must seek the explanation of the fact that the total number of members in the Parties forming the sections of the Comintern has not increased in comparison with the figures at the time of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

This does not mean, of course, that individual sections of the Comintern have not grown. The Chinese Communist Party, for example, has increased its membership by 100,000 during one year, and numbers about 400,000 members at the present time. But there are sections which have suffered cruelly during the past year from the blows of the class enemy. And without doubt first place in respect of the number of victims belongs to the German Communist Party, which since the moment when the fascists came to power has lost upwards of 2,000 killed, 60,000 to 70,000 imprisoned in concentration camps, but which nevertheless, as Comrade Pieck has told us, has retained about 100,000 members in its ranks.

If the German Communist Party to-day appeared before the Plenum even with one-half or with one-third of this number, even in that case we should say that the C.P.G. remains a model section of the Communist International. But it is not only in Germany that repressions have been dealt out; during this year they have affected to a lesser or greater extent the majority of the sections of the Communist International. During the eight months of 1933, according to the data of the Executive Committee of the I.R.A., there have been 46,000 persons killed, 160,000 wounded or maimed, and 228,000 revolutionary workers and peasants arrested, the overwhelming majority of whom are members of the Communist Parties or active adherents of Communist ideas.

In Japan there were 14,000 arrested during the past two years, while 30,000 have been arrested since 1929. This figure is enough for a whole Party!

But we must not forget that this year has been connected with the transition of a large number of our sections to an illegal or semi-legal position. The Communist Party has been suppressed not only in Germany, but also in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, and in other countries; the Communist press has been closed down, the Red trade unions are being suppressed.

And if under these conditions, when the white terror is spreading, the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, which in the past have had no experience of illegality, which have grown up in an atmosphere of bourgeois legalism, have retreated in good order to an illegal position and have been able, although with difficulty, to reconstruct the methods of their work, that alone is a great achievement of the Comintern.

It must be realised that the general tendency of development under conditions of an inevitable clash of two classes and two worlds, of the intensified growth of antagonisms between them, will lead to a regime in relation to the organisations of the hostile class under which there will be no place for elements of so-called democratic liberties. Bourgeois dictatorship will continue to suppress and destroy revolutionary organisations of the working class without mercy, and this circumstance is a characteristic symptom of the epoch of revolutions and war.

The changes in the correlation of class forces in the capitalist countries are likewise connected with the strengthening of fascist influence among the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie. Of the sections of the Comintern only individual Communist Parties, such as the Bulgarian Party, have been able to consolidate their influence over the peasantry, while in the overwhelming majority of the capitalist countries the peasantry have hitherto followed the bourgeois parties. Here the new factor which has been apparent during the past year is that under the influence of the severe agrarian crisis more or less considerable

groups of the peasantry in individual countries have shifted over into the camp of fascism.

These processes have been all the more marked among the urban petty bourgeoisie and the "middle" strata who have been ruined by the crisis. Here we must say frankly that not one Communist Party of the capitalist countries has hitherto devoted its attention to winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie to the side of the proletariat or even to the task of neutralising it.

And meanwhile fascism, even though it has not succeeded in winning over to its side the reserves of the proletariat, has undoubtedly made a step forward in this direction. The force of attraction of these reserves towards the proletariat has been weakened by the fact of the split in the world labour movement, for the petty bourgeoisie respects the prestige of power and wavers towards the side which impresses it most by its power.

Finally, in the colonies, if we do not count China, the past year, in consequence of the differentiation of the national-revolutionary movement, has been marked in comparison with previous years by a certain weakening of the sweep of this movement—resembling rather the calm before the storm, but nevertheless a calm which permits the bourgeoisie to descend with all the greater fury upon the proletariat.

This whole situation has undoubtedly contributed to a maturing of the elements of fascism and war more rapid than was the case previously. And at the same time it has given international social democracy and its renegade imitators an opportunity to proclaim that the coming period is a period of counter-revolution.

Can we consider this period as one only of black reaction like that which began in Europe after the suppression of the revolution of 1848 or the crushing of the Paris Commune in 1871?

No, comrades, history knows different types of reaction, but in the main they may be classed under two heads: There is the type of reaction which comes after the defeat of the revolution and the rout of the proletariat when the wave of revolution is on the ebb. The period which began after 1848 or 1871 belongs to this type of reaction. But there have been also other periods of frenzied reaction in history—periods which have preceded revolutions. It was precisely on the immediate eve of revolution that tsarism resorted to the cruellest method of terror. The German monarchy which was tottering in 1918 shot down revolutionary sailors a few months before its own downfall. The terrorist dictatorship of the war years of 1914-1918 did not prevent revolution in Central Europe from terminating the World War. And, nevertheless, during the months and weeks which preceded the end of the war, the terror against the toilers, against the soldiers, took on especially savage forms in all capitalist countries. Strikes were declared illegal, the free expression of opinion was punished as high treason, courts-martial passed scores of death sentences, fire was opened on soldiers who refused to attack the enemy. The terror of the ruling classes was not in any way evidence of the consolidation of their power; they employed terror as a last resort to defer the outbreak of revolution.

It is precisely in relation to such periods that Marx's thesis to the effect that the party of revolution rallies the party of reaction acquires twofold significance. It applies most of all to a situation when the forces of the proletariat have not yet matured to such an extent that it is possible to commence the overthrowing of the ruling classes by armed force and when on the other hand the positions of the ruling classes are so shaken that they have to resort to extraordinary measures in order to maintain their rule. But, comrades, Marx's proposition has also its reverse side: The forces of reaction likewise rally the forces of revolution. Fascism does not only make the struggle of the working class more difficult; it also accelerates the processes of the maturing of the revolutionary crisis.

It is just such periods as the present which are characterised by the development of two contradictory processes, of two rising waves—the wave of revolution and the wave of reaction. Both these processes are shattering the capitalist system from different directions—shattering it ever more extensively, more profoundly, and more sharply. And he who at the present time admits the presence of only a single one-sided tendency, the tendency of political reaction alone, and completely disregards the elements of the revolutionary crisis which is maturing, this man inevitably bases himself on the recognition of "organised capitalism," overlooking the contradictions which are tearing it asunder in the unity of reaction.

What at the present time are the manifestations of the elements of the maturing revolutionary crisis?

Firstly, the unprecedented tension of class interrelations. Fascist dictatorship is introducing into those relations utterly unmasked violence and civil war. Just as the war of 1914-18 did in its time, so fascism now, by placing the bayonet on the order of the day, is killing the illusion of legalism and bourgeois law among the masses. By these same methods the bourgeois dictatorship is preparing its own destruction.

If the history of mankind knows no precedents of such a tension in class relations, it is not because the classes have not clashed previously in more bitter conflicts, but because the economic contradictions which lie at the root of this tension have passed beyond the bounds of anything which mankind has known hitherto. The dreadful force of pressure which monopoly capital exerts upon the masses will inevitably bring in its train revolutionary outbursts of such a scale as have never been seen in the past.

Fascism is inculcating a frenzied hatred into the toiling masses not only towards its gangs of bandits but also towards the bourgeoisie as the class which is responsible for all violence and suppression of the toilers. He who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind.

Hypocritical pacifism both in class relations and in international relations is suffering bankruptcy before our eyes.

The rule of open violence, both in relations of classes and in those of capitalist States between each other, constitutes the basic content of the epoch of collapsing capitalism after the end of capitalist stabilisation. This is the characteristic feature of the second round of revolutions and wars.

The second element of the world revolutionary crisis which is maturing is the growing indignation of the masses. Suppressed, driven underground, this mass indignation smoulders deep below the surface in the countries of fascist dictatorship. Its secret processes are often not noticeable to the naked eye, and this is why they lead to unexpected outbursts.

In 1916 during the World War Lenin wrote:—

"The socialist revolution may break out not only in consequence of a great strike, a street demonstration, a hunger riot, a mutiny in the forces, or a colonial rebellion, but also in consequence of any political crisis, like the Dreyfus affair, the Zabern incident, or in connection with a referendum on the secession of an oppressed nation, etc."

French bourgeois historians assert that if anyone had been walking the streets of Paris a few days before the fall of the Bastille, he would not have noticed anything such as might have presaged the events of July 14, 1789. Superficial "quiet" misleads the ruling classes. The fascist dictatorship, driving the mass discontent underground, loses the feeling of reality; it bases its judgment of the situation on the reports of those hysterical cretins whom it has appointed as leaders of its storm detachments. Those comrades who guarded Nicholas II. when he was held prisoner could tell of the almost idiotic lack of comprehension for the meaning of the events taking place in a revolutionary country revealed by this man who had had this vast country under his command. Fascism, like a vandal let loose, is smashing the whole system of those indices by which it is possible to judge of the state of feeling among the masses—statistics, trade unions, elections, etc. And every kind of reaction to a lesser or greater extent follows in its footsteps. Hence the "unexpected" character of mass outbursts.

We have had the English general strike of May 1, 1926, the uprising of the Vienna workers on July 15, 1927, the movement in the English fleet in the autumn of 1931, as symptoms of the growing indignation of the masses at the capitalist order of society. Can anyone assert that with the development of the crisis this indignation has diminished? Can the degree of this indignation in the countries of the fascist dictatorship at the present time be measured only by strikes and demonstrations. Is not the growth of this indignation evidenced by such facts as the shootings in Geneva, as the events in Rumania, as the uprising in the Dutch fleet by the joint action of the Dutch and Malayan sailors?

Thirdly, and lastly, no small part in the maturing of the elements of the world-wide revolutionary crisis is played by the growth of the influence of the Communist Parties and of the ideas

\* Lenin: "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination." Collected Works, Vol. xix.

of Communism in general. This influence is making itself felt in three main ways. First and foremost, it is increasing the number of the direct supporters of the aims and tasks of the Communist Party among the working class; secondly, there is a growth in the number of people who do not call themselves Communists, but who instinctively, by virtue of their class instinct, accept our slogans, our methods of struggle, serve the aims of their own class. In any spontaneous strike or in any spontaneous movement one may find this type of unexpected "promotees" from among the masses themselves. Finally, the influence of the ideas of Communism is shown by the way in which they penetrate into the ranks of hostile organisations and above all into the ranks of social democracy, which accelerates the process of the latter's disintegration.

### 3. The Forces of Revolution

But what is the relative importance of the tendencies of the world revolutionary crisis in comparison with the tendency of fascism and war?

This question can only be answered by reckoning up the forces of revolution which stand against the world forces of reaction. The forces of revolution are, firstly, the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries; secondly, the national revolutionary movements in the colonies; thirdly, Soviet China, and, fourthly, the Soviet Union as a decisive and all-important factor in the world proletarian revolution.

The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries are a very important factor in the world proletarian revolution, but, with the exception of certain individual sections, the Communist Parties do not yet have a mass character—a fact which permits the elements of fascism and war to grow with extreme rapidity. Besides this the Communist Parties have a number of great shortcomings in their work.

Firstly, all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries without exception make insufficient use of the world economic crisis in order to strengthen themselves politically and organisationally. They have not always headed the movement of the working class for its partial demands; they have not developed a huge mass movement of the unemployed in conformity with the dimensions of the present crisis; they have not always been able to mobilise the masses around clear, concrete slogans, conforming to the state of feeling among these masses, for the struggle against capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship. And the reason for the weak work of the Communist Party in this sphere lies in the opportunist passivity and sectarian habits which have not yet been outlived and which hinder both the organisational and the political growth of the sections of the Comintern. And if the Communist Parties, especially the numerically weak ones, had overcome these manifestations of opportunism, they would have come to this Plenum to-day with other results than those which they actually have.

Questions of mass politics and mass work must become the corner-stone of the whole activity of the Communist Parties, if they are seriously reckoning on blocking the way to fascism and imperialist war and on accelerating the maturing of the elements of world revolutionary crisis.

Secondly, the Communist Parties have made insufficient use of the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy in Germany and of the political and organisational crisis of German social democracy in order to undermine the foundations of the influence of the whole Second International. There has not been a sufficiently resolute Bolshevik offensive against international social democracy on the part of the sections of the Comintern. Opportunist waverings have begun, as reflected by Humbert-Droz in the Swiss Communist Party, by Guttman in the Czechoslovakian Party, by Schueler in the Austrian Party—waverings which amount to a weakening of the struggle against social democracy, to an open lapsing into social-democratic positions, and which introduces a "spirit of waverings and opportunism, a spirit of demoralisation and hesitation." (Stalin.)

Comrade Ercoli asks us what is the explanation of the fact that social democracy managed to execute this manoeuvre, to develop a new series of theories and arguments in defence of the treachery of German social democracy. We answer that it is just because the offensive of the sections of the Comintern against international social democracy has not been strong enough. There have been people who began to doubt whether social democracy, after the blow inflicted on it by the Hitler government, is the

main social bulwark of the bourgeoisie. As if the question of the social function of the Weises and Blums were decided by the form of bourgeois dictatorship!

The main question determining the role of social democracy in the system of bourgeois dictatorship is whether social democracy, after Hitler's coming to power, continues to be an agent of capital within the working class, an agent which splits the ranks of the proletariat and thereby facilitates the victory of fascism, and consequently whether it helps to preserve capitalism.

Has the position of social democracy changed, since it was expelled from the Reichstag, on the question of the attitude towards the Communist Party, towards the Soviet Union, towards proletarian revolution, towards the class struggle, towards the united front for repulsing fascism, etc.?

No, comrades, and hence the conclusion is that social democracy remains, as was correctly stated in the theses, the main social bulwark of the bourgeoisie.

Thirdly, the Communist Parties, with the exception of the Japanese, the Chinese, and perhaps the French, have made insufficient use of the menace of imperialist war for mobilising the masses for a struggle against chauvinism and the war danger. And here the blame lies on a fatalist argument which has penetrated into our ranks. Somewhere or other attempts are being made to interpret the theses given by Lenin to the delegation to the Hague Conference as meaning that it is impossible to hinder the coming of imperialist war, that a real revolution will only begin as a result of a new imperialist war. This is a mistake, comrades.

The Comintern and its sections would present a pretty spectacle indeed if at the moment of an attack on the U.S.S.R. by the capitalist world we began to wait for capitalism to bleed to death before commencing militant action against it.

Remember, comrades, that in the struggle against the preparations for an out-and-out reactionary imperialist war of the capitalist world against the U.S.S.R., you in your countries will have to bear the full brunt of the class enemy's blow under conditions of frenzied terrorism and chauvinism. You should be ready for this, because there can be no faint-heartedness or retreat. Though the sections of the Comintern are not sufficiently strong organisationally, though the class enemy may seem strong to them with his threat of tanks, guns, all sorts of armaments on land, on sea, and in the air—still our strength is not yet fully developed, it is as yet in a state of potentiality.

One thing which distinguishes bourgeois from proletarian dictatorship is the fact that in bourgeois dictatorship there is a deep gulf between the aims and interests which it upholds and its multifarious mass basis. In proletarian dictatorship there is no such gulf.

But it is just this gulf in bourgeois dictatorship, including fascist dictatorship, which forms its organic defect, leading inevitably to shiftings and a "wastage" in its mass basis.

It must not be forgotten that those same people who went to war in 1914 with patriotic songs, with bayonets decked with flowers, by the end of the war were using these bayonets to stab their officers. The forces of reaction least of all reveal social stability; they are quagmires, they are subjected to subterranean shocks, to shakings of the ground under their feet.

The processes by which the masses desert fascism are inevitable, and they are already beginning in Germany. It is just because of this that we cannot speak of an interruption in the development of the revolutionary process in Germany. The maturing of the crisis in Germany has not come to an end; it has only taken on other forms, it is developing by zigzags instead of a direct upward line.

There are some comrades who say that the setting up of the fascist dictatorship in Germany inflicts the severest defeat on the whole international working class. There can be no doubt that the victory of fascism in Germany is a severe blow, not only for the German working class. But then the international working class has won tremendous victories during this year in China and in the Soviet Union. It is impossible to base one's estimate of the correlation of forces on one individual country alone. "To-day it is necessary to speak," as Comrade Stalin said, "of the proletarian world revolution, for the separate, national fronts of capital have become links in a single chain called the world front of imperialism." The victories won in China and the U.S.S.R. have turned the scale of the correlation of class forces on the

international arena in favour of the proletariat. And the processes of revolutionary fermentation in the colonies have had an effect in the same direction. They have not everywhere been manifested in forms of strife, but imperialism has not consolidated its positions in the colonies. The differentiation of the national revolutionary movement has weakened the sweep of this movement, but it has strengthened the influence of the Communist Parties over the sections of the toilers who are deserting the national reformists. In Manchuria at the present time there are over 100,000 partisans as compared with the several hundred thousand there were previously, but this movement is not under the leadership of General Ma or Su Ping wen, but under the leadership of chiefs who have been promoted by the masses themselves.

Furthermore, the past year has been characterised by an upsurge of the national revolutionary movement in Arabian countries (Syria, Palestine, Algeria, Tunis, etc.). But there can be no doubt that the greatest successes of all have been gained by the Chinese revolution in the Soviet districts. The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Soviets, the Chinese Red Army—this is not simply a movement but an organised workers' and peasants' State, a State better organised and more civilised than any capitalist State. In this State the headman's axe is unknown, the fruits of human genius are not consigned to the bonfire; this State is recognised by the most rabid enemies of the Chinese revolution as the firmest and most stable government in China!

This State has already become a serious factor in international politics; it is carrying on negotiations with the governments of individual provinces: the most powerful capitalist States have to reckon with its existence; the Chinese Soviets to-day are already threatening the flank of Japanese imperialism, constituting a factor which is holding up the latter's offensive against the Soviet Union, for the Japanese imperialists understand that in the event of an act of aggression against the U.S.S.R. 400 million Chinese will be set in motion and that the Chinese Soviets may place themselves at the head of a movement for the national-revolutionary liberation of China from the yoke of the imperialists, for clearing Manchuria and Northern China from the army of occupation of the Japanese robbers. The successes of Soviet China do not only render the Chinese revolution invincible, they also strengthen the positions of the world working class in the struggle with the bourgeoisie and make Soviet China a most important element in the world revolutionary crisis which is maturing.

And what is happening in the U.S.S.R.? Here it is not a case simply of the Magnitogorsk blast furnaces and the lights of Dnieprostroy. The fact that the Donbas is now for the first time after several years fulfilling its extremely intensive programme of coal production, that the land of socialist construction is now approaching a figure of 26,000 tons of pig-iron per day—that is only one small isolated illustration against the magnificent background of the picture of the present day and the near future which is unfolding before us. This year we have gathered in a magnificent harvest; the autumn sowing campaign has been carried out in an efficient manner by the collective farms, a mighty work has been carried out by millions of collective farmers in the struggle against weeds. In our country there has never been such a high quality of sowing, such careful tillage of the soil as there has been this year. The land has been ploughed up in preparation for the spring sowing of industrial crops in a way that old Russia never knew. Our leader, our teacher, our tried and trusted battle-leader and great strategist of the world proletarian revolution, Comrade Stalin (loud applause) has told the Party and the country of the toilers that this year must be the last year of our difficulties, and the whole Party and the country are working with pertinacity, with indomitable energy to carry this slogan into effect. At the present time we are working at pig-breeding and putting into this task all our revolutionary ardour, Bolshevik vigour, all the flaming energy of former fighters on the front of the civil war. Next spring we will develop poultry-breeding on a mass scale, knowing that the world revolutionary crisis is hatching in the Soviet egg; during the next two years we will increase the quantity of cattle, and we are convinced that the Soviet Yaroslavl cow will gore not only fascism but the whole of world capitalism. You understand why it is that during the past year there has been an unexampled strengthening of the collective farm system in our country, based on a marked increase in the value of the work-day in the collective farm. Last year a collective farm which obtained 3 to 4 kilos

for one work-day was reckoned a good collective farm, whereas in the present year such collective farms are not much in favour with us. Thanks to the correct general line of our Party, the present year has brought with it a strengthening of labour discipline on the collective farms, strengthening of the socialist attitude to labour, and increased faith in the Party and the Soviet power among the collective farm masses. This is especially striking among the women collective farmers. I can assure you that the non-Party women of our collective farms have a stronger and sounder assurance in regard to the perspectives of the revolution than has, for example, the ex-member of the E.C.C.I., Remmele. The collectivisation of agriculture, developed on the basis of the technical revolution which we have effected, has smashed to pieces the old division of labour under which the woman only did house work. She has now taken her place at the wheel of the tractor and the harvester combine; she has become the mechanic of a threshing machine, she has gone to plough the fields. The woman collective farmer, yesterday the slave of the household hearth, has come to feel herself a mistress of the new collective farm system, enjoying equal rights with the men; her class consciousness has grown tremendously, and the Soviet power is now winning over new millions of such women, awakened to political life by the collective farm revolution, as conscious builders of the socialist society.

During this year the basis of the proletarian dictatorship has broadened in the countryside and in the town. A crushing blow has been inflicted on the kulak and his wrecking work—a blow from which he will never recover. The collective farms have become the unshakeable foundation of our Soviet system. And all this helps to increase the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union. It is here not only a question of the technical arming of the Red Army, but of the political arming of the Party and the Soviet power with the devotion of millions of toilers. The overcoming of our difficulties which we are about to effect is exercising and will exercise a tremendous revolutionising influence over the toiling masses of the capitalist countries. And if by successfully fulfilling the first Five-Year Plan we have shown the whole world that only socialism can ensure a mighty development of the productive forces, then by overcoming our difficulties at the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan we are convincing all the toilers that only socialism can guarantee the highest standard of living among the masses and their material welfare. Do you feel, comrades, what a mighty weapon you are receiving in your struggle against capitalism and social democracy? To the German proletarians, our class and Party brothers, imprisoned in fascist jails and concentration camps, this Plenum must say: We hear you, brothers, we are proud of your struggle—your sufferings are our sufferings. Thousands of hammers are beating in the Soviet land, smashing the shell of the old world, deepening the rifts in the capitalist system and bringing nearer the hour of deliverance of the whole world proletariat.

#### 4. The Tasks of the Communist Parties

But if there are contradictory tendencies in the course of world development, the international situation is rendered all the more complicated by the fact that the effects of the general crisis of capitalism are felt unevenly in the various capitalist countries; and hence it follows that the degree of capitalism's collapse in the individual countries, and the sharpness of class relations in them is uneven, that the processes of fascistisation proceed unevenly in view of the different levels attained by the labour movement, and also the different degrees in the maturing of the revolutionary crisis. This must be all the more forcibly stressed because, however great the role played by Germany in the intricate complex of world relations, it is nevertheless impossible to internationalise German fascism and tie down all parties to identical tasks, made to fit the conditions in Germany. There can be no doubt that the elements of fascism are maturing in all capitalist countries, but in the first place its forms will be different, and in the second place the type of German fascist development is by no means obligatory for other capitalist countries which are moving towards the setting up of the fascist form of bourgeois dictatorship. The French bourgeoisie, for example, finds the husk of bourgeois democracy, serving as it does as a convenient screen for fascist methods, more advantageous than the open fascist dictatorship. Firstly, this democratic husk gives the French bourgeoisie a ready-made ideology in the future imperialist war with

Germany; secondly, it permits French imperialism better to achieve its aims both in the colonies and among the vassal States; thirdly, by upholding democratic illusions among the workers, it permits the French bourgeoisie to consolidate the regime of political bondage and economic exploitation of the proletariat.

Taking these factors into account, we must warn the sections of the Comintern against a dilettante generalisation which may tend to base the tactics of the Communist Parties on general tendencies of development without considering the peculiarities of each individual country. The tasks of the Communist Parties must be strictly differentiated in conformity with the concrete situation of the present day and with the given correlation of forces in their own country. If we are to sum up these tasks according to the types of development of the individual countries, they may be reduced to the following propositions:—

Firstly, the Communist Parties must do all in their power not to permit an imperialist, out-and-out reactionary war of the capitalist world against the Soviet Union, the fatherland of all the toilers and the bulwark of the world proletarian revolution. And here, comrades, it is not a question of war in general, of war in the abstract, preparations for which are designed for a period of many years, but of a concrete war with which the Soviet Union is being threatened at the present time by predatory Japanese imperialism. To-day, we must give the theses of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern about the struggle against imperialist wars a more concrete interpretation in regard to the situation which is being created in the Far East. And here the most important part falls to the young Communist Party of Japan, to the Korean Communists, and the Chinese Communists of Manchuria. The work of the Communists in fighting the menace of war against the Soviet Union is most intimately bound up with the struggle against the robber war which is already being waged by Japanese imperialism in China. Defence of the Chinese toiling masses by all means which the situation may dictate—this also means the defence of the Soviet Union. The Communists of England, the U.S.A., France, have not done enough, as Comrade Wang Ming emphasised, to defend revolutionary China. You were not able to remove the dirty hand of your imperialists from China, you were not sufficiently strong—let us grant that! But your agitation was deficient in fire, in a live feeling of indignation, impressing the worker by its sincerity; there were too few of those acts of struggle which would have made the Chinese worker and peasant feel that their cause is most intimately bound up with that of world Communism. The Communists of England, the U.S.A., and France must launch a struggle against the help which their governments are rendering to Japanese imperialism in arming it for war against China, for aggression against the Soviet Union.

Secondly, the Communists of France, Germany, and Poland must do everything in their power not to permit a new Franco-German or German-Polish war.

Thirdly, the Communists must be on the alert not to permit the setting up of the fascist dictatorship in those countries where the bourgeoisie has set about fascising the State apparatus. Not one inch to the bourgeoisie without resistance from the Communist Party, mobilising the masses for this struggle. For every particle of liberty for the working class and the toilers an indefatigable struggle must be waged—a struggle linked up with the defence of the daily needs of the proletariat. Bear in mind, comrades, that the unprecedented sharpening of the class struggle does not remove the partial demands of the toilers right up to the last decisive struggle, but leads these demands a tremendous revolutionary sting, directed against the whole system of bourgeois dictatorship. In the struggle against fascism which is about to seize the State apparatus, in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship which is being set up, the Communist Parties cannot dispense with such a weapon of class resistance as the mass political strike.

Fourthly, the Communists must exert all their strength to overthrow the fascist dictatorships where it has already been set up. The view that the fascist dictatorship can be replaced only by the proletarian dictatorship smacks of "automatism." Without doubt, in such a country as Germany, the proletarian dictatorship is coming to replace fascism. But experience also tells us that where the Communist Parties are weak, where the working class has not come under their leadership as an independent force, the fascist dictatorship has been replaced by bourgeois dictatorship in the form of a republic, as for example in Spain.

Therefore the possibility of a fascist-democratic see-saw is by no means precluded, if the Communists do not deal a decisive blow to social democracy. An especially important international task of the whole world Communist movement is to struggle against German fascism and to support the heroic struggle of the German Communist Party in every way. To hasten the bankruptcy of German fascism, to achieve its overthrow—this would be a tremendous blow at all world reaction.

And all these four tasks bring us to the central slogan of our theses, the slogan of overthrowing the bourgeois dictatorship and setting up the Soviet power throughout the whole world. We intentionally put the task of proletarian dictatorship in a concrete form, clothing it in Soviet form, and we do this in order to expose the attempts of social democracy, which is playing with the slogan of proletarian dictatorship as a preliminary political school, leading the masses towards bourgeois democracy. Our path towards the realisation of this central slogan is the old one—winning over the majority of the working class as a condition for establishing the unity of the proletariat in revolutionary action, and attracting to our side the reserves of the revolution. And this presupposes the destruction of the agency of the class enemy among the workers—International social democracy. By putting forward the slogan of Soviet power we want to emphasise more forcibly the importance of the armed uprising of the masses as the only means to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. And thereby we want to attract the attention not only of the Communists but of all the toilers as well to the necessity of winning over the armies.

We do not disguise our aims, they were written in the Communist manifesto eighty-five years ago. But the ruling classes under whose feet the earth is beginning to tremble open their eyes in astonishment and accuse the Communists of plots. What stupidity! Millions of people have been set in motion, but the fascist lawyers, donning their toilers' caps, want to confine the tremendous revolutionary movement of the masses within the bounds of a precautional police plot. But the frenzy of the ruling classes against Communism puts in the foreground with especial sharpness the question of the transition of the Communist Parties to a state of illegality. This is no longer "music of the future," comrades. The preparation of the Communist Parties for illegality on the basis of the intensified mass work is a most important task of this Plenum. We do not know how many of the Communist Parties will remain in a semi-legal position up to the outbreak of war, but we know for certain that on the outbreak of war the sections of the Comintern will have to go underground. Do not let the Communist Parties tell us that their cadres are weak and not prepared for underground work. We answer in the words of Lenin:—

"It is not true to say that the French are incapable of systematic illegal work. Untrue! The French quickly learned to conceal themselves in trenches; they will quickly learn the new conditions of illegal work and the systematic preparation of a revolutionary mass movement."

Even to-day, taking into account the experience of Germany and Italy, the Communist Parties must reconstruct the system of their work in the shortest possible time on the basis of illegal factory nuclei. This is the first elementary condition of preparation for underground work.

The second condition is to take immediate steps to rid the Communist Parties of the reptile of provocation which is undermining the work of certain sections of the Comintern.

The third condition is the ability to combine methods of legal and semi-legal work with methods of underground work on the basis of the whole experience of the world revolutionary movement. And here the question of work in the fascist organisations acquires exceptional importance.

Fourthly, the structure of the organisation and the methods of its work must be so reconstructed as to guarantee a definite decentralisation calculated to ensure the best methods of hiding our workers from the police and the realisation of the old principle of underground work—each one should know not what he may know, but only what he must know.

\* Lenin: "On the Tasks of the Opposition in France," Collected Works, Vol. IX.

The fifth condition is the training of cadres. For the period which is opening before us, we do not need simply Communists but Communist underground workers. They must be people tried and tested in every respect; they must know how to conduct themselves under cross-examination, how to behave at trials, making use of the dock as a tribune for exposing the class enemy. They must be people of ideological firmness and political stamina, who continue to be Bolsheviks during their every-day work and do not lose their heads at moments when there is an abrupt change in the situation. They must be independent people, capable of quickly and boldly taking responsible decisions in the most intricate circumstances. Finally, they must be revolutionaries and mass workers, sensing the processes which are going on among the masses, able to speak in the language of these masses, to clothe every revolutionary thought and every revolutionary action in the setting of class struggle. For this period we do not want people of the type of Neumann, who are fruitless alike in the theory and the practice of the labour movement, but fighters of the type which the C.P.S.U., the German, Chinese, and Polish Communist Parties have given us and continue to give us. Where are such cadres to be trained? They must be trained in militant action in the very bosom of the working class. The growth of such cadres is connected with the whole process of the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties. During the processes of Bolshevisation the Communist Parties have been through a great schooling. But the historic stage which is now opening before the world Communist movement confronts the Communist Parties with higher demands in respect of their Bolshevisation.

In the fire of revolutionary struggles the sections of the Comintern will grow stronger, reaching the level of the C.P.S.U. But for the success of these struggles what is needed to-day is a

still more resolute fire against Right opportunism, as the main danger, and against "Leftist" deviations. The feeling of organic hatred towards opportunism in all its forms, as an obstacle which hinders the winning over of the masses to the side of Communism, must be nurtured in every Communist.

The road which the sections of the Comintern are going is a hard one. That stern school through which the C.P.G. is passing is hardening it like high-class revolutionary steel. Not one grievous ordeal befalls the Communist Parties and the working class without bringing its fruits, without enriching their revolutionary experience, without raising the Communist Party to a higher level of Bolshevik stamina.

The class, whose historical course is upward, and its Party are growing strong under the severe blows, but the classes, which are doomed to the scrap-heap by history, and their parties are collapsing under the weight of their own victories. The victories of the U.S.S.R. are strengthening the new world which is being born; the victories of fascism are only prolonging the agony of the old world which is in its death throes. The German Communist Party, hunted down and persecuted, feels itself more assured before the future that is opening before it than fascism which is persecuting it. That is why at the Leipzig trial it was not Dimitrov who was on his trial: it was Dimitrov accusing fascism. That is why the hangman Goering, his face distorted with fury, stands in the Leipzig dock as a criminal, spat upon and loaded with universal contempt, while Dimitrov, bound in chains, becomes a mighty mouthpiece, calling upon the toilers of all countries to unite under the banner of Communism.

Let the fascist bloodhounds rave as they will—the Communists are marching onward, assured of their right, of their strength, and of their victory. (Prolonged applause.)

## Comrade Weinstone (U.S.A.)

The acute situation in which American capitalism found itself at the beginning of the Roosevelt administration was summed up in an article by Professor Irving Fisher in the "New York Times" of April 21. He stated:—

"We are at war and must entrust to our commander-in-chief—that is, the President—the war-time powers necessary to win this sort of war," and he prophesied "bloodshed and revolution" in case the programme failed.

The Roosevelt Administration New Deal Programme was put forward to meet this situation, and it contained the following main features:—

(a) It concentrated tremendous power in the hands of the President to establish all necessary machinery, superseding Congress, for the execution of the programme, a programme affecting the basic economic and political conditions of the masses.

(b) It wiped out the anti-trust laws and decided upon a policy of forced trustification of industry.

(c) It gave the President power to fix wages and hours of labour made binding upon the workers by force of law.

(d) Production of wheat was to be cut by 20 per cent, ten million bales of cotton were to be destroyed, six million hogs were to be slaughtered in order to raise prices.

(e) The devaluation of the dollar by 50 per cent by means of inflation.

(f) The establishment of a fund of 3,300 million dollars for public works.

(g) Finally, the establishment of a system of class peace through the erection of labour boards, arbitration councils, etc. Fifteen milliard dollars were placed into the hands of the President and his appointees to put this programme into life.

The most feverish activity was developed to carry through the measure. The ideologists around Roosevelt—the group of professors known as the Brain Trust—put forward the following simple theory in support of the programme: The contradictions between production and markets can be bridged by minimum wages; the gap between production and employment by the establishment of the shorter work day; the scissors in prices between agricultural goods and monopoly goods, by curtailed production and higher prices; the chaos in industry, which they attributed to unrestricted and unfair competition, can be changed by State con-

trol and by mutual agreements of fair competition enforced by the State.

What were the results of the Roosevelt programme? The bourgeoisie was able to create a temporary boom in production as a result of the Roosevelt measures. This was due to the flight of the dollar into goods as a result of inflation, to speculative accumulation of stocks in anticipation of increased prices, and to war preparations.

A new and sharp decline then set in in production, and a new rise in unemployment. The scissors in agriculture were not closed; the prices of agricultural goods are falling, while prices for commodities which the farmers buy continue to rise. On the foreign markets no significant results have been achieved. Markets were reduced; even by official figures only two of the expected six million were re-employed.

Under the cloak of the minimum wage and shorter hours, and the cry of increasing the purchasing power, the real wages of the workers were brought down by more than 20 per cent. through inflation, the minimum became the maximum wage, the system of staggering employment has been widened.

Under the guise of public works forced labour has been introduced, unemployed workers thrown off the relief lists, side-tracking unemployment insurance for a time, and a feverish preparation for war is being carried through by the appropriations in the name of public works of more than 500 million dollars, in addition to the regular budgets for war purposes.

Under the demagogic slogan of granting a new charter of rights to the workers, the so-called right to organise and bargain collectively, the rights of the workers to assemble, to strike, and picket, is being taken away, and their demand for these rights has been met by gun-fire of company thugs, militia, and by martial law. For the farmers the programme has meant further impoverishment of the poor and middle farmers, temporary increase in prices going into the pockets of the rich farmers and monopolists.

Under the cloak of class peace, the N.R.A. and the Blue Eagle, the government has unleashed a wave of nationalism, chauvinism and patriotism. With the N.R.A. American capitalism is accelerating the establishment of fascism in the United States, but under the guise of democracy.



This is to be seen in the lynch terror and violence spreading throughout the country against revolutionary workers, especially against the Negroes. It may be said that we are at the beginning of mass pogroms against the Negro workers; the anti-strike agreements introduced into the codes with the support of labour bureaucrats; the penalising of workers for striking (for example, the mine agreement in Western Pennsylvania drawn up by Roosevelt which embodies the clause penalty of one dollar per day for striking); the ideology cultivated by the bourgeoisie and supported by the labour bureaucracy of the subordination of all classes to the interests of the nation; the concentration of power in the hands of the President and the ridiculing of Congress, the development of fascist organisations, Ku Klux Klan, American Legion, Khaki Shirts, Citizen Law and Order Committees, etc.

