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ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING THE XIII PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

THE XIII. Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was held in Moscow in December.

The XIII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. heard the following reports:

1. Report by Comrade Kuusinen on Fascism, the war danger and the tasks of the Communist Parties.
2. Reports from the Parties:
 - (a) Report by Comrade Pieck on the activity of the Communist Party of Germany.
 - (b) Report by Comrade Pollitt on united front tactics in England.

After hearing Comrade Kuusinen's report and the reports of Comrades Pieck and Pollitt, the Plenum, following upon a thorough discussion, adopted its theses on fascism, the war danger and the tasks of the Communist Parties.

In connection with the report by Comrade Pieck, the Plenum "approved the work of the C.P. of Germany since the coming to power of the fascists and the proposed plan for further activity."

In connection with Comrade Pollitt's report,

the Plenum "declared that the C.P. of Great Britain had achieved some success in carrying out the united front, particularly with regard to the Independent Labour Party. The Plenum proposed that the C.P. of Great Britain strengthen its struggle for a united front on the basis of concrete demands, drawing in the workers who still support the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucrats, at the same time exposing the manoeuvres of the leaders of the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party."

3. With regard to the third point on the agenda, the Plenum decided to call the VII. Congress of the Comintern during the second half of 1934.

The Plenum carried out supplementary elections to the Presidium and approved the financial report of the E.C.C.I.

The Plenum also issued an appeal on the White Terror to the workers of all countries.

All decisions were adopted by the Plenum unanimously.

The Theses and decisions of the XIII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. are published simultaneously with this announcement.

Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.

THE MATURING OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS. THE FIGHT FOR SOVIET POWER THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

(On the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

THE world economic crisis is most closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism, and sharpens all the cardinal contradictions of the capitalist world to such an extent that a turn may take place at any moment, a turn which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis." According to the reporter, Comrade Kuusinen, this is "one of the most important propositions" in the theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. In the course of the past year the revolutionary indignation of the toiling masses as well as "their readiness to overthrow the intolerable yoke of the exploiting classes" has grown to an ever greater extent. Likewise the prestige of the proletarian vanguard—the Communist Parties has been greatly enhanced. In the course of last year, the relation between the

two systems has changed more *sharply* than before in favour of the U.S.S.R., the country which builds Socialism.

At the same time, the process of the fascisation of the capitalist countries (particularly in Central Europe) has advanced still further and brought the Fascist dictatorship in Germany to a temporary triumph. The danger of a world imperialist war and a war against the U.S.S.R., particularly in the Far East, has greatly increased.

All this taken together determined the new changes in the relation between the classes in particular countries and throughout the world as well as the new political situation in which the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. was proceeding.

The Twelfth Plenum (1932) noted the fact that

the stabilisation of capitalism has come to an end, that there was a transition to a new round of revolutions and wars and that the elements of a revolutionary crisis were maturing in a number of individual capitalist countries. Now the Thirteenth Plenum was in a position to state that *the world revolutionary crisis is maturing and that the world is now closely approaching a new round of revolutions and wars.*

In accordance with this estimation of the international situation, the Thirteenth Plenum determined the tactics of the Sections of the Comintern in capitalist countries. *The basic slogan of the Comintern—fight for Soviet power* has been advanced by the Plenum as the main tactical slogan at the present stage of development and the Plenum indicated the way to the solution of this central task. The slogan of power has been placed by the Plenum as the main slogan for *mass agitation* in all capitalist countries and as the slogan of revolutionary action wherever the question of seizing power is on the order of the day. The slogan of fight for power presupposes the *actual reorganisation of the entire mass work of the Communist Parties.* That is why the questions of mass work in the sections of the Comintern occupied such a prominent place in the work of the Plenum. Comrade Piatnitsky, in his speech, dealt with these questions in detail.