The American Federation of Labour and the Socialist Party gave the utmost support to the Roosevelt programme. Norman Thomas called it a "revolutionary acceptance of the death of the old capitalist order." But more than this. The social fascists echoed the demagogy of the bourgeois that the Roosevelt programme was the only safeguard against fascism. As their brothers in Europe, so the American social fascists are paving the way for the establishment of fascism in the United States.

Witnessing the strikes developing in auto and steel, led by the Party in the beginning of the year, and knowing the great spontaneity and mobility of the working class, the bourgeoisie realised the danger of the fighting workers passing over to the ranks of revolutionary unions and the Communist Party. As in the last election campaign, it gave increasing support to build up the socialist party as a force against Communism, so in the trade union field it has now been building up the A.F.L. among other purposes, as war preparation.

The A.F.L. has increased its activity, carrying through big campaigns to organise the miners, textile workers, the attempts to penetrate the steel and packing houses, and its appearance wherever danger exists of workers organising into the revolutionary unions. The fact that it has been to some extent successful in this task calls us to struggle within the A.F.L. to isolate the A.F.L. bureaucrats, to build a broad mass revolutionary organisation inside the reformist unions. Whether or not the efforts of the bourgeoisie to strengthen the A.F.L. bureaucrats succeed depends upon our fight against the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, upon our exposure of their manoeuvres, upon our methods of daily work, our activities to mobilise and organise the workers.

The Roosevelt demagogy created considerable illusions among the masses at the very outset about the possibilities of returning prosperity, which was reinforced by the temporary boom, and also the illusions at first about the minimum wages, in view of the general code of 14 dollars minimum wage, which give a paper increase for certain low-paid sections of workers, but these illusions which are still prevalent are drifting away as the workers see the effects of the measures. The farmers have answered Roosevelt's programme by the development of a national strike movement, and the workers by the biggest strike movement since 1921, about one million strikers. The main characteristics of the strikes are:—

(a) The strikes have developed into general strikes affecting whole regions: Pennsylvania, soft coal miners, 100,000; hard coal miners, 40,000; silk workers, 50,000; shoe workers, 50,000; needle trades workers, 65,000.

(b) They affected workers not only in the industries in which there are major strikes during prosperity and in the first years of the crisis, such as mining, textiles, and clothing, but also drew in the automobile workers, 30,000; steel workers, 30,000; and are now penetrating the packing-house plants in Minnesota, Pittsburg, and Chicago, showing that the workers are trying to break down the yoke of trustified industry. Undoubtedly, we are on the eve of big mass movements of the workers to penetrate the giant fortresses of American capitalism, the major industries in the United States.

(c) The strikes have not only been for economic demands, for wage increases, against speed-up, but have borne a distinct political character. The central issue in the biggest strike was the right of the workers to organise into trade unions of their own choosing. The strikes have also been directed against the National Recovery Act, against the government and its agents, and have been fought out in direct clashes with the armed forces of the local and State government. The workers in Gallup, New Mexico, under the leadership of the Party and the Revolutionary Miners'

Union, raised the demand of the release of the political prisoners—of those arrested during the strike, including the national unemployed organiser, who received a one-year sentence, and were able to win this strike—gaining not only eight out of ten of their economic demands, but securing the release of 29 political prisoners, including the unemployed organiser, after 16 weeks of strike conducted under conditions of martial law. Undoubtedly, Comrade Knorin is correct when he points out the timeliness of raising the slogan of political strikes in the United States.

(d) They have occurred in the face of the bitter opposition of the government to strike struggles and the propaganda that strikes were upsetting the programme of recovery and in opposition to the A.F.L. bureaucrats. In the miners' strike the workers defied the appeal of the President to return to work. They finally went back; they came out again. In the strikes the workers fought to break down the system of company police and feudal company domination. In Minnesota, in the packing-house strike, when the workers were met with the resistance of the company agents, they occupied the plant and drove these agents out.

(e) In distinction to the first years of the crisis, the workers were able to win concessions from the employers in a great number of cases. From March 1 until September 30, 418,000 workers on strike won wage increases and 70,000 workers won other gains.

All strikes have been marked by the greatest solidarity of the workers and a tendency to spread quickly with the unemployed, the women and the majority of the local population, actively assisting in the strike battles. The youth played a prominent and even a dominating role in many strikes, and in Western Pennsylvania a section of miners that came out in solidarity with the Frick Coal Company miners decided upon not returning to work until one day after the Frick miners returned. Finally, as a sign of the great solidarity and growing unity of the workers, we must observe the important feature of workers of one industry, taking the initiative in pulling out workers of a related industry on strike—as in the case of the miners and steel workers in Pennsylvania, and, still more important, the decision of the Ford workers of Chester, Pennsylvania, deciding upon marching to call out the Ford workers of Detroit, a thousand miles away. Undoubtedly, the Party must put forward the slogan of spreading the strikes and the development of general strikes on a local and regional industrial scale. A fierce hatred is developing against the Roosevelt Government.

The Party correctly analysed the Roosevelt programme at its Extraordinary Conference, held in July. The Open Letter to the Party membership which it issued gave the lead to the Party to take up the fight to win the leadership of the rising struggles, to concentrate the forces in the basic industries, to concentrate its fight against the A.F.L. and the socialists and to isolate them, to develop new cadres and to direct its fire against the sectarian practices and methods of work which were of a Right opportunist nature, and which hindered its winning the masses of workers.

The Party led a number of strike struggles in the mining industry in the Western States, in the steel and metal regions, in shoe and textile, in needle, etc. As a result of its work, it has been able to increase the membership of the revolutionary trade unions, according to the reports, to 100,000, most important of which is the reported increase in steel by 13,000 members.

But we must, nevertheless, state that in the fight against the Roosevelt programme the Party has been seriously lagging behind the masses, has shown insufficient initiative in organising strikes, allowing the reformists to seize the leadership and enroll the largest part of the workers who have surged forward into organisation under their banner. The Party organisations did not react in time to the great upsurge of organisation—the desire of the workers to be organised into trade unions, as in the mine fields.

The capitulation of the Party in a number of strike struggles to the red scare is not simply a question of Bolshevik determination and firmness in the face of enemy attacks. It shows also, in the case of the American Party, its still low ideological level. The greatest part of the membership is only a few years in the Party—for example, in the Pittsburg district, out of 550 members of which a record was taken, 290 are in the Party one year, 188 in the Party two years, or 90 per cent. from one to two years. To meet the development of the red scare, we must carry on a fight against opportunism, and this demands that we stiffen up the Party ideologically—above all, by systematic contact and day-to-day ideological political guidance to the lower units and to the members.

In the strike movements the Party and the revolutionary unions did not in all cases take full advantage of the opportunities to politicalise the struggles. The issues of the N.R.A., the whole policy of the bourgeoisie, and the reformists, were not sharply and clearly enough brought to the workers. The relation of the economic struggles to the question of the crisis, to the revolutionary way out of the crisis, were mechanically brought in, little touched upon or entirely forgotten. Some comrades in trade union work consider that in bringing in the Party face or the political issues, we tend to narrow down the mass basis of the struggle. They do not see that especially now, when the government policy affects every single worker, it is not only possible, but absolutely necessary, not abstractly, but in connection with economic demands and the events and experiences of the strikes, to bring in the political issues, as only in that way can we revolutionise the struggle and raise the level of class consciousness of the working class.

Recruiting of Party membership and building of Party organisation were practically neglected in the strikes. While in the last year the Party has raised its membership, it has recruited very few members in the strike, which signifies a great danger—that the unions that have been built will fall apart for lack of organised leadership. The Party has continually to combat the defeatist idea that it is useless to picket without arms.

An important lesson of the miners' strike must be drawn from the mistake made with respect to Ryan, a "Left" leader in the strike. The Party and revolutionary unions failed to expose him in time and even helped to create illusions (Kemenovich in the "Daily Worker") that he was a revolutionary, as a result of which he was looked upon by the miners as the militant leader of the strike. This Ryan carried on a seemingly radical opposition to the open reactionaries, but in the end betrayed the strike.

It is this attitude of trustfulness which chiefly accounts for the fact that in Southern Illinois there has been a delay in building up a revolutionary opposition, and in the anthracite, that Maloney, a sham oppositionist, could secure leadership of the 40,000 miners who split away from the U.M.W.A.

A big and outstanding weakness in the strikes was the failure to react quickly enough to the situation where workers were joining the A.F.L. unions in mass, entering these unions and building a revolutionary opposition. In the miners' strike and silk workers, where we exercised ideological influence, we had few organised groups in the reformist unions, and these were very late in being formed. The weakness with respect to work in the A.F.L. came out very glaringly in these strikes.

There is in the Party considerable unclarity and hesitation to take up work in the A.F.L. The Party does not clearly enough see the new situation with regard to work in the A.F.L. The Party did not see in time that workers were entering the A.F.L. in masses, that there are workers who wish to convert the unions into weapons of struggle, proletarianised workers; that the aristocratic workers in considerable numbers have had their situation worsened by the crisis, and this makes it possible and necessary to work among and win these workers in the A.F.L.

In the coal fields at the present time the development of a broad opposition must be the main road through which to win over the miners to the revolutionary trade union movement. Likewise, in the building and transportation trades, in printing, a number of textile centres. We must formulate a programme for struggle inside the A.F.L., a programme which embraces the fight against the offensive of the capitalists, the struggle against the N.R.A., the demand for the withdrawal of the A.F.L. from the N.R.A. boards, for unemployed insurance demands, for the right to strike and picket, and for other political demands, as well as a programme of internal union demands. In all of the newly-

formed locals of the A.F.L. and in all the A.F.L. unions, we must put up candidates in all the elections and aim to win the posts and to oust the bureaucratic leaders.

A new question which has risen in the recent period is the question of the formation of independent unions. A large number of workers have refused to join the A.F.L., but, at the same time, they keep aside from the revolutionary trade union organisations. Under these circumstances, the Party must put forward the slogan of the formation of independent unions, but on the basis of a class programme and with a militant leadership. Experience already shows that unless we put forward class programmes and work systematically to develop forces inside the union, to train cadres, to carry on revolutionary agitation, either these unions degenerate or pass over into the hands of the A.F.L.

But the programme of developing a broad trade union opposition inside the A.F.L. and the creation of independent unions by no means signify belittling or changing our attitude with respect to the work of building up revolutionary unions. In the decisive industries, revolutionary unions must take the initiative for the organisation of the workers in trade unions and leading the economic struggles. The victories which we have scored in steel, in New Mexico coal fields, and the other unions to which I referred, shows that we can build the revolutionary unions. At the same time that the A.F.L. has been growing, there is observed a tendency to split away, as in the case of the Illinois miners, and more recently of the anthracite miners. There can be no counterposing of the work of building oppositions inside the A.F.L. to the work of building the revolutionary unions.

The revolutionary unions and the Party, to gain the leadership of the strike struggles, must carry through more quickly the policy of concentration upon the main industrial districts and the key factories. It is impossible, with the weak forces of the Party, to spend our forces equally upon every struggle.

The perspectives of the Roosevelt programme are further inflation, sharper economic war against Great Britain and Japan, accelerated war preparations for a war with its imperialist rivals and for a war of intervention against the U.S.S.R., new measures for diminishing the living standards of the masses, still further fascisation of the State, more terroristic measures against the workers, increasing nationalistic and chauvinist demagoguery, at the same time developing still greater social fascist activity and demagoguery. The perspective is one of still sharpening class antagonisms, of big revolutionary battles in the country.

The failure of the Roosevelt programme shows the impossibility of planned economy under capitalism, of improving the conditions of the workers in the U.S. by the capitalist way out. Already capitalist journalists are demagogically trying to cover up the collapse of the scheme of the bourgeoisie by claiming that the whole programme shows the impossibility of introducing Marxist-Leninist ideas on American soil. This was said in special editorials throughout the country by the Hearst papers. But quite the contrary, this swindle, which has nothing to do with Marxism or with Leninism, strikingly shows to the American workers that only the Marxian way, only the way of Lenin, only the way of the Russian proletariat, can liberate the masses from the chaos of capitalism. (Applause.)

#### CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Readers will please note the new address of the International Press Correspondence, to which from now on all subscriptions and communications should be sent: William Massey, 249, King Street, Hammersmith, London, W.6.

## Comrade Morales (Latin America)

As long ago as 1928 Comrade Stalin emphasised that "everywhere one came up against the fundamental question of the struggle between the United States and England for the hegemony of the world."

On the basis of these fundamental antagonisms Latin America is playing in the new round of revolutions and wars a constantly increasing role as one of the most important factors in the Anglo-American imperialist rivalry.

In order to prove the accuracy of this assertion, it is enough to point to the Ottawa Conference, where England attempted to build up on the basis of currency-dumping and protective tariffs a system that would enable her to compete successfully with her rivals, especially on the South American market; also to the fiasco of the London Conference, where our Continent played a very important role, to the pact between London and the Argentine, which had the purpose of consolidating the English bloc of South American countries lying on the Atlantic coast, as well as to the United States; greatest efforts—unprecedented in the history of capitalism—to capture the world market and particularly the markets of South and Central America, for the U.S.A. the most important sphere of expansion. The Anglo-American rivalry shows itself further in the Pan-American conference recently held in Montevideo, where Roosevelt attempted to oppose the Ottawa system with a system of his own, a part at the same time of his "N.I.R.A. Plan."

The economic significance of Latin America for the imperialists is to be found in the fact that the struggle for oil, saltpetre, copper, rubber, grain and meat is very largely also a struggle for the monopoly over Latin America.

The struggle of the imperialists for Latin America is no longer a simple struggle for spheres of influence; it is a struggle for monopoly. The rapid expansion of North American capital has already reached a point where it can proceed further only by force of arms. That is the reason why in the interior of the South American countries coups d'états are being organised and the countries are goaded into war with each other (the Chaco war, which is on the point of drawing in the Argentine and Brazil; Leticia, whose peace negotiations have almost failed).

At the present Pan-American Conference Roosevelt gave out the slogan of the autarchy of the American continent and stated, through the mouth of one of his most prominent agents, that the Monroe Doctrine should be modified in the sense that America must defend herself against European or Asiatic invasion.

Why did he mention Asia? Because in the struggle between the imperialists for monopoly in Caribbean and South America a new factor of the greatest importance, namely Japan, has intervened with might and main during the last two years. On the basis of the catastrophic decline in world trade Japan has had certain opportunities of manoeuvring before the capitalists and bourgeoisie of our countries, by extending her purchases in view of the war in Manchuria and the preparations for war in the Pacific. Compared with 1932, Japanese trade tripled in 1933. Japanese imperialism bought frozen meat in the Argentine, opened shipping lines to Rio de la Plata, secured extended concessions in Brazil carrying almost extra territorial rights, supported Peru in the war with Colombia with arms and money in order to procure for herself a naval base on the southern Pacific coast.

The concatenation of the imperialist contradictions in Latin America is such that the world war, the centre of gravity of which doubtless lies within the Versailles system and in the East, could nevertheless begin in South America.

In Latin America, at the present time, the internal conflicts among the cliques, the feudalists and the bourgeois blocs are becoming more acute and assuming the character of genuine armed conflicts, as for instance in Sao Paulo in Brazil. The political situation changes with lightning speed. The apparatus of the State is precarious and unstable; "Left" demagoguery flourishes all over the country, in order to prevent the independent struggles of the workers, peasants and Indians for the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

The position of the masses is becoming visibly worse: fall in wages, growing unemployment, intensification of semi-feudal and semi-slave-owning exploitation and oppression of the broad masses of the peasantry and rural proletariat. Famine prevails in many districts of Latin America; the discontent of the masses is increas-

ing and in some countries the multiplying revolutionary conflicts are assuming during their spontaneous progress the character of mass outbreaks and partisan struggles (in some parts of Brazil and Paraguay).

The Chaco war, supported and subsidised by the U.S.A. and England and closely associated with the struggle for the Pacific, the Atlantic Ocean and oil, has already taken toll of 40,000 victims, quite apart from the victims of the disease and starvation prevailing in Chaco. In Paraguay groups of peasant-partisans are already beginning energetically to resist the war; cases of fraternisation are increasing; the revolt of the Indians is directed not only against the armies of Bolivia and Paraguay, but also against the Argentine troops gathered on the frontier. At the same time there is the revolutionary movement; the parties and trade unions have in the course of 1933 grown in strength. On this basis the bourgeois-feudal governments are developing the fiercest terror against the masses and in particular against their advance guard, the Communist Parties, which are illegal in nearly every country.

The revolutionary movement is not developing along a consistently ascending line. In the early months of 1933 there was a drop in the number and the extent of strikes. That is the reason why, combined with certain symptoms of apparent economic improvement, a number of opportunist conceptions concerning transition to the period of depression have made their appearance in the Party. Nevertheless the revolutionary movement has taken in the last few months a renewed upward turn and reached its highest point in the Cuban revolution.

The revolutionary development is not proceeding uniformly in the various countries. In 1932 there was a direct revolutionary situation in Chile; to-day—in Cuba. The Cuban revolution is of international significance in view of the great capital investments of North American imperialism in Cuba and of her strategic situation as key to the Panama Canal. This revolution has given an immense stimulus to the anti-imperialist movement throughout the whole continent. Everywhere we have formed "Hands Off Cuba" committees. Our Party in the U.S.A. is introducing a great solidarity campaign.

Since the 1932 revolution in Chile and that in Cuba, the coups d'états in South America are losing more and more the character of military coups de main: in Chile Montera was overthrown, in Cuba Machado, by the masses, which came into action as a new and extremely important factor.

Besides this, Soviets have for the first time been established in Latin America, becoming for the masses an organ of the struggle for the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. For the first time the Communist Parties (in Chile and Cuba) appeared as the real leaders of the mass struggle and as factors in the political life of their countries.

The Twelfth Plenum characterised our Parties in the following terms:—

"In the countries of Latin America the development of the revolutionary crisis is hesitant above all as a result of the feeble organisation of the proletariat and the low degree of maturity of the Communist Parties."

This characterisation was correct, and remains so in essentials also to-day. This does not mean, however, that the Parties have made no progress as regards their organisational consolidation, as regards contact with the masses and a firm ideological foundation. They have made in some cases considerable progress, like the C.P. of the Argentine, which in spite of illegality has found the way towards its transformation into a mass Party and has begun to publish a theoretical organ. The C.P. of the Argentine has Party schools, and is making progress, too, as regards the proletarianisation of the leadership and the training of cadres. Nevertheless, the characterisation of the organisational and ideological weaknesses of our Parties given by the Twelfth Plenum remains correct for all of them. This is shown mainly in defective leadership of the struggles, in our unsatisfactory advance in the country, in the almost total lack of work among the Indians and Negroes.

Our Parties have the following tasks: To become mass Parties, to eliminate alien ideological influences from their ranks, to place themselves at the head of the conflicts, to show their revolutionary countenance, to form cadres from out of the ranks of the masses

and participators in the struggles, to consolidate the organisations and to change radically the methods of work among the masses.

Comrade Ercoli said that the process of fascisation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries exhibits certain peculiarities. Earlier we were in the habit of describing every reactionary movement and every terrorist dictatorship as fascist. The C.I. has corrected our notoriously mistaken formulation.

Yet an underestimation of the process of fascisation would be a more fatal mistake. The dictatorship of Mussolini and especially

that of Hitler are of great influence in our countries. Reactionary movements are coming into existence, endeavouring to adopt the appearance of fascist demagogy and organisation, armed reactionary troops, terror against the masses, fascisation of the trade unions, etc.

We must exert our entire energy against this process of fascisation and against the fascist methods of terror, of the oppression of the masses and the crushing of the revolutionary movement. (Applause.)

## Comrade Marcucci (Italy)

A fundamental problem in the winning of the majority of the working class is the winning of the toiling youth.

In Italy there exists the problem of the contrast in the generations. This can be appreciated if it be realised that fascism has now been in power for eleven years and that we are already in the seventh year of the rule of the state of emergency. During these years the army of workers and unemployed has been supplemented by millions of young people. These young people have been brought up in the atmosphere of the fascist dictatorship; they have been through the fascist schools, many of them through fascist academies. Deprived of the experiences of the class struggle, their heads stuffed with fascist ideology and fascist lies, these young people display a mentality that differs often from that of the adults. For this reason we are able to establish that amongst the adult class-conscious workers, sometimes even among our comrades, a hostile, even contemptuous feeling towards the young people is very widespread: "They don't understand," say the workers. "They only bother about sport, join the fascist organisations," "they are fascists, therefore enemies." There prevails, then, an absolutely wrong attitude, against which the Communist youth and our Party must fight, by educating the toiling masses and by presenting the question of the anti-capitalist struggle correctly to all the toiling masses of all generations. It must be recognised that one of the chief causes of the success of the bourgeoisie—even if this success be but temporary—lies, as Comrade Chemodanov has rightly emphasised, in the winning over of the youth, in the weakness and neglect which the Communist Parties manifest towards this problem.

For some years in Italy a mass of nearly 800,000 juveniles have been leaving school each year and finding no occupation. The same applies to many other countries. This is a mass that fascism can most easily inculcate with its ideology, its social and anti-capitalist demagogy, whose most elementary notions concerning the history of the working-class movement fascism can distort. It is these masses that can be most easily recruited for the organisations of the bourgeoisie.

In placing the economic struggle of the toiling youth in the factories in the centre of our entire activity and giving concrete form for Italy to the decisions of the last Plenum of the Y.C.I. concerning work in the mass organisations, we decided to concentrate our activity in the Dopolavoro organisations. Comrade Garland has already said here how wrongly we acted earlier when we isolated ourselves from the mass of the members of this organisation. This was a line of the so-called disintegration which, however, in reality overlooked the vital problems directly interesting the workers. Immediately after the Plenum of the Y.C.I. and in the course of the year that has passed since then, our young Communists, with the help of the C.I., have worked out and fixed a line which enables us to develop a really mass action. The organisation of the Dopolavoro has a certain mass character; it is connected with the working youth and with the factories. A mass of two million juveniles participate in it, and of these 70 per cent. are workers and peasants. The youth comprises the great majority of these two millions. Fascism is to-day using the Dopolavoro for the development of its chauvinistic propaganda among the youth, in order to be better able to control the toiling masses through exploitation of a natural impulse experienced by the broad masses themselves. We cannot and must not underestimate the fact that a great part of the activity and initiative of the Dopolavoro is absorbed through the interest of the young workers for sport, football matches, etc. We must not forget either that members of the Dopolavoro organisation enjoy certain advantages: cheap fares on the railways and cheap theatre tickets.

reduced prices for certain consumption articles, etc. In many localities the Dopolavoro has become the only place where the workers, juvenile and adult, meet together. Are we, in face of all this and in face of a lot more that I have no time to deal with here, simply to close our eyes and say: "Dopolavoro is a fascist organisation"? No. If we were to do that we would be sectarians, maintaining and strengthening their isolation from the masses through their false policy. Naturally, we know very well that fascism avails itself of the Dopolavoro in order to carry on its propaganda there, and it is one of our fundamental tasks to react to just this propaganda, to hinder it and to expose it in our day-to-day activity.

Propaganda alone, however, will not deliver the masses of the youth from the class enemy. We need propaganda that is incessantly accompanied by a revolutionary mass action. In this spirit we have fixed our line of work in the Dopolavoro organisations. In order to draw the great masses of the toiling youth into the struggle against fascism, our central slogan is this: We mean the Dopolavoro unions to be in the hands of the workers themselves. This central slogan is anything but abstract, as asserted by Comrade Chemodanov. The issue of such a slogan is the result of studying the experiences of several years, various phases in the development of this organisation and the feeling of the masses. In any case, this question will be examined after the Plenum in all its details by the C.I. We made this slogan still more concrete by adding to it such sub-slogans as "Out with the fascist commissar; control of administration through a committee elected by the members; free election of the leading functionaries; no more obligatory participation in political demonstrations," etc. These political sub-slogans, which mobilised the workers not only for resistance but also for the struggle against the policy of fascism, as I have emphasised, can and must be combined as closely as possible with the daily demands. It is our task to know how always to link up these daily demands with the economic struggles of the workers, with the question of wage cuts; in short, with factory problems.

A prerequisite for this, for making the application of this policy effective, is that the work should be given an organised form. I must say that, unfortunately, we have not advanced far along this course and are still a long way from having fulfilled our tasks.

As far as making use of the legal opportunities is concerned, we established that a spontaneous tendency exists among the masses to oppose to the fascist policy in the Dopolavoro the slogan: "We are not concerned with politics." That is no insignificant symptom, and it is gaining ground even outside the Dopolavoro. I think this question must be raised here. Only a few weeks ago dozens of young workers refused to join the Fascist Youth or to take part in fascist demonstrations on the grounds that "We are not concerned with politics." Hundreds of incidents have shown that it is here a matter of a spontaneous and negative form of resistance on the part of the young workers and masses of the workers against fascist policy.

It is clear that our task must be to get in contact with these masses in order to lead them from this negative and spontaneous position, from resistance to fascism, to a positive anti-fascist policy.

Recently fascism has tightened up the system of the compulsory inclusion of the youth in the organisation of the Fascist Youth. Through this organisation fascism is seeking to divert the youth from the class struggle in defence of its interests, to strengthen the chauvinist wave and to prepare the youth for imperialist war. This organisation numbers more than half a million young people from 18 to 20, amounting roughly to one half of the

male population of this age in Italy. The great majority of the membership is composed of young workers, peasants and unemployed.

How has fascism been able to assemble so many young people in one organisation? Partly by force and partly by duping, through promises and demagoguery. On completion of the preliminary course all kinds of threats are made to force the young people to join. In many factories only fascist juveniles are accepted and juveniles who refuse to join are dismissed. In many villages life is made impossible for young people who will not join. To see in the young fascists of to-day the fascists of the early years, as some comrades do, is a serious fault and extremely damaging to our efforts to win over the majority of the toiling youth. During the last year we have corrected the faulty earlier line and emphasised that our work must have a mass character and that its main task must be to mobilise the young workers belonging to the Fascist Youth for the struggle for their immediate interests against the employers.

The discontent among the young fascist workers is very great and is becoming constantly greater. A whole series of demonstrations, protest actions, assuming now and then even a violent character took place last year—demonstrations largely of a spontaneous character. The young fascists demonstrate inside their own organisations against every wage cut whatever form it may take, against the brutal discipline, against the leaders. Only a short time ago in the province of Turin a young fascist was tied up during camp service to a post. As a result of the pain he suffered he had to be taken to hospital. All the young people who had taken part in the camp abused and beat the officer who had inflicted this punishment, left the camp en masse and went home. The camp had to be disbanded. Likewise this year it happened that a leader reproved a young fascist for not arriving earlier at roll-call. At that the young fascist shouted: "What have you done for me, an out-of-work?" The officer gave orders for his arrest, but all the young fascists present shouted "He's right!" They prevented his arrest and broke their ranks. In another camp the young fascists made life impossible for a leader who ill-treated them, so that he had to be replaced by another. Similar incidents are everywhere the order of the day. A characteristic feature of the latest struggles of the workers and unemployed is the fact that nearly always young fascists take part in the demonstrations. On the occasion of the fascist celebrations on April 21 of this year the young fascists in several localities disobeyed en masse the mobilisation order. It is our task to accelerate this radicalisation process among the fascist youth. These demonstrations, these struggles must be prepared, organised and led by us. We must awaken the class-consciousness of these young people, a thing we can do by mobilising them for questions that immediately interest them. We are carrying on our agitation under the slogan fundamental for all young workers: "Refuse en masse to join the Fascist Youth." and "Leave the Fascist Youth en masse, this organisation of your class enemy."

Our sectarian policy has thrown us back for some years and we have to bear complete responsibility for this. The Party and the

youth as a whole were not able hitherto to break resolutely with this policy. This year we carried on an energetic struggle against this policy and for the development of really mass work in the fascist organisations and the auxiliary organisations of fascism. The results achieved are still unsatisfactory. It is our task to aim at carrying out our line in the day-to-day practice of every one of our organisations, of every single Communist and young Communist.

Our Young Communist League, which in the second half of 1932 was shaken even more violently than the Party by a profound organisational crisis, has this year proceeded towards the reconstruction of the League and has given its organisations a firmer foundation and a better organisational structure. During this year the central headquarters gave the subordinate organisations a stronger and systematic operative leadership. Our forces are beginning to develop in the most important industrial centres and we have already been successful in striking roots in some enterprises of great importance. The experiences of earlier faults and of practical work during this year have shown us that no more or less serious work in the legal mass organisations is possible unless the Communist Youth is organised illegally on a firm foundation.

This year we have begun to lead some concrete struggles in the factories, whereby we started by utilising the legal opportunities and, for example, demanded that the agreements concluded by the fascist trade union, which were never kept by the employer, should be observed. One organisation of the Communist Youth was able, thanks to long and methodical agitation and organisation work, to lead a victorious struggle of the young workers who had yet to perform their military service.

During the campaign for the World Youth Congress against War we could note positive results: Several dozen united front meetings, attended by Catholic, Communist, non-party and fascist young workers, were held. Youth committees against war, leading in turn groups of young workers, were established in several very important enterprises. Sailors of the navy were also affected by our action. The importance of the joining up of a large number of young Catholics, who combined with us and voted for our resolutions, must be given special mention. The campaign for the World Congress represents a new factor in the mass work of our League.

The last Plenum of the Y.C.I. placed in the correct manner this task before our Y.C.L.: "Combination of work in complete illegality with the strengthening of connections with the masses of the toiling youth." That means the creation of a Y.C.L. organised on a firm foundation, which is in a position to withstand the blows of the police and provocation and which has the task of leading the struggles of innumerable groups and of the young workers grouped together in manifold forms in the factories and the mass organisations of the bourgeoisie. We are still a long way from having fulfilled the task given us by the Plenum. But we are on the way, and the practical experience of this year's work has again confirmed the correctness of this task, on the fulfilment of which, with the help of the Party and the E.C. of the Y.C.I., we must concentrate all our forces. (Applause)

## Comrade Maddalena (Germany)

The development of class forces in Germany shows that with the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship, there has been a marked increase in the pace of the sharpening of all class contradictions. The example of trade union development is most typical of this process.

It was the original intention of fascism to allow the mass trade union organisations of the German working class to exist and to utilise them as instruments for fascist dictatorship by attaching commissars to them and getting control in the higher offices. But even in the first period of the fascist dictatorship, as early as May 2, it was compelled to take over the trade union apparatus completely, and began making it an integral part of the fascist state. Even after this move, it attempted to retain for a time the old trade union functionaries, but by the end of June it had to get rid of them and replace them by paid and supposedly reliable elements. The temporary cessation of this development is expressed in the measures adopted to completely liquidate the fascist trade unions. This, and the simultaneous existence of the

"trustees of labour" as organs of dictatorial power, marked the disappearance of the last vestiges of any voice of the working-class members in the former "labour front," which was previously composed only of workers, without any employers' representation. A new law recently announced in the German press provides for the most severe penalties, reaching all the way to death sentence, for participation in strikes or agitation in the enterprises, above all, enterprises of vital importance.

This shows that all the fascist measures have failed in their aim, namely, of cutting off the channels of the increasing opposition of the workers and checking the process of revolutionisation in the enterprises, and they also show that the dynamics of class relationships can change very rapidly. Already we observe the beginnings of a new wave of activity among the German workers.

Precisely because the discontent of the masses and their hatred for the regime is on the increase, especially in the enterprises, it becomes all the more urgent to establish new forms and

new methods of organisation of the workers in the enterprises, in the forced labour camps and among the unemployed. Consequently, if we look upon the immediate establishment of the independent class trade unions as a decisive task of our revolutionary mass policy, it is not because the establishment of these organisations is an end in itself, but because it is indispensable as a lever for the organised development of the strike power and mass force of the German working class.

The basic line adopted so far by the Party and the R.T.U.O. for the establishment of independent trade unions is correct. But a number of vacillations and opportunist weaknesses have come to light, which have resulted in a delay in the formation of independent trade unions.

What is to-day of decisive importance in order to go ahead and win over the majority of the working class in Germany? Here two questions arise: (1) Drawing the millions of workers, most of whom have joined the fascist organisations under compulsion, into the struggles of the working class as a step for winning the workers for the anti-fascist mass struggle and thus bring about the disintegration and destruction of these organisations; and (2) the building up of our own class organisations on the broadest possible basis as a necessary condition for the organising and leading of partial struggles and political mass struggles.

Millions of workers are still members of the fascist unions. Our task must be to develop a mass movement and to mobilise the masses of trade union members so that they will not allow themselves to be split up and so that their membership dues, which are the property of the workers, should not be squandered or used for the clubbing down of the workers themselves. The Party and the R.T.U.O. must work together with the social-democratic workers and trade union members to force the holding of meetings in the various enterprises and in the trade unions which hitherto existed, and to put forward the demand that the organs elected by the workers themselves are to dispose of these funds for the struggles of the working class, for the increase of relief payments and for the assistance of sick and unemployed members of the trade unions. We must combat all attempts of the fascists to crush the trade unions and transfer the workers individually into the "German Labour front." We must adopt a definite course to have the membership and whole sections of the organisations existing hitherto transferred to the independent class trade unions.

In this connection we must base our action on every manifestation of mass discontent among the trade union members and make every effort to have the workers maintain these unions as class organisations on an illegal basis in enterprises, localities and in the various branch groups. This means setting about at once to form illegal groups in the various trade union sections in the enterprises, branches and localities, and, wherever the masses of members are ready, to adopt resolutions on collective refusals to pay dues and see that from now on no more dues are paid to the fascist commissars in the trade unions, but devoted to struggle in the enterprises and in the localities. Wherever we succeed in getting such resolutions adopted and in forming groups to serve as a framework for the independent class trade unions, and wherever the situation is favourable for developing organisational units on an illegal basis, independent class trade unions must be established in collaboration with the R.T.U.O. and the existing Red trade unions; where groups of independent class trade unions already exist, these organisations must all be combined.

The establishment of independent class trade unions must not be carried out automatically without the necessary preparation of the masses. It would be wrong, and would isolate us from the masses and would render it difficult to win over the masses if we were to build up independent class trade unions by merely rechristening existing R.T.U.O. groups or Red trade union groups, giving them the fine-sounding name of "Independent class trade unions." The rate and extent of our activity to establish a mass basis for independent class trade unions depend upon the success of our mass work in the factories, labour exchanges and forced labour camps, and on the development of struggles.

One of the first steps for the establishment of a mass basis for building up the independent class trade unions as mass organisations is the formation of delegate bodies. The free trade unions have tens of thousands of such delegates. On the basis of

their own experience with Leipart and Grassmann, these delegates are for the most part anti-fascist and receptive to us, and it is very important for us to win them over. In spite of the measures already adopted for the liquidation of the trade unions, and in spite of the fact that the "trustees of labour" have been given dictatorial powers for fixing wages, working hours, conditions, etc., thus depriving the working class of all voice in their own conditions, the possibility exists for developing economic and political discussions, movements and actions.

One of the first steps in this direction is the election of and sending to the management delegates of factory workers, often for the most primitive demands and wishes to be put forward to the factory or shop management in the name of the workers of the factory, of a department, or from only a group of workers. This offers not only great possibilities for utilising the reports of these delegations to raise the discontent among the masses to militancy and to call meetings and launch movements of passive resistance, refusal to work, and strike, but it also gives us the possibility of taking the initial steps to build a delegate body.

Just as the workers taking part in these delegations constitute the kernel for building up a body of delegates, in the same way such delegations and commissions, elected as temporary organs for a particular purpose, can be built up into permanent bodies representing the interests of the workers. In every enterprise, at every labour exchange and in every forced labour camp, there are the possibilities of forming such commissions on a legal or semi-legal basis. Commissions for checking up measures for protection against accidents, commissions for the purchase of food or clothing for the workers at reduced prices, etc., can be utilised for higher tasks. One of the most important tasks is to struggle for a legal status for such bodies and to get them recognised by the management, by the welfare organisations or by the management in the forced labour camps.

When the trade unions were fascised, the strike allowance and the allowance still granted in some cases by the reformist and Christian trade unions to victims of repressive measures were abolished. When the fascist trade unions were dissolved and the "labour front" was established, even the sickness and unemployment relief promised by the fascists to former members of these unions, and in many cases actually paid, is being swept away. It is the aim of the fascists to completely do away with social insurance. This confronts us with the task of establishing illegal strike funds and mutual aid groups for assistance to members. This makes it our task to establish such funds even before the independent class trade unions are formed, and as a preparation for them. These loose associations of workers for safeguarding their partial interests offer us splendid opportunities for developing them into higher and permanent trade union class organisations.

It is a particularly important problem to build up new cadres of trade union workers and to draw them into activity. The main reservoir for this purpose is provided by the former membership of the reformist and Christian trade unions. In the Party itself the trade union question must be looked upon as the most important mass work and must be carried out in this spirit. The Party must be the leader of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The social democrats, who still to-day constitute the chief social support of the bourgeoisie, took over our slogan of forming independent trade unions, immediately after the fascisation of the existing trade unions, in order to build up new reformist trade unions. The social-democratic leaders know that the pace and extent of the rebuilding of their party for the continuation and repetition of their treacherous policy depends to a great extent upon their success in rallying the cadres of the old trade unions. A most bitter struggle must be carried on against all these attempts. The so-called "lefts" in the S.P.G., the Brandlerites and other fractions of the social democrats are issuing the deceptive slogan: "Never again back to Leipart," as a bait to workers who have been embittered by the policy of the former trade union bureaucrats, in order to win them over for the establishment of new reformist trade unions. It is our task not only to point out the dangers of a return and rebuilding of the old reformist trade unions along supposedly radical lines, but also to prove to the workers that through the establishment of such organisations, the rights, as well as the "lefts," and the Brandlerites, as well as the Trotskyists, are merely continuing their policy of splitting the

working class and attempting to disrupt the militant unity of the working class. There is, of course, the possibility that the social democrats will succeed in establishing such organisations. In such cases our task must be to penetrate into these organisations and to carry on a struggle to conquer every post and to win the leadership of these illegal organisations. We must establish opposition groups in them and make every effort to transform them into independent trade unions, or, wherever independent class trade unions already exist, we must attempt to unite these organisations with them.

In an appeal to the German working class, our Party emphasised the importance and the necessity for bringing all the workers

discontented with the fascist starvation dictatorship into the independent class trade unions. In carrying out our strategic task of winning over the majority of the working class, the R.T.U.O. and the independent class trade unions are faced with the task of imbuing the workers with revolutionary class-consciousness by organising and developing hundreds of small movements of resistance and strikes. Under the leadership of the Party, they will help to develop these struggles into political mass strikes, build a proletarian mass basis and increase the capacity of the masses for revolutionary struggle, and, as the most important lever of the Party, prepare for the revolutionary overthrow of fascism. (Applause.)

## Comrade Andrei (Y.C.I.)

The International Youth Congress against War and Fascism showed how strong is the opposition to war and fascism amongst the masses of the youth, despite all the efforts of the bourgeoisie and of fascism. The congress also showed how strong is the urge of the youth towards the united fighting front; it showed that when we begin to work amongst the masses of the youth and in their organisations we meet with lively sympathy and eager enthusiasm and achieve great successes. At the risk of their lives, delegates from the Catholic, socialist, and Communist youth in Germany came to our congress in Paris over the fascist frontier. Many delegates—for instance, the delegates from Slovakian factories—came to Paris to the congress on foot. Two-thirds of the delegates were either members of no party at all or members of young socialist, reformist, pacifist, republican, anarchist, and nationalist organisations. Delegates came to us from the Schneider-Creuzot factories, from Renault, from the Hotchkiss machine-gun factories, and from five Spanish armament factories in defiance of threats of dismissal. Amongst the 85 delegates from Great Britain were 30 students from 17 British universities. In addition, many young socialists, republicans, pacifists, etc., carried on energetic propaganda in favour of the congress in their organisations, in most cases against the sabotage of their leaders. As a general rule these young workers have very close connections with the masses.

What was the cause of the great popularity of this movement against the masses of the youth. A number of our leagues did not wait for instructions from above, but reacted with enthusiasm to the initiative of Henry Barbusse and Romain Rolland and began to work actively for the formation of a united front. They took up connections with numerous members of mass youth organisations and made the first steps towards carrying out the decisions of the Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International on the work in the mass organisations. They began to use a somewhat different language, to avoid the usual formulas, and to take into account the prejudices, the general level and the capacities of the various strata of the youth. They did not approach them immediately with all our end slogans, but proceeded in the beginning with those slogans which are more easily understood and more readily acceptable in order to show the necessity of the struggle against war, fascism, and capitalism. The appearance of the delegation of the Soviet youth at the congress, under the leadership of Comrade Kossarev, showed what a powerful factor the Soviet Union is in making for a united front of the youth of various shades of opinion. One can say even that the Soviet delegation determined the character of the congress. The attitude of the other delegates towards the Soviet delegation was an earnest of the determination of the youth not to stop half-way, but to fight for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, all the work in connection with the preparation of the congress was no more than the first hesitant attempt of the Young Communist Leagues to carry on work on a mass scale and to carry out the decisions of the December Plenary Session of the E.C. of the Y.C.I., which declared that one of the reasons for the general lack of progress was "the attempt to confine the struggle against war exclusively to the Young Communist Leagues."

The Communist Parties took practically no part in the mass work for the preparation of the congress. They failed to grasp the tremendous political importance of this congress for the mobi-

lisation of the masses of the youth against fascism and war, and for the overcoming of the sectarian isolation of the Young Communist Leagues. Some of the Parties even failed to grasp the reality of the danger of imperialist war and intervention.

The movement must now be consolidated, and extended in every country, in order to develop it into one of the forms of the anti-fascist and anti-war movement. This must be done in particular in connection with the preparation of youth congresses on a national scale in the various countries. We must consolidate the united front of the youth and guide it into the channels of an active revolutionary mass struggle—a practical struggle against the preparations for imperialist war before it breaks out. A good example of what is necessary was offered a little while ago by the dockers of Le Havre, who refused to load 200 cases of machine-gun parts after having been informed of the nature of the load by the young workers of the Hotchkiss works. Another example was offered by the young textile workers in Troyes when they disorganised the preparations of the French General Staff for anti-aircraft manoeuvres, as a result of which the arrangements ended in a fiasco. However, with all this we must not neglect to raise important questions of principle within this movement, we must not gloss over the fundamental differences, and we must not interpret the united front as the establishment of neutrality towards opposing youth organisations and opposing ideological attitudes. And, above all, we must not establish connections with hostile bourgeois elements, as was done in Spain and in Czechoslovakia in an attempt to carry out the united front.

After the international youth congress a decline in the attention paid to this work took place in almost all countries. Up to the present, comrades, there have been no cases where the central committees of the parties or other leading organs have demonstrated their responsibility for the consolidation of our influence in the factories, and in particular in the armament factories in which delegates were elected to the congress, or for the consolidation and extension of our influence in those bourgeois and reformist youth organisations which have joined the movement against fascism and war. Nothing has yet been done in this direction, although we are faced with the tremendous task of mobilising still larger masses of the youth in the Spring of 1934, when national youth congresses against fascism and war are to be held in most countries. We must also remember that in many countries our preparatory work will meet with great difficulties, that the struggle against imperialism and opportunism at home is always more difficult, and that not all those who were present at the world congress will fight shoulder to shoulder with us in the next stage of our struggle. All the forces of the Parties must now be definitely mobilised. Some comrades regard the whole affair as child's play, but, comrades, we must tell you beforehand that in our struggle for the decisions of the Twelfth Plenary Session we shall never be prepared to agree to such an attitude or to a merely formal "support." It would never be possible to secure a real mobilisation of the Party forces in the struggle of the youth against fascism and social fascism in that way.

Greater attention must also be paid to the students' movement. It is the task of the Parties and the Young Communist Leagues to utilise the growing dissatisfaction amongst the student youth, to consolidate it by the development of a broad network of student organisations, and to develop mass work in connection with the preparation of an international student congress in 1934, during the course of which the struggle against fascism and im-

perialist war must be connected up with the special material and cultural problems which face the students. It is also necessary to expose the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist swindlers amongst the youth, and in particular amongst the student youth, and to show that at every step and in every question of the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie they use all their influence in order to assist social fascism and the bourgeoisie.

In our work a series of mistakes and ambiguities have shown themselves. For instance, our German comrades apply the Leninist tactics for the revolutionary work in the army in a purely mechanical fashion to the militarisation in the labour service camps, in the sports clubs, and in the mass youth organisations, etc. It is the task of the Communists to place themselves at the head of the struggle against the fascist militarisation of the youth, no matter in what form this is carried out, but this must not be translated into a practical support of the militarisation on the ground that the use of arms and military science in general must be learned. This naturally does not mean that the revolutionary young workers must carry out an individual boycott of military training, but they must take up every demand, even the slightest, of the youth in the labour service camps, in the sport clubs, etc.—for instance, the demand that the time spent in military training should be paid for, that the food should be improved, that special footwear should be provided for night marches, etc., and this movement must then be lifted on to a higher level in order to offer determined resistance to the fascist measures.

The slogan that for every Party cell there must be a Y.C.L. cell is naturally not a universal one applicable to every situation, but it is the elementary demand of the Y.C.L. to the Party leadership, one of the measures necessary in the struggle for the winning of the majority of the working class. For this reason we cannot understand how anyone can oppose this task, as Comrade Gallacher does. The E.C. of the Y.C.I. and the E.C. of the C.I. have never treated this question as a purely formal one, because they are well aware that the carrying out of this task presupposes

a fundamental alteration of the methods for supporting the work of the Young Communist Leagues both on the part of the leading Party organs and the subordinate organs, and a development of the mass work of the youth in the factories. We have not forgotten that both Remmele and Neumann energetically opposed the adoption of this task, but the German events have demonstrated the importance of our positions in the factories. And, despite this experience and despite the fact that the task was put forward by the Y.C.I. over two years ago, we still have comrades coming forward and declaring with pride that this task does not exist for the C.C. of the British C.P. Comrades have also complained about the unpopularity of the letter of the Y.C.I. to the I.L.P. Guilds of Youth and about the use of the term social fascism, etc. Our letter presented a concrete programme of the struggle for the British working youth down to their slightest demands, and this programme must be carried into the masses of the youth.

The Scottish organisations of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth showed great sympathy towards our letter and expressed the wish to affiliate to the Y.C.I. as a sympathising organisation. Here it is of importance to raise the question of our theoretical attitude towards the Guild of Youth, because, although there are tendencies in this organisation favourable to affiliation with the Y.C.I., and although these tendencies are growing, both the leadership of the Party and the leadership of the Y.C.L. are inclined to wait for a convenient opportunity for affiliation, and in this way they are missing a favourable moment.

Comrades, the policy of the C.I. is at the same time the policy of the Y.C.I. and its sections. We know that the most important factor and the most essential factor in the work of the Young Communist Leagues is their leadership by the Parties, and to-day it is more urgently necessary than ever before that the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues should join forces in a drive to carry out the programme of the C.I. in the question of the winning of the working youth for Communism. (Applause.)

## Comrade Sverma (Czechoslovakia)

The carrying out of the fascist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia, whose chief social support is the social democracy, is accompanied by a rapid growth of fascism in the reformist trade unions. This is expressed in the fact that the trade unions represent the chief instrument of fascist propaganda amongst the working masses, that they are working more and more closely with the employers' organisations, and that the tendency is growing more and more clearly to build up "united" trade unions, this social-fascist "trade union unity" being nothing more than a special form for the fascist integration of the trade unions. With the intensification of the attack on the part of the bourgeoisie against the living conditions of the working masses, however, a strong process of radicalisation is proceeding in the ranks of the working class, and this is expressed in a wave of sectional strikes and in a deep ferment amongst the members of the reformist trade unions.

The conditions for the carrying out of our tasks are therefore very favourable. However, it must be admitted frankly and without beating about the bush that up to the present our work has borne no relation to the favourable objective conditions. The activity of the revolutionary trade unions, which were able to lead strikes of international importance in 1932, has decreased. Although the social democrats are aiming at an open fascist dictatorship their influence has remained unshaken and has even increased in a number of big factories.

What are the reasons for this? The chief reason is to be found in the opportunist errors of a number of our leading comrades. The opportunist estimation of the German events made by Comrade Guttmann was only the result of a whole system of opportunist errors in the fundamental problems of our strategy and tactics. Our revolutionary trade union work was very much hampered by these errors. Amongst other opportunist errors there was the opportunist conception of the role of the Party and the revolutionary trade unions. In this way it came about that the chief task of the revolutionary movement was pushed into the background, namely, the task of fighting against the reformist ideology amongst the working masses in the course of their economic

struggles, revolutionising them and preparing them for the decisive struggle for power.

The false conceptions concerning the leading role of the Party were closely connected with opportunist conceptions concerning the united front. At the Twelfth Plenary Session of the E.C. of the C.I., I criticised the deficiencies of the mass and trade union policy of the German C.P., and above all its united front policy. The basic ideas of this criticism were the following: the German C.P. made a mistake when it spoke of a united front under the leadership of the Communists. In working for the establishment of the united front we must reckon with the prejudices of the backward working masses. We should not speak of a revolutionary united front, but we should secure our leadership in the organs of the united front by putting forward such slogans as were in accordance with the spirit of the masses.

This criticism was utterly false and opportunist. The whole system of opportunist mistakes committed by ourselves in our work was reflected in this criticism. The united front interpreted in this fashion has often led us into compromises with the reformist ideology of the working masses. The result of these tendencies was that workers who fought shoulder to shoulder with us in the united front against dismissals and wage-cuts refused to go even another step with us and remained the prisoners of their reformist ideology. In the end they led to a strengthening of the ideas of the reformist workers that the united front could be established if only both Communism and reformism were prepared to make the necessary concessions.

This incorrect understanding of the leading role of the Party and the opportunist mistakes in the application of the united front policy were connected in our trade union work with opportunist conceptions concerning the role of the reformist trade unions. We have always said that reformism was the chief support of the bourgeoisie, but in our trade union work and in our anxiety to get into contact with the reformist workers we avoided exposing the real social-fascist character of reformism.

With the assistance of the C.I. we have recently organised a



broad campaign with a view to liquidating these opportunist errors in our ranks, but even to-day we must admit frankly that there has as yet been no decisive correction of these opportunist errors. However, we have already passed the worst point of our internal difficulties in the Party and in the revolutionary unions. During the past few weeks the activity of the Party and of the revolutionary trade unions has increased and it is still increasing. This can be seen particularly in the struggles against the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship and in the struggles for the defence of the Party and the revolutionary trade unions. It can also be seen in our revolutionary work within the reformist trade unions, although in this respect we are faced with very great difficulties. However, our work is already bearing fruit. Our influence in the unitary unions has increased. In the split trade unions, particularly amongst the metal workers, we have also made good progress in order to organise the oppositional groups in the reformist unions and direct their work. The increasing activity of the revolutionary unions is seen in the preparation for economic struggles and in the intensification of the work of the unemployed workers' movement. However, the situation is constantly facing us with new and greater tasks. The opportunist errors in our trade union work have led us on the path of economism and that means a deadly danger for the revolutionary movement in the present situation which faces us with the beginning of a new cycle of wars and revolutions. Therefore we must liquidate these opportunist ideas and connect up our daily mass

work with revolutionary propaganda for the struggle for the establishment of the Soviet Power in Czechoslovakia. Our second task is to organise the mass struggle against the establishment of the fascist dictatorship.

The struggle against the establishment of the fascist dictatorship is primarily a struggle against reformism and demands also an intensification of our work in the reformist trade unions. We must show the reformist workers that their organisations are becoming more and more the basis for the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship. At the same time we must form a firm organisational basis for the revolutionary work inside the trade unions and build up a broad network of factory and local groups of the revolutionary opposition, particularly in the most important reformist organisations. We consider this task to be the most important in our revolutionary trade union work. Side by side with this work we must strengthen our revolutionary trade unions, both politically and organisationally, so that they are in a position to continue their mass work even under the conditions of fascist terror.

When we have liquidated our opportunist vacillations with the assistance of the C.I., when we have imbued the ranks of the Party and of the revolutionary unions with self-confidence in accordance with the present situation of approaching victory, then we shall be in a position to carry out the great revolutionary tasks which the present situation presents to us. (Applause.)

## Comrade Krayevski (Poland)

The world has approached close to the beginning of a new cycle of wars and revolutions. The fundamental qualities that a Communist must possess to-day are: independence, daring initiative, a capacity for illegal work, a knowledge of the most important rules of conspirative work, revolutionary steadfastness and class-conscious vigilance.

In order to prepare for the period of illegal activity or to begin with it at once, a thorough knowledge of our own forces is necessary. To know our own forces, not formally, but in reality, means above all to be well informed about the work of the fundamental body of our active Party workers, to follow this work closely and to control it carefully. It means further that we must know the tendencies and the capacity of our most important Party functionaries and see that they are used with the greatest possible effectiveness and that such comrades are engaged on those tasks in the performance of which they can be of the greatest use. It also means that we are acquainted not only with the present activities of our Party functionaries, but also with their past, not only with their Party work, but with their whole political life, with their personal and other connections, and with their private lives. Naturally, such a knowledge of our Party forces cannot be obtained without hard and persistent work.

Further, from this standpoint no Central Committee is in a position to know its whole body of functionaries, including both the higher and subordinate functionaries. It can know no more than the higher functionaries and the most prominent of the active Party workers. From this it follows that the Party leaderships must occupy themselves with the district and sub-district leaders in order in this way to obtain a thorough knowledge of the subordinate functionaries. Only a thorough knowledge of our active Party forces can guarantee a rational policy with regard to the utilisation of our forces, a considerate use of the older active workers, the cleaning out of elements which have not come up to the mark (not to speak of suspicious persons) and the promotion, education and training of our younger forces.

What sort of experience have the Communist Parties had on this field of work up to the present?

(1) Cadre committees have been formed in the Communist Parties of France, Italy and Great Britain. The beginnings of such work are visible in the C.P. of Spain, but in the American and Czechoslovakian Communist Parties nothing of the sort has been done yet, or at least, we have no knowledge of it.

In all other Parties there are also no such cadre committees, but some work is being carried on for the purpose of studying the cadres. In the Balkan countries the Roumanian, Bulgarian and Greek Parties have made a beginning with this work. The Roumanian Party in particular has done good work in the study of

its cadres and the exposure of provocative elements. The Party has given its officials a series of very valuable instructions concerning the conspirative work and a series of organisational measures have been carried out. All this has assisted very considerably in preventing the class enemy making any very serious breaches in the ranks of the Party.

An example on the other side is offered by the Communist Party of Hungary where the study of the cadres is very badly organised. This is one of the reasons for the very difficult situation in which our Hungarian Party finds itself at the moment.

This work is organised better in the German and Polish Parties than in other Parties, but even in the Polish Party there have often been cases where not even the elementary measures were taken to obtain the necessary knowledge concerning the Party functionaries. Even before the seizure of power by Hitler this work was organised fairly well in the German Party and there is no doubt that it bore fruit when the Party had to go completely into illegality. To-day, however, the cadres of the German Party are being rapidly mowed down and therefore much hard work is necessary, despite all the difficulties in the way, to form new cadres and study them closely.

(2) The cadre committees formed in the Parties already mentioned have already obtained a thorough knowledge of the majority of their leading functionaries. Particularly valuable work in this connection has been done in the French Party. This work led to the exposure of a number of hostile and disruptive elements which had wormed their way into the Party. However, up to the present, unfortunately, the work of these cadre committees is still too little connected up with the general work of the organisational departments of the Parties and the knowledge obtained by these committees is still too little applied in practice.

(3) The Party press is only just beginning to pay attention to this question of the cadres in general and the work against provocative elements in particular. Our French Party organ "l'Humanité" gives a fairly considerable amount of its space to these questions and a campaign, although it was still not sufficient, was conducted in connection with the exposure of the spy Ceylor.

The Japanese Party has done excellent work in its central organ "Sekki" ("The Red Flag") in the fight against espionage. It has exposed agents-provocateurs and mobilised the masses for the struggle against provocation.

The central organ of the Yugoslavian Party "Proletar" has published a series of articles on the struggle against provocation, and the Bulgarian, Roumanian and Greek Parties have published similar articles or issued corresponding pamphlets.

However, in many cases suspicious and disruptive elements are not always sufficiently exposed and not chased out of the Party

and the working-class movement with sufficient energy, not to mention such monstrous cases as occurred, for instance, a few years ago in the Czechoslovakian Party when a spy named Yan was discovered in one of our Party organisations, but our comrades failed to expose him in the eyes of the whole Party with the result that he was able to move to another district and join the Party again and continue his provocative activity for quite a time before he was again exposed.

I should like to mention one or two later examples from the experience of our French Party. A man named Sachs who had held a leading position in the Young Communist League was expelled and consequently became well known to the Party. A little while afterwards he joined an unemployed workers' organisation and rapidly came to the front there. He brought forward a number of highly suspicious proposals and published a number of highly provocative articles in an unemployed workers' newspaper. Although he was known to our comrades this Sachs was able to come forward at demonstrations and present himself as a leader of the unemployed workers. Another example: A certain Billet was expelled from the Party in Bagnolet for having embezzled Party monies. Nevertheless he was able to join an organisation of unemployed workers in Boulogne and even became its secretary. He worked in the district for Duclos during the elections. In other words, people who are expelled from the Party are afterwards able to worm their way into workers' mass organisations and the Party does not bother its head to stop such people from carrying on their nefarious activities.

The study of our cadres is a steady and onerous task. We must develop our work in this connection so far that all the sections of the Party apparatus are led by comrades who are absolutely reliable, steadfast Communists and capable of fulfilling their tasks, comrades who possess sufficient independence and initiative to act on their own in cases where the connections with our central bodies break down. The frivolity with which this question has often been treated up to the present is shown by the fact that a comrade was proposed as secretary of the Paris district of our Party although he had been a member of the Party for less than a year. At the Party Conference, Paris-East, 40 per cent. of the delegates had been members of the Party for less than a year.

The practical work in this connection must be taken up immediately everywhere. We must choose the best elements; we must carefully examine the qualities of the comrades in leading positions and how far they have proved themselves to be reliable, and we must take immediate measures to get rid of all unsuitable elements. The better the Party knows its own cadres the better will it be able to perform this work.

What can happen if this question is treated carelessly can be seen from the following example from Finland: In Vyborg our transport apparatus was in charge of a common criminal who had succeeded whilst in prison in winning the confidence of our comrades and who after his release was recommended by them as a reliable man for Party work. Without making any inquiries into his past our organisation immediately gave him an important post. It was not long before things began to go wrong and the police began to show an uncanny knowledge of the inside workings of our organisation. The man was exposed as an agent of the secret police and rendered harmless, but not before he had done our Party tremendous harm. With anything like a serious attitude to the question of the choice of our cadres it would be possible to reduce such cases to a minimum. In the meantime, however, it is still possible to quote dozens of such scandalous examples of carelessness.

Apart from a particularly careful control and a careful examination of those comrades who are entrusted with leading positions in the Party we must also pay close attention to the work of those of our Party organisations which serve as the instruments of our agitation and propaganda amongst the masses, for instance our parliamentary and municipal fractions, and in particular, the editorial boards of our newspapers, etc. The most careful control and direction on the part of the Party is necessary; any neglect of this control and direction can easily lead to the development of opportunist tendencies as a result of the bourgeois environment in which these fractions, etc., are compelled to work. Here too our practical task is to examine carefully all our comrades who occupy such posts and to get rid, according to the given situation, of such persons who give rise to fears for their Communist steadfastness.

And now we come to one of the chief factors of our cadre

problem, namely, the question of proletarianisation. I have said that the chief quality which a Communist must possess to-day is revolutionary steadfastness, and it is clear that from this point of view the question of the proletarianisation must play an extremely important role in our cadres because it is the petty-bourgeois elements in our Party which are least steadfast and which are most susceptible to the influence of the class enemy. The Finnish example I have quoted shows how watchful we must be towards the petty-bourgeois elements in our Party. A little while ago, for instance, a provocateur was exposed in the Japanese Communist Party after he had succeeded in worming his way into the financial department of the Party. This case was also a flagrant example of lack of care and attention, for this man came from well-to-do circles and immediately after his entry into the Party he was entrusted with a responsible position which he was able to utilise to do the Party much damage.

The more a Party is stiffened with proletarian elements, and in particular elements from the ranks of the industrial proletariat, the narrower is the field of opportunities offered to such individuals. Practically our task is to take the most tried and steadfast and most politically qualified workers into our leading bodies and to give them the positions which require the greatest conspiratorial qualities in the most vulnerable links of our Party organisation. The question of the proletarianisation of our cadres in general, and in particular the question of reorganising our Parties on the basis of the factory cells is of the greatest significance from the standpoint of conspiratorial work and from the standpoint of stiffening the backbone of our cadres against the blows of the class enemy.

The factory cells are the concentration point of the most advanced proletarian elements. The street cells connect them with the petty-bourgeois elements and thus weaken their political activity and stamina, and, as a result of insufficient steadfastness, involve the danger of discovery. Further, a factory cell is on the whole better able to mask its work by surrounding itself with other factory organisations and utilising the latter in its work.

And finally, it is not so easy to arrest Communists in the factories where they are closely in touch with the masses and popular amongst the workers. We have examples in fascist Germany, even quite recently, where the authorities have hesitated to arrest workers who were popular in their factories in order to avoid trouble. There have even been examples, less numerous it is true, where the fascists have been compelled to release workers who had already been arrested and sent to concentration camps, because their arrest had caused such a storm of indignation in the factories.

Thus from the standpoint of illegal work and the necessity of protecting our cadres, the factory cells play an extremely important role. The more factory cells a Party has, the stronger is its organisational basis and the less likelihood there is of the class enemy making dangerous breaches in the Party ranks.

However, the reorganisation of our Parties on the basis of the factory cells is not itself sufficient to guard our cadres from the danger of destruction. The combination of a series of measures is necessary. A certain reserve of leaders must be created, a certain reserve of technical functionaries, a certain reserve of workers for maintaining our connections, for the purpose of providing rooms, etc., and in general for the provision of the material basis for our work. Our women comrades must be drawn into the work to a greater extent than has been done up to the present and greater attention must be paid to the question of raising the political level of the women comrades engaged in this work.

A very useful thing is the sending of comrades from one town to another, or even, in the case of larger towns, from one district to another, where they are not known. This applies not only to the subordinate functionaries, but also to the district functionaries, in fact to an even greater degree to the latter. We are not in a position to provide the same conditions of underground work, rooms, etc., for all our subordinate and district officials as we can for the Party leaders. Thanks to their direct connection with the masses of the workers the position of our subordinate functionaries is relieved to a certain extent, but the position of our district functionaries is very difficult. And here a measure such as the sending of a comrade from one town to another can play a very useful role. We know in practice from Germany, although the measure was introduced only recently, that such a measure can play a certain role.

Another factor of decisive importance from the standpoint of

the defence of our cadres is the correct structure of our Party organisation, the decentralisation of our apparatus in such a way that if one link in our Party organisation is discovered the other links are not necessarily also discovered. In this connection it is of importance that our forces are correctly distributed, that each comrade is given a task in accordance with his capacities, for if a comrade is given work which is beyond him then this can very easily lead to discovery.

However, merely to confine oneself to the question of defending our cadres from attack and discovery is not sufficient. The question of increasing our cadres, of training and drawing in new cadres must be taken up.

The new cadres will be developed chiefly in the actual and concrete Party work supplemented by the necessary training. The basis on which our new cadres will develop will be the carrying on of a broad work amongst the masses, the maximum increase of the political activity of the Party on the basis of the correct political line, the Leninist general line of the Party, and the raising of its ideological level.

The role of the Party leadership in the development of new cadres is enormous. A decisive role is played in this connection by the capacity of the Party leadership to organise collective work. We know many quasi-leaders (unfortunately there are very many of them in all our Parties) who do not bother themselves in the least about drawing all active and capable comrades into the work. In some cases this leads to a situation in which no one does anything at all, and in other cases it leads to a situation in which a "leader," let us say a district official, takes over all functions himself, runs all over the place with a great show of importance and naturally does nothing worth while in any form of work. The practical result in both cases is the same.

If these "leaders" had distributed the various functions amongst a dozen young active comrades instead of loading themselves up with all sorts of functions which they know full well they cannot perform, the result would have been that the work would have been really performed and in addition these "leaders" would have been able to perform their real job of leadership, and apart from that, scores of young active comrades would have been drawn into the work and developed their capacities in the work. Unfortunately such "leaders" very often deliberately exclude young and active Party comrades from the work, as did the leader of a cell in Muenster (Alsace-Lorraine) who was wont to declare about the workers, "Oh, they don't know how to manage a job of this sort." Instead of giving them the necessary instruction and training he pushed them to one side.

Our new young cadres must be given work, but the utmost care must be taken to see that the work they get is in accordance with their capacities and their qualifications. Just this is the capacity of leadership. This means that each functionary must be examined with a view to discovering his capacities, and it also means that the work of every single comrade must be controlled systematically in order to discover whether he is really suitable for the work he has been given. If a comrade is found to be unsuitable for one work, then he must be given another, for each comrade is suitable for some type of work or the other.

One must take into consideration the fact that, given work in accordance with their capacities, our young cadres rapidly develop. However, if the Party work is distributed haphazardly, if there is no control and if there is no real leadership of the work, then exactly the opposite can result, the comrade is disappointed, loses his belief in the cause, and becomes demoralised.

It is noteworthy that the Adame-Bullejos-Trilla group, during the period it controlled the Spanish Party, often gave comrades work which they could not perform in order to discredit and demoralise them. We have seen a series of such examples and it is typical of the methods of those who sabotage the Party work.

Let us take the question of training new cadres. The network of schools maintained by the various Parties is very insufficient, both in quantity and quality. Further, the business of selecting the comrades to attend these schools is carried on with scandalous carelessness. Very few of our Parties can boast that they have treated this question with the necessary seriousness. Fortunately we have been able to record that recently there has been a definite improvement in this connection. However, to take two examples: in Czechoslovakia the greater number of those who had been sent to the Party schools turned out to be unsuitable elements, and only a third of those who had been through the Party schools in

Italy showed themselves to be at all useful when it came to the point.

Connected with the question of the development of our young cadres is the question of the fluctuation of our cadres. This fluctuation has taken on enormous proportions in the majority of our Parties. Take as examples the American, British, French, Czechoslovakian, and Italian Parties—in all these cases large numbers of workers have joined the Party, only to leave it shortly afterwards. The chief reason for this fluctuation is that the work for dealing with the comrades who join the Party is not sufficiently skilful and not sufficiently persistent, and, above all, it lies in our incapacity to consolidate our political influence organisationally. In this connection the question of factory cells again arises. If the factory cells are active, if they work well, then the factory workers who have been won in the course of economic struggles, campaigns, etc., are not lost, but are embraced organisationally to a greater or less extent by the Party. The best elements go into the factory cell itself and the others join the trade union or other factory organisation. It is a fact that the street cells have much less possibility of consolidating organisationally the workers who are won for the Party.

However, the number of factory cells in our Party is very small in comparison with the number of street cells. In Italy, for example, the fundamental unit of our Party organisation, is a vague sort of territorial group of from 10 to 40 comrades, and in most groups even no difference is made between membership of the Party, the Young Communist League, and the revolutionary trade union.

However, to secure the organisational consolidation of the workers won for the Party is in itself not sufficient. These workers must be given some concrete work, quite simple work in the beginning, in order to bind them organically to the Party, and at the same time a systematic work must begin to raise their political level. To this end it is naturally necessary that the cells should work under the constant leadership of the upper Party organisations. Without leadership and efficient control on the part of the Party no good work is possible on the part of the cells.

I shall now deal with the other side of this question, namely, with the problem of the struggle against provocation. The events of recent years have convinced all comrades and all Parties that one cannot regard the struggle against provocation as a temporary more or less fortuitous campaign connected with the exposure of this or that spy or provocateur. It is not a question of a fight against individual spies, it is not a question of exposing and hounding out individual spies, it is a question of a struggle against provocation as a system, as one of the sharpest weapons of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Therefore an effective struggle against provocation can be conducted only as a struggle of the masses. Not merely as a struggle on the part of the special departments of the Party whose task it is to guard against and expose provocateurs, but as a struggle of the whole party, of the whole working class, of all the toilers. These departments are absolutely necessary and very valuable, but the main weight of the struggle must not be on the technical side of the work, but on the political side, in the mass struggle against provocation as a system, the struggle being one of the fronts of the revolutionary class fight of the proletariat as a whole. A Party which pays insufficient attention to this sector of the front cannot be termed a Bolshevik Party. Fortunately, a change for the better in this connection has taken place in almost all our Parties, or there are at least signs that a more serious attitude to this question is being taken up.

In the present historical period of the collapse of the capitalist system the bourgeoisie cannot avoid using a weapon like provocation to the utmost extent and in the most cunning ways. Events of recent years prove that the activities of the secret police have been internationalised to a greater extent than ever before, that the various secret police organisations support each other, and even exchange officials. The role of the British Intelligence Service and of the French Sûreté Générale as the chief provider of instructors to all other secret police organisations is well known. Unfortunately, there is no doubt that in this connection, in the internationalisation of our knowledge and experience in the question of the struggle against provocation, we are lagging behind our class enemy. We must now pull ourselves together and make up for lost time. The deadly seriousness with which bourgeois governments regard the question of fighting Communism, includ-

ing the organisation of provocation, can be judged by the fact that in many countries special commissions have been formed to fight against Communism apart from the normal State apparatus which exists for that purpose, and that these commissions control and direct the work of the numerous State organs whose task it is to fight against Communism.

A special commission for the struggle against Communism was recently formed in Spain, and it is conducting its work under the tuition of the French political police and with the assistance of experienced secret agents from other countries, including Hungary.

The words of our leader, Comrade Stalin, that "revolutionary vigilance is the quality which Bolsheviks need chiefly at the moment," apply not only to the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union, they apply also to all Bolsheviks who are working devotedly for the victory of the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries under the conditions created by a ruthless fascist terror.

The political secret police are perfecting their methods of work continually. It is sufficient to refer to the achievements of modern technique on this field, achievements which are utilised to the full by the secret police. The material resources at the disposal of the secret police to-day cannot be compared with the funds of the pre-war secret police, for to-day the bourgeoisie grants hundreds of millions of pounds in order to perfect the work of its police apparatus and to organise anti-working-class provocation. An important role in this connection is played by the Second (social-fascist) International, which maintains close touch with the police international.

The police role of the social-fascist leaders and of all sorts of renegades, with Trotsky at the head, is gradually being exposed by us. It is worth while to spend some time in collecting material in this connection. There are facts in abundance to be had.

Very often our comrades treat the renegades with a rotten sort of liberalism. They maintain personal connections with them, and in this way very often betray the secrets of the Party organisation to the class enemy. This sort of thing must be put an end to once and for all. Not rotten liberalism, but Bolshevik irreconcilability is necessary towards all renegades and other enemies.

I should like to stress once again the importance of the strictest conformity with the rules of underground work. It is necessary that each Communist should remember always that he is a soldier in a front-line army and that he is constantly under the fire of the enemy. It is necessary that each Communist should remember always that any careless or thoughtless step on his part may have unpleasant consequences. The questions of underground work must be dealt with in all Parties on the same high level as questions of the political line of the Party. Deviations in the question of underground work must be punished with the same sternness as deviations from the general line of the Party. Only in this way can we secure the necessary seriousness in all questions of underground work.

One of the questions connected with the above-mentioned problems is that of the attitude to be adopted by a Communist when brought before the examining magistrates or before the capitalist courts. A Communist must always remember under such circumstances that he is before the class enemy and that he must hold aloft the banner of the Party and of Communism. No amount of gruelling examination and no amount of torture can force a revolutionary Bolshevik devoted to the cause of the emancipation of the working class and hating the exploiters and their hangmen to betray the cause and go over to the camp of the enemy. Only one who has already capitulated can commit an act of treachery, only one who has already worked out in his mind a justification for his treachery. In any case, international experience, and in particular the recent events in Germany, have shown that on the whole it is the cowards and the weaklings who are subjected to the most torture, those who begin to show signs

of weakness and treachery, for the secret police hope to extort further confessions and information from such persons.

A very effective weapon in this connection is a control by the Party organisations over the attitude of the comrades whilst in prison. This control must be organised in such a fashion that we can obtain reports on the attitude of our comrades whilst under examination and in prison. We must maintain connections with our comrades in prison, assist them in their struggle, and do our utmost to raise their political level. Prison can serve to a certain extent as a school for our cadres if we work in this direction. On the other hand, prison may become a school for renegades and disruption. A correct organisation of the work with our comrades in prison is also of importance for the revolutionary utilisation of the trials. The tremendous importance that a trial can have for the recruiting work amongst the masses when the accused Communists conduct themselves heroically and defend the ideas of Communism steadfastly was demonstrated by the case of Dimitrov. However, this does not mean that arrested Communists must always and under all circumstances admit their membership of the Party when they are brought before the courts.