What are those new antecedents which enabled the Thirteenth Plenum to state that the world revolutionary crisis is maturing? These antecedents, which had brought about sharp changes in the relations between the classes and the states are, in the first place, determined by the following factors:

(1) The general crisis of capitalism has already shaken the economics of the capitalist world and the mainstays of capitalism.

(2) The growth, however uneven, of the revolutionary development in most of the countries, a growth proceeding simultaneously with the fascisation of the capitalist countries, the accumulation of colossal revolutionary energy in the masses and the beginning of a new revolutionary rise in the country of the most savage and open Fascist dictatorship (Germany).

(3) The sharp change in favour of the U.S.S.R. which set in in the relation of forces between the two systems.

(4) The sharpening to the utmost of the international antagonisms.

(5) The crisis of the world social-democracy, which is the main social prop of the bourgeoisie, and the beginning of the dissolution of the Second International.

(6) The enhanced influence of the Communist International, the world Party of Communism.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE PRE-WAR SITUATION.

What is the effect of those changes in the economy of the capitalist world which took place in the period between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenums of the E.C.C.I.?

"The development of the general crisis of capitalism — the thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum says—after the end of the relative stabilisation that was noted by the last (Twelfth) Plenum of the E.C.C.I., has already shaken the capitalist system to a far-reaching degree all over the world."

"The mainstays of capitalism are already being destroyed by virtue of its profound insoluble contradictions."

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. emphasised the fact that the rule of monopolist capital in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism "makes it exceedingly difficult for capitalism to outlive the economic crisis by the usual means it employed in the time of free competition.

In its development, the world economic crisis in the period following the Twelfth Plenum has revealed new features which most lucidly confirmed the thesis that the world was closely approaching new revolutions and wars. In the summer of 1932, in a number of individual capitalist countries (in the U.S.A., in Japan, Germany, etc.) there were signs of an increase in production, particularly in the production of iron and steel. In the course of the first half of 1933, the general index of production has risen.

In reality, however, this increase in the first half-year was not a "normal" increase of capitalist production. It was "the whipping of production for non-productive purposes, or the speculative leaps in production on the basis of inflation." But such a whipping up of production "is accompanied by stagnation or a fall in production in a number of other branches (machine construction, building, the production of articles of consumption) and in the near future cannot but lead to the still greater disturbance of state finances and to a still further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism." (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum E.C.C.I.).

We have first of all the growth of the *war industry* and of those branches which are closely connected with the preparations for war. On the whole, stock capital is not being renewed and where it is renewed it is connected immediately with the growth of the war industry.

Practically there is no fresh capital investment, we have a further drop in world trade, even in the first half of 1933. Likewise in most of the branches which produce articles of broad consumption the output continues to fall. If we take prices in their gold value, there was a further drop, particularly in the price of agricultural produce. The agrarian crisis is growing deeper and deeper.

At the XVI Congress of the C.P.S.U., Comrade Stalin said :

“But there is one branch which is not seized by the crisis. It is war industry. It grows all the time in spite of the crisis.”

This strong growth of the war industry, which particularly contributed to the slight rise in the general index of production, testifies to the fact that war is so near at hand, that in the sphere of economics *an immediate pre-war situation and a state of inflation may be observed*. “The international situation bears all the features of the eve of a new world war. (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum).

The feverish expansion of the war industry and the accumulation of war supplies shows not only that we are faced with an immediate war, but that these facts are in themselves *a force which pushes the world towards war*.

Another cause which is closely connected with the preparation for war and with the attempts to find a capitalist way out of the crisis is *inflation* and a number of large measures undertaken by monopolist capital in order to sharpen the economic war, to create an artificial rise in production and a rise in prices on the internal market and oust competitors from the world market. Inflation has spread to 52 capitalist countries. By means of inflation, which leads to a further reduction in the wages of the workers and in the income of the peasants, super-dumping has exceedingly expanded and is particularly practised by Japan; the chemical industry is being developed, as well as the manufacture of aeroplanes, tanks, etc.