And now to the final question, that of emigration. In the present situation this question is of very great importance. The emigration from a number of countries is taking on a mass character. We must pay particular attention to these emigrant cadres in order to prevent their being isolated from the Party and to prevent their demoralisation in the difficult conditions of life in the emigration, and, further, to keep open the possibility of using them for revolutionary work.

It is necessary that each Party which is faced with a mass emigration, both in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries, should form a special organisation for maintaining a permanent and living connection with the emigrants. It is also necessary that the Parties in those capitalist countries to which emigrants go in any large numbers should pay careful attention to them, should draw them into the Party work in the country to which they have emigrated, and should at the same time assist them to maintain connections with the Party in the country from which they have emigrated. To this end the closest connections must be established between the Parties concerned. Serious attention must be paid to the question of emigration to the Soviet Union. The present methods must not continue, namely, that very often people are sent to the Soviet Union because they have given rise to fears in their own country, and the Party therefore wanted to get rid of them. Still worse is the situation when the Parties send spies to the Soviet Union without any previous inquiries and recommend them as honest and reliable comrades. In this way we are ourselves creating agents of the imperialists within the Soviet Union, and centres of espionage and sabotage.

Naturally, I have been unable to exhaust all the questions of the cadre policy of the Parties in this speech. I have attempted, however, to touch upon all the fundamental questions, because for many parties the cadre problem raises a series of entirely new questions whose significance is tremendous. To adapt the well-known words of Comrade Stalin: "The reality of our victory in the historical struggle for the overthrow of capitalism—that is living human beings, all of us, our will to victory and our determination to win victory."

To educate our cadres in the spirit of Leninism means to forge in them the will to fight, to develop in them that Bolshevik irreconcilability which binds the Party masses to the Central Committee and which teaches us how to conduct our fight on two fronts—against Right wing opportunism, which is the chief danger in the present situation, and against "Left" wing excesses, which teaches us to go the same way as the toiling masses of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, with Comrade Stalin at the head, and which will guarantee us the victory in the battles for the coming world October.

## Comrade Stahl

### (Communist Fraction of the International Association of the Victims of Fascism and War)

The victims of labour and war are suffering in particular under the social reaction in all capitalist countries. The first economy measures of the bourgeoisie were a systematic robbery of the old age and other pensioners, the war victims, the sickness, accident and other social insurances. A tremendous hunger army robbed of all means of existence has grown out of the comparatively small section of proletarian pensioners of former days. Out of 20 million men wounded in the war and million of dependents, only 6,854,000 receive pensions, and these pensions are very small. In the post-war years the bourgeoisie and the social democrats did their best to obtain influence over the masses of war victims who rebelled against the cuts in their pensions and other grants, in order to prevent these masses from taking the revolutionary path. At the present moment about 14 million ex-servicemen are organised in bourgeois and reformist organisations. These ex-soldiers offer a fruitful field of agitation for fascist demagoguery. When Hitler came to power the social democracy advised the members of its war victims' organisations to place themselves unreservedly under the

control of the fascist leaders. The fascist organisation of war victims in Germany has already four million members. We are dealing, therefore, with large masses which will play a great role in the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately, however, most of our parties pay too little attention to this question. They must immediately reorganise their socio-political work with a view to winning the millions of the victims of labour and war. A broad united front movement must be developed in order to lead these masses into the fighting front of the toilers. Practical and effective slogans must be put forward against the pension and other cuts and against social reaction, and this work must go hand in hand with the popularisation of the social insurance scheme as it exists in the Soviet Union. At the same time this work offers us favourable ground for the mobilisation of the masses in the struggle against chauvinist incitement and against the preparations for imperialist war. Where favourable conditions exist class organisations of the victims of labour and war must be organised. (Applause.)

## Comrade Valecki

In all the countries of the Balkans the situation is characterised by the extreme intensification of the economic crisis. This crisis has its roots not only in the general crisis of post-war capitalism and in the prevailing world industrial, agrarian and finance crisis, but also in the weakness and decrepitude of the economic organism of these countries which have developed only very slowly and one-sidedly thanks to their dependence on foreign capital. As a result of this and as a result of the weakness of the armament industry in these countries, the temporary improvement of the economic situation which has taken place in a number of important capitalist countries as a result of the preparations for war and the currency inflation, has left the countries of the Balkans almost untouched. This explains the catastrophic financial situation of these countries and compels their governments to seize upon the least opportunity, for instance, a slightly improved harvest, in order to force the payment of overdue taxation from the peasants with the most brutal measures, measures which lead on the other hand to fierce revolutionary action on the part of the bankrupt peasants. The inner-political situation of all Balkan countries is characterised by the application of fascist methods and the establishment of open fascist dictatorships based above all upon the bayonets of the soldiery, and by attempts to place these dictatorships on a more or less stable basis, a fact which results in constant reshufflings of power. As a result of the imperialist contradictions between the various Balkan countries, intensified by tremendous still unsolved national problems and intensified by the growing contradictions of the big imperialist powers in the Balkans, the situation, which already gave rise to a world war on one occasion, takes on more and more the character of an immediate prologue to war.

Under these circumstances we observe in all Balkan countries a ceaseless growth in the struggle of the working class, a struggle which is taking on more and more definite revolutionary forms, and at the same time a new rising of the revolutionary peasant movement. The outlines of a revolutionary solution of the crisis are beginning to show themselves.

In accordance with their mass character and their revolutionary energy the February struggles in Rumania undoubtedly take first place. They were unique in the history of the struggle of the Rumanian working class. Their tremendous significance was increased by the fact that they took place under the leadership of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions which pursued the tactic of the united front from below and secured the election of broad strike committees despite the resistance of the social democracy and the reformist trade unions, both the official organisations and the so-called independent ones. One might have feared that the heavy price which the Rumanian workers had to pay in the February struggles—400 killed and 3,000 arrested in Bukharest alone, the proclamation of martial law, the

dissolution of all the revolutionary trade unions, and a raging white terror—would have led to a temporary stoppage of the movement, to a temporary reaction, but nevertheless, in the months that followed the movement continued to develop and extended from one branch of industry to the other.

The clearest expression of the revolutionary advance of the Greek workers in 1933 was the strike of the tobacco workers in Cavalla in July which was accompanied by the occupation of the factories, stormy demonstrations and collisions with the police in which the whole working-class population took part. Throughout the whole of 1933 the strike movement in Greece remained at a high level and in the first nine months of the year it embraced 60,000 workers. The increase in the number of strikes which took place under the leadership of the C.P. and the revolutionary unions was characteristic.

The strike movement in Bulgaria also reached a high level. In the first nine months of 1933 24,000 workers took part in strike movements as compared with only 5,000 throughout 1932. In the second half of the year the strike wave rose still higher and affected a number of large factories. Characteristic for the high level of the strike movement in Bulgaria was the fact that half of these strikes were political ones directed against the murder of Communists, the destruction of working-class organisations, etc.

In Yugoslavia, where for a number of years the strike movement was very feeble and where the working class, held down by the military-fascist dictatorship, was overtaken by the revolutionary advance of the peasantry, the first new strikes began in 1932 and increased in size and numbers in 1933. More and more often such strikes are developing into offensive actions of the masses accompanied by mass demonstrations and collisions with the police. The biggest strike in 1933 was the miners' strike in Trbovia, and the strikers were actively supported by the working women and by the unemployed workers.

The unemployed workers' movement in Greece organised 42,000 workers in the first eight months of 1933. Big actions of unemployed workers took place in Bulgaria (Sofia, Haskov and Plovdiv), and in Yugoslavia (Zagreb and Petrovo-Selo).

The strikes and unemployed workers' movements are either completely under Communist leadership, as in Bulgaria, or chiefly under their influence and leadership as in Rumania and Greece.

The revolutionary advance was also expressed in a number of fighting demonstrations carried out by the proletariat and the peasantry. The revolutionary movement is growing in the rural areas also on the basis of the intensifying agrarian crisis and of the unsolved problems of land and indebtedness.

All signs point to the fact that in all Balkan countries a new powerful advance of the peasant struggle has set in. An analysis of the strike movement and of the political actions of the workers in recent months shows us that the offensive organised by the

State and the employers against the workers is everywhere meeting with strong resistance, and that the struggle itself is taking on increasingly revolutionary forms as was the case, for instance, in Bukharest and Ploesti in Rumania and Cavalla in Greece.

What is the role of the Communist Parties and what is their strength and influence? What are the weaknesses and deficiencies whose overcoming is a condition for the fulfilment of their historic role?

The oldest, most experienced and tried and trusted C.P. in the Balkans is the C.P. of Bulgaria which also has the strongest cadres, both young and old. Of late the C.P. of Bulgaria has developed into a real mass Party. The role of the Party and the role of the revolutionary trade unions in the economic struggles of various sections of the working class, the political actions carried out by the Party, the result of the recent elections, all these things are a proof that the Bulgarian Party has really won the majority of the working class over to its side. In the past year the Party has not only maintained, but even strengthened its decisive positions in the working class and it has won new positions amongst the railwaymen who represented the last support of the social democracy, which had been driven out of all other spheres of influence in the working class.

This influence of the Bulgarian Party on the masses was won in a tireless struggle against the un-Bolshevist remnants of the social-democratic past and in a struggle to maintain and develop those revolutionary traditions which the old revolutionary party in Bulgaria bequeathed to the working class, and in an irreconcilable struggle against opportunism in all its forms. However, one of the weaknesses of the Bulgarian Party to-day is still its inability to put the Bolshevik attitude towards the chief ally of the working class, the working peasantry, into practice, although this Bolshevik attitude is recognised by the Party in principle, and to consummate its revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The statistics of the Party concerning its social composition and the social composition of the mass organisations under its leadership, and the results of the elections show that the Party has considerable influence on the peasantry. It had this influence to a lesser extent in 1923. This influence is in the main the result of a chiefly general political agitation which touches very little upon the urgent immediate interests of the masses of the poor and middle peasants ruined by the crisis, and which is insufficient to emancipate the peasant masses from the stronger influence of the Kulak organisation, the so-called Land League. The development of the revolutionary trade unions as real mass organisations which embrace larger masses than the Party itself is also insufficient. Another extremely important question for our Bulgarian Party is also the question of the preparation to meet the threatening further offensive of the fascist dictatorship against the proletarian mass organisations. Our plenary session stressed decisively the necessity for all sections of the C.I. which are still working legally to prepare themselves thoroughly for the threatening development into illegality. However, there are various degrees of illegality. It is not at all certain that when the Bulgarian Party is faced with the necessity of organising the revolutionary insurrection of the workers and poor peasants of Bulgaria and of placing itself at their head, that it will then enjoy the same possibilities of openly organising the masses in class organisations as it has at present. With the support of its parliamentary majority the fascist government Mushanov-Gitchev has already annulled the mandates of the Workers' Party deputies in parliament and in the municipal council of Sofia. Together with a mass struggle against the threatening dissolution of the mass organisations and against the suppression of the revolutionary press, a struggle which the Bulgarian Party must conduct with all possible means, including demonstrations and protest strikes and up to the political mass struggle, together with the strengthening of its recruiting work for these organisations, the Party must also prepare its illegal organisation in every possible way for new conditions of mass work and for the leadership of the masses in case it is robbed of its present means of doing so. This preparation must be carried out by increasing the strength and regulating the social composition of the Party, by extending the forms and functions of its subordinate organisations and by technical measures. This preparatory work must also include the popularisation of the C.P. in the ranks of the broad masses as the leader of the masses in their struggle.

The C.P. of Greece has made great progress during the last two years and in particular during the past year. Two years ago the Greek C.P. was faced with extinction, it was torn with a

characterless fractional struggle and hampered with a leadership which served as a jumping board for right and pseudo-left wing opportunists. Both fractions were sectarian and were isolated not only from the masses of the workers, but also from the masses of the Party membership itself. Owing to the decline of the Party and to the decline of the revolutionary trade unions under the same leadership, the reformists could do practically what they liked in the working class and all sorts of Trotskyist and other renegade groups were springing up everywhere. With the assistance of the C.I. and with the active support of the masses of the Party members, the Party has been given a new and young leadership which has reformed the Party and which is leading it firmly along the Bolshevik path. After this, success attended the work of the Party very quickly.

The official organ of the Party, which up to that time had been vegetating in obscurity and without any touch with the masses, failing to understand the masses and not understood by the masses, has now been transformed into a real live working-class newspaper which uses the services of hundreds of worker and peasant correspondents and which has increased its circulation many times over. The subordinate organisations of the Party and the district committees are now full of life and energy. The revolutionary trade unions have developed, particularly during the past year, into real working-class unions engaged in leading the struggles of the workers. Their work is being supplemented by the activity of the revolutionary trade union oppositions which are undermining the organisational bulwarks of the reformists from within. The leading role of the Party, of the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition in the strike struggles of the Greek working class has increased decisively during the course of the past year and the influence of the reformists has been successfully fought. The influence of the Trotskyist and other renegade groups has sunk to nothing. It is true that opportunist errors were made which led occasionally into letting the leadership of strikes slip into the hands of the reformists and even to the loss of trade unions in which we had influence to the reformists. However, for the most part these errors were recognised by the Party and publicly condemned. The balance of the mass activity of the Party and the revolutionary unions during the last two years is undoubtedly favourable on the whole. A weak side of the activities of the Greek Party is still its failure to apply the tactics of the united front on a broad and offensive scale in accordance with the example of the Cavalla strike, and opportunist errors have been made in this respect. The activity of the Party in the rural areas is no better than the activity of the Bulgarian Party, in fact, it is worse. Nevertheless, the Party has fairly good connections with the villages and a considerable portion of its membership is accounted for by the rural areas. However, the underestimation of the importance of this work in the rural areas coupled with a wrong estimation of the character of the coming revolution in Greece and a wrong estimation of the mutual relations of the dynamic forces at work hamper the Party. A decisive change for the better in the activity of the Party in the rural areas for the defence of the interests of the poor and middle peasants ruined by the crisis is the preliminary condition for preventing the movement on the part of the peasant masses, which is now developing so rapidly, from coming under the leadership of bourgeois-fascist demagogues or any of the capitalist agrarian groups. To this end it is necessary not only to work out a programme of action for the village and to devote a lot of attention to this question in the Party press, but a number of organisational measures must also be taken. This field of work must be placed in the hands of capable, experienced and energetic forces, and a peasant newspaper must be published which appears regularly and appeals to wide circles. The work in connection with the trade union organisation of the landworkers must also be intensified. The correct standpoint of the Party in the question of the national minorities oppressed and exploited by Greek imperialism necessitates much more intense work on the part of the Party in the national minority districts, and the support of the revolutionary organisations at work there. A stronger struggle than hitherto must be conducted against fascism and against its penetration into the masses, and in particular the masses of the workers and peasants. Further, a mass defence must be organised against the more and more frequent attacks of fascist bands on the workers and their organisations. In its mass agitation and in the struggles which are developing the Party must put forward more clearly the question of the seizure of power, the question of the

ways and means to seize power, the questions of the mass and general strike and armed insurrection against the two rival fascist camps Venizelos and Tsaldaris.

Like the Greek C.P., the Rumanian Party was rent a few years ago in a criminal fractional struggle between two groups of equally incapable and un-Bolshevist cliques of "leaders," and like the Greek C.P. it owes its salvation to the energetic intervention of the C.I. supported by the majority of the Party members. At its fifth congress, which was held two years ago, the Party drew up the plans for its recovery on both the tactical and the organisational field. The whole work of the Party since that congress has been a long persistent struggle to carry out the decisions of the congress and the instructions of the C.I. The Rumanian C.P. has to work under much more difficult conditions than the Greek C.P. Both the C.P. itself and the masses of the workers in general are suffering under a reign of terror which can be compared only with the bloody terror of Zankov in Bulgaria or Shirkovitch in Yugoslavia. Those legal possibilities which permitted the Party to develop a broad and open mass activity a few years ago have since entirely disappeared. However, thanks to the correct political line, to a good leadership and to the self-sacrificing activity of the Party masses, the Party has achieved great successes, particularly in the past year. A decisive test of the worth of the Rumanian C.P. was made in the historic February struggles of last year. The Party emerged from the testing period with flying colours, it placed itself at the head of the fighting railwaymen and oil workers, provided them with an independent revolutionary leadership on the basis of the united front from below, and drove out the reformists who were attempting to throttle the struggle. The Party was able to gain such successes not merely because it carried through the correct general political line, but also because during the months which preceded the February struggles it concentrated its forces on the next fields of struggle and thus learned how to lead the coming struggles. A weak point in the work of the Rumanian Party is its trade union activity and above all its failure to carry on sufficiently persistent and adroit work within the ranks of the reformist unions. The increasing revolutionary ferment amongst the miners, the dockers and the workers in the war industry must impel the Party to concentrate its work in particular on these categories of workers in opposition to the strike-breaking tactics of the reformists. The work amongst the unemployed workers which is so important has been sadly neglected. As in Bulgaria and Greece, a decisive improvement of the work in the rural areas is necessary in Rumania also. This task is all the more necessary and urgent in Rumania because, thanks to the ceaseless activity of the fascist organisations, the peasantry may be robbed of a really revolutionary leadership and may become the basis for Rumanian fascism. The national-revolutionary movement in the Dobrudja, in Bessarabia, the Bukovina and Transylvania is objectively one of the chief allies of the working class of Rumania in its struggle for the revolution. In fact, however, and unlike the situation in Yugoslavia, the national-revolutionary movement in Rumania has remained in recent years behind the general development of the revolutionary advance, and the national minorities districts are areas of fascist agitation conducted by the counter-revolutionary nationalist organisations and in particular those of a Hitlerist character. It is therefore all the more important that the Party should support in every possible way the work of the real national-revolutionary organisations in these areas.

Another weak point in the work of the Rumanian Party is its work in the army, which is not up to the standard of the work carried on by the Greek and Bulgarian Parties. It is also necessary that the Rumanian Party should intensify its struggle against the social democracy which is suffering a process of decline. This applies both to the official and to the so-called independent social democracy. The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Party which took place a little while ago adopted a

number of organisational decisions with a view to reducing the size of the district committees, to creating independent Party leaderships in the most important industrial districts, and to carrying on intensive recruiting work amongst those workers who have played a prominent part in the struggles. The immediate carrying out of these decisions will assist the Party in carrying out its tasks and increase its acting and fighting capacities.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the C.P. of Yugoslavia. Not only was the Party rendered helpless by the ruthless blows of the fascist military dictatorship, but even more than the Parties in Greece and Rumania it was torn by the sabotage of the fractional elements which had wormed their way into the Party leadership. Only about a year ago did the Party succeed in creating a new and honest revolutionary leadership. It is working under extremely difficult conditions. The Party had to organise the isolated groups of Communists and the individual Communists at work in various parts of the country. A correct Bolshevik policy had to be worked out and an irreconcilable struggle carried on against the right-wing opportunism which had been tolerated or encouraged by the former leadership, not to speak of the no less opportunist sectarianism. It was necessary to guide the forces at the disposal of the Party into the practical work amongst the masses and in particular to utilise the possibility of trade union work. It was necessary to destroy the influence of the renegade Sima Markovitch and to win back the honest workers under his leadership for the Party. It was necessary to develop the discredited Party organ into a real newspaper in accordance with the demands of the growing and developing Party, a newspaper which would react at once to all questions as they arose. The new leadership of the Yugoslavian Party has undoubtedly made serious progress in the direction of carrying out these tasks and a strong cadre of Party activists has been forged. All this had to be done at a time when the Party had slid far behind the revolutionary advance which had begun in 1931 and continued in 1932 in the form of strike struggles. The Party is also able to point to a series of successes in connection with the leadership of the strike movement during the past year. Apart from the weaknesses and deficiencies inevitably connected with such a difficult situation, the Party organisations, and to a certain extent the leadership, have made opportunist errors and unless these errors are corrected they can seriously damage the Party. The struggle of the Party leadership against the tendencies of the members of the Party and of the revolutionary trade union opposition to adapt themselves to their reformist environment in the reformist trade unions and against their refusal to carry on a revolutionary struggle against the reformist leaders and their policy was not sufficiently energetic. Gross opportunist errors were also made in connection with the election campaign for the labour chambers, and these errors gave the social democrats the possibility of creating themselves a basis there for the newly legalised social-democratic party, and this time not as "appointed" but as elected representatives of the workers. The immediate exposure and correction of these errors is all the more necessary because the election of the workers' representatives in the factories is about to take place. In these elections the Party can make big gains if it pursues a correct policy, but it can also suffer still heavier losses if it fails to do so.

The Balkan countries are undoubtedly amongst the weakest links in the capitalist chain. In all the Balkan countries the conditions for a revolutionary crisis and a revolutionary decision are maturing to an increasing extent even if the tempo of development is not uniform. The Balkan countries remain no less a storm centre to-day and the flames of an imperialist European or world war can spring up here. In this situation the Balkan sections of the C.I. are faced with responsible and difficult tasks. However, we have no reason to fear that they will not prove to be up to these tasks. (Applause.)

## Comrade Dolores (Spain)

The struggle for Soviet power is on the agenda in Spain today. Despite the sabotage of the reformist leaders, tremendous masses of workers and peasants in the towns and villages are entering with determination into the revolutionary struggle. Seizures of land by the peasantry are daily occurrences. The masses are breaking through the legal bounds set up for them by the social-democratic leaders. The masses are not relying on the promises of the social-democratic leaders concerning agrarian reform in the countryside and workers' control in the towns, but are taking up the struggle on their own account with determination. The wave of strikes and peasant revolts is rising from day to day.

The sabotage of the landowners who refuse to sow themselves or permit their land to be tilled, the municipal limitation law which condemns the peasants to starve in their own villages and prohibits them from looking for work in other parts, the open attack on the few social gains of the working masses, and the bloody reprisals against the strike movements of the workers, all these things have called forth an answering rise of the revolutionary movement in the rural areas. In the month of January alone there were 225 cases where peasants had stormed estates, granaries and cattle farms, and 164 cases in which land was seized by the peasantry. In February there were 67 cases of land seizure and 51 cases in which peasants stormed granaries and cattle depots. In March there was seizure of land in 33 cases and 30 granaries were stormed. During the course of the Summer the movement declined somewhat owing to the fact that the peasants were engaged in harvesting work. In this period, however, most of the strikes of the landworkers took place. These strikes spread rapidly and assumed forms quite unusual in Spain. These struggles began for the most part with small sectional struggles and then rapidly extended over whole districts and even provinces. In some cases they developed into regular insurrections. The landworkers went into the struggle armed with pistols and scythes and fought pitched battles with the Civil Guards. The confiscation of the harvest has become a normal phenomenon for the peasants. In the period from January to March the harvest was completely distributed in 22 villages. In Avila the peasants barricaded the roads, hoisted the red flag and held the Civil Guard at bay by force of arms.

There is terrible poverty in the villages, particularly in Ciudad Real. Even the social-democratic leaders were compelled to admit in parliament that the peasants of the village of Mestanca had had nothing to eat for a whole month apart from boiled grass. Finally the peasants of this village stormed the granary of a rich landowner. In the village of Badayon six peasants died of starvation in one month. The responsible parties are the social democrats who defend the interests of the rich landowners. For instance, when the landworkers in the village of Areyon, in the province of Jaen, who received no wages last year from the local grandee Velasca, began to help themselves and confiscated this year's harvest on the grandee's estate and divided it up amongst themselves, the social-democratic mayor who had organised the action was arrested at the instructions of his own party comrades. The renegade Adami, now a social-democratic deputy, who attempted to defend this policy of his party, was chased out of the village by the indignant peasants.

This is the reaction of the peasants to the treachery of the social democrats. We can say that almost all the struggles which have taken place in the rural areas have taken place under the slogans of the Communist Party. The seizure of land is already taking on an organised form and the peasants are forming self-defence detachments. The Civil Guard is unable to take the seized land away from the peasants. In Muraltá the peasants seized the land of a local grandee and the government was compelled to recognise the seizure in its agrarian reform bill.

In the village of Aldea del Cano the peasants went into the woods of the landowners and cut themselves timber, they used the charcoal works of the landowners and confiscated charcoal and large quantities of foodstuffs. They occupied the land, seized the granaries and formed a strong local militia, which has conducted a successful defensive struggle against the Civil Guards and against the fascists. A detachment of this militia, 300 strong and armed with scythes and revolvers, marched into a village in the province of Cáceres, formed a local party group there, and

compelled the government to recognise the legality of the local land seizures. Here we observe signs that forms of double power are developing in Spain, although this process is still in its embryonic stage.

The landworkers of Frontero confiscated the whole of the olive harvest, consisting of 500,000 kilos. In a village in the province of Granada the workers not only confiscated the contents of the granary, but raided the buildings of the landowner and confiscated all the stored-up foodstuffs found, and also clothing. On February 1 a conference took place in the province of Cáceres, in which the representatives of 19 villages were present. A resolution was adopted with the votes of 13 villages against 6 to organise the joint seizure of lands in the province. Although the peasants and the landworkers were well aware that the carrying out of their plans would mean collisions with the Civil Guard, the lands were seized. In Fernán Gabellero the landworkers formed a local militia, armed with scythes and other weapons and defended the confiscated lands against the Civil Guards, whilst the remaining workers tilled it. In a village in the province of Badajon landworkers and peasants raided the estates of the landowners and confiscated 180 sheep and 90 pigs.

The fact that the landowners are refusing to respect the working agreements is leading to innumerable strikes, which often begin with economic demands and then develop into political struggles. A strike which broke out in the village of Aryona and then rapidly extended to the other villages of the neighbourhood, began with the demands: the employment of all unemployed landworkers and compulsion to force the landowners to till their land. During the course of this strike violent collisions occurred between the strikers and the police and a policeman was killed. The strike and the struggles connected with it lasted for three weeks, and in the end the social democrats took over the leadership, only to sell the strikers to the landowners. The result of this was that the workers and peasants left the social-democratic organisations in masses.

Big struggles have also taken place in the province La Mancha and the conflict extended to a great number of villages. The striking landworkers organised defence detachments against the Civil Guards and against the fascists and compelled the landowners to give way in face of the determination of the movement which was organised on the basis of the united front.

A great hindrance to the further successful development of all these struggles is the illusion spread by the anarchists concerning the nature of the State, and, in consequence of the weakness of our Party, it has not been possible to destroy this illusion. An example of the danger of these anarchist illusions amongst the workers and peasants was offered by the events in the village of Casas Vieyas, in the province of Cadiz. In this village and the neighbourhood the landworkers and peasants have been literally starving owing to the fact that the estate owner, the Duke of Madrid de Sidonia, refuses to permit his land to be tilled. One day the rumour spread that "free communism" had been proclaimed in Spain. After years of humble service in the employ of the duke the landworkers and peasants suddenly began to revolt. They disarmed the Civil Guards and seized power in the village. However, their illusions prevented them from taking any further action against the Civil Guards, who concentrated their forces against the village, took it by storm, and at the orders of the government and the social democrats slaughtered the whole population. As a protest against this horrible mass murder, carried out by the "democratic" government, the working class of Spain carried out a general protest strike.

The women are beginning to take an increasingly active part in these struggles. In the village of Potez, in the province of Santander, where bailiffs, supported by Civil Guards, tried to collect overdue rents, the peasant women defended their homes, armed with sickles. In the struggle two of them were shot dead by the Civil guards and many others wounded. In the village of Villa de Don Fadrique, in the province of Toledo, bloody struggles took place owing to the refusal of the landowners to respect the working agreements. Women armed with sickles and other implements attacked the Civil Guards. An 18-year-old girl was wounded by shots.

But all that is only a faint picture of the real extent of the struggles in Spain. These struggles were betrayed in part by the



social-democratic leaders and many of them were defeated because they remained isolated and did not extend over the whole country. For the most part they were carried on under the slogans of the Communist Party, and this increases the measure of our responsibility towards the workers and peasants of Spain, and makes it necessary for us to do everything possible to overcome the organisational and political weaknesses of the Party in the quickest possible time.

Parallel with the struggle in the villages the struggle of the workers in the towns has increased. Every day new categories of workers are being drawn into the strike movement. We have seen a number of general and provincial strikes. In addition, there has been a tremendous number of sectional strikes, with the occupation of factories, etc., and in innumerable cases there have been collisions with the State power, in which the social democrats have acted as active strike-breakers.

All these struggles, and in particular the recent insurrection, show that the workers are losing their democratic illusions and

are prepared to fight for the continuation of the revolution. However, the majority of the proletariat in the towns is still under the influence of the anarchist leaders, and as long as this remains the case the proletariat cannot be victorious in its struggle. It is our task to win the majority of the workers and to lead the toiling masses in the struggle for the seizure of political power. We must put forward the question of the struggle for a workers' and peasants' government, for the Soviet power. We must form factory and peasant committees and create the united front of the toilers under the banner of Communism. The social-democratic and anarchist leaders must be exposed in the eyes of the masses, their influence must be destroyed, and at the same time our Party must be so strengthened that it is capable of becoming a real Bolshevik Party and the leader of the Spanish proletarian revolution. The organisation of the revolution is the central task of our Party. If we go about this work correctly and follow the path pointed out to us by the C.I., then we shall succeed in setting up the Soviet power in Spain. (Great applause.)

## Comrade Stein (Finland)

Apart from certain general characteristics, fascism in Finland has also certain peculiarities which distinguish it from Hitler fascism. First of all several parties still exist in Finland, and there is a formal parliament and a formal parliamentary government. Particularly characteristic, however, is the fact that the shock troops of the fascists, the so-called Lappo movement, are not in the government, but in the "opposition." The fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is being carried out through the bourgeois parties which have gone fascist and under the mask of a remnant of "democracy." Integral parts of this "democratic" system, however, are a fierce terror against the revolutionary workers and peasants, mass arrests, the deprivation of the franchise for all former members of the dissolved trade unions, and an energetic offensive against the living conditions of the workers and the toiling peasants.

When the fascist dictatorship was set up in 1930 Finnish fascism made practically no use of social demagogy. In view, however, of the intensification of the crisis and the growing dissatisfaction of the masses, Finnish fascism had to take a leaf out of Hitler's book and discover some attractive demagogic slogans. In particular the fascists are trying to attract the peasants by promising them that an end will be made of the forced auctions, that lease rents and interest on loans will be reduced and that State loans will be granted to the peasants, etc. Therefore the Finnish Party must pay serious attention to the question of exposing this fascist demagogy in the eyes of the working masses. Recently the nationalist-chauvinist campaign of incitement conducted by the Lappo fascists against the Swedish-speaking minority has been intensified. The slogan of the Finnish Party for the defence of the national rights of the Swedish-speaking minority and for the recognition of their right to self-determination up to and if necessary including a complete separation is therefore of particular importance under these circumstances.

In order to expose the demagogy of the Finnish fascists in the eyes of the broad masses our Party must show the masses what became of the demagogic promises made by Mussolini and Hitler. In order to intensify the struggle of the working masses against the fascist dictatorship our Party can utilise with great success the heroic struggles of the German Communist Party.

The foreign policy of Finnish fascism is dominated by the preparations for war against the Soviet Union. The chief slogan of the fascist government is for the conquest of Soviet Carelia and the creation of a "Greater Finland." The position of Finland as a northern neighbour of the Soviet Union and a neighbour whose frontier is only 30 kilometres removed from red Leningrad makes Finland of particular significance from a military-political point of view. In recent years the Finnish bourgeoisie has inclined more and more to a pro-English policy. The Finnish bourgeois press openly expresses its sympathy with the Japanese aggression against China and the offensive plans of Japan against the Soviet Union. It even talks about "the mission of Japan" to free the world from Communism. The social fascists also support the war-like policy of the Finnish bourgeoisie. Recently the social fascists have been clamorous in their demands for a reliable army and a

reliable officers corps, naturally for the war aims of the bourgeoisie. During the rule of fascism in Finland the technical equipment of the Finnish army has been considerably improved.

The Finnish social democracy plays its role as the chief social support of the bourgeois fairly openly. Tanner, the leader of the Finnish social democracy, has declared openly that fascism and the social democracy have the same aim. "In collaboration with the Lappo fascists," as the reformist leader Mikkonen declared, the social democrats disrupted the Finnish trade unions. The social fascists are doing their best to secure the support of the workers for their policy of co-operation with the fascist bourgeoisie, as the following example taken from the official organ of the social fascists shows:—

"The efforts of the workers are apparently in opposition to the interests of the big capitalists, but this contradiction is only on the surface and it is a result of the unjust conditions prevailing and of the prejudices which these conditions have created."

Naturally, the Finnish social democracy is compelled to seek the cleverest forms in order to cloak its co-operation with and its support of fascism. For instance, the social fascists support government measures for the consolidation of the State apparatus with the pretext that these measures are directed against the Lappo fascists. The "left-wing radical" demagogy of the social democracy has considerably intensified of late. The Finnish example shows clearly that even under the conditions of the fascist dictatorship the social democracy remains the chief social support of the bourgeoisie.

The united front offer made by the C.I. might have been productive of great success in the exposure of the social democracy for all our Parties. The Finnish C.P. pursues a united front from below policy which is in principle correct, and the offer aroused great interest and sympathy amongst the social-democratic workers. However, as a result of the weakness of our mass work we did not succeed in making full use of this offer with a view to creating a revolutionary united front. Our weaknesses and deficiencies also explain why the Finnish social democracy was able to book a victory in the elections which took place last summer.

The Party is actively at work. To a very great extent, however, our Party works too much within its own framework so that the results of its efforts and sacrifices are not proportionately great. The arrests are mostly the result of work inside the Party and not of mass work. In this way the work of the members of the Party, which is very often of a heroic character, remains without any influence on the masses.

We demand therefore that the greater part of all the work of our Party members should be mass work in the real sense of the word, daily work in the factories and amongst the unemployed workers, amongst the non-party and social-democratic workers.

A most important problem of the legal mass work in Finland is the question of the work in the reformist trade unions. In reality this work was completely neglected in Finland until recently despite the many decisions which have been made con-

cerning the importance of this work. In reality we have concerned ourselves only with the building up of illegal trade unions. However, the Party is determined to bring about a change in this respect and to organise systematic revolutionary oppositional work in the reformist trade unions. Under the conditions of the fascist dictatorship the importance of these organisations as the only legal trade unions is very great, even if they are small in comparison with the former big legal revolutionary unions. The main weight of our trade union work must remain in the factories where the red factory groups remain in existence and where with the assistance of these groups and the revolutionary trade union opposition we are conducting a daily struggle for the class interests of the workers within the reformist trade unions.

In the present tense situation this daily revolutionary work is of the greatest political importance. Unless we develop this work correctly we shall not be able to develop successfully the economic and political partial struggles or to prepare the proletariat in a Bolshevik fashion for the coming decisive struggles. Our Party is carrying on a decisive struggle against the right-wing opportunist chief danger which expresses itself in Finland chiefly in the form of an underestimation of the leading role of the Party, in the form

of passivity, a passive waiting for "better times," a retreat in the face of difficulties, even in those cases where it masks itself with "left-wing" phrases. Right-wing opportunist tendencies of this sort have been represented of late by a member of the Central Committee of our Party, Comrade Manner. However, they were unanimously and decisively repulsed by the C.C. itself. At the same time the outcry caused by opportunist pessimism and opportunist panic-making about the alleged existence of a crisis, or of "the elements of a crisis" in the Party were energetically repulsed by the C.C. Following on the fascist coup d'Etat the Party did experience a crisis, but it has overcome that long ago.

At present the most important task of all Communist Parties is to activate and revolutionise the masses by improved agitation and mass work, to enhance their revolutionary fighting spirit, to make the revolutionary perspective clear to them, to show them the revolutionary way out of the crisis, and to put forward the question of power as the central question of the day. The fascist dictatorship must be faced with the slogan of the Soviet power. The Finnish section of the C.I. appeals to the Finnish workers to conduct this struggle and to march along the path to the Red October and the establishment of Soviet Finland. (Applause.)

## Comrade Goppner (C.P. of the Soviet Union and of Soviet Ukraine)

When we hail the heroic struggle of the illegal Communist Party of Germany and of the German revolutionary workers as one of the proudest and greatest achievements of the Communist International, we must not forget that one of the reasons for the strong Bolshevik fighting spirit which fills the struggle of the German proletariat, led by the Communists, is the firm confidence in the unshakeability of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and a firm belief in its increasing strength as a support of the world revolution in general and of the German proletarian revolution in particular. The most dangerous malady for the Bolsheviks is the loss of a revolutionary perspective.

The more the crisis and the misery it brings the masses intensifies, the more brutal the fascist terror becomes, the clearer the masses realise the approach of a new war, the quicker grow the sympathies of the masses for the Soviet Union. The demand for literature concerning the Soviet Union is growing daily. Apart from our own literature concerning the Soviet Union, which is still not sufficient, there is already a bourgeois literature on a large scale. This represents a success for us, but at the same time it is a danger, because even that bourgeois literature which is friendly towards the Soviet Union is full of adroit distortions in favour of capitalism. The movement on the part of the workers to come to the Soviet Union is growing, and the movement of the Friends of the Soviet Union and its press is also growing.

A new factor in the movement of interest in the Soviet Union is the greatly increased interest shown on the part of bourgeois scientists and bourgeois intellectuals in general.

The work amongst the intellectuals has been made one of the permanent tasks of all Communist Parties in the programme of the C.I. Although this task is a subsidiary one, and there can be no question of the Party neglecting its main task, the mass work amongst the proletariat, in favour of it, nevertheless, the work amongst the intellectuals is important enough under the existing conditions. In the present situation—we are on the eve of a new war and the fascist wave is rising—we must utilise the ferment amongst the intellectuals in order to win the best elements over to our side. The winning over of the intellectuals is of great importance for the intensification of our work for the popularisation of the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, because neither our press nor our publishing houses are in a position to deal with this tremendous task from all sides, and also because with the assistance of the intellectuals we can considerably increase our influence on the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, which play so large a role in the fascist mass organisations.

The influence of the crisis and of the end of the capitalist stabilisation as well as the approaching danger of war on the intellectuals is extremely characteristic.

For the intellectuals the fifth year of the crisis is a year of further deterioration in their material situation. Professors sell-

ing matches in the streets of Berlin, hungry engineers, begging doctors and other scientific men, homeless artists and poets have become nothing unusual nowadays. Unemployment amongst the intellectuals has taken on tremendous proportions. In addition, the government of Hitler in Germany has conducted a tremendous campaign of repression against art and science. By the end of last July about 300 foreign newspapers had been prohibited in Germany.

The dismissal of non-Aryan professors, teachers and doctors, the introduction of the obligatory Hitler greeting, the prohibition of Marxist portraits, and thousands of similar facts, were crowned by the public burning of books, the removal of the statue of Heinrich Heine in Frankfurt on Main, and the removal of the Feuerbach portrait in Nuremberg. The "Twelve Points against the un-German Spirit" have been posted up at all universities. One of these famous points reads: "When a Jew writes German he is lying." The method of execution with the guillotine has been abandoned as un-German and the method of execution with the hand axe introduced. These are a few of the characteristics of German fascist "culture."

In the United States, the land of "democracy," the functioning of the schools and the inadequacy of their supplies shows a serious crisis in education, despite the official promise of Hoover to the National Pedagogic Association that expenditure for education would not be cut down, as this would be, in his own words, "not only bad economics, but also bad politics." The President of one of the American universities, Glen Frank, entitled his address to the February conference of the association mentioned "The sword over public education." Schools are being closed down on a mass scale, hundreds of thousands of children are without any education, and the number of teachers in employment has dropped by 14,000 and is still sinking.

Concerning the situation in other countries we also have a great amount of material which offers a similar picture: unemployment, the ideological demoralisation of the intellectuals, the decay of the educational system in all countries, the reduction of the teaching personnel, attacks on the standards of living of the teachers, the reduction of expenditure for education, the deliberate development of fascism in the educational system, the dilapidation of the schools, the canteens and the cloakrooms, etc.

The following utterance is characteristic of the helplessness which prevails amongst the intellectuals. It is taken from the French press:—

"There is a vague anxiety and unrest amongst the broadest circles of European society to-day. The system of society is on the down grade. An atmosphere of scepticism has replaced the former spirit of realism. . . . One might almost believe that the intellectuals deliberately and maliciously place their Fatherland in the worst possible light. . . . Modern literature emits an atmosphere of pessimism. Its

works are being born out of a society of perplexed pessimists, out of society which has been hit in its vitals."

We are witnesses of two parallel processes: the defection of a part of the intellectuals to fascism, a process which bears the same character as the defection of great masses of the middle classes, the officials, the engineers, etc., and can be explained, above all, by anxiety to obtain a living. There are, however, unexpected examples of the defection to fascism or at least of flirting with fascism in the case of a number of prominent, if few, names. For instance, Bernard Shaw's delight at the result of the elections in Germany, the resignation of Upton Sinclair from the Socialist Party of America in connection with his candidature for governorship.

Naturally, in Germany there are many renegades. It is sufficient to mention the names of Max Barthel, Alfons Paquet, Otto Flake, Justus Ergar and, a particularly flagrant case, Gerhart Hauptmann. As a symptom of the activation of fascism in France we have the appearance of a series of periodicals like "Esprit," "Esprit du Siècle," "Nouvel Ordre," etc., which are conducting a struggle to win the intellectuals for fascism and to develop a fascist ideology. These publications protest against the "suppression of the individual" in the Soviet Union and proclaim "the superiority of the mind," the "personal revolution." They praise the cult of the strong, and under these slogans they conduct open propaganda against the Soviet Union and against Marxism.

On the other hand, however, we observe that a number of the best representatives of the intellectuals have turned their faces towards the Soviet Union and towards Bolshevism. However, this phenomenon is not of an individual or isolated character, but it reflects the power of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and is connected with the development of the revolutionary crisis. The Amsterdam Anti-War Congress attracted considerable sections of the bourgeois intellectuals and was the commencing point of an increased radicalisation.

In Japan, the United States, France, Poland and Spain the development of the intellectuals in the direction of the Soviet Union is particularly strong. The decay of the social democracy inevitably influences this process of the polarisation of the two extreme wings, fascism and Bolshevism.

The process of revolutionisation amongst the American intellectuals, and in particular amongst the writers, developed with great intensity during the year 1932 and the beginning of 1933. This was demonstrated by the rapid growth of the John Reed Club, which is affiliated to the American Labour Defence. In 1929 there was only one branch of the John Reed Club, but by 1933 the organisation had thirty branches. In addition, there was the development of the revolutionary literary press (the central organ of the movement for revolutionary literature, "The New Masses" became a weekly organ instead of a monthly one, and the John Reed Club branches in Boston, Chicago, Detroit, and other towns are beginning to issue their own organs. Further, independent groups of revolutionary writers are issuing a number of publications.) A series of prominent representatives of American art and science have joined the revolutionary camp, and this has found expression in their political attitude and in their more recent work. The creation of the revolutionary league of occupational groups in October, 1932, was the greatest success of the last two years with regard to the leadership of the mass movement of the American intellectuals.

During the last eighteen months or two years there has been a considerable radicalisation amongst broad sections of the Spanish intellectuals, and in particular amongst the writers. A number of the latter have even joined the Communist Party. However, the sectarian policy of the Party is very damaging to this movement.

Amongst the writers, such old names as Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Martin Anderson Nexoe, Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos, etc., have been joined by such world-famous names as Sherwood Anderson, Langstone Hughes (U.S. Negro), Oskar Maria Graf, Theodore Plivier (Germany), Maleraux, Jean Cassoux (France), Raffael Alberti, Ramon Sender (Spain), and many others. There is also a symptomatic "Left" wing movement amongst the masses of the young writers.

The movement of the students against fascism and against imperialist war is growing in many countries at the moment. In Great Britain we observe a movement at all universities against

student strike-breaking and against the counter-revolutionary slogan, "for King and Country!" The students have inscribed on their banner: "We don't want to fight for King and Country!" The revolutionary students of Cuba are opposing both American imperialism and their own bourgeoisie. Energetic students' movements are also to be observed in Japan, China, Spain and the Balkan countries. The students of fascist Germany, Italy and Poland are also not passive.

Naturally, illusions are dangerous. Vacillations and instability will always be characteristic. The examples of Upton Sinclair, Bernard Shaw, and Einstein are typical. The sixteen years of the relations between the proletarian power and the experts in the Soviet Union have brilliantly confirmed the estimation of the role of the intellectuals put forward by Marx and Engels. Only decisive victories on the part of the proletariat can fundamentally alter the ideology of the intellectuals, for no other strata of society is so deeply imbued with the poison of bourgeois science and morality as the bourgeois intellectuals. But just for that reason our struggle to win them is an important one in the present situation. The basis for this struggle is extremely favourable to-day. The psychological change in the attitude of many intellectuals towards socialism is not the result of the fact that they have found the socialist ideal by reading in books, but a result of the fact that socialist progress is now being made before the eyes of the whole world. The intellectuals are able to observe that not only is the path from utopianism to science being traversed, but also the path from science to reality.

The "Left" wing bourgeois Spanish writer, Ramon Sender, writes: "Russia is the country where all the dreams of the man passionately devoted to his job can be and are being realised."

In particular, those intellectuals from the ranks of the serious scientists and experts for whom science is not merely a means of earning money, but also a great work in accordance with their inner mission, necessarily see, once they have interested themselves in the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, that this work of construction is based on the latest achievements of real science. We therefore observe a new and thoroughly rational process, namely, the increased interest for Marxism, for the more the capitalist system is shaken the clearer anyone who has eyes and ears can see and hear the unreserved correctness and the brilliant practical confirmation of the lessons of Karl Marx.

Interest for Marxism is particularly great in Japan, where the ferment amongst the professors and students is proceeding under the banner of the struggle for revolutionary Marxism, and where the suppression of this movement is proceeding under the banner of the struggle "against dangerous ideas."

However, the factor which makes the greatest impression on the intellectuals is the progress of the cultural revolution in the Soviet Union. The following facts are of significance in themselves, but they are doubly and trebly significant for the intellectuals all over the world:—

In 1933-34 there were 24,600,000 students attending the elementary and secondary schools in the Soviet Union as compared with 7,800,000 in 1914-15. In 1933 the high schools in the Soviet Union had over half a million students, and the technical high schools about a million and a half, whilst the workers' faculties embraced a further half a million. In 1913 all the high schools in Russia together had only 130,000 students. To-day the students of the high schools come overwhelmingly from the ranks of the workers and peasants. This is a fact which may not be pleasing to the bourgeois intellectuals, but the important point as far as the latter are concerned is that the tremendous plan of socialist construction demands an enormous number of experts to help carry it through, and that unemployment has not only been abolished, but that there is a growing demand for brain workers and will be for decades to come.

In 1933 the number of persons who could read and write was over 90 per cent as compared with 33 per cent. in 1913. General compulsory elementary education has now been introduced everywhere.

If, one adds together the students of the elementary, secondary, and high schools, of the various circles, evening classes and correspondence classes, then we find that no less than 55 million people in the Soviet Union are engaged in study of some sort or the other. In the second Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union will lead the world in respect of the number of students studying in

all branches of the educational system, and it will leave far behind it even the progressive educational system of the United States.

The second Five-Year Plan provides for the extension of general education at secondary schools for the whole of the children of the workers and peasants throughout the Soviet Union, and including all nationalities. This achievement will be accomplished for the first time in history. In the rural districts the children will attend school until they are fifteen, and in the towns until they are seventeen, and energetic work will begin to carry out the programme of the Communist Party for general polytechnic education for all children up to the age of seventeen years.

With the assistance of the school the difference in cultural level between the town and the country, a difference which was historically conditioned, will be levelled out. During the course of the first Five-Year Plan the number of pupils at the elementary and secondary schools in the rural areas increased by almost ten millions, whilst the total increase in population was calculated at twelve millions. During the course of the second Five-Year Plan the number will increase by five million, whilst the general population will increase by seven millions.

In 1932 6,693 newspapers were published in the Soviet Union, with a circulation of 36 millions. In 1928 the total circulation of all newspapers was only nine millions, and under Tsarism in 1913 only 2.7 millions.

With regard to the publication of books, the Soviet Union has occupied first place in the world for over six years. In 1932 more books (titles) were published in the Soviet Union than in the three most important capitalist countries, the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, put together. From 1928 to 1932 the number of books published in the Soviet Union increased by 50 per cent., and in 1932 over 50,000 books were published. In five years 228,000 books were published in the Soviet Union as compared with 260,000 books throughout the whole of the nineteenth century in Russia.

In 1928 85 newspapers appeared in the Ukraine, and by 1933 the number had increased to 426. In 1928 60 per cent. of the newspapers were published in the Ukrainian language, and by 1933 this percentage had increased to 89. Calculated both according to the number of newspapers published and their total circulation, Soviet Ukraine is ahead of the whole of Tsarist Russia before the war.

From 1928 to 1931 the number of newspapers published in White Russia increased from 16 to 168. During the course of four years the number published in Transcaucasia increased from 70 to 160.

In the Tartar Soviet Republic there are now 63 newspapers being published in the native tongue. They are, naturally, proletarian revolutionary organs, whereas the one or two newspapers published in the native tongue under Tsarism represented the interests of the national bourgeoisie and of Tsarism.

In 1930 two newspapers were being published in Bashkiria. To-day there are ten district and 45 sub-district newspapers appearing, and sixteen newspapers in the factories and five more on Soviet farms (printed newspapers).

In 1930 the total circulation of books issued in the various national tongues amounted to no more than seven millions, but in 1931 the circulation had risen to 194.5 million copies. The circulation of newspapers appearing in the various national tongues (not including Russian) was nine million in 1931.

However, all these facts and the tremendous achievements of Soviet science give, despite the conviction they convey, only a very imperfect picture of the tremendous cultural revolution which is taking place in the Soviet Union to-day. A great factor in this process is the tremendous work which is being performed to provide adequate housing, to provide sufficient school buildings, to raise the whole level of life, to create the material and technical basis of a higher level of culture, but, unfortunately, I am not in a position to deal with this work now.

And, finally, there are factors at work which cannot be put into columns of statistics. How, for instance, are you going to measure statistically the importance of such world historical facts as the State propaganda of Communism, the education of millions of children and adults in the spirit of Marxism and proletarian internationalism? This fact has no parallel in the history of the world.

There is still no possibility of calculating the most important qualitative factors, including all those questions which are connected with the transformation of the capitalist wage slaves of yesterday into active and conscious helpers in the work for the building up of the classless order of society, in the struggle not only for the destruction of capitalism, but also its roots, the property ideology, in the struggle for the destruction of capitalism "not only on the economic field, but also in the consciousness of humanity." In this respect the process of Party cleaning will provide extremely valuable material, for each Party member and each candidate will be examined from the standpoint of his capacity in the struggle to carry out the great tasks of the second Five-Year Plan, the plan of the classless society. The great achievements of the cultural revolution in the Soviet Union offer a splendid weapon with which to win over not only the proletariat, but also the best sections of the intellectuals.

The Parties must connect the radical movement amongst the intellectuals as closely as possible with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and organise a united front in the struggle for the economic demands of the intellectuals. The influence of the proletariat on the development of the intellectuals must be consolidated in every possible way. The mass propaganda of Marxism-Leninism amongst the masses of the intellectuals is of greater importance to-day than ever before because only Marxism-Leninism is able to provide them with correct answers to all the burning questions which engage their attention, and to free them from the bourgeois poison of ideological degeneration which has flung the intellectuals into such ideological confusion in the period of the collapse of all the fundamental supports of capitalism.

Our connections with the intellectuals are realised for the most part through the revolutionary organisations of writers. At the moment our international association of revolutionary writers has eighteen organisations. Of these, not including the Soviet section, the following sections can be considered as strong: the German section (which is continuing its work under Hitler), the French, Japanese, Chinese, and American sections. The British, Spanish, Dutch, and Polish sections are weaker, although the Spanish section, which was formed only recently, gives great promise. The sections in Canada, Sweden, Denmark, and Austria are very weak, indeed. Altogether these sections issue thirty political literary publications. The international association itself issues its organ, "International Literature," in four languages.

All the Communist Parties must increase their work to consolidate these organisations and control them ideologically. This applies also to the related organisation of the revolutionary theatre movement, which has organisations in twenty countries. The Parties must also take the initiative to found revolutionary writers' organisations in countries where such bodies do not yet exist.

I should like to conclude by drawing certain conclusions:—

(1) The work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is a powerful factor for the world revolution, a powerful sign of the near revolutionary perspectives. The work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is already mobilising the broadest masses in the capitalist countries for a struggle to secure a revolutionary solution of the crisis, for a struggle against imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution and for the victory of the Soviet power in all countries.

(2) The whole world situation in which this Thirteenth Plenary Session is taking place and, above all, the approach of the revolutionary crisis and war, and also the central slogan put forward by the session of the struggle for power, stress with great energy the necessity of the greatest possible utilisation of the victories of socialism in the Soviet Union in the struggle for the winning of the majority of the workers by popularising these victories as far as possible.

(3) The biggest role in this connection must be played by the Party press. Up to the present most of these newspapers publish only what they receive from their Moscow correspondents, not that this material is bad, but the wish expressed by the Twelfth Plenary Session that each editorial board of our newspapers should have a comrade whose one task is to concern himself with the question of socialist construction in the Soviet Union has not yet been carried out. Up to the present our Parties have not

succeeded in repulsing correctly and, above all, swiftly the attacks of the fascists on the Soviet Union and in particular the attacks in connection with the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

(4) In view of the insufficient attention which has been paid up to the present by the Communist Parties towards the work in mass organisations which concern themselves with the popularisation of the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union (Friends of the Soviet Union, the organisation of delegations, the wireless associations, the revolutionary literary organisations, etc.) they must now increase the attention given to these organisations and thus extend their work for the popularisation of the work of socialist construction.

(5) In the present situation of a far progressed decline of the capitalist system, which has produced tremendous unemployment not only amongst the proletariat, but also amongst the intellec-

tuals and caused ferment and differentiation in their ranks in a number of countries, the Communist Parties must pay greater attention than previously to the work amongst the intellectuals, they must win them away from fascism and social-fascism, and utilise the existing dissatisfaction and ferment in their ranks to win their best elements for Communism.

We must not forget that in the conditions of a far developed decay of the capitalist system and the near prospect of a revolutionary crisis and imperialist war, we must energetically repulse all lack of confidence and concentrate our whole forces to secure that the greatest factor undermining the capitalist system—namely, the great work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union—equips millions and millions of the toilers for the struggle for power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Applause.)

## Comrade Yaroslav (Y.C.L. Czechoslovakia)

The bourgeoisie is carrying on a bitter struggle to win over the youth for support of the establishment of fascist dictatorship and preparations for war. Since Hitler's seizure of power in Germany, which led to a sharpening of international contradictions, this struggle has become particularly acute. The bourgeoisie is attempting to get all the youth under its influence and control, and is making preparations for a compulsory system of fascistisation and militarisation of the youth by the government.

In developing its chauvinist propaganda among the working youth, Czech finance capital is basing its support on the social democrats, who have issued the slogan of "preventive war" of democracy against German fascism, and are carrying on propaganda for a boycott of fascist Germany and bitterly attacking the Soviet Union with a view to creating mass sentiment in support of the imperialist war plans of the Czech bourgeoisie.

During the past year a number of experimental labour service camps for the working youth have been established, while during the next year great masses of the youth are to be drawn into labour service. The social democrats, who are coming forward as direct organisers of labour service, are spreading propaganda for these camps as a "back to life" measure. These camps, however, are nothing but opportunities for the bourgeoisie to capture the youth for military drill and nationalist education.

The Socialist Labour Youth is part of the system of militarisation and fascistisation of the youth. It is the S.L.Y. people who, particularly to-day, are spreading chauvinist views among the working youth. It is they who are coming out for preliminary training of the youth and beating the drums for labour service. But the farther the leaders go to the right, the more pronounced becomes the resistance of the S.L.Y. masses to the counter-revolutionary policy of the social democrats. The development and policy of the S.L.Y., following the obvious collapse of social democracy in Germany, shows signs of the *breaking up* of the S.L.Y. into various groups, which come before the working youth in varying forms.

The chief sign is the fact that the social-democratic youth leaders are being compelled by the marked "left" development of their members, to resort more and more to "left" phrases. They are speaking of the overthrow of the capitalist system and of socialism, and among themselves they are speaking in positive terms about the Soviet Union. The Karlsbad social-democratic youth organisation issued the slogan of preventive war and blockade of Germany. They came out openly against a united front with the Communists. In Bodenbach they are helping to guard the stations under the guidance of the police. Under the slogan "defence of democracy" they are participating in the formation of "S.S." (Straz svobody) Troops, organised for combating the Communists, after the pattern of Hitler's troops. In almost all regions of Czechoslovakia, however, there are organisations which are coming out quite openly against the counter-revolutionary policy of the social democrats. In Teplitz the majority of the socialist youth organisations opposed the League leadership and demanded a change in their policy. At one meeting at which the League secretary of the socialist youth wished to speak, they threw stones at him. In 52 localities in the German districts whole organisations of the socialist youth participated in the struggle organised by the Y.C.L. against the fascists.

These struggles show that the objective possibilities for winning over the socialist youth have greatly increased. Nevertheless the Y.C.L. has not made any progress in winning over the youth

Our influence amongst the youth has fallen off. The causes are to be found in a number of serious opportunist errors which are far more serious than the errors committed in the Party. In the League there have been marked doubts as to the correctness of the line of the Comintern in the estimation of German events. Secondly, the League looked upon the establishment of the united front as an end in itself. In order to carry out the united front the League adjusted itself to the backward views prevalent among the socialist youth and made compromises and concessions. Thirdly, the League conducted a number of economic struggles, with approximately 30,000 young unemployed, and 15,000 army recruits, and carried out a number of strikes and youth strikes. But the League did not make any use of these struggles in order to raise the masses to a higher political level. The League failed to show its political face before the masses during these struggles, and to expose the treachery of the social fascists, and as a result of these errors it has to a great extent lost contact with these young workers. Fourthly, the opportunist view has appeared in the League that the success of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the conclusion of non-aggression pacts have put the danger of war against the Soviet Union into the background.

These opportunist errors resulted in a decline in the development of the League and in its failure to stand at the head of the militant youth and of the opposition movement among the socialist youth. This shows that the League has failed to carry out the resolutions of the Comintern and the instructions of the Y.C.I. in the struggle to win over the masses.

It was only in connection with the organisation of the Anti-War Congress and International Youth Day that the League developed good mass work in the struggle against war and fascism. In this it had the active support of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. But even here a number of organisations made opportunist errors, and the situation of the League remains serious, in spite of this success. The struggle against opportunism, the daily struggle for the line of the Comintern and the instructions of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. are the most important preliminary condition for the successful work of the Y.C.L., and every Party and every League must keep this in mind.

The Thirteenth Plenum confronts the Parties with the task of organising a struggle for Soviet power. The youth, who have been left without a foothold by the capitalist system, who have no future under capitalism, and are experiencing all the horrors of starvation, poverty and abandonment, must be inspired by us with the spirit of struggle for power. We must lead them in the struggle against their enslavement, against the system of compulsory fascistisation and militarisation, in common struggles with the adult workers, on to the decisive struggle for power. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has so far devoted insufficient attention to the struggle to win over the youth. The C.C. of the Party must combat all those who accept formally the decision: A youth cell alongside every Party cell, but who in practice sabotage this decision, as well as against opportunists, who do not understand the struggle to win over the masses. The Party must realise concrete leadership of the Y.C.L.

I am firmly convinced that our Party, under the leadership of Comrade Gottwald, will overcome this opportunist approach to the question of winning over the youth, and will capture the youth for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Soviet government. (Applause.)

## Comrade Iskov (Bulgaria)

Our heroic brother party, the Communist Party of Germany, with Comrade Thaelmann at the head, is showing to all the parties of the C.I. how the struggle for the winning of the majority of the proletariat should be carried on both under legal and illegal circumstances. The new wave of revolutionary advance in Germany is a further proof that the policy of the German C.P. was, and is correct. The opportunist elements of the Remmele type and other comrades in other parties who have come under the influence of the social democracy, such as Comrade Guttman in Czechoslovakia, and Comrade Schueller in Austria, have lost the revolutionary perspective. In Bulgaria we have met with this sort of thing in our own struggle against the opportunist elements. The Right-wing opportunists like Asen Boyadchieff, who has already found a place for himself outside the working-class movement, cited the seizure of power by Hitler in Germany in order to support their own rotten theory of the consolidation of the fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria. In the last resort they denied the fact that the Bulgarian C.P. has already won over the majority of the working class. The "Left-wing" opportunists also distorted the policy of the Party when they concluded that as the Party had already won the majority of the working class, therefore a revolutionary situation had arrived and the Party should therefore abandon the struggle for the immediate daily demands of the workers. The Party has destroyed both the Right and "Left" wing opportunists. It is continuing its struggle against all brands of opportunism and from the very beginning it placed itself unreservedly behind the German C.P. in the German question. The Party exposed in its press the new treachery of the German social democracy which paved the way for Hitler's seizure of power, it explained the correctness of the tactics of the German C.P., and carried out mass actions to protect the German workers from the blows of the fascist dictatorship. In our opinion this campaign should have embraced still greater masses.

The international mass campaign against German fascism and for the rescue of our best fighters, Comrades Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov and Tanev, must be raised to a higher level.

The heroic attitude of Comrade Georg Dimitrov before the fascist court serves as an example to all proletarians and to all Communists. Georg Dimitrov appeared on the scene of the revolutionary working-class movement in Bulgaria as a young worker in the 'nineties of last century. He organised the first mass trade unions in Bulgaria. Whilst still young he joined the "orthodox" socialists under the leadership of Blagoyev and Kirkov. Very rapidly his talent as a working-class leader, organiser and orator developed. Dimitrov developed as a leader of the working class in numerous strikes, demonstrations and collisions with the police. During the imperialist world war Dimitrov carried on revolutionary internationalist agitation and voted together with the whole "orthodox" fraction against the war credits. When the split occurred in 1903 in the Socialist Party between the "orthodox Marxists," led by Blagoyev and Kirkov, and the opportunists, Dimitrov was naturally on the side of the former against the latter. At the inaugural congress of the old Revolutionary Trade Union Federation in 1904, Dimitrov was elected secretary and he remained at this post until 1923-24, when the failure of the September insurrection which he led compelled him to go into illegality and leave the country, and the unions were suppressed by the government of Zankov, Wolkov and the social democrat, Kazasov. Dimitrov belonged to the Central Committee of the "orthodox Marxist" party almost from the first day of its existence. He has been a member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Party since its foundation down to the present day. He is the leader of the struggle of the proletariat in the Balkan countries.

Before and after the war and up to the time when he left the country, Dimitrov organised and led every strike, demonstration and campaign of the working class. He was elected a member of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He is one of the pioneers of the struggle for the international proletarian revolution and as such he acted at the fascist trial in Leipzig. Not only the German and the Bulgarian proletariat, whose struggle against fascism is gloriously symbolised in the person of Dimitrov, recognise him as their leader, but the whole of the international proletariat. This opens up the broad way to the

masses for the Communist Parties for the organisation of a powerful mass action to save the four Communist leaders from the hands of the fascist executioners.

The most important fact with which I want to deal in connection with the alteration in the class relations in Bulgaria is the winning of the majority of the working class by the Communist Party. According to Lenin, however, not only the winning of the majority of the working class is necessary to create the revolutionary situation which gives birth to the revolution itself, but also the development of a crisis embracing the whole nation, a crisis which presupposes the changes stressed by Lenin both in the camp of the exploited and in the camp of the exploiters. We have not reached this stage of development in Bulgaria yet. The development of the elements of a revolutionary crisis are bringing us steadily nearer to this situation which may come about at any moment. The winning of the majority of the working class in Bulgaria by the C.P. represents the chief factor accelerating the development of the revolutionary crisis.

The first of the chief factors of the real winning of the majority of the proletariat by our Party is that the social democracy has, on the whole, been driven out of the working class. Out of 1,200,000 electors, 230,000 voted for the revolutionary workers' and peasants' block, and only 27,000 for the social democracy. After the government camp the workers' and peasants' block is the strongest force in the country, and in the big industrial centres it is the strongest force. A new factor arose last year with the winning of the majority of the working-class votes in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, and the winning of the majority of the votes of the railwaymen. The C.P. has won the absolute majority of the working-class votes.

The most important factor is naturally the definite leading role of the Party in the strikes of the workers and in the unemployed workers' movement, whereby both the social democrats and the fascists are almost completely isolated from this most important sector of the proletarian class struggle. About 135,000 working men and women took part in the 570 strikes which took place in the period from 1929 to 1932, or, in other words, about one quarter of the entire proletariat. Almost all these strikes were conducted under the leadership of the Party and the revolutionary trade unions. The situation is the same with regard to the leadership of the unemployed workers' movement. The social democracy in Bulgaria has nothing to do with the unemployed workers' movement. These changes are in accordance with the increasing organisational strength of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and the revolutionary mass organisations.

The development of the revolutionary crisis in Bulgaria is making itself felt in the following:—

(1) A sudden change has taken place in the class relation of forces in favour of the proletariat and the toiling masses. All the measures of the fascist dictatorship supported by the social democracy and the Agrarian League to prevent the development of Communism in Bulgaria have failed. Communism in Bulgaria is advancing and threatening increasingly every day the fundamental basis of fascism and the bourgeois dictatorship. Under the leadership of the Bulgarian Party, and despite the united forces of the reaction and of fascism in their struggle against Bolshevism, the forces of the revolution are growing and uniting, a revolution which is essentially a proletarian revolution having a considerable complex of bourgeois-democratic tasks (the destruction of monarchism, the destruction of the semi-feudal remnants in agriculture, the solution of the nationality problem, the emancipation of women, etc.). In many respects the present situation is similar to that existing on the eve of the revolution in 1923.

(2) Whilst the revolutionary advance is rapidly developing to a higher stage, the confusion in the ranks of the bourgeoisie is growing as also is the sense of insecurity with regard to the armed forces of the State. Both police and soldiers have refused to fight against workers. The decay of the nationalist "W.M.R.O." has led to internal and bloody struggles in the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie. However, this lack of unity amongst the ruling clique has not yet taken on sufficiently violent forms, there is still no definite crisis of leadership. However, the elements of this crisis of bourgeois leadership are rapidly accumulating in Bulgaria.

(3) The foreign policy of Bulgarian fascism has got into a blind alley. For instance, formerly the leading circles of the fascist

bourgeoisie in Bulgaria would not hear of any relations with the Soviet Union. To-day this question is being openly discussed in the bourgeois camp and good bourgeois circles are coming forward in favour not only of commercial relations with the Soviet Union, but also of diplomatic recognition. The insecurity of the fascist dictatorship on the foreign political field has been increased of late owing to the fact that Geneva has decided against any facilities for Bulgaria in the question of foreign debts, which already total 30 million leva, and owing to the fact that the capitalist neighbours of Bulgaria have concluded pacts with each other which are directed against Bulgarian imperialism.

This situation presents the Party with a series of practical fighting tasks amongst which the following must be particularly stressed:—

(1) The intensification of the class solidarity of the proletariat and the exploited masses of Bulgaria with the proletariat and the exploited masses of Yugoslavia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Albania; class solidarity with the proletariat in Germany and Poland; the popularisation of the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, and of the victory of the Soviets and of the Red Army in China; the intensification of the struggle against the preparations for imperialist war and anti-Soviet intervention. Our Party has by no means done everything necessary to fulfil these tasks. A decisive change must be brought about on the field of the development of proletarian internationalism and in the struggle against chauvinism and nationalism without forgetting that it is a question of guaranteeing the international conditions for the victory of the approaching revolution in Bulgaria.

(2) It is necessary to follow closely everything which takes place in the camp of the enemy and to study the reshufflings as they take place, to expose the constant manoeuvres of the enemy and not to permit the masses to be deceived by the manoeuvres of fascism, social-fascism and the Agrarian League. By enlightening the masses concerning the disunity and demoralisation proceeding in the camp of the bourgeoisie and in its State apparatus and by utilising this disunity, etc., in order to intensify the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, we must fight against the illusion that everything is going smoothly in our favour, and we must cause the masses to close their ranks against the forces of the fascist front which, despite its internal disunity, appears with a united front with the assistance of the social democracy and the Agrarian Leagues of all shades. In this connection our ideological mass work is still insufficient.

(3) Despite considerable successes our revolutionary mass work on the field of the organisational consolidation of our positions amongst the majority of the proletariat is also insufficient, as it is also on the field of organising economic and political strikes under independent revolutionary leadership for the immediate demands of those sections of the proletariat which are of strategic importance (railwaymen, miners, the workers of the key State undertakings, the metallurgical and armament works); and

(4) Despite undoubted successes our work in the rural areas, amongst the nationally oppressed Macedonians, Thracians, etc., has not been brought up to the required level and bears a schematic character. As we do not sufficiently put forward the slogans for the distribution of the land amongst the landless peasants, thus our practical mass work and our recruiting work amongst the masses of the peasants does not sufficiently lead them up to the struggle for the seizure of the estates of the rich landowners, the Church, the monasteries and the Crown. Very many conflicts arise in the rural areas concerning land, but they die down again because the Communists do not intervene. Our weakness in the rural areas is shown particularly in our inability to organise mass struggles for a refusal to pay taxes, against forced auctions and distraint, and against compulsory labour. In many places the peasants have risen spontaneously against the tax collectors and against the distraining bailiffs, and in many cases the leadership of the movement has not been in our hands. Very often we are not in possession of sufficiently concrete information; for instance, concerning the refusal of the peasants to do forced labour. This reveals not only serious, but dangerous, deficiencies in our Party and mass work in the rural areas and in the nationally oppressed districts. This spontaneous peasant movement confronts our Party with the task of winning millions of peasant allies for the proletariat, destroying the mass basis of the bourgeois, nationalist and agrarian organisations in the rural areas and in Macedonia and Thrace, and forging the Red United Front of the workers and peasants under the hege-

mony of the proletariat and the leadership of the Communist Party.

This task presents the Bulgarian Party with a very urgent question, the question of the **political mass strike**. The idea of the political mass strike is gaining ground in Bulgaria. In 1929 the strike movement took on the character of a revolutionary political wave. Since then we have had a great number of political strikes or economic strikes which developed into political strikes and tens of thousands of workers took part in them. In 1933 the number of workers who took part in political strikes was greater than ever before. However, we must not conceal our weaknesses in this connection. These political strikes are not being carried out in sufficiently varied forms. They are almost all 10 to 15-minute strikes. They are not sufficiently utilised in order to lead to economic strikes, and vice-versa. Up to the present the great weakness of our work in this connection has been that these strikes have been confined almost completely to middle and small-scale industry. However, the political mass strike must be a strike of the large-scale industrial proletariat. This is the weak point in our work and it must be overcome by the development of mass work on the part of the C.P., the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie is also preparing for a new imperialist war. Numerous factories are receiving arms orders on a large scale. Under the cover of "labour service" an attempt is being made to militarise the population. At the end of 1932 the Mushanov-Gitchev government decided to carry out a trial mobilisation of forty classes and it issued a strictly confidential circular to all the local military authorities. This circular declared:—

"The test mobilisation will be carried out in the form of a calling up of all the classes mentioned for labour service."

Our Party in particular distributed this secret circular amongst the masses and exposed the government. The Party called upon the masses to organise a protest action and not to appear at the trial mobilisation when called upon. In the Stara Zagora district 70 per cent. of the peasants involved followed our call and did not present themselves at the mobilisation centres. In this connection, however, it must be stressed that our work amongst the labour service workers still suffers from considerable deficiencies.

Our Party has undoubtedly had a series of political and organisational successes. Between the third and fourth Plenary Session of the C.C. of the Party the membership has increased fourfold. In the first eight months of 1933 five numbers of our illegal central organ were published. For seven years without interruption an illegal theoretical organ of our Party has been printed and published. For two years two illegal district organs have been published, and in addition a number of sub-districts and factory cells have also issued their own organs. By the middle of 1933 twenty-two illegal district and sub-district conferences of our Party had taken place successfully.