The fact that this rise, having lasted for not more than a few months, has changed and taken a sharp downward tendency (the drop has not yet reached the lowest point recorded in August, 1932) shows that this rise was of an obviously speculative nature. In the U.S.A., for instance, the index of production dropped from 90.1 to 69.2 while the output of the steel industry, which in July rose to 59 per cent. of its capacity, dropped again in November, reaching only 26 per cent. of its capacity.

In the period between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenums, the tendencies towards econo-

mic nationalism which strives to secure economic resources for carrying on war, have grown enormously all over the world. In fact there is an economic world war prelude an armed fight between the imperialists. That we are on the eve of immediate war, is shown to a nicety by the fact that all the external contradictions of the capitalist countries have reached a climax and in particular that the international treaties are being broken (Versailles, Washington, and the crisis of the League of Nations). The conflagration of a world war is rising on the Pacific. Japan carries on a war against China, prepares a blow against the Mongolian People's Republic. Japanese imperialism, while maintaining contact with Fascist Germany and the British imperialists is unleashing a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

British imperialism has taken the place of the French as the main organiser of an anti-Soviet war. The chief instigator of war in Europe is Fascist Germany, which, under the pretext of a fight against Versailles, attempts to form a bloc for a new sanguinary re-carving of Europe in favour of German Imperialism. With the relations between the imperialist countries becoming more acute, the tendency to solve these contradictions at the expense of Soviet Russia, by organising a counter-revolutionary war against it, is assuming an ever more and more definite shape; and this while Soviet Russia pursues a policy of peace which was crowned with great diplomatic successes. The situation of war and inflation testifies to the fact that decaying capitalism, which has outlived itself, attempts to prolong its existence artificially by means of an imperialist and counter-revolutionary war, by the seizure of colonies, by national oppression and Fascist terror. However, the economic crisis which is closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism, while leading to the collapse of capitalist economy, with all the heavy consequences for the masses which this entails, while leading to the savage intensification of the militarist oppression and Fascist terror, at the same time awakens the indignation of the toiling masses against the governments of famine and war.

“A turn may take place at any moment, a turn which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis.” (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum E.C.C.I.).

However, the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis is a process which includes the rise of the revolutionary movement. The working class, led by the Communist Parties, is faced with the task of hasten-

ing the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis and of assuring the victory of the proletarian revolution. That is why the Communist Parties at the present moment must intensify a hundredfold their work in mobilising the masses for the conquest of power.

FASCISM AND THE MATURING OF THE WORLD
REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS.

During the period between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenums, the process of fascisation was growing rapidly in a number of capitalist countries (and particularly in Central Europe) leading to a temporary triumph of Fascism in Germany. The savage nationalism and chauvinism instigated by the bourgeoisie is utilised by it in a number of countries for the purpose of placing in power the extreme reactionary chauvinist parties of the bourgeoisie. The darkest forces of reaction have taken up the cudgels on behalf of dying capitalism. "The simplification of the class contradictions" (Marx) is proceeding apace and is expressed in the open *polarisation of the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction*. With ever increasing plainness the revolutionary army of the proletariat, now in the course of formation, is opposed by the forces of the Fascist counter-revolution, whom the bourgeoisie is so hastily entrusting with power, while pushing back, disintegrating or liquidating all the middle parties. "Democracy," parliamentarism, the hidden form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, yield their place to the open dictatorship of the monopolist bourgeoisie, to the dictatorship of Fascism.

Therefore, the Communist International must give a full, exhaustive analysis of Fascism, of the perspectives of the struggle against Fascist dictatorship, must define the task of the Communist Parties in the fight against Fascism and war. That is why the question of fighting Fascism and war occupied one of the most important places in the work of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The temporary triumph of Fascism in the centre of Europe, in Germany, in the country where the workers' movement is the strongest, cannot but focus the attention of all the Sections of the Communist International on the fight against Fascism.