The organisational and political growth of the Party, however, does not keep pace with the growth of its mass influence. This explains the deficiencies of our mass work which have already been pointed out. We have not yet set our feet firmly enough in the most important factories and the most important centres of transport. We have not yet created district and sub-district committees which are capable of acting on their own initiative. The work for the development and consolidation of our Party is not proceeding uniformly in all the chief centres. Despite the objective difficulties existing, the fact that our Party conferences and the Plenary session of our C.C. take place so seldom must be regarded as a great deficiency in our work. A further great weakness of our work is that our illegal newspapers do not penetrate sufficiently into the masses of the Party and the workers. A third weakness is the comparatively unsatisfactory work on the field of educating our lower and middle cadres in the outlying districts. We must lift our work for the development of our cadres, for the struggle for correct illegal work and against spying and provocation on to a higher level. A better reorganisation of our agitation and propaganda work is also necessary as this work is not yet in accordance with our new tasks. This work must become a means of elucidating the connection between our immediate and our end slogans, a means of elucidating the question of the Soviets, in particular in the way Comrade Lensky formulated the question for countries with an approaching revolutionary crisis, and a means of studying the conditions under which Soviets can be organised and developed. In our case this question must be brought up particularly in view of

our errors in the September insurrection, when the Party failed to issue the slogan of the formation of Soviets, despite the fact that in a number of districts the masses, under the leadership of the Party, held power for five days. The experience of this short but glorious period of workers' and peasants' power is the only experience of the Bulgarian workers and peasants, and therefore it must be subjected to special study and carefully analysed. The question of our tactics and strategy in an armed mass insurrection must also be studied carefully in connection with the conditions of the development of a revolutionary crisis. When he stood before the court in Leipzig and exposed the provocative plans of fascism, Comrade Dimitrov formulated this question precisely and clearly as a question of decisive mass struggle for the conquest of power and the

establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. In this connection our Party must also study the lessons of the struggle of Comrade Dimitrov at the Leipzig trial.

Three armed mass insurrections and ten years of illegal activity, that is the hard school of Bolshevism through which our Party has developed to the winning of the majority of the proletariat and of the broad masses of the working peasantry. It depends upon the Party whether the next historical stage will develop into a stage of direct struggle for the victory of the Soviet in Bulgaria, the stage in which the Communist Party at the head of the proletariat in alliance with the working peasantry will set up the Red banner of Lenin and Stalin once and for all in the heart of the Balkans (Applause.)

## Comrade Kirsanova (International Women's Secretariat)

The question of the work amongst the women is not merely a women's question, particularly in the present situation, but a question of the winning of the majority of the working class, a question of our united front tactic, a question of the hegemony of the proletariat.

In 1929 the percentage of women workers engaged in industry in Germany rose to 26 per cent. of the total working class, whereas in 1926 it was only 23 per cent. In Poland in 1932 there were 30 adult working women for every 100 workers, in 1931 the number had risen to 32, and in 1932 to 35. French statistics show that 40 per cent. of the workers engaged in industry in France are women. In Great Britain 5.5 million women are engaged in industry. In the United States the number of women engaged in industry and transport amounts to 21 per cent. In Japan in 1926 the number of women workers employed in industry represented 52 per cent. of the total number of workers employed. In 1930 the figure had risen to 53 per cent. In 1932 it fell to 46 per cent., but 1933, a year of feverish preparations for imperialist war, will undoubtedly see a new increase in the percentage of women employed in Japanese industry. In China the number of adult women employed in industry represents about 53 per cent. of the total number of workers employed, and the percentage of adolescent girls is about 23.

At the same time we can observe that women are gradually penetrating from the unskilled trades into the more highly skilled occupations, from backward and traditional branches of industry into branches of industry in which formerly exclusively male labour power was employed. And finally there is a clear shifting of female labour power from the agricultural districts into the industrial centres.

The whole situation of the post-war period is favourable to us in the sense that we are able to develop our work amongst the women not only in the traditional "female" trades, but also in other trades and branches of industry, such as the chemical industry, metallurgical and other heavy industrial undertakings. In accordance with this situation we must develop our work amongst the proletarian women in all branches of industry.

The demand for female labour power is in inverse ratio to the rates of pay offered. In all capitalist countries without exception the wages of women engaged in industry are from 30 to 40 per cent. lower than the wages paid to men. In Great Britain, for instance, the average weekly wage paid to adult male workers in big undertakings is 60.8 shillings, whereas the average weekly wage paid to adult female workers is only 28 shillings. For smaller factories and works the corresponding figures are 43 and 26.

In some branches of industry the discrepancy is less, but in others it is greater, up to 50 per cent. and more. It is this fact which causes the rapid introduction of female labour into all branches of industry.

These figures do not show that unemployment amongst women is in general less than it is amongst men; on the contrary, and particularly during the crisis years and amongst the less organised masses of women workers, unemployment has increased very considerably. In addition, the consequences of unemployment for women workers are more serious even than they are for men, because the bourgeoisie excludes women in many cases from unemployment support and other forms of social insurance.

If we take the total number of unemployed workers in all

capitalist countries as 50 millions, then about 30 per cent., or 15 millions, of these are women.

Every day homelessness amongst women is growing. In 80 of the big towns of the United States 100,000 homeless women have been registered. Prostitution is growing tremendously. Suicide amongst women has become a regular and common phenomenon.

The tremendous reserve army of cheap labour power, and the presence of cheap labour power in the factories themselves, offered the bourgeoisie a fine basis for its offensive against the standards of living of the working class.

The offensive against female labour power is a new form of the offensive of capitalism against the wages of the proletariat in general.

It is only a cloak for wage robbery in industry by utilising the working women as the cheaper labour power. This offensive was carried out in particular by Hitler, who used various methods, as the following examples will show:—

**The direct reduction of wages for the whole staff:** The national socialists in the Brinkmann cigarette factory in Dresden signed an agreement with the management according to which not only were all women workers dismissed, but wages in general reduced by 2 per cent. on the ground that the employment of purely male labour power would increase wage costs.

**The indirect reduction of the wages paid to male workers to the level of the wages paid to female workers:** In a spinning mill in the Lower Rhineland all the women workers were dismissed and men employed in their places. Commenting on this, the "Rheinisch-Westfaelische Zeitung" of October 13, 1933, writes that the wages paid to male workers were 50 per cent. more than those paid to female workers, and that therefore the output of the men must be increased by 15 per cent.

**The indirect reduction of wages by re-grouping and dismissals:** The Maggi works in Singen dismissed 200 women and engaged 160 girls in their places at lower wages.

**The indirect reduction of wages by re-grouping and employing girls instead of married women:** In a number of textile factories in Muensterland all married women were dismissed, and in their stead girls engaged. (Information of the Textile International on June 1, 1933.)

**The indirect reduction of wages by re-grouping and employing young workers:** With the pretext that male labour power was more skilful the older women workers were dismissed and young workers employed in their places in a silk factory. ("Koelnische Zeitung" of February 15, 1933.)

All these facts show that Hitler's measures against "double earning" were in fact directed towards reducing working-class wages.

Whilst the slogan demanding the return of the woman to the kitchen was being proclaimed new women workers were being employed in all branches of industry, women workers were introduced into the dangerous trades, and the administrative and economic apparatus was extended by the engagement of women workers.

Explosives factory in Wittenberg on the Elbe: "In the first four or five months of the Hitler dictatorship 1,400 workers were newly engaged." ("Pravda," beginning of August, 1933.) The workers employed, however, were almost exclusively women and mostly young girls. The chemical works in Rhein-Main also re-



ported that 1,300 workers had been newly engaged in August, 1933, and here also the majority were women workers. ("Frankfurter Zeitung," September 6, 1933.) The number of women workers engaged in industry in Germany in the first nine months of 1933 increased by 9.1 per cent.

The whole campaign against "double earning" and for the return of the women to the kitchen is nothing but the cloak for an offensive against wages and working conditions and against the social insurance benefits, for the reduction of costs of production with a view to wide-scale dumping.

Unfortunately our Parties, including the German Party, have not been successful in exposing this demagogic fascist campaign against "double earning" and in organising an effective resistance to the attack on the standards of living of the working class.

The threat of dismissal as a "double earner" creates the illusion amongst the women workers that they might perhaps escape dismissal if they worked with greater intensity. And in fact the labour intensity increased, but at the same time also the competition between male and female labour. The male workers themselves were persuaded to believe that the dismissal of the so-called "double earners" (i.e., a married woman whose husband is working.—Ed., "Inprecorr") would lead to the liquidation of unemployment amongst the male workers. In consequence, we observe that all this adds to the disruption in the ranks of the working class by adding the factor of sex antagonism.

In order to cloak its own responsibility for all these measures and their results, the bourgeoisie cast the blame on to the shoulders of the workers themselves. For instance, the fascist newspaper, "Treuhaender der Arbeit," declared that the working women themselves and the malicious and envious were responsible for the competition in connection with "double earning." It then appealed in a demagogic fashion to the dignity of the working class, declaring that it would be unworthy of the German workers if a tactic which placed the economically weaker at a disadvantage were not immediately abandoned. Who has taken the trouble to expose this insolent demagoguery? Unfortunately no one. As in Germany, women workers are being dismissed in Poland, Finland and other countries. The whole strategic plan of the capitalists in all countries without exception consists in replacing cheap labour power by still cheaper labour power. The only difference is with regard to Japan, where this manoeuvre is being utilised for a more wholesale dumping than other capitalist States can succeed in doing.

Thus we see quite clearly that it is not merely a question of an offensive against the masses of the working women, but against the working class as a whole. When we deal with the situation of the women workers therefore, we do so not only in order to protect the worst exploited section of the working class, but in order to mobilise our own forces for the work amongst the masses of the women workers and to lead them into the general proletarian front and to put an end to the split in the ranks of the working class from this point of view.

In accordance with the experience of the last imperialist war, the bourgeoisie is preparing to secure the functioning of the productive apparatus and in particular the war industries in case of a new war with female labour power, and that to a greater extent than ever before. The labour service camps for women, which represent a reserve of almost unpaid and already militarised labour forces, serve the same aim. In Poland, France, Czechoslovakia and other countries the percentage of women workers employed in the armament industries and the allied industries (chemicals, artificial silk, etc.) is steadily growing. In Japan, where women are employed on a large scale in the arsenals and other armament factories, women are at present being trained in the factories for skilled work.

In the event of another imperialist war the women workers will represent the great majority of the working class and their role and significance will therefore greatly increase. In the same measure they will become a powerful economic and political force and it would be a crime against the working class which is beginning its struggle for power to ignore this fact.

Tell me the name of a single party, with the exception of the Chinese (and not only the Chinese Party in the Soviet districts), which has not committed this crime. Where are the leaflets, slogans, immediate demands, newspaper articles which would assist the broad proletarian masses to understand the policy of our parties in this question, and which would assist the parties them-

selves to develop the proletarian united front in the struggle against the offensive of capitalism against the working class, all the more as the bourgeoisie does everything possible in order to split away these masses of working women from the general front of the working class?

With the assistance of its social-fascist agents the bourgeoisie in its struggle for the masses of the women is doing its best to militarise them and include them in its plans for the achievement of its general imperialist aims.

The bourgeoisie pays even more attention to the preparation of women cadres for the civil war. To this end it has formed a number of fascist women's organisations, whose chief task is to keep the working women out of the general class front, to form troops of women for the civil war and to create a reliable background in the country itself in the event of a new imperialist war.

The Second International and its sections are working in accordance with the instructions of the bourgeoisie, but their methods are somewhat different. A speciality of the Second International is its campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union, its howl about Red imperialism, its fairy tales about the militarisation of the children in the Soviet Union in order to turn the women against the Soviet Union, and finally its work for the spread of pacifist illusions amongst the masses of the women.

The proportion of women amongst the membership of the social-fascist parties is not very great, but there is a considerable percentage of women workers in the reformist trade union organisations and in the mass organisations under the influence of these parties. We must also not underestimate the ideological influence which the social-fascist parties exercise on the working women and on the women of the petty bourgeoisie through their press, their welfare organisations, their co-operative and municipal organisations, etc. The socialists utilise the hatred of the masses against war in order to awaken in them the same hatred against the revolution.

With the seizure of power by the German fascists the Second International began to play the role of the protector of the "widows and orphans." In the struggle against the offensive of fascism against the political rights of the women, the Second International sees a favourable opportunity for rallying the broad masses of the women under its own banner and leading them away from the general proletarian class struggle against the fascist bourgeoisie. This manoeuvre represents a certain danger for the revolutionary working-class movement unless we oppose this attempt to mislead the masses by putting forward effective agitation and propaganda of our own.

However, capitalist reality itself works against this attempt of the bourgeoisie and its agents and its effect is extremely significant. The growing misery and unemployment, the offensive against wages, the reduction of the social insurance benefits, etc., cause growing dissatisfaction amongst the masses of the working women and activate them in a revolutionary sense.

The process of radicalisation amongst the masses of the working women is developing. In almost all countries the working women are beginning to play an active part in the strike movement, and in those factories in which they represent the majority of the workers they have organised strikes of their own. The participation of the women workers in the last big strike wave which swept over the United States, for instance, was very active and very considerable. Further, there were an unparalleled number of strikes in the United States in the food and clothing industries in which exclusively women workers were engaged. In the Lancashire textile strike in England last year 150,000 women textile workers took part. In Poland the strike which took place at the Vidzevo manufacturing works was due to the initiative of the working women. The participation of women workers and working women in general in the demonstrations of the working class has also increased considerably. Even the bourgeois newspapers report that working women with babies in their arms have taken part in demonstrations in accordance with the slogan of the Polish Party: "Everyone on to the streets!" In Bulgaria, where the working women represent the majority of workers employed in the most important branches of industry, the number of strikes is rapidly increasing and in a number of cases such strikes have developed into political actions. In Rumania the working women have taken an active part in numerous strikes in the Bukharest textile factories and in the match factories of Klusha, Arad and other towns. The working women of the "Saturn" factory went on strike of their own accord

and occupied the factory which they held for 14 hours. They evacuated the factory only after the police had attacked them with tear-gas bombs. One hundred thousand working women in the tobacco industry took part out of solidarity in the famous February struggle of the Rumanian railwaymen. Under the influence of Communist agitation they demonstrated on the streets as a protest against the slaughter of the fighting railwaymen.

Even in Hitler Germany the fascist press is unable to suppress the fact that many strikes and other actions on the part of working women have taken place and that very often such actions were not merely of an economic but also of a political character. In the seventeen Wittenberg factories in which protest strikes took place after the 30th January, the overwhelming majority of the workers were women, and the same was true of a series of Leipzig and Berlin factories. The dissatisfaction with fascism is growing in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, although this mass is the chief support of fascism. The references made by the fascist papers for women to the vacillation of the feelings of the women in connection with the struggle against the increase in prices, to the collisions which have taken place in the markets, the continual change of leadership and the excitement in the fascist women's organisations, are irrefutable proof of this.

The broad masses of the women are showing their fighting spirit and all that is necessary is a correct revolutionary fighting leadership by the Communist Party, a leadership which consists above all of systematic work amongst these masses. Are the masses of the women being provided with this leadership? Unfortunately they are not.

The Twelfth Plenary Session of the E.C. of the C.I. pointed out that the habit of underestimating the importance of the work amongst the proletarian women must be stopped. Now it is true that in a number of parties there has been some improvement in this work, but first of all this improvement has not taken place in all parties by any means, and secondly this improvement consists chiefly in the fact that the parties have better understood and estimated the importance of this work amongst the women (an example of this was the Bolshevist speech of Comrade Thaelmann at the National Conference of the German Party after the Twelfth Plenary Session), whereas in their practical work the parties have done almost nothing and are doing nothing even now. The parties are attempting to come to closer grips with the work amongst the women, which up to the present has been isolated from the Party leadership. A number of parties express the best intentions, for instance, the heroic Bulgarian, Polish and German Parties. They are actually doing something. But up to the moment even these parties have not fully adopted the Bolshevist principle that the work amongst the women is a part of the general work of the Party and not in an organisational sense only; that the parties when formulating the political tasks of the working class and its allies, and in their agitation and propaganda must develop a special agitation and propaganda in view of the backwardness of the masses of the women and amongst these masses, and in their slogans and tasks the parties must include those which express the interests of the working women in general and not only the purely practical tasks in a particular factory.

In order to prove that this is not being done it is not necessary to go far afield for examples: up to the present the Spanish Party has not organised any work amongst the women, although both working-class and peasant women have taken an active part in the revolutionary struggles. Only in the summer of this year did the Party begin to issue a special newspaper for women. The French Party has placed the work amongst the women in the hands of a non-Party women's organisation, "The League Against Poverty and War," which has 3,000 members and takes the place of the Party instead of being a transmission to the Party. Let us have a look at the slogans of the German Party: In Germany we observe a fierce offensive against the working women and against other sections of the toiling womenfolk. Even bourgeois women are beginning to find that the "blessings" of fascism are becoming a little too much for them. (See "Die Frau" in November, 1933, in an article entitled: "Panic About Brain Work for Women.") But there is no slogan issued by the German Party which bears any reference to this. And this is at a time when the offensive against the working women is an offensive against the working class as a whole.

Even from the organisational point of view the work amongst the women cannot be considered as satisfactory. Not one single party has yet carried out the decision with regard to delegate meet-

ings of women workers, although this is one of the best forms which Bolshevism has yet found to win the backward masses of the women workers, a form which has shown itself to be excellent and which can be applied under any conditions providing that there is a certain elasticity in its application.

In the Soviet Union meetings of women's delegates were organised in order to assist the working-class and peasant women to overcome their backwardness and their estrangement from public life and in order to create for them the basis for public and political activity. In the years 1929-30 we had 951,606 delegates, or almost a million. 8,370,663 working-class and peasant women took part in the elections and also took an active part in the discussion of the policy of the Party and its instructions. The Party bases itself on these masses of women in its work for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plans and in its work to increase the defensive capacity of the country.

This Bolshevist experience must not be ignored

But what do we see amongst our brother parties? This Bolshevist experience is being completely ignored, the instructions of the Twelfth Plenary Session are being completely ignored. Who, apart from Comrade Thaelmann, followed the example of Comrade Stalin and raised the question of the work amongst women in a fashion worthy of the Bolshevist Parties and of Bolshevist leaders?

It is this ignoring of the work amongst the masses of the women which explains the crass disproportion between the percentage of women in the ranks of the Party and their position in production, and the fact that the bourgeoisie has millions of women in its organisations, whereas we have no more than four or five thousand. Who is responsible for that?

Our parties have not yet shaken off the remnants of their petty bourgeois prejudices in this question of the work amongst women. We can still see in our parties an opportunist underestimation of the forces which we must have at our disposal in the event of serious happenings—war, revolution, the seizure of power.

The concrete responsibility of the Parties for this state of affairs is that they have not yet created an active body of women workers to be sent into the work amongst the masses of women, that in their ranks there is still sub-consciously present the conception of the woman as "housewife," that they have not connected up the present position of woman in production with the question of creating cadres of women in the Party and in the trade unions, with the creation of a broad non-party body of active women upon which the Party can base itself in its whole work amongst the proletarian masses.

Despite the enormous possibilities which exist for us not only to increase our influence amongst the masses of the proletarian women, but also to draw these masses into the general class front of the proletariat, the work of the Parties up to the moment has been confined to general agitation and propaganda. The instructions of the E.C. of the C.I. concerning the most important questions of the work amongst the women, the shifting of the main weight of the work into the factories and the creation of meetings of women's delegates in the factories, have not been carried out.

The anti-war work amongst the women is also weak. The weakness of our agitation and propaganda against war is that our slogans are general and not concrete. The slogan for the defence of the Soviet Union is not based on a systematic popularisation of the successes of the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The Twelfth Plenary Session very correctly put forward the task of raising the level of the work amongst the women in accordance with the present situation of women in production and their role in the coming imperialist war. The whole Party organisations from top to bottom must work amongst the women and all the transmissions, the trade unions and the proletarian mass organisations must be utilised in this work.

The Parties must realise clearly that in the case of a general mobilisation and war they will lose their forces on a whole series of important fields. Therefore measures must already be adopted to make possible the replacement of our male comrades by female ones on the most important fields of the Party work, in the Party apparatus, in the armament factories and in the transport system.

In a number of countries the employers are already conducting a cleaning up in the armament factories, the unreliable workers are being dismissed and at the same time the older

working men and women are being replaced by girls. In the event of war this process will undoubtedly take on mass forms. This makes it the duty of all Parties to take all possible measures to win those sections of the proletarian youth which are already providing the new cadres of working girls in the factories, and which in case of war will provide the main body of the working women in the factories. This means increased work on the part of the street and local groups of the Parties and the Young Communist Leagues amongst the female working youth in the factories. By individual influence groups must be formed to penetrate into the factories and work there.

Meetings of women's delegates must be affiliated as independent units to the cells and they must work under the direct instructions of the cells and be a support to the latter in the work to win the masses of the women in the factories for active public and political life. The means to this end are special meetings and conferences of the workers at the factories in question, or sub-district and district conferences. With regard to the organisation of broad conferences of working women, these must be organised in connection with definite political actions, strikes, election campaigns, etc., but on condition that in these conferences factory girls and women, unemployed working women and working-class wives predominate. Such conferences must be regarded by us only as an auxiliary means for mobilisation and agitation and for the propaganda of our tasks amongst the broad masses of the proletarian women.

The work amongst the proletarian women in the enemy organisations is of particular importance, as also is the work amongst the women influenced by such organisations. This work must be carried on by a systematic and concrete exposure of the social demagogy of these organisations, and by patiently enlightening these women concerning the tasks and the policy of our Parties and of the C.I., by resolutions in their meetings and conferences and in the general questions of interest in the struggle against the offensive of capitalism, against the fascist terror, against the police system, etc.

The work of the Parties amongst the unemployed women must be concentrated at the labour exchanges. Special women's commissions must be attached to all unemployed workers' committees.

In the foundry industry, in mining, and in heavy industry in general, and in the transport system where the number of women workers employed is insignificant, the parties must concentrate their work on the wives of the workers, by forming active bodies of women attached to the factory cells by forming commissions in the trade unions consisting of working women, and drawing the masses of the working women in this fashion into the struggle of the factory workers and the unemployed workers.

With regard to the work amongst the female clerical employees, chief attention must be paid to the transport and communications system (post, telegraph and telephone service). We must also work in the big department stores which employ numerous women and girls.

The Young Communist Leagues must be supported actively in their work amongst the working girls, and the Parties must establish close connections with the Leagues in this question.

The extremely important task of drawing the proletarian women into the strike struggles demands the careful working out of special demands on behalf of the working women. These must

be brought into connection with the general strike demands of the workers, but we must take particular care to include those demands which are particularly in accordance with the needs of the working women—for instance, against lower pay for women workers performing the same work as men, against the dismissal of married women, against the replacement of older women by younger ones, against the extreme exploitation damaging to the health of the women workers, against wage-cuts, for medical treatment in the homes of the workers, for paid holidays, for support during pregnancy, etc.

When drawing up the demands on behalf of the unemployed our parties must pay particular attention to those demands which are calculated to assist in the mobilisation of the masses of the women for joint action with the men, for instance, special school assistance for the children of unemployed workers, free medical treatment, the provision of boots, clothing, warm meals at school, etc.

The anti-abortion laws, this means by which the capitalists try to degrade the working woman into a machine for producing cannon-fodder, must also be considered in our struggle to win the masses of the women. In this connection we must point to the Soviet Union, where both mothers and children are supported and protected by the State and where, despite the permission of legalised abortion, the increase of population is the greatest in the world.

In the struggle against the fascist terror each fact must be utilised as a point by means of which to mobilise the working women—arrests, trials, attacks on workers, etc. In order to draw the working women and the masses of the proletarian women into the anti-fascist movement, conferences, congresses, demonstrations, hunger marches, etc., must be utilised and this movement must be consolidated by drawing the women to a greater extent into the Red defence detachments and into the anti-fascist organisations. The activity of the women in this respect must be used for the formation of first aid columns, Red Cross sisters, associations of working women, etc.

The new imperialist war and the preparations for armed intervention against the Soviet Union will bring great impoverishment and misery and bloody sacrifices for the working class and the masses of the toilers in all countries, sufferings which will be far greater than those of the last war. Therefore one of our most urgent tasks is the development of a broad anti-imperialist work amongst the masses of the working women.

Unless we can draw the masses of the proletarian women into the active political struggle there can be no success on our part in the struggle against war and in the struggle for the proletarian revolution.

We must learn to take all the forces of the masses into consideration and to mobilise them all to solve the tasks which the parties set themselves and the proletariat.

I will close now with the demand that the work amongst the women be made a part of the general Party work in order to create cadres which can secure the carrying out of the decisions of the Twelfth Plenary Session concerning the necessity of placing the work amongst the women in correct relation to the role of the working women in production and in the coming war. I appeal to you to reckon with this tremendous force in the coming struggles. It is a force which will help to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and secure the victory of the world commune and the establishment of the Soviet Power. (Prolonged applause.)

## Comrade Sekerski (Y.C.L. Poland)

The tendency to embrace all bourgeois and reformist youth organisations in Poland in one covering association has been considerably strengthened of late. This has been expressed in the fact that the chief fascist youth organisation "Strelec" has been made into a State organisation and entrusted with the whole work of military training for the youth, including those in other organisations. The Polish Socialist Party is also taking part in the struggle for the youth, and the socialist youth organisation T.U.R. and the Jewish socialist youth organisation "Future" have also become more active.

All the bourgeois parties and their youth organisations are jointly endeavouring to intensify the wave of chauvinism and nationalism in order to divert the working youth from the class struggle. The latest attempts of the bourgeoisie to find a way out

of the crisis at the expense of the working masses are directed above all against the working youth.

However, the social manoeuvres of the fascist government, which, like every fascist dictatorship, attempts to play the role of protector and patron of the youth, have been without success. The working youth is being drawn into the class struggle. Tens of thousands of young workers have fought shoulder to shoulder with the adult workers in strikes and other working-class actions, and the peasant youth has played a great part in the peasant risings.

Even the backward youth organised in the most reactionary associations have taken part in the struggles. During the great peasant insurrection in Central Galicia whole groups of members of the "Strelec" fought on the side of the peasants against the police. Members of the "Strelec" also fought against the police during

the textile workers' strike in Suprassl and during the unemployed workers' actions in Volonino. At the same time the hatred of the masses against the "Strelec" as a police-cum-fascist organisation is growing.

The government is therefore continuing its policy of militarisation and fascism with all the more energy and this work begins in the elementary schools. In the State undertakings membership of the "Strelec" is compulsory for all workers, and this compulsion is now gradually being extended to private industrial and other undertakings. In West White Russia the directors of the saw mills compel their young workers to join the fascist "Youth Legion." The labour service camp system is being extended and this year about 30,000 young workers are to attend these camps.

What role is the Young Communist League of Poland playing in the struggle of the working youth against the fascist dictatorship? The league has supported the Party actively, though still insufficiently, in the strike struggles of Lodz and Byalystok, in the strikes of the miners in Klimotovo and Mortimer, etc. We mobilised not only the working youth in the factories, but also the youth in the trade schools (Lodz and Warsaw), and sections of the unemployed young workers, etc. However, we must be more concrete in our drawing up and popularisation of demands on behalf of the working youth during strikes, and we must establish better connections between the representatives of the young workers in the strike leaderships and the masses.

We must also carry on trade union work amongst the youth on a wider scale than previously, and we must increase our struggle to win the youth sections in the reformist trade unions on the basis of our experience with those youth sections which we have already won in Warsaw, Byalystok, Grudka, etc. Work within the fascist trade unions has been greatly neglected. In this connection we must connect up our struggle to win the working youth with the struggle against compulsory membership of the "Strelec."

As a result of its work amongst the peasant youth the Polish league has been strengthened organisationally. However, we have not yet succeeded in making the main body of our members in the rural areas sufficiently active in the struggle.

Our League has its share in the events which are taking place to-day amongst the masses of the members of the "Strelec." One of our chief tasks is to learn to work amongst these masses with new methods. We must win them for Communism and draw them into the class struggle. During the July struggles of the striking textile workers in Suprassl (Byalystok district) two members of the "Strelec" who were fighting on the side of the workers were killed in action by police bullets. The League showed itself capable of carrying out its tasks here. It utilised the ferment amongst the

members of the "Strelec" in order to draw them into the class struggle. It succeeded in breaking up the local "Strelec" organisation and in spreading the ferment to the "Strelec" organisations in neighbouring districts. The news of the happenings in Suprassl spread quickly all over the country, thanks to the publication of an open letter written by the members of the "Strelec" in Suprassl to the working class youth organised in the "Strelec."

Our League has not limited itself to attempts to break up the "Strelec" and it has drawn many former members of the "Strelec" into its own organisation and into the youth sections of the revolutionary trade unions.

We must at all costs utilise all legal and semi-legal possibilities for the building up of our own mass organisations. The experience of individual organisations in the struggle to win the working-class youth in the bourgeois organisations must become the common property of the whole League. We must also intensify our work in the clerical youth organisations which have hundreds of thousands of members.

Our struggle to win the social democratic youth is insufficient. We have not sufficiently utilised the ferment which exists in the Socialist Youth League on the basis of the crisis in the social democracy. Similarly, our activity during strikes has also not been sufficiently utilised in order to win the masses of the socialist youth on the basis of the united front from below. However, our work amongst the socialist youth in the Dombrova Basin and in Upper Silesia has shown good results.

One of the weak sides of our activity has been our work amongst the unemployed youth which is of very great significance. Further, we have not yet succeeded in mobilising the broad masses of the working youth in the struggle against chauvinism. Another weakness in our activity is the insufficient struggle of our League against national oppression. We have not sufficiently popularised our slogan for self-determination for Upper Silesia, and we have not fought with sufficient energy against German chauvinism in this district which explains the weakness of our League there.

The successful overcoming of all these weaknesses depends to a very great extent on the increase of organisational and political leadership of the League on the part of the Party. Many of the results of our mass work we owe in particular to the special assistance which the Central Committee of the Party has given our League. We must do our best to secure still more effective leadership of our cells and sub-district organisations by the cells and sub-district organisations of the Party.

Increased assistance from the Party will help us in our main task in the present period of developing our fighting front against chauvinism. (Applause.)

## Communication of Comrade Marty

Comrade Remmele has laid down his mandate as a member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and as a member of the E.C. itself. In its last session the Presidium accepted this declaration and advised the plenary session to do the same.

At the twelfth plenary session Remmele and Neumann defended a group policy in opposition to the policy of the German Communist Party and of the C.I. Their deviations were in the following points:—

(1) The seizure of power by fascism represented a change of system of capitalist dominance. Fascism was in opposition to bourgeois democracy.

(2) Both in the struggle against fascism and in the struggle against the social democracy Remmele and Neumann adopted a wrong attitude in questions of the united front, in strike questions, and in the question of the development of the class struggle in Germany. They also held false opinions in the question of the people's revolution.

Their standpoint was rejected and condemned by the twelfth plenary session.

After his return to Germany Remmele continued his group work. Immediately after the plenary session he addressed a letter of 80 pages to the C.I. which contained a fully developed programme. The leading idea of this letter was a counter-revolutionary theory of "western socialism," a "theory" which rejected

the Bolshevisation of the parties and in particular of the German Party, and which was in opposition to international Bolshevism.

In the German Party, for instance, Remmele finds the following three groupings: (1) The orthodox Marxists—Alpari and Clara Zetkin; (2) the Luxemburgists and Trotskyists—in his opinion this group is represented by the editorial board of the theoretical organ of the German Party, "Die Internationale," and by elements close to the C.C. of the Party; and (3) the petty-bourgeois group.

Remmele sets his own group which he terms "left-wing Bolshevik" against these three groups. This group consists of 16 persons, all Party officials, and this was the basis on which he developed his group work.

At the national conference of Party workers held by the German Party on October 16, 1932, Remmele declared that he would stop all group activity. However, his declaration was so ambiguous that the comrades compelled him to correct it and make a more precise statement.

Despite this he continued his group activity, particularly in the Young Communist League. Comrade Walter, the former secretary of the C.C. of the German Y.C.L., described this activity in detail to the commission of inquiry instituted by the C.I. He admitted the carrying on of secret activity against the Party and described in particular the discussions which took place concerning the methods to be adopted to keep the activity of this group a

secret from the Party and to maintain the positions of the group in the Party.

Walter also declared before the commission that the group had recognised the impossibility of openly representing its attitude and that it had decided to maintain silence concerning all organisational questions.

At this period Comrade Remmele continued to maintain his relations with the Neumann group.

With the seizure of power by fascism this group activity developed into fractional activity under the leadership of Remmele. Many of those who took part in this activity have admitted Remmele's leading role. For the rest, this fractional activity can be clearly seen from a letter written by Neumann to Remmele which was found in Remmele's flat after he had left it. This letter is dated March 7 and its introduction reads:—

"DEAR OLD FELLOW.—We almost jumped for joy when we heard that the news of your serious illness was wrong. It is fine that you are really in such good health and that you can at last reap the fruits for all of us."

It is a fact that the bourgeois press published a report to the effect that Remmele had been arrested; this is what Neumann means when he refers to a "serious illness." When this report turned out to be untrue Neumann was glad, not because the Party had succeeded in retaining the services of a revolutionary official, but because Remmele could now openly devote himself to his fractional work in the Party. The letter then goes on:—

"There is only one thing I want to beg of you: abandon finally your damned and ununderstandable passivity and reserve which is spoiling and throttling everything. Remember what is at stake and what a tremendous even historical responsibility you bear personally. It is really a question of playing the role of K. L. and not of Hugo Haase. (K. L. is Karl Liebknecht.)

"Abandon your lamblike patience finally, and your silence and the saying yes to everything. I don't expect you to do anything reckless and adventurous, but three things you must do: (1) Make a protest over there (i.e., to the C.I.); (2) mark yourself off in the association (i.e., in the Party); and (3) draw over the middle groups to our side. Above all, demand that you be sent over there (i.e., to Moscow) in order to be able to speak there. Don't walk into the trap when the band try to save themselves with the 4.7 m. That only shows how fine the mass is and what could have been done and what must be done."

"The band," that is, according to Neumann, the Party leadership. "The 4.7 m.," that is the 4.7 million votes of German proletarians which the Party received at the elections on March 5 under the national socialist dictatorship and which showed the tremendous influence of our brother party and in consequence demonstrated the correctness of its political line.

"The band." This "band" is the C.C. of a Party which is an example to the whole of the C.I., it is Thaelmann whom we all respect not only because he is in prison, but on account of his determined Bolshevik line.

That is the way they speak of the Party and its leadership, and then the letter proceeds:—

"Take down immediately and send over all utterances hostile to the Comintern. I have complete confidence in you and I know that you will play the role of Karl (and not Hugo, or what would be worse, Leo)."

The Leo referred to is apparently Comrade Leo Flieg.

The letter is signed: "Your best friend, S. W. With best greetings to you and Anna Grete."

Comrades, I want to draw your attention to the counter-revolutionary significance of this letter, and in particular to the revolting advice to play the role of Karl Liebknecht and not that of Hugo Haase. What was the role of Karl Liebknecht during the imperialist war? He energetically condemned the treachery of the social democracy and its leadership and he formed a revolutionary fraction as a preliminary condition for the victory of the proletariat, to win the revolutionary workers away from the influence of the social democracy and to drive the social-democratic leaders who had allied themselves with German imperialism out of the party. To this end it was necessary to organise fractional work in the German social-democratic party and to split it, and Karl Liebknecht did so in accordance with the Leninist line. The fact that Neumann advises Remmele to follow the example of Lieb-

knecht and not that of the centrist and conciliant Hugo Haase, means that he is advising him to conduct a struggle against the Party leadership and for the splitting of the Party. These were the tasks which this group set itself. At a moment when our German brother Party was resisting the furious attacks of the national socialists with true revolutionary steadfastness, at a time when our Party was working to restore its cadres under the heavy and bestial blows of the enemy, at a moment like this to draw a comparison between the social democracy in Germany, France and other countries in 1914 when they were supporting imperialism against the workers and licking the blood-stained boots of the generals, and the exemplary activity of our German brother Party—only a counter-revolutionary could do this. Merely to think of such a thing means to hold out the hand of friendship to the class enemy. If our German Party had been weak and had made possible the carrying out of these treacherous attacks, where should we be to-day?

With what platform and with what content did Remmele conduct his attack on the Party? In a series of declarations and Memoranda representing no less than 200 pages he developed the following ideas:—

(1) At the time of the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, on January 22, on the day of the demonstration in front of the Karl Liebknecht House, the Party should have called for an armed insurrection, and Remmele argues: "Perhaps we should have been beaten, but at least our honour would have been saved." What would have been the result of such an insurrection foredoomed to failure because none of the preliminary conditions demanded by Lenin were given? Such an act of desperation would have played into the hands of the national socialists and given them the excuse they were looking for on January 22 when they provoked the Party in order to be able to smash it all the easier. Because this clumsy provocation failed, because our brother Party refused to go into the trap prepared for it, the national socialists had to organise the comedy of the burning of the Reichstag in order to have the pretext for a bitter attack on the Party, a comedy which was not believed by a single worker all over the world. The whole tactic of our German Party, in this and all other respects, was absolutely correct whilst Remmele was very seriously in error.