Fascism, according to the definition given by the theses of the Thirteenth Plenum, is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of monopolist capital, which attempts to rally round itself the petty-bourgeoisie, the ruined peasantry, artisans, employees, state officials

and, in particular, the declassed elements in the towns, and to create a mass basis among them; it likewise strives to penetrate into the ranks of the working class. This definition of Fascism given by the Comintern knocks on the head the Social-Democratic, Trotskyist, Brandlerist estimation of the class character of Fascism as a "power which is above classes" (Otto Bauer), as "the dictatorship of the lumpen-proletariat," as "Bonapartism," as "petty-bourgeois counter-revolution" (Trotsky, Thalheimer). The same Social-Fascist estimation of Fascism was propagated by Remmele, ex-member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, who maintained that "the entire bourgeoisie submits to the lumpen-proletariat."

However, we will not be able to understand Fascism properly unless we realise the depth of the process of the maturing of the revolutionary crisis and contrast the forces of revolution with the forces of reaction. Only then will we understand what determined the rapid tempos of the fascisation of the bourgeois states during the period that elapsed between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenums. International Social-Democracy, and along with it, its Trotskyist and Brandlerist tail, represent the contemporary political situation as "a counter-revolutionary situation," as an epoch of Fascism which brought about the consolidation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In fact, however, the world revolutionary crisis is maturing and the fascisation of the bourgeois is the result of this growing of the forces of revolution, which compels the ruling classes to mobilise the forces of counter-revolution.

The theses of the Thirteenth Plenum state:

"The growth of Fascism and its coming into power in Germany and in a number of other capitalist countries means:

(a) That the revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the rule of capital is growing;

(b) That the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and of bourgeois democracy in general;

(c) That, moreover, the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general are becoming a hindrance to the capitalists both in their internal politics (the struggle against the proletariat) and in their foreign politics (war for the imperialist redistribution of the world);

(d) That in view of this, capital is compelled to pass to open terrorist dictatorship within the country and to unrestrained chauvinism in

foreign politics, which represents direct preparation for imperialist wars."

Capitalism now rests on bayonets, on the state apparatus which has grown enormously, and on savage terrorism. The sharper the class contradictions and the closer the approach of the proletarian revolution, the more swollen becomes the apparatus of the bourgeois state, and the *greater the parasitic nature of this apparatus.*

"The present Fascist wave," Knorin said in his speech* at the Plenum, "is not a sign of force but a sign of the weakness and the shattered state of the whole capitalist system, which the bourgeoisie attempts to strengthen by enlarging the state machine and by passing to Fascist methods of suppressing the masses."

Wherever Fascism, under the given relation of the class forces, has succeeded in seizing the state machine and establishing the open dictatorship in one or other country owing to the treachery of Social-Democracy and to the fact that the Communist Party, notwithstanding the growth of its influence, has not yet been able to win the majority of the working class, the revolutionary development is thereby naturally hindered. However, this process is a double one—"Revolutionary development is simultaneously hindered and accelerated by the Fascist fury of the bourgeoisie." (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum). One must not judge the situation of a country only by what one observes on the surface of the political life, without considering the deep processes simultaneously proceeding in the country. If we take into consideration that the coming of the Fascists to power at the present moment was not a consequence of the defeat of the revolution, but only a preventive measure against the growth of the proletarian revolution, then it will become plain that under such conditions, open Fascist dictatorship is not only unable to stop the revolutionary process, but moreover is an *additional source* of the growth of the indignation of the masses. The open Fascist dictatorship under present-day conditions helps to revolutionise the masses, not only by its terror, but also by "the destruction of the authority of bourgeois law," by strengthening "the elements which disorganise its power" (Theses), by the hastening collapse of the main social prop of the bourgeoisie, namely Social-Democracy, and by making "the majority of the workers who followed the Social-Democrats more susceptible to Communist agitation and propaganda" (Theses). The bourgeoisie knows it. It now resorts to the establishment of open Fascist dictatorship as an extreme measure. In a number of countries the

Fascist dictatorship has been established, but it would be a "right opportunist error to fail to see now the objective tendencies of the accelerated maturing of the revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world" (Theses).

The crisis and the rapid process of fascisation is accompanied by a worsening of the conditions of the working class. Wages (particularly real wages) continue to fall in consequence of the discharge of workers as well as in consequence of inflation. The cost of living is rising. In Germany the Fascists have taken two and a half million unemployed off benefit. The same is the case in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Britain, etc. The bourgeoisie is substituting forced labour for unemployment benefit. Forced labour camps, the reduced working week, the so-called crisis rationalisation (in reality this implies extraordinary intensification of labour, without the use of new technique) are *new forms* for the appropriation of surplus value by the bourgeoisie. "The bourgeoisie is furiously intensifying its economic means of exploitation by methods of Fascist violence, by robbing the toiling classes and by predatory wars against other nations" (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum).

Comrade Ercoli (Italy) in his speech at the Thirteenth Plenum, said:

"The fight of the bourgeoisie for a non-peaceful way out of the crisis is, within each country, accompanied by an extraordinary sharpening of the class relations. This sharpening of the class relations expressed itself in the efforts of the capitalists to overcome the crisis by means of the ever increasing exploitation of the toiling masses, by means of the class struggle against the proletariat, a struggle which even assumes the form of civil war and terror."

However, the offensive of capital against the working class meets with an ever increasing revolutionary resistance in all capitalist countries. Taking strikes as an index of a revolutionary rise, we have before us a picture of the *growth* of the class struggle of the proletariat. Last year the strike wave in *America* had risen above that of 1921, when it was at its highest. Alone in September, 1933, there were 211 strikes involving 212,000 workers; farmers' strikes in six states involving two million farmers. In *Poland*, last year was a record year for strikes, although political strikes fell back. So, for instance, the first quarter of 1933 gave 43 per cent. more strikes than the respective quarter of 1932, and thrice the number of lost working days. These strikes included such big strikes as those of the Lodz textile workers and the Dombrov

* Appearing complete in pamphlet form.

miners. The mass strikes in Poland were accompanied by uprisings in the Polish villages, by an uprising in Central Galicia, which lasted for weeks and involved more than 100,000 peasants. In *Czecho-Slovakia*, although there was a number of fights, there were fewer strikes in that year than in the previous year. In *France*, in 1933, there were a few big strikes, including the strike at Citroen (18,000 strikers), and the general strike in Strasbourg, accompanied by barricade fighting. In passing, we may note that at Strasbourg gross opportunist mistakes were committed by the leadership of the strike. Of great importance was the strike of 10,000 agricultural labourers in Languedoc. In *Spain*, the number of strikes was somewhat less than in the previous year, but the number of strikers and of lost working days was greater, which testifies to the *broadening of the strike movement* in Spain. In hundreds of villages there were mass uprisings of peasants, who seized the landlords' land, implements, livestock, etc. In Spain the fight is between the developing revolution and the counter-revolution. In *England* the strike movement is on the level of 1932, but the new turn in the Independent Labour Party is an indication of a process of radicalisation among the working class of Great Britain. In *Japan* we see the growth of the forces of revolution and the mobilisation of the forces of counter-revolution. In spite of the exceptional terror, *the will of the masses to revolution is growing*. In Japan we may expect great revolutionary events. In *Bulgaria* the number of strikes has grown and the Communist Party, as well as the revolutionary trade union opposition, have increased their membership. The Communist Party of Bulgaria has won the majority of the working class on its side and is leading it. The great historical import of the February fights of 1932 in *Roumania* (in which the railwaymen in Bukharest were most prominent) went far beyond the frontiers of Roumania.

The increased proportion of the *political* fights of the working class in the last period and the enhanced rôle of the political fights which are given first place as well as the enhanced importance of the economic fights serve as an indication of exceptional importance. The entire development of events (particularly the situation in Germany) fully corroborated the importance of the slogan of a general political strike, upon which the Twelfth Plenum laid stress. The fact that *new forms* of struggle are largely introduced, such as the *seizure of enterprises* during strikes, the fact that strikes have become *more stubborn*, that the number of strikers and of lost

working days is increasing, serve as one more indication of the sharpening of the whole political situation.