(2) Because neither on this date nor at any later date was an armed insurrection organised, Remmele contends that we suffered "the biggest defeat of the proletariat since 1914" in Germany. (Memorandum of April 12, 1933.) What a comparison! The workers of the world know that 1914 represented the bankruptcy of the Second International. If Remmele were right in his statement then the fascist seizure of power in Germany would mean not only the defeat of the German proletariat, but also the collapse of the C.I. whose achievements you can see not only in the Soviet Union and in China, but also in all sections of the C.I. where despite a number of weaknesses the Parties are taking the Bolshevik path. A comparison between our Leninist C.I. and the shameful actions of the social democracy in 1914 would indeed be a vile thing.

(3) Remmele contends that at the moment we have an epoch of fascism and reaction. With this he places himself completely on the standpoint of the social democracy. It is the "theory" put forward by Otto Bauer of "the existing counter-revolutionary situation," the theory of the triumph of the "petty-bourgeois counter-revolution" as represented by Trotsky and Thalheimer. The reports delivered here and the discussions have shown that the position of the C.I. is correct and that favourable perspectives are opening up for it.

(4) Remmele contends that the bourgeoisie is already in decay, that fascism does not represent the power of the bourgeoisie, but the dictatorship of the Lumpenproletariat. I will quote you one single paragraph from his long-winded dissertation:—

"The difference between the role of the Lumpenproletariat in former crises of bourgeois society, for instance under Bonapartism so brilliantly described by Marx, and at the time of Czarism in Russia, and the role it plays in the present epoch of fascism is that then the Lumpenproletariat was an ex-crescence of bourgeois society, whereas to-day in Germany the whole of bourgeois society is sliding down into the Lumpenproletariat." (Memorandum of April 12.)

These are exactly the phrases used by Otto Bauer, and it all

rests on the basis of the anti-Comintern theory of "Western European Communism."

(5) Finally Remmele demands that the Party, which is illegal, should open up a discussion on his platform at a time when the Party has to cope with the worst and most furious offensive of fascism, at a time when it had to fill up its cadres which had been thinned out by fascist murder! In this situation would not the opening of a discussion on the basis of such a false and degenerate platform have led with mathematical certainty to that which Neumann wanted in his letter, namely, the splitting of the Party and the C.I.? The answer to this question is obviously in the affirmative.

This is the criminal platform which Comrade Remmele wished to carry into the Party and for which he wished to recruit adherents. At the moment when he demanded this discussion he fulfilled none of the tasks which had been put to him. The agitation and propaganda department had instructed him to write a pamphlet in support of the struggle against fascism and social fascism, but he did not write a line of this pamphlet, instead he filled up hundreds of pages with social-democratic, Brandlerist, Trotskyist and counter-revolutionary ideas.

The Party exposed the fractional work of Remmele and that is the reason why he has been suspended from all work in the German C.P.

Called before the C.I. he had to answer before a special commission of inquiry for his platform and for the fractional activity which he and Neumann had attempted to develop in the German Party and the German League.

Only under the pressure of the documents in the hands of the commission was he constrained to make half confessions. The commission then made the following proposal to the Presidium: (1) To condemn the false attitude of Remmele; and (2) to approve the proposal of the C.C. of the German C.P. to suspend Remmele from the C.C. and from all work in the German Party. The Presidium proposed the adoption of this proposal and the acceptance of Remmele's resignation of his mandate as a member of the E.C. of the C.I. which he offered in the following letter:—

"To the Polit-Secretariat!

"The Commission of Inquiry into fractional activities in the German Party has decided to propose to the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. that I should be deposed from my position as a member of the Polit-Bureau and of the C.C. of the German Party. I am in agreement with this proposal of the commission.

"My mandate as a member of the E.C.C.I. and as a member of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. is connected with my work in the German Party and was given to me as a result of this work. With the disappearance of my functions in the German Party, my functions in the E.C.C.I. also end. I therefore lay down my mandate as a member of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. and as a member of the E.C.C.I.

"Moscow, November 23, 1933." (Sig.) HERMANN REMMELE.

## Comrade Richter (Germany)

Our Party has grown up in a struggle on two fronts. When we follow the development of our Party we see that it was strong enough to foil all the attempts of the opportunists to hamper the Party in its struggle. I recall the attempts of Levy, Brandler, Ruth Fischer and also of the conciliants. These questions were dealt with in the Party not merely as questions for the leadership, but they were brought up before the forum of the whole Party. The whole Party took part in the discussions around these questions and to-day we can say that the Party was strengthened and Bolshevised in these discussions. The Communist International helped us tremendously in this fight against the opportunists of all shades. With the assistance of the C.I. it was possible to defeat all the opportunists, just as we have defeated this latest group Remmele-Neumann.

With this group the affair began with small, apparently small differences, discussions concerning the slogans brought forward by Neumann and Remmele, such as the slogan of the "Workers' Front" which they put forward against the fascists, or the attempt of Neumann to proclaim a triple alliance of the toilers and to deny the hegemony of the proletariat. Or the wrong interpretation of

The Presidium accepted this resignation. The Commission of Inquiry and the German delegation then placed the six following questions before Comrade Remmele:—

"(1) Are you of the opinion that your theory about Western European Communism is really hostile to the C.I. and counter-revolutionary, or are you of the opinion—as expressed by you in your declaration of August 31—that you are recognising your mistakes 'because they are in opposition to the decisions of the plenary sessions of the E.C.C.I.'?"

"(2) Are you still of the opinion that the German Party made a great political blunder when it failed to call for an armed insurrection on January 22, 1933, and that the German working class has suffered the greatest defeat since 1914?"

"(3) Are you of the opinion that your theory about 'the epoch of fascism' and 'the dictatorship of the Lumpenproletariat in Germany' is completely in line with the attitude of the social democracy, the Brandlerists and the Trotskyists? If yes, do you recognise your errors—as you say in your declaration—'because these contentions about the defeat of the German proletariat and the errors in the policy of the Party are in opposition to the resolution of the C.I.'?"

"(4) Do you admit your fractional work in Germany at a time when the C.C. of the German Party was illegal and organising the struggle against the fascist dictatorship? Do you admit the anti-party nature of your demand that the Party should open up a discussion in a period of illegality?"

"(5) Do you admit your fractional connections with Neumann after the twelfth plenary session and the counter-revolutionary character of his letter to you concerning your role as 'Karl Liebknecht'?"

"(6) Do you admit the last discussion which you had a little while ago with Leo Flieg in which you declared that you maintained the opinions you had expressed in your last letter to us?"

"(Sig.) THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO FRACTIONAL WORK IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

"THE DELEGATION OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY."  
"Moscow, August 7, 1933."

Remmele answered that it was correct to put these questions to him and he promised to give a written and positive answer to each question as quickly as possible.

Under the circumstances the commission of inquiry appointed by the C.I. and the delegation of the German C.P. decided that this declaration made possible a continued membership of Comrade Remmele in the ranks of the Party, and they proposed his transfer to the ranks of the C.P. of the Soviet Union.

These are the reasons why, in view of the serious errors committed by Comrade Remmele, we recommend to you the endorsement of the decisions taken by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. which condemn the attitude of Comrade Remmele and approve the measures taken by the C.C. of the German C.P. (Great applause.)

the slogan of the "People's Revolution," and the slogan, "Strike the fascists wherever you meet them," and on the other hand the attempt to prevent the winning of the social-democratic workers for the C.P. In the beginning these were allegedly only tactical questions, but the development of the Neumann group and the idea of "Western European Communism" put forward by Remmele in his documents and the other questions which Comrade Marty has mentioned here, show that it was by no means a question of tactical differences, but a question of principles between us and opportunists. The idea of "Western European Communism" and the other questions which Comrade Marty has mentioned here, and the idea that Bolshevism is all right for Asia but no good for Europe are the same as those advanced by the social democracy and Otto Bauer about "Asiatic Bolshevism."

The fact that Remmele has now recognised his ideas since the Hitler dictatorship as being counter-revolutionary and hostile to the C.I. is not at all the result of the fact that this group has realised its errors, but the result of the fact that the whole Party in comparative unanimity has rejected these ideas. Even in the months of March and April when the whole Party was engaged in a

struggle against the fascist dictatorship, this group did its best to organise fractions, but this attempt broke down in face of the solidarity of the Party, and it is only as a result of this repulse by the Party that Remmele and Neumann are to-day prepared to recognise their ideas as counter-revolutionary and hostile to the C.I.

In this connection I should like to mention something which was not contained in Comrade Marty's report. At a session of the Polit-Bureau, I think it was in April, Comrade Remmele declared that the Party should have fought. In this connection he referred to the rising of the Hamburg proletariat in 1923 and declared that if we had conducted such struggles as this only it would have been better for us. The Party leadership rejected this idea. We told Comrade Remmele that it would have been criminal irresponsibility for the Party to have called for an armed insurrection and to have led the German workers into defeat in view of the fact that the preliminary conditions for an insurrection were not present, and that it was our task to lead the workers victoriously in the struggle against fascism. The Neumann-Remmele group also opposed the ideological offensive which we carried through in the Party a year ago, not only to consolidate our principles, but also to improve our work. This showed itself in particular at the plenary session of the C.C. of our Party in February, 1932. Comrade Neumann declared that it was a plenary session of strategy, whereas Comrade Thaelmann declared very correctly that at the plenary session it was a question of closing the "scissors" between our decisions and their fulfilment. In the last resort this attitude

of Neumann and Remmele was nothing else but an attempt to prevent the Party carrying out the tasks it had set itself.

The lessons which the other parties must draw from these happenings have been thoroughly discussed at this plenary session. These lessons are that we can only overcome such opportunist groups and such opportunists when these questions are raised not merely as questions for the leadership, but before the forum of the Party as a whole. Only in view of the fact that we made the discussion with the various oppositional groups, down to the Neumann-Remmele group, a matter for the Party as a whole was it possible for us to dispose completely of this group even in the difficult period in which the Party found itself in the first months of the fascist dictatorship. At the same time we must fight mercilessly against any attempt at taking up a conciliatory attitude towards the opportunists. In the commission of inquiry we proposed that Remmele should be transferred to the C.P. of the Soviet Union and be removed completely from the work of the German Party. We want to give him an opportunity of repairing his errors under the watchful Bolshevist eye of the C.P. of the Soviet Union. Remmele has a good revolutionary past, but his development demonstrates clearly that that is no guarantee against opportunism. The struggle against opportunism in the German C.P. was carried on successfully under the leadership of Comrade Thaelmann, so that the work which Comrade Thaelmann did before his arrest rendered the Party great services in the most difficult period of its struggle against the fascist dictatorship. (Applause.)

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**On the motion of Comrade Piatnitsky, the decision on the convening of the Seventh World Congress which has already been published, was adopted unanimously.**

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## Concluding Speech of Comrade Pieck

The Communist Party of Germany has won the recognition of the thirteenth plenary session for its activity under the most difficult circumstances since the twelfth plenary session and for its steadfastness in carrying through the Bolshevist general line. We accept this recognition as an expression of the respect of the whole of the C.I. for the heroism of our Party members in their struggle against the open fascist dictatorship. This expression of the close connection of the C.I. with the revolutionary proletariat of Germany and the recognition and honour which the latter has won will spur it on to exert all its forces even more than previously in the struggle for power, in the struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. As the leadership of the Party we are gratified by this recognition of our mass work against fascism and social fascism, although we by no means overestimate the results of our work. The great disproportion which exists between the objectively favourable conditions of the revolutionary crisis and the results of our mass work saves us from getting our heads turned as the result of the recognition of our success. We confirm from innermost conviction the criticism which Comrade Piatnitsky has directed against our work, and against the weaknesses and deficiencies which prevented us from achieving still greater success in our work for the mobilisation of the working masses against the Hitler dictatorship and in our work to win the masses away from social fascism. Comrade Piatnitsky criticised very correctly that in our struggle against the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship we did not put forward our own programme of national and social emancipation sufficiently concretely, and that we lost pace in our revolutionary advance owing to being insufficiently concrete in showing the workers the revolutionary way out of the crisis, by the lack of work in the fascist mass organisations, by the insufficient exposure of the fascist manoeuvres, by the frequency with which our slogans suffered from being too abstract, by our failure to adopt a popular language in our press, and other weaknesses. We shall draw serious lessons from this criticism in order to facilitate the carrying out of our main task: to lead the masses in the struggle for power. Just because the German Party occupies one of the most important positions of the proletarian

world revolution it is our duty to the C.I. and to the whole of the world proletariat to carry out above all the decisions of the thirteenth plenary session and to get rid ruthlessly of all the weaknesses in our work.

We are well aware of the seriousness of the task which is presented to us by the intensification of the class struggle in Germany. It is the question of power, the question of the Soviets, the question of the proletarian dictatorship. This task has been put before us and we must solve it.

The theses of this plenary session declare that sudden and violent changes in the class struggle are possible. We must hammer into the working masses with compelling conviction that the struggle for Soviet power is the only way out of the crisis of capitalism. We must make the spread of the idea of the Soviets the ruling leading idea of all our mass agitation.

In order to popularise this idea of the Soviets amongst the working masses we have renewed our programme of national and social emancipation, and in it we have shown clearly what the victorious proletariat under our leadership would do in the interests of the toiling people on the first day of the seizure of power. This programme of emancipation is the fighting programme against the fascist dictatorship, against chauvinism and against the warmongers and against the treacherous policy of the social democracy. It is the programme of salvation for the toilers.

We must succeed in making the working masses understand our whole programme which is bound up with the idea of the Soviets. In particular it is necessary to show our working youth that the capitalist world offers them no prospect of advancement. They in particular should familiarise themselves with the idea of the Soviets in order that they may take their place in the front ranks of the struggle for Soviet Germany.

The will to power which must pervade the whole of our mass work must also seize on the millions and millions of the toilers and become a material force. The firm consciousness that Hitler Germany is driving straight for a catastrophe must give the masses the will to struggle for the armed overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

That we are marching forward along this path has been shown in our report, and a series of events which have taken place in Germany during this plenary session offer a further confirmation. The social demagogy of the fascists is losing its effect on the masses more and more. We are succeeding more and more in mobilising the working masses against the fascists and thus narrowing down the space at the disposal of the fascists for their demagogic manoeuvres.

Only a few weeks ago the leader of the so-called "German Labour Front," the fascist *Ley* promised the workers a ten per cent. increase in wages in the coming spring, three weeks' holiday and the introduction of the weekly wage. But now a decree has been issued by the leader of the "social and political department of the German Labour Front," the fascist *Peppler*, to all branch leaders of this labour front expressly prohibiting the making of such promises on the grounds that they cause "confusion and unrest."

The peasant population in Germany was won for fascism with promises of special protection for peasant interests, the special favouring of the peasants as the ones who feed the country, the consolidation of peasant property in land by the new entail farm law, etc. The peasants took all these promises at their face value and now they are demanding that they should be carried into execution. Instead of doing so, however, the fascist Food Minister *Darré* publishes the following prohibition in the "Berliner Tageblatt" of October 11:—

"In order to avoid disturbances I prohibit all lectures on the new entail farm law, the national food law and the re-organisation of the market bodies."

In answer to the growing opposition amongst the workers the fascist *Dr. Ley* has issued a prohibition of the acceptance of new members in the trade unions, and this is obviously directed towards the liquidation of the trade unions altogether. The trade unions have been liquidated. The workers are to be forced into the "German Labour Front" where they are to take part together with the employers in the "national socialist reformation." The new fascist organisation "strength through joy" is also to serve the aims of this fascist campaign to stupefy the workers. Labour service compulsion is to be intensified by the introduction of a special labour pass. A law is announced against strike agitation and strike organisation and the death penalty is provided for offences against it.

These are all signs of the fact that even in the fascist trade unions it is impossible to gag the workers completely, and that we are succeeding more and more in limiting the effectiveness of the fascist demagogic manoeuvres and convincing the working masses of the necessity of struggle. In this connection it is of decisive importance that partial demands should be drawn up and practically and concretely applied to local and factory conditions. These partial demands are links in the chain drawing the working masses into the revolutionary united front for the revolutionary mass struggle against the fascist dictatorship. Our weakness again reveals itself at this point, we have still not learned to connect up the daily questions of the working masses with our revolutionary slogans and with the question of power. Our work was criticised in this sense at the twelfth plenary session, and although we have made a serious attempt to bring about an improvement, we have succeeded in part only. There is no doubt that the correct connection of the partial and daily demands on behalf of the workers with the general political questions of the struggle, and their concrete development, will decide the question of the winning of the working masses for the struggle for power.

We are faced with an extremely important task in connection with the liquidation of the social democracy. We must destroy the social-democratic influence on the working masses and we must not tolerate any vacillations in our ranks in the struggle against the social democracy as the chief social support of the bourgeoisie. The thirteenth plenary session declares that there is a crisis in the Second International and in the ranks of the German social democracy. We must continue to fight ceaselessly against the influence of the social-democratic ideology which is still alive amongst the workers in order to destroy the social democracy completely. We must expose decisively the "left-wing" phrases which serve to deceive the masses, such as the creation of a so-called "revolutionary social democracy" with "revolutionary" aims, the "seizure of power," the "educational dictatorship," all phrases with which the social democracy is trying to prevent the social-demo-

cratic working masses from marching into the revolutionary united front.

Comrade *Manuilsky* has said here very correctly that without the social democracy there would not be a trace "either of fascism or of the danger of imperialist war." And Comrade *Knorin* supplemented these remarks by asking: "Where would the German proletariat be under the fascist dictatorship if it had not got the Communist Party? Would it not be without leadership and without a compass in the storm of fascism? Under such circumstances there would be no perspective of a new revolutionary advance in Germany. Instead of the revolutionary mass hatred against fascism which comes from the factories and which is beginning to be transformed into revolutionary action, we should have hopelessness, depression and dumb and desperate bitterness in the ranks of the working class.

However, this also raises the question of where the Party and with it the German proletariat would be, if the Party had gone the way of *Remmele* and *Neumann*, the way of opportunist degeneration, the way of deviation from Leninism and from the C.I. The anti-party efforts of *Remmele* and *Neumann* directed towards splitting and liquidating the Party are in the last resort a direct support of the social democracy and a cowardly retreat from the struggle against fascism. Their theory of "Western European Communism" is the fractional basis of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. *Neumann* appealed to his fractional friend *Remmele* in a letter to organise a split in the Party. By the most infamous slanders against the leadership they sought to sow confusion in the ranks of the Party, but as the Party with the assistance of the C.I. has destroyed all previous anti-party groups, so it has also destroyed this one very quickly. The German Communist Party stands completely united and marches along the Bolshevik general line which it has laid down for itself under the leadership of Comrade *Thaelmann* and with the assistance of the Leninist leadership of the C.I. in order to reach its revolutionary goal.

In its struggles under the leadership of Comrade *Thaelmann* against all the influences of the social democracy, and in the fight on two fronts against right-wing opportunism and sectarianism, the Party has always remembered the words of Comrade *Stalin* that the Party is strengthened when it cleans its ranks from opportunist elements. And this is particularly true of such historical turning points when the class struggle must be carried on under extraordinarily difficult circumstances and the Party is exposed to the frontal attack of the class enemy. Various comrades have very correctly pointed out at this plenary session that the attitude to the German events is a test of the maturity of a Communist and of the maturity of the sections of the C.I. The vacillations were pointed out which have occurred in some sections, vacillations which showed that our sections have not yet succeeded in freeing themselves completely from all social-democratic influences in their own ranks and which make it more difficult for us to liquidate the mass influence of the social democracy and to make the Communist Party the only mass Party of the proletariat. I do not want to deal here with the remarks of Comrade *Humbert-Droz*, but I will say that his arguments and the admission of his errors sounded very unconvincing. The whole way in which he dealt with the question was very little Bolshevik and seemed to be directed more towards hiding his own views.

Comrades, for the Bolshevisation of our Party the shining example presented to us by the Party of Lenin, by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and his best pupil *Stalin*, has always been a deciding factor for us. In a few weeks it will be the tenth anniversary of the death of Lenin, and it will be our duty more than ever to consider not only the immeasurable greatness of his work, but also to make the international proletariat acquainted with it more than ever before in order that it may be capable of translating it into action. The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P. of the Soviet Union will show the international proletariat through the report of Comrade *Stalin* that these lessons of Lenin have borne fruit in the work for the building up of a socialist classless order of society. The grand successes of the C.P. of the Soviet Union in the revolutionary mass work, in the mobilisation of the shock brigades, in the industrialisation, in the collectivisation of the village and the raising of the economic and cultural standard of living of the working masses, help us more than ever before to win the masses of the workers in the capitalist countries for the proletarian revolution.



They lend us the strength to fulfil the great tasks of freeing the working masses from capitalist misery and fascist slavery.

At the end of the year the C.P. of Germany will celebrate the 15th anniversary of its foundation almost together with the birthday of the Leninist C.I., and we shall remember the great services which Lenin rendered the German Party in its fight to overcome the errors and weaknesses which still clung to the German "left" under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin and others and which hampered the prompt development of a revolutionary mass party.

The criticism of Lenin and Stalin of the errors of the left wing in Germany and its underestimation of the role of the Party as the organising force of the revolutionary mass struggle showed us in Germany the path we must take in order to create a revolutionary mass party. The 15th anniversary of the formation of the German C.P. finds it fighting in the deepest illegality against the open fascist dictatorship. The 15 years which have passed show the way the social democracy has gone in its treacherous policy of coalition with the class enemy of the proletariat, and the way in

which it delivered over the German proletariat to fascism. The 15 years also show the struggles of the C.P. to fulfil its revolutionary task of winning the working masses for the proletarian revolution. We are proud that we have been able to administer the heritage of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, that on their revolutionary works, and on the lessons of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and with the support of the C.I. and the great example of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, we have forged the German Party into a weapon with which we shall destroy fascism in Germany.

We leave the thirteenth plenary session of the E.C. of the C.I. with the firm assurance that we shall exert all our forces for the carrying out of the task which faces us of shortening the period of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and planting the red banner of the Soviet power in the heart of industrial Europe. The tremendous power of the C.I. the millions of proletarians marching under its banners and the millions of toiling peasants, and the triumphs of Communism in the Soviet Union will be a strong and reliable support for our Party and for the whole of the German proletariat in their work to fulfil this task. (Great applause.)

## Concluding Speech of Comrade Kuusinen

In various respects my report was supplemented by the reports of Comrades Pieck and Politt, and particularly by the speeches delivered here by the representatives of our leading Party, the C.P.S.U., by Comrades Manulsky, Piatnitsky, and Knorin. Moreover, during the discussion the representatives of many sections analysed the economic and political situation in their respective countries, and thus helped to elucidate the international situation. All the comrades in their speeches confirmed the correctness of the characterisation of the present international situation and of its prospects given in the Presidium's draft theses. This implies that the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. agrees with the appraisal given in the draft theses and will urge all the sections of the Communist International to explain the international situation and its perspectives in this spirit.

We are revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, and we always start out from a correct scientific analysis of the economic and political situation and of the tendencies of its development. We repudiate all subjectivism and its arbitrariness in appraising the objective situation.

When the first objective symptoms of relative stabilisation of capitalism began to be observed, the E.C.C.I. immediately took note of it and made allowances for it in its appraisal of the immediate prospects, as well as in the tactics of the Communist International. And when the relative stabilisation of capitalism came to an end we again took note of this objective fact and said: stabilisation has come to an end. In the process of development of the general crisis of capitalism, a definite turn occurred, a peculiar stirring up of antagonistic forces, which was turbulent in some places and restrained in others (Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.). Now, however, we declare that "the development of the general crisis of capitalism . . . has already led to a far-reaching undermining of the capitalist system throughout the world."

The assertion that capitalism has succeeded in consolidating its position, that it is on the road to overcoming its general crisis, cannot otherwise be described than a social-democratic lie. On the contrary, "the bulwarks of capitalism are already crumbling as a result of its profound insoluble contradictions." The whole system of international economic ties is breaking down, and so is the gold currency, headed by the pound sterling and the dollar. The authority of capitalist law has been undermined in many countries. The principal social prop of the world bourgeoisie, viz., the Second International, is in a state of decomposition.

But at the same time, as was pointed out in all the speeches, the world economic crisis has partly changed its character. The unevenness of its process of development has become emphasised to an extraordinary degree: in a number of extremely important branches of industry there is a marked increase in production, which represents mainly a pre-war and inflation revival. We now point to facts which testify that the policy pursued by the big bourgeoisie and the capitalist governments to throw the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of other classes and of other countries has produced certain results for them

The methods by which the financial oligarchy, in the conditions of an economic crisis, makes up for lost profits are mainly methods of unprecedented robbery and rapacity. The financial oligarchy is appropriating an increasing share of wages, of the corresponding value of labour power, an increasing share of the corresponding values and prices of the peasants' product, and even of the profits of the middle capitalists. It is recklessly robbing the treasury; it is more and more intensifying the inhuman plunder of the colonial peoples and is employing a many-sided and artful system of robbing other capitalist countries.

The extraordinary booty obtained in this way is a special category of profit; it is not the ordinary surplus value obtained as a result of "normal" capitalist exploitation. It is a special form of brigands' booty obtained by the big jackals in the period of crisis. The only unfortunate thing for them is that this cannot go on indefinitely. As Marx pointed out long ago, robbery is not a mode of production. Moreover, it is a very risky business, because it rouses the victims of the robbers; it rouses anger and hatred among the toiling masses and drives them into the revolutionary class struggle. It causes revolutionary ferment in the colonies. It leads to a universal economic war between the capitalist countries. It gives rise to a new imperialist world war.

Thus the economic crisis becomes interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism and the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism rises to a new stage. What is this new stage? It is a new round of revolutions and wars. The transition of the general crisis to this new stage is a process, the beginning of which was noted at the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Now we declare that the world is already coming right up to a new round of revolutions and wars.

The social-democratic parties are doing everything they possibly can to blur this revolutionary perspective in the eyes of the working class. By that they are carrying out the orders of the bourgeois counter-revolution. The more gloomy the prospects of the toiling masses become the easier is it to intimidate the masses and restrain them from the revolutionary struggle—such are the calculations of the bourgeoisie and of its agents. That is why the social fascists one-sidedly depict the growth of fascism as the unhindered victorious progress and consolidation of reaction. They conceal from the masses the other side of the picture; they conceal, firstly, that the growth of fascism and its assumption of power implies, as we say in our theses: "the growth of the revolutionary crisis and of the anger of the broad masses against the rule of capital"; that "the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism, and of bourgeois democracy generally." Secondly, the social fascists conceal the fact that in the present situation, revolutionary development is not only retarded, but is at the same time accelerated by the fascist fury of the bourgeoisie. And, yet, this is of decisive significance. The big bourgeoisie seek salvation in fascism in order to save capitalism from collapse; but this it cannot succeed in doing. On the contrary, it only serves to entangle

the bourgeoisie more than ever in the acute contradictions that call forth the revolutionary crisis.

The seizure of power by the fascists in Germany was a severe blow to the German proletariat. But it was the social fascists and not the Communists who wailed: "Catastrophe! Catastrophe!" The political function of the social democrats in such a situation is to spread panic. That is why Trotsky wrote that a "catastrophe" occurred and that "in Germany there was maturing, not a proletarian revolution, but a profound fascist counter-revolution." Trotsky's song is an echo awakened by the greeting of the fascist storm troops: "Heil!" But the overwhelming majority of the toilers of Germany are thinking of something entirely different. Never before have they been imbued with such profound class hatred as they are at the present time. When Trotsky asserts that the body of the German proletariat has been afflicted by disease, he is simply playing a clumsy trick. It is the "body" of German capitalism that is sick, mortally sick, and particularly is the body of German social democracy. The majority of the German proletariat, however, is on the right road from the camp of the agents of the bourgeoisie to our revolutionary front. The "body" of the bourgeois class State is "sick," is internally decaying. Fascist gangsterism is bourgeois class terror against the proletariat carried to the utmost extreme; but it is not a symptom of the internal consolidation and strengthening of the class rule of the bourgeoisie. It would be a mistake to depict the development of the situation in the decisive class battles as if the working class on the one side and the bourgeoisie on the other are rallying all their class forces, and when they have done that, the decisive battle will commence. No, the bourgeoisie will be unable to overcome its own state of internal disintegration.

Fascism even introduces new elements of disruption into the system of bourgeois dictatorship. Among these elements of disruption must also be included the friction between the fascists and the social fascists. It is a mistake to believe that, taken as a whole, this friction is mere window dressing. No, there are real grounds for this friction, which reflect the contradictions in the position of the bourgeoisie itself. At the same time it would be a mistake to imagine that any question of principle is involved in this friction, as the fascists and social fascists try to make us believe. No, both fascism and social fascism stand, not only for the maintenance of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but also for the fascisation of this dictatorship. The social fascists merely advocate parliamentary and "legal" forms and methods of this fascisation. In this respect they are conservative compared with the wild standard-bearers of fascist upheaval and banditism. This is not the only, but the most important disagreement between them; and on this question—even a considerable stratum of the ruling bourgeoisie itself vacillated for a long time. There are contradictions also in the position taken up by the bourgeoisie in many countries on problems of foreign politics. These, too, are reflected in the controversies between the fascists and the social fascists, and even partly between various groups of social democracy—for example, German, Austrian, Hungarian, and Italian social democracy.

The revolutionisation of the broad masses of the toilers is proceeding at the present time in a multiplicity of forms even in those places where mass struggles, big strikes, etc., are not taking place at present. The constant or even growth of the revolutionary mass movements in all countries is impossible in general; and it is impossible in particular in a period such as the present. It is precisely the high tension of the decisive class forces that explains the growing unevenness and spasmodic character of the development of the revolutionary upsurge.

But uneven and spasmodic development is something altogether different from a receding tide. Even a calm before the storm does not mean recession. The spasmodic character of the mass movement in the midst of a highly tense situation is particularly marked in Spain. Who, several weeks ago, would have expected so powerful an upsurge of the revolutionary movement as we see there now, so soon after the election victory of the counter-revolution?

Yes, a revolutionary storm is approaching. There is no doubt whatever about that. The objective prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis at a number of important key points have not for many years been so ripe and over-ripe as they are at the present time.

But our appraisal of the present international situation does not by any means imply the expectation of the automatic collapse

of capitalism. Those who think it means this simply show that they understand nothing at all about Bolshevik strategy and tactics. Comrade Dimitrov was quite right when he said at the Leipzig trial a few days ago that there was no revolutionary situation in Germany at the time of the fascist coup, and that the majority of the German workers were still under the influence of the counter-revolutionary social-democratic party, and that it was for that reason, and that reason alone, that the Communist Party of Germany did not call upon the masses to revolt. The Bolshevik Party bases its tactics on a cool appraisal of the objective factors and circumstances. But Comrade Dimitrov, by his conduct, showed that, under all circumstances, every Communist must in practice play the decisive role of the subjective factor.

If we, as Marxists, repudiate subjectivism, it is not because we regard ourselves as the slaves of objective development. No, we regard ourselves as the active revolutionary instruments of history for accelerating the victory of the proletariat.

The principal danger that confronts the Communists at the present time is, undoubtedly, the danger of losing the revolutionary perspectives. On the other hand, the correct appraisal of the revolutionary perspective is merely a prerequisite for the correct fulfilment of the tasks of the Communist Party. Here, the active role of the Communist Party only begins. As we know, in the old labour movement, the "Left" social democrats, unlike the Bolsheviks, relied on the spontaneity of the mass movement; they waited passively for revolutionary outbreaks. Such a tendency represents a serious danger at the present time. Of course, it is crude opportunism. Where the masses have not yet awakened, the Communist Party must be able to arouse them, to stir them up, to mobilise them for the struggle. Where the masses in the process of radicalisation are already in motion, where they are seeking leadership, the Communist vanguard must be in a position to fulfil its role as the revolutionary leader of mass struggles.

The objective premises for successful revolutionary work are in many respects more favourable at the present time than they were before. In some countries the situation is that fairly large masses are becoming radicalised, and are seeking revolutionary leadership; but they have not yet found our Party. This should serve us as grounds for the most severe self-criticism. Hence, in appraising the present international situation as being extremely tense, we do not say that less exertion of effort will be required in the sphere of mass work in the near future. On the contrary, this situation calls for greater exertion of effort than ever.

What does the situation demand of us? It demands, first of all, the consolidation of our Communist Parties and the successful development of Bolshevik mass work.

In the situation that has now arisen and that will confront us in the future, our Parties must be like iron cohorts. Almost every Communist Party is either confronted with the immediate danger of being driven underground, or has already been driven underground. Even in those countries where we still have legal Parties, every Communist must already take part in illegal work, or regard himself as a candidate for such work. Never has illegal Bolshevik work in the factories, in the compulsory labour camps, in the army, in the navy, in fascist mass organisations, etc., been of such exceptional importance as it is at the present time. We must train our cadres to be able to properly distribute illegal work among themselves, to improve their methods of secrecy and strengthen their contacts with the masses, to strengthen iron Bolshevik discipline and intensify the struggle against provocateurs; for all these are questions which in the present situation call for constant and most careful attention.

In the practical work of our sections Communists who are conducting underground revolutionary work have given us numerous examples of heroism. But our sections have not yet learned sufficiently how to establish contacts with the broad masses in the process of their illegal work. They are not yet sufficiently able to combine illegal work with legal work, and legal work with illegal work. Often they permit the class enemy to isolate them from the broad masses.

As many of the speakers have pointed out here, the Twelfth Plenum adopted important resolutions on the necessity of turning towards mass work. But in the majority of cases these resolutions have remained mere paper resolutions. But we must not lose time now, comrades! Great battles for power are imminent in the near future. And, in spite of this fact, the situation in a number of countries is that the masses of the workers who are

abandoning the social democrats cannot find the road that leads to us. This is an alarming symptom. It makes it incumbent upon us to adopt special measures to improve our work.

All the representatives of the Parties were able, on the basis of facts, to tell us of certain successes achieved by their respective Parties. Most of these successes are inconsiderable in themselves. They are important only as starting points for further work. We have a number of Communist Parties with fighting ability, but their present influence on the broad masses is much smaller than it could and should be. The work is not sufficiently effective to directly embrace the masses. We are fond of repeating the words of Comrade Stalin, that "there are no difficulties that the Bolsheviks cannot overcome"; but, comrades, in the sphere of mass work there are difficulties which we have not yet overcome!

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International Comrade Lenin emphasised that the Communists in all capitalist countries should assimilate a piece of the Bolshevik experience of the Russian comrades. He said to the Italian comrades: "Perhaps the fascists will teach you how to carry on Bolshevik work." Even before that, in his works, he pointed out that the class enemy teaches the working class to employ proper methods of struggle. But he did not mean that we were to rest satisfied with what the class enemy teaches us, because, very often, we learn these lessons too late. In order not to be late, we must learn from the living example of the Russian Bolsheviks; we must also learn from the experience of the revolutionary movement in other countries and in our own country, and we must learn from the masses. Apparently it is particularly difficult for the majority of our comrades to determine, in each separate case, the particular link that will enable us to establish contacts with the masses and to put them in motion. We can find this link only if we pay very close heed to the voice of the masses as Comrade Stalin emphasised.

What are the practical measures that we must adopt? I suggest that every Communist Party in the capitalist countries should immediately overhaul the work of all the organs and organisations of the Party. This should be done with a view to improving our mass work and also with a view to consolidating the Party and preparing it for illegal work. Immediately after this Plenum, in connection with the discussion of the decisions of this Plenum, we must mobilise the Party organisations for the purpose of overhauling their work, and the sections must report the results of this investigation to the E.C.C.I. before the Seventh World Congress. In making this investigation all the tasks of mass work, indicated in the theses of the Twelfth Plenum and of the present Plenum, should be taken into consideration.

For the majority of the sections this will mean the complete reorganisation of their work. I want first of all to mention certain aspects of the organisational side of this investigation. Firstly, it should be an investigation of the work of every Party functionary from top to bottom. In the majority of cases our functionaries are overworked, and at first they will wonder how they are going to find time to exercise political and organisational leadership of the work of all the Party organisations, and of all the Party members, among the broad masses. But time must be found for this at the expense of other work. The work must be so reorganised as to enable the comrades to spend most of their time on this very important Party work.

Secondly, in investigating the work of the lower Party organisations, it is important to activate all the members and to draw them into the work among the broad masses. In all Parties, legal as well as illegal, the majority of the Party members are passive at the present time. In some Parties the functionaries are almost the only ones who are engaged in regular Party work. I was astonished to hear that even the Communist Party of Italy, which for a certain time served as an example to other illegal Parties as far as mass work was concerned, now has an extraordinary number of passive members. In all capitalist countries the majority of our factory nuclei and Communist fractions are lifeless. Why is this so? Because, comrades, in practice our attitude towards the tasks of mass work is a formal one: we set to work to build factory nuclei and fractions in a mechanical and schematic manner. We have not concentrated attention upon systematically guiding their work among the masses by giving them concrete advice and instructions. We have not supervised the fulfilment of decisions. We have not displayed the necessary persistence in

carrying out these tasks, and have not paid serious attention to the training of leading cadres for this work. That is why we have failed to achieve successes in this work. This explains the fluctuation in membership; it explains why many members do not carry on any systematic work among the broad masses. But we know that the leading role of the Communist Parties presupposes the active participation of every member of the Party in everyday revolutionary work. According to the firm instructions of Comrade Lenin, this should be the most important rule in a genuine Communist Party. In my opinion, the work of the lower Party organisations, nuclei and fractions should be so reorganised as to enable every member to spend at least four-fifths of the time he or she devotes to Party work on everyday work among the non-Communist workers.

Thirdly, we must take into account the importance of our Party organisations and their members organising the active non-Party workers. Everywhere we have set up various kinds of united front committees, etc. In the course of the discussion several comrades—for example, Comrade Frachon—referred to the work of these committees. In many countries the experience has been that we successfully set up these organisations, but, owing to lack of guidance and control, they die out after a few months. The German Party achieved excellent results during the election campaign in organising special groups of helpers. In my opinion, the task of organisationally consolidating the political influence of our Parties demands that they should, to a larger extent than hitherto, stimulate their members to organise everywhere similar groups of active non-Party workers, united front brigades, etc.

This, of course, does not mean that we are not to continue our recruiting work for the Party with the utmost energy. As Comrade Platnitsky said in his speech, it was a mistake on the part of the German comrades to refuse to accept social-democratic workers who desired to join our Party, and to force them to join helpers' groups. Wherever the masses are, in the factories, in the trade unions, during every mass campaign, and in every strike, we must recruit non-Party, social-democratic, and other workers for our trade unions, for our mass organisations, and for the Communist fractions in the reformist unions. But this does not contradict the organisation of sympathetic social-democratic and non-Party workers in small groups for active work among the more or less broad masses, for agitation and mobilisation, under the guidance of Communists. Every Communist, if he really wants to, can organise such "shock brigades" in his factory, in his trade union, or anywhere else.

As Comrade Platnitsky expressed it, in times of strikes and other mass struggles, the Communists rush in like "a fire brigade" at the beginning of a struggle, and at the end they disappear. The organisational consolidation of our influence, which is the most important thing in every mass struggle, is completely ignored. Some time ago we recommended a form of organisation such as the election of factory delegates, unemployed delegates, women's delegates, committees of action, etc. This is an excellent form of organising active non-Party workers. But where it is difficult to arrange such elections, our comrades should simply find a number of active non-Party and other workers and organise them into a group under their guidance for mass agitation. This can be done at every mass meeting, at every demonstration, and in every strike. But when these groups are formed the Communists who form them must constantly work with them, discuss the work that has to be done, see that it is carried on, and go to the nucleus committee for advice as to how to develop the work properly.

Of course, all this work presupposes correct and firm Bolshevik guidance on the part of the Party organs. Without proper leadership lasting success cannot be achieved, and the danger of opportunism, which very easily arises in all mass work, becomes more serious. But if anybody argues that we should not take the risk of allowing our Party members to come into constant and direct touch with non-Party and social-democratic workers who desire to work and fight side by side with us because it creates the danger of these members becoming infected with opportunism as a result of this personal contact, I will say that this danger exists in all real mass work. There can be no success without taking risks. We must guide the work in order to counteract this danger.

In selecting sympathetic non-Party and social-democratic workers for these united front groups, only one condition is absolutely necessary, viz., that care must be taken to prevent traitors

and provocateurs from coming into them. We must unhesitatingly recruit honest workers for these groups. But we must not forget the advice Comrade Lenin gave to the Bolsheviks in 1905:—

"Then fight more boldly for new methods of training, comrades! Organise more boldly new and new fighting units, send them into battle, recruit more young workers, extend the limits of all Party organisations, from Party committees right down to factory groups, shop unions, and student circles. Remember that delay in this matter will assist the enemy." (Lenin, volume vii., page 208.)

Had there been no difficulties in carrying out our Bolshevik decisions we would have carried them out long ago. Of course, it is a difficult task, but that is precisely why we must now overhaul the work of all our Party organisations with real Bolshevik determination. If we do that, I am sure our sections will learn to do what they now find most difficult in Bolshevism. We should be able by the time the Seventh World Congress meets to show that our Parties have become sufficiently Bolshevik Parties, and reorganise our whole work in this respect.

In regard to the political content of our mass work I want to emphasise that we are not discussing minor questions. It is true that the minor, everyday cares of the workers, their daily vital interests, are always important starting points for agitation among and the mobilisation of the masses. But in the present world situation we see that it is the big fighting questions of the day that are more and more coming to the forefront. The fascist bourgeoisie itself is putting a number of fundamental questions on the order of the day, such as the question of the nation, private property, the State, the class character of dictatorship, etc. We must not efface ourselves, but boldly and in a militant manner clutch at every vital question. Among these questions there are such that are difficult to explain to the broad masses, particularly the question of combating chauvinism. In these questions we sometimes have to fight against the stream for a long time. But it is precisely our struggle against fascist ideology that will particularly help us to raise the class consciousness of the toiling masses to a high level.

The general weakness of our mass agitation most clearly revealed itself in that in all countries we have not taken sufficient advantage of the bankruptcy of social democracy during the fascist coup in Germany in order to explain to the broad masses of the workers that the shameful collapse of German social democracy was simultaneously an indication of the collapse of the whole policy of the Second International. How badly our Parties carried on agitation on this question! The "Left" social-democratic leaders even had the audacity to hurl a counter-attack against us with the aid of the insolent lie that the Communist Party of Germany was responsible for fascism coming into power in Germany. The best opportunity was created in all countries for demonstrating to the workers that the policy of the Second International inevitably paves the way for the fascist dictatorship, and that social democracy impedes the struggle of the proletariat against fascism. All that was necessary in every country was simply to tell the workers what the social-democratic party of Germany had done, and how the Communist Party of Germany fought against fascism. How insufficiently this was done, for example, in England, was best shown by the question which Comrade Gallacher helplessly put here, viz., how can we explain to the workers that we are not "glad" that fascism came into power? The echoes of the anti-Communist slander of the social-democrats are so loud that they even drown the howling crimes of the German social fascists.

The same helplessness is observed among many Communists when the question of power is put forward. As was related here in the course of the discussion by Comrade Pollitt about England, by Comrade Lenski about Poland, and as we shall hear also about America, it often happens that the "Left" socialists attack our Party on the question of power because our comrades, while, in the main correctly fighting for the everyday demands of the workers, raise the questions of the struggle in too restricted a manner, from the narrow, practical point of view. We must learn to link up the questions of the everyday needs of the workers with the question of power. If the fascists demagogically raise the question of the whole social system, we can boldly accept this challenge. Our strength lies in the fact that we alone are able to show the masses the way out of the crisis. If the ruling fascists say to us: "You are the enemies of the state," we reply: "Yes, we

are the enemy of the State of the exploiting classes." In our mass propaganda we must develop all the principles of the State as enunciated by Lenin in his book "The State and Revolution."

In Comrade Gallacher's speech there was a note of uncertainty as to how to explain to the masses the dialectical connection between the two forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, i.e., bourgeois democracy and fascist dictatorship. But is this really so difficult? We do not assert that bourgeois democracy is absolutely the same as fascist dictatorship. But, using Germany, Italian, Polish, the Finnish, and other examples as an illustration, we must show how the fascist dictatorship grows out of bourgeois democracy. The two things are not the same. The egg is not the same as a chicken, or as a baby crocodile. But, if social democracy sufficiently warms the egg, what will come out will be the fascist crocodile. Of course, it will be something entirely different from the egg. According to formal logic they are two entirely different things. But one grows out of the other; and this should be perfectly clear. Furthermore, since the fascist dictatorship grew out of bourgeois democracy, social fascism comes forward—as Kautsky did after Hitler seized power—and says to the masses: "The most important thing now is to abandon all thought of a 'bloody revolution.'" This is the principal slogan that Kautsky offers the German proletariat: "Anything but a bloody revolution."

It should not at all be difficult to expose these accomplices of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. But, simultaneously, we must in every country present a concrete programme of the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

From this angle we must explain the question of Soviet power. We must concretely show what is most important, viz., what the Soviet power will give the toilers in each separate country: in Germany, in England, in France, in America, in Japan, etc. Using the experience of the U.S.S.R. as an illustration, we must show how this can be achieved. Communist agitation and propaganda must focus the attention of the workers on the difference between the capitalist system and the Soviet system. The workers in the capitalist countries know that money still exists in the U.S.S.R., but that this money is not the same as what it is in capitalist countries. Wages exist; but wages under the Soviet system represent something entirely different from the price, or value, of labour power. The Soviet factory and Soviet trade are something altogether different from capitalist factories and capitalist trade. We must explain to the masses that wherever the proletariat overthrows the class rule of the exploiters and becomes the collective owner of the means of production, as a result the whole basis of society fundamentally changes, and becomes the basis of socialist society. The road of the October Revolution, the road to Bolshevism—that is the way out of the present crisis of capitalism! This we must prove to the toilers of all capitalist countries by fighting for our international slogan, for the slogan of the Soviet power.

A very important international question concerning which we must everywhere carry on agitation and mobilise the masses of the toilers is the question of the danger of an imperialist war, particularly a war against the U.S.S.R. Unless the weaknesses that have been displayed in our mass work on this question are immediately removed with all energy, we shall be confronted with a very serious danger. As Comrade Piatnitsky quite rightly said, our Parties have shown that they are able in general to adopt a correct position in the struggle against the war policy of the capitalist States; but the danger is that the class enemy may take the masses by surprise. The U.S.S.R. is on its guard; it cannot be taken by surprise. But in the capitalist countries, where our work and our influence is still weak, it is quite possible that the bourgeoisie, which is secretly preparing for war, will take the masses by surprise, when they are not yet ready for the decisive struggle. It is not only a matter of weaning the broad masses from their underestimation of the war danger. First of all we must revolutionise the masses, otherwise the proletariat will not be able to transform the military attack of the bourgeoisie into the victory of the proletarian revolution. Hence it is so important for us to carry on anti-war agitation in the revolutionary and not in the bourgeois-pacifist spirit.

The enemies of the U.S.S.R., and many social fascists in particular, try to make the masses believe that the U.S.S.R. is afraid of the bellicose threats of Japan. But we know, comrades, that the situation is altogether different. The U.S.S.R. is strong

enough to smash any imperialist Power that attacks it. But we Communists in the capitalist countries have not yet organisations strong enough to guarantee that we will transform the counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. into the victory of the world proletarian revolution. The Chinese workers and peasants now have a strong Communist Party and a strong Red Army. But we must have strong fighting organisations in all capitalist and colonial countries. Our victory will be assured everywhere only to the extent that the tasks enumerated in the theses of this Plenum will be carried out energetically and successfully. Comrade Okano, the representative of the Japanese Party, is fully convinced, and so are we, that the Japanese Communists will exert every effort to explain this to the Japanese toilers. On the day Araki and his accomplices proceed to carry out the greatest crime in world history, viz., to start an anti-Soviet war, the Japanese proletariat will show that the bellicose ideas of General Araki were very "dangerous thoughts" for the rule of the exploiting classes in Japan.

In this war we will have allies. This we know: we regard the national-revolutionary movements for the liberation of the colonies and the dependent nations as allies in our anti-imperialist struggle. Everywhere we are waging a ruthless struggle against oppressing imperialism. But at the same time we must not lose sight of the fact that it is still necessary, in the present preparatory period, to fight also against the chauvinism of the bourgeoisie in the oppressed nations. In Western Ukraine we saw that from the day Japanese imperialism commenced its invasion of Manchuria the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie of Western Ukraine began to dream of a European Manchukuo that only a West Ukrainian "Pu Yi" would envy. It has now been clearly revealed that the bourgeoisie of Western Ukraine, as Comrade Popov told us, wanted to sell the Ukrainian people simultaneously to German and Polish imperialism. Nevertheless, it continues to play with the slogan of the national "liberation" of the Ukraine.

In this connection, dangerous opportunist vacillations were revealed in the ranks of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine which must be ascribed to the fact that a distinct line of demarcation was not drawn between our policy and the nationalist policy of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie. We are convinced that now, after the Communist Party of Poland and the Communist Party of Western Ukraine have rectified these opportunist mistakes and have secured that the leadership of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine shall pursue a Bolshevik line, the latter will be able to convince the workers and peasants of Western Ukraine that it is necessary to resist Ukrainian counter-revolutionary nationalism and to mobilise the masses against the Polish as well as the German invaders.

On the pretext of criticising Hitler, Trotsky condemns the effort to adapt State frontiers in Europe to ethnographical frontiers as a "reactionary utopia." But Hitler is not even dreaming of doing such a thing. He wants to pursue the German imperialist policy of expansion. Trotsky, however, is really defending a reactionary utopia in the form of a democratic "United States of Europe." By arguing that the whole evil lies in the fact that there are too many State frontiers in Europe, Trotsky exposes himself as a servant of the imperialist Powers; for, in other words, he says to the oppressed nations of Europe: "Cease fighting for State independence!" And to the workers of the imperialist countries he says: "There is no sense in fighting for the right of self-determination for the oppressed nations in Europe—it is a reactionary utopia."

We Communists say something altogether different. We call upon the 40,000,000 population of the oppressed nations of Europe, and upon all colonial peoples, to wage a revolutionary struggle for their own State frontiers, for State independence—including the right to separate from the oppressing State—and to drive foreign officials and troops out of their respective countries. We are always ready to support their struggle for national liberation. And everywhere we say to the workers in the imperialist countries: you can emancipate yourselves from social oppression only if you fight for the complete abolition of the national oppression of your own bourgeoisie. In this way we will win over the masses that have been drawn into the national-revolutionary liberation movement and transform them into active reserves of the proletarian revolution.

As Comrade Lenin said: The Soviet Union is not only the vanguard of the workers of all countries, it is also the vanguard

of all the oppressed nations. Sooner or later, immediately a counter-revolutionary imperialist war breaks out against the Soviet Union we in all countries will mobilise the oppressed and exploited masses around the Soviet banner, and the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. will fight in the vanguard of the struggle for liberation of all the exploited and of all the oppressed classes and nations.

The capitalist system all over the world is marching to its doom. This explains the fury of the exploiting classes. Even in its externals the present bourgeois States more and more resemble a predatory State. This is apparent in many countries. But the most striking example is Germany. Present Germany with its fascist banditism presents a wild picture of the last stage of bourgeois "civilisation."

The ruling representatives of the German bourgeoisie who set fire to the Reichstag for the purpose of creating a favourable atmosphere for monopolising power in the hands of their party, are now trying our Comrades Dimitrov, Tanev, Popov, and Torgler for a crime that they themselves have committed. Beside them sits the tool of the German national socialists, Van der Lubbe, while Goering, who is responsible for the whole mess, refuses to recognise him and his accomplices; he furiously accuses, threatens and abuses the Communists. But our accused Bulgarian Communists do not allow themselves to be frightened—they are heroically defending the cause of the German Communist Party, the cause of Communism. Of course, the fascist rulers of Germany do not consider the burning of the Reichstag as a crime—why, that was their brilliant "exploit," but they dare not admit it. They regard the accused Communists as their most dangerous enemies and want to destroy them; but they dare not say openly; we want to destroy them because they are our dangerous enemies. No, the fascist bourgeoisie says: the Communists must be punished for the burning of the Reichstag—although the whole world knows that they had nothing to do with it.

This reveals the depths of the moral degradation of the fascist regime. This gang will not be able to hold out for long against the rising anger of the German working class; it will not for long be able to fool the petty-bourgeois toilers. If only our steadfast Communist Party of Germany learns to develop its mass work still better we will see how quickly the mass basis of national socialism will crumble and German fascism will be swept away, as Marx said, like a hen-coop in an earthquake.

To-day we read in the newspapers the revolutionary greetings which Comrade Dimitrov sent us through his mother. He particularly emphasised: the things I hold most dear are the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet proletariat. This also applies to us. I propose that the Plenum send Comrade Dimitrov its fervent, revolutionary greetings. (Prolonged applause.)

I will sum up the principal immediate tasks of our most important sections.

The task of the Communist Party of Germany is to mobilise the masses for the purpose of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship. On the basis of the most important vital interests of the working class it must draw the masses into political strikes; this is one of the most important premises for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The fulfilment of this task confronts the Communist Party of Germany with the immediate task of liquidating the mass influence of the German social democrats.

The task of the Communist Party of France is to develop economic struggles in close connection with the struggle against the dictatorship of the French bourgeoisie. Upon it is imposed the task of developing an all-sided struggle against war for which the French bourgeoisie is preparing under cover of phrases about "democracy." The Communist Party of France must take advantage of the split of the socialist party in order to undermine the influence of the reformists and politically and organisationally to consolidate the Communist Party and the Red trade unions.

The task of the Communist Party of Great Britain is to wage the struggle against the national government, and, in particular, against the government's measures which worsen the conditions of the working class. It must develop itself into a real mass party of the working class of Great Britain. Furthermore, its task is to win over the workers in the Labour Party and in the Independent Labour Party, and to establish close connections between the British working class and the proletariat in the colonies, particularly in India. The most important task of the Communist Party

of Great Britain is to carry on revolutionary work in the trade unions.

The task of the Communist Party of the United States is also to transform itself into the mass Party of the American proletariat by winning over the main masses of the American workers in the principal industrial centres of the country. Furthermore, its task is to mobilise the masses against the demagogic legislation of Roosevelt, for real social insurance, for grants to the unemployed and also for the improvement of the material conditions of the employed workers.

The important task of the Communist Party of China is still further to consolidate the Soviet regions and the Red Army; to completely repulse the sixth campaign of the Kuomintang, to extend the Soviet regions and at the same time to link up this task with that of mobilising the masses of workers and peasants in Kuomintang China for the purpose of overthrowing the Kuomintang government as a prerequisite for the victorious struggle against Japanese imperialism and for the complete national liberation of the Chinese people.

The task of the Communist Party of Japan is to fight against war under the slogan: Withdraw from Manchuria and North China! This struggle must be linked up with the struggle against the unprecedented impoverishment of the masses of the workers

and peasants in Japan. One of the most important weapons of the Communist Party of Japan in this struggle is its penetration into all the mass organisations and its work in them.

All the sections of the Communist International must set themselves the task of fighting against opportunism, particularly against Right opportunism, of fighting for the revolutionary unity of the working class, which is the most important prerequisite for the successful work of the Communists among the reserves of the proletarian revolution, viz., the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, for establishing the Soviet government throughout the world.

The most important thing is—constant, active leadership of the Communist Party in the mass struggle against fascism and war, and the linking up of legal with illegal forms of struggle. The world bourgeoisie is now in the position as described in the Communist Manifesto, of the "sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells." The better the organisations of the Communist Parties carry out their Bolshevik leading role in the mass struggle, the quicker will come the day when the world bourgeoisie will no longer be able to find salvation. Victory all over the world will be on the side of Communism. And all our sections, and the Communist International as a whole, is the guarantee of that. (Prolonged applause.)

## Closing Speech of Comrade Ercoli

Comrades, we have come to the end of the work of our plenary session. Without making any mistake we can declare that the work of this plenary session was of great importance for the development of the international Communist movement. In a discussion which lasted fifteen days and after having heard 75 speeches of the representatives of the revolutionary advance guard in all the countries of the world—from the Soviet Union to China, from Germany to Japan, from Great Britain to the United States, from Spain to India and to the remotest colonial countries—we have closely examined the economic and political world situation, we have analysed its perspectives, and in the facts placed before us we found the living confirmation of the correctness of those perspectives which we put forward a year and two years ago. We have examined the experiences of a year of work and a year of struggle on the part of our Parties and we have laid down the tasks which face us in the present situation.

Comrades, it is sufficient to compare the content of our debates, the conscientiousness and scientific nature of our analysis of the objective situation and of the relation of forces of the classes, the way in which the aims of our mass struggle were evolved from this and also our concrete tasks, the way in which our mistakes and deficiencies were tracked down and exposed, the open Bolshevik recognition of our mistakes, the mobilisation of our forces and of the forces of the working class in order to overcome these mistakes; it is sufficient to compare the whole method of working of our plenary session with the work of the so-called "conferences" of the Second International, whose chief anxiety is to conceal the truth from the eyes of the working masses, to organise the deception and betrayal of the working masses, to lead constantly the attacks on the revolutionary lessons of Marxism, to find new and adroit methods by which each individual socialist party can best serve the cause of its own bourgeoisie and thereby the cause of the counter-revolution; it is sufficient to make this comparison in order to obtain an idea what an active revolutionary leadership in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism means.

The work of our plenary session provided the working class and the oppressed peoples of the whole world once again with the living proof that to-day there is a world army of the revolution, a disciplined and powerful advance guard which is on the march with closed ranks and with an exact knowledge of its aims, that to-day we have a world Party of the revolution, namely, the Communist International.

It is not without significance that just at a moment when we point out that the capitalist world is on the verge of a new cycle of wars and revolutions, we should appeal once again from the height of this tribune to the workers and the oppressed peoples all over the world to rally in their masses around the banner of the Com-

munist International, for it is the only banner under which the victory of socialism can be fought for and won.

We possess an impregnable fortress, the Soviet Union, and from year to year its strength increases and its tremendous successes in the building up of a socialist society call forth the enthusiasm of the exploited and oppressed masses all over the world.

We have a leader of steel, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party.

We have a general, Comrade Stalin, who is continuing on the theoretical and practical political field the grand work of the revolutionary leadership of Marx and Lenin. (Lively applause.)

We know that the path that we must take is not an easy one. We know that great difficulties are awaiting us, and that we shall be able to overcome these difficulties only in the course of a bitter struggle. But we also know that after fifteen years of experience and struggle on the part of the Communist International, and after sixteen years of tremendous victories for the Soviet power on one-sixth of the earth's surface, a number of the fundamental conditions for our victory have already been created.

Comrades, when we declared a year ago that the end of the period of relative capitalist stabilisation had arrived, we foresaw that the end of the stabilisation of capitalism in the whole world would produce an intensification of all contradictions, a new intensification of all class conflicts of the capitalist regime, the beginning of new and bitter struggles between the forces of reaction and the forces of revolution, the acceleration of the preparations for new imperialist war, the intensification of the immediate danger of armed capitalist intervention against the Soviet Union, and the sliding of the whole capitalist world into a new cycle of wars and revolutions.

In the theses of our plenary session we pointed out that the development of the international situation to-day shows new features. In the theses of our plenary session we speak of the theses that:—

"The extraordinary intensification of international contradictions indicates that at the moment the world is on the verge of a new cycle of wars and revolutions."

In our theses we also say that,

"As a result of its deep and insoluble contradictions the basic foundations of capitalism are already being destroyed." We declare in our theses that,

"At any moment a change can take place which will mean the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis."

I think that it is clear to all of us that these statements contain a new factor in themselves to which the present plenary session of the E.C. of the C.I. draws the attention of all revolutionary

workers and toilers and all Communist Parties. It is clear to every one of us that these statements must form the basis of our practical immediate tasks.

Uncertainty or vacillation with regard to the development of the international situation and the situation in each individual country during the next few months is impossible.

What we must say at the end of this plenary session, what we must shout aloud, that is that we know where we are going, and that we know *what we have to expect*. What we have to expect, that is war. What lies before us is a tremendous development of the class struggle in all its forms—the desperate class struggle of the bourgeoisie on the one hand to save its rule from collapse, and on the other hand the increasing defensive struggle on the part of the working class and peasant masses. What lies before us is a new wave of revolutionary mass movements which we must encourage and extend by our daily agitation and propaganda, and by establishing the closest touch with the working masses in their daily struggle for their immediate demands, demands which we must intensify and struggles which we must learn to lead, beginning with the small questions of daily interest and leading up to the decisive struggles for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrades, all capitalist countries are openly arming themselves for war and they are mobilising all their economic resources.

When our plenary session investigated the world economic situation it pointed out that in all cases in which recently there has been a certain revival of industrial activity, the industries concerned were branches of the armament industry, and this led us to the conclusion that the present improvement of the economic situation was an improvement due to the preparations for a new cycle of imperialist wars.

In the countries of the Far East and in Germany, in the countries of the fascist dictatorship and in the "democratic" countries there is nothing to be heard but the rattle of sabres and the clang of weapons.

To-day it is no longer a question of *whether* war will break out, and if it breaks out *when* it will break out, for everyone is in agreement that it will break out *to-morrow*. During the past year the fires of war have flared up in a number of countries from China to South America. At this moment whole provinces of China are in the grip of war, where the Japanese footpads are concentrating their troops against the Soviet Union and against our gallant Chinese comrades who are heroically defending the Chinese Soviet districts, and extending and enlarging the conquests of the revolution and of the Soviet power.

In one single country in the world, in the Soviet Union, 160 millions of people are working not for war, but for the building up of socialism. One single country, the Soviet Union, is working not for war, but for peace, for the construction of socialism. In the rest of the world we find impoverishment, misery, unemployment, destruction and reaction on all fields. In the Soviet Union hundreds of new factories have been built and hundreds more are in course of construction. Dozens of new towns are shooting up everywhere and new possibilities are being opened up for the development of civilisation. Unemployment has disappeared, the wages of the workers are rising, working hours are being cut down, and "the idiocy of rural life" is being abolished by collectivisation.

Comrades, it is necessary that the attention of the exploited and oppressed masses all over the world should be drawn again and again to these facts. We must make it clear to all workers and to all the toilers, and to all the oppressed peoples all over the world how this was possible. We must convince them that it was made possible solely and simply because power was first seized from the hands of the bourgeoisie, their representatives and their lackeys, because the social-democratic lies were utterly exposed and because the social-democratic leaders were hounded out by the workers and by the toiling masses of the Soviet Union. We must make it clear to the workers of the world that this is the only way in which capitalist barbarism can be abolished once and for all and the way to the building up of a socialist society opened up.

The very first task on which we must concentrate all our forces in the given situation is the defence of the Soviet Union.

At this plenary session we discussed in great detail the question of the struggle against war. We examined the methods used by our heroic Japanese comrades in their struggle against war and we recommended all Communist Parties to take their work as an example.

We also pointed out the theoretical and political progress

which has been made and which consists in the fact that the slogan "Transform the imperialist war into a civil war," the slogan which in 1914 was taken up only by a small minority of the working class, is to-day the slogan under which millions of toilers all over the world are fighting against war.

But if we leave this success on one side and ask ourselves what has been done practically on the field of the concrete struggle against war, then the answer cannot be satisfactory. Our political position is correct, our propaganda work shows a decided improvement, but our practical work, our action is very limited.

We must concentrate all our forces on overcoming this weakness.

Any day now the armed attack of the imperialist robbers against the Soviet Union can take place. How shall we react to it? That is the question which each Party must put to itself, and the question which we must place before all our organisations from the Central Committees down to the lowest cell. What shall we do? There will be no excuse for our Parties and their organisations then. We must leave this plenary session with the firm conviction that our work for the mobilisation of our forces for the decisive struggle must be successfully carried out and that we must begin to prepare this mobilisation right now.

Comrades, during the course of our work here we have delivered a crushing blow against the defeatist and pessimistic theories which the social democracy is propagating in the ranks of the working class, against the defeatist theory that all over the capitalist world a long period of counter-revolutionary terror has set in and that in consequence to-day any revolutionary perspective is impossible. The social democrats, who only yesterday were praising the "benefits" of bourgeois "democracy" and announcing that they led to socialism, are thus again serving the bourgeoisie, the capitalist and the fascist reaction.

During the course of our work at this plenary session we have built up a firm wall against the propagation, overt or covert, of this defeatist theory in the ranks of the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat. This means that we consider it impossible that the Parties will be able to carry out the tasks facing them unless they succeed in exterminating the last remnants of social-democratic influence, and of every form of opportunism, defeatism and pessimism within their own ranks.

The way in which with great energy the plenary session condemned those comrades who ventured to make themselves the mouthpiece in our ranks for these defeatist social-democratic theories, must serve as an example for all parties. We had to do it in order to open up for our Parties the way to revolutionary action and to help the broad masses to advance along the revolutionary path. It is impossible to lead the masses into the coming revolutionary struggles without making the revolutionary perspective clear to them.

We do not close our eyes to facts, we know and we can feel that in all capitalist countries to-day a reactionary wind is blowing. We can see how the dilapidated buildings of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy are falling to pieces. Everywhere we can see the tendency of the bourgeoisie to adopt forms of open, bloody and brutal dictatorship. Fascism is the crassest expression of this tendency. We do not close our eyes to the significance of fascism. We are completely aware of the significance for the international proletariat of the temporary retreat of the German proletariat.

However, at the same time we also know that there are contrary tendencies at work, that fascism cannot solve the difficulties which are facing the ruling classes in the capitalist countries, that, on the contrary, these difficulties are being constantly aggravated and that the tendency is for them to appear in ever sharper forms even under the armour of the strictest fascist dictatorship. We see how amongst the masses dissatisfaction, hatred against the capitalist regime and at the same time a fighting spirit is growing, and how both the subjective and objective conditions for a revolutionary crisis are developing at an accelerated pace.

Comrades, a magnificent confirmation of the perspectives put forward by the plenary session is given us by the recent events in Spain. They are the direct result of the reactionary attack organised by the parties of the extreme right with the support of the social democrats against the working class and peasant masses.

We know that the events which are taking place in Spain to-day are still premature from the standpoint of a victorious insurrection, that they are not yet sufficiently organised and formed, that they are not yet under the firm leadership of the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat, the only leadership which can

secure victory for the struggle of the working class and the peasantry. However, we see in these revolutionary events a splendid confirmation of the revolutionary perspectives drawn up by us and which face the whole of the Communist International.

Under the pressure of the reaction and under the conditions of the fascist dictatorship the mass movement of the workers shows a tendency to uneven and spasmodic development. However, we do not want to idealise this fact, and, on the contrary, we must fight against any attempt to use this fact as a basis for a theory of automatic development towards a revolutionary situation and of the automatic collapse of capitalism. No, comrades, Bolsheviks do not believe in an automatic development of the revolution and they are not prepared to make any concessions to the theory of spontaneity. When we state that the pressure exercised by the reactionary bourgeoisie and by the social democracy results in an uneven and spasmodic development of the working-class movement, then the conclusion which we must draw from this is: we must concentrate our efforts on the revolutionary work amongst the masses and establish the closest connections with them in order to be able to lead them at every stage of the development of their movement.

If we do not take up the problem in this sense, then there is a danger that it will be impossible for us to place ourselves at the head of the mass movement when it appears in an open form. Therefore the plenary session puts forward the questions of mass work and the preparation for illegality as the most urgent problems facing all the Communist Parties and their organisations.

The development towards illegality is the consequence of the development of capitalism in the direction of war and the continued development of fascism in the capitalist system all over the world. Our class enemies want to throw us out of one position after the other in order to isolate us from the masses completely. The principle from which we must proceed is that there are no difficulties which Bolsheviks cannot overcome, but that in order to overcome them we must keep in close touch with the masses. When we speak of the transition to illegality, we do not mean merely the necessity of an alteration of the organisational structure of our Parties in order better to withstand the attacks of the class enemy, not only the necessity of revolutionary heroism on the part of all our comrades in the struggle against fascist persecutions, but we mean above all that our Parties must have such an organisation that will permit them to work amongst the masses, to fight side by side with the masses, and to lead the movement of the masses in any situation which may arise.

That is the reason why this plenary session stressed so earnestly the necessity of connecting our struggle for the immediate partial demands of the workers with the struggle for our final aims, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and why at the same time it strongly emphasised the absolute necessity of our work in all mass organisations, in the reformist trade unions in all those countries which have still no fascist dictatorship, and the necessity of our work in the fascist trade unions in those countries in which fascism has a mass basis, in short, the work in all mass organisations, even the most reactionary, in order to develop the class struggle in them on the basis of even the smallest partial demands with a view to preventing our separation from the broad masses of the workers and to getting into close touch with them from the very beginning of their movement.

That is the reason why the question raised by Comrade Kuusinen of overhauling our whole mass work is of such great importance to-day. We have repeatedly made decisions to the effect that we must work in the reformist and the fascist trade unions. At this plenary session also the resolutions were unanimously adopted, and that is a proof of the Bolshevik power and unity of our International. However, the Communist International must not only adopt unanimous resolutions, but it must also make every effort to see that they are really carried out in practice and applied in our daily work.

The task which faces each of our Parties whether large or small immediately after this plenary session is therefore to overhaul the work of all organs, from the Central Committees down to the district and sub-district committees and the cells in order to

find out the reasons for our backwardness on the field of mass work and to remedy all defects.

In January we shall remember the tenth anniversary of the death of Lenin and in March we shall celebrate the 15th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist International.

Imbued with that fighting spirit in which the Communist International was founded, and in the spirit of Leninism we must carry out this overhauling of our mass work in order to carry into our ranks not only a knowledge of Bolshevik theory in general, but also a knowledge of its practical spirit, the spirit of concrete mass work which secured the Bolshevik Party its victories.

We have decided to call the Seventh Congress of the Communist International for 1934. By the time the Congress meets this work of overhauling must be completed, and not only that, but we must by that time be in a position to present the Congress with the positive results of our work amongst the masses.

Comrades, before I close the proceedings of this plenary session, I should like to send our revolutionary greetings to all our comrades who are prisoners of capitalism in Germany, China, the Balkans, Italy and in all the countries of the world. Permit me in the name of the Communist International and in the name of the revolutionary proletariat to express our revolutionary greetings to Comrade Thaelmann—(lively applause)—who has succeeded in leading the Communist Party of Germany with a firm hand along the path of Bolshevism and in making it the strongest section of the Communist International after the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the name of the world proletariat we also send our revolutionary greetings to Comrade Dimitroff—(applause)—who is showing the world at this moment what a leader of the working class, a revolutionary leader, a Bolshevik is—to Comrade Dimitroff who is an example to us all of how a revolutionary can and must fight in all situations, even the most difficult, and even under seemingly impossible conditions.

Comrades, a class which produces such men, such heroes, cannot be defeated. It must be victorious and it knows that it will be victorious.

With this expression of our firm belief in the certainty of our victory I think we can close the work of this plenary session. Let our enemies, who have lost all belief in their future, who see no other prospects for themselves but the use of brutal force and shameful barbarism, let them tremble at the coming events.

Let the social-democratic leaders tremble who have set all their hopes on a rotten capitalist world which will be swept away by the coming revolutionary storm and whose efforts are all concentrated on barring the path of the advancing proletarian revolution.

We have a firm and confident belief in our future, and this belief rests on an unshakeable basis. That is the successes of the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, which is about to leave the period of difficulties of growth behind it, and which stands as an invincible fortress, untakeable by any power in the world, and to whose defence against all attacks the whole of the world proletariat is prepared and ready. That is the progress made by the Soviet power in China under the firm Bolshevik leadership of our Chinese brother Party, the pride of the Communist International.

We have a firm and confident belief in our future. We are certain of victory because our aims are clear, because we see our path clearly before us, because we have a Bolshevik leadership, our Comrade Stalin—(lively applause)—because we shall awaken all the revolutionary forces in the working class which are necessary for us to pursue our path to our aim.

Long live the struggle of the workers and the oppressed masses in all countries for their emancipation!

Long live the Bolshevik Party and its leader Comrade Stalin!

Long live the Communist International, the world Party of the revolution!

Long live the victorious world commune!  
(Loud applause and cheering. The delegates rise from their seats and sing the "International," the "Carmagnole" and the "Bandiera Rossa.")

Published weekly. Single copies, 2d. Subscription rates: Great Britain and Dominions, 12s. per year; U.S.A. and Canada, five dollars per year. Remittance in STERLING per International Money Order, Postal Order or Sight Draft on London.