The fights of the proletariat assume ever more and more the nature of a *counter-offensive*. If we add to all this the revolution in Cuba, the uprising in the Dutch fleet in Indonesia, etc., etc., it will be quite obvious that the social-democratic assertion that the revolutionary movement is on the wane, is a falsehood. "The social-democratic estimation of the present world situation as one in which capitalism has succeeded in consolidating its position, in which it is already on the path towards overcoming its general crisis, is completely wrong." (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum).

The revolutionary processes now proceeding in Germany deserve particular attention. The resolution of the Plenum emphasises the fact that in Germany the masses are accumulating enormous revolutionary energy and *a new revolutionary rise is beginning*. Comrade Pieck in his report* on the activity of the Communist Party of Germany, has shown that although Fascism has temporarily triumphed in Germany, strengthening for a short time the power of the German bourgeoisie, nevertheless, the coming of the Fascists to power *was not in a position to interrupt the process of the maturing of the revolutionary crisis*.

"All the above-mentioned facts showing the resistance and struggle of the workers against the Hitler dictatorship demonstrate that, in spite of the most severe bloody terror, a new revolutionary upsurge is growing and that a new growth of the strike wave and of the revolutionary actions of the unemployed, the turning away of the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and peasants from the Hitler party is unavoidable. The growth of the revolutionary forces is a result of the successful work of the Communist Party, which is becoming the sole mass Party of the German proletariat." (From Pieck's speech at the Thirteenth Plenum.)

The revolutionary hatred of the German working class shows itself now not so much in open forms (such as strikes, demonstrations) but in various hidden forms. Underground the indignation of the masses grows, and this is one of the most important elements in the growing revolutionary crisis.

"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 pro-

* Appearing in pamphlet form.

cesses are often not noticeable to the naked eyes, and this is why they lead to unexpected outbursts . . . Fascism, like a vandal let loose, is smashing the whole system of these indices by which it is possible to judge of the state of feeling among the masses—statistics, trade unions, elections, etc. . . . Hence the 'unexpected' character of mass explosions." (Manuilsky).*

In the present situation of unprecedented terrorism, to judge the degree of the hatred for capitalism *only* by the open forms of the class struggle, means to under-estimate the forces of the maturing world revolutionary crisis in deference to the bourgeoisie and to Social-Democracy. It is necessary to bear in mind that even the Fascist terrorism of the bourgeoisie in the conditions of shattered capitalism is not in a position to hold back the masses from open action in Germany for a long time. The very existence of our heroic Communist Party in Germany, which, under the heaviest fire of Fascist terror, succeeded in rapidly reorganising and consolidating itself, re-establishing its connections with the masses and becoming the only centre of attraction for all the revolutionary anti-Fascist forces of Germany, is a pledge that the nearest future will witness in Germany open action leading to victory.

The class contradictions in Germany are the sharpest. As heretofore, Germany remains the weakest link in the imperialist chain in Europe.

Therefore the proletarian revolution in Germany is nearer at hand than in any other country. Now the victory of the working class in Germany means the victory of the proletarian revolution in the whole of Europe. . . . It is therefore clear that the German questions are the *basic* questions of the eve of the second round of wars and revolutions.

While the forces of revolution in the West, and first of all in the heart of Europe, in Germany, grow in spite of the terror and at an ever increasing pace and will overtake the forces of the counter-revolution, the forces of the revolution have grown enormously in the course of 1933 in the East, in *China*, where, in spite of war and intervention, the revolution is triumphantly expanding. In connection with the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis Soviet China has now assumed *international* importance. Soviet China is becoming the *second* base of the world revolution (in the Far East), side by side with the U.S.S.R. The Red Army in China has become an unconquerable force, and its successes strengthen the positions of the world pro-

letariat and turn Soviet China into a big factor of the growing world revolutionary crisis. Comrade Wan-Min in his speech at the Thirteenth Plenum said:

"The development of international and Chinese events had raised the Chinese revolution to a level of first-rate importance in the fight of the proletarians of all countries for the victory of world Communism. Besides Russia the Chinese Revolution is becoming the second decisive factor in the world revolution."

When speaking of the relation of forces of the revolution and reaction, one should not forget that in Poland, Hungary and in Italy, the Fascist dictatorship is obviously weakening.

"As distinguished from the first wave of the fascisation of capitalist states which took place at the time of the transition from a revolutionary crisis to partial stabilisation, the capitalist world is now passing from the end of capitalist stabilisation to a revolutionary crisis, which determines other perspectives of development of Fascism and the world revolutionary movement of the toilers."

Those prospects are such that the Thirteenth Plenum was able to advance the slogan — *Fight for Soviet power* as the main slogan for the whole world.

THE U.S.S.R. IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE MATURING OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS.

The world historical triumphs of the U.S.S.R. shift the relation of class forces on the international arena ever more and more in favour of the working class. The contradiction between the two systems is the *main* antagonistic contradiction which determines not only the *main* content of the general crisis of capitalism, but along with the world economic crisis it also determines the *further deepening* of the general crisis of capitalism.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. took place at a time when the Land of the Soviets is approaching the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. with the greatest triumphs. The published Theses to be submitted to the Seventeenth Party Congress exhibit the great programme of the Second Five-Year Plan. As a consequence of the heroic struggle of the working class of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., with Comrade Stalin at its head, *the foundation of a Socialist economy has been built on the basis of all-round collectivisation and the destruction of the last capitalist class, namely, Kulakdom. At the same time the main*

* Appearing complete in pamphlet form.

masses of the peasantry, the collective farmers, have become the enduring support of the Soviet power in the village. The U.S.S.R. has finally and irrevocably taken the Socialist road of development.

“All these successes of the First Five-Year Plan have prepared the prerequisites and a powerful base for the building and completion of the Second Five-Year Plan” (from the Theses of the Report of Comrades Molotov and Kuibyshev to be submitted to the Seventeenth Party Congress).

The Seventeenth Party Congress will approve the great programme of the Second Five-Year Plan, in the course of which all capitalist elements and classes in general will be finally eliminated and a classless Socialist society will be built. The plan of the Second Five-Year Plan assures “the liquidation of the many varieties in the economy of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the Socialist system of production as the only system of production in the country and the transformation of the entire toiling population into active and conscious builders the Socialist society.” (From the Theses to be submitted to the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.). This presumes that the completion and reconstruction of the whole public economy will be the main decisive economic task of the Second Five-Year Plan. In the Second Five Year Plan the U.S.S.R. will become an independent country, both technically and economically, a country which in respect of technique, will be the most advanced in Europe. The realisation of the tasks set by Comrade Stalin, namely, to supplement the zeal of new construction by the zeal of *mastering* the new technique and new industries, is a condition which is decisive for the accomplishment of the technical reconstruction.

In 1937, i.e., at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, the total output of industry will reach one hundred and three billion roubles in the values of 1926-27, as compared with forty-three billion roubles at the end of the First Five-Year Plan, or about nine times more than the pre-war level of Tsarist Russia.

The Second Five-Year Plan will be a period in which “the living standard of the worker and peasant masses will rise sharply on the basis of the completion of the technical re-equipment of the whole public economy” (from the Theses to be submitted to the Seventeenth Party Congress.) In regard to the output of articles for broad consumption, the pace of development will be more rapid, not only as compared with the First Five-Year Plan (average annual increase 21.9 per cent.

as compared with 17 per cent. in the First Five-Year Plan), but also as compared with the pace of development of the production of means of production in the Second Five-Year Plan (average annual increase of 21.9 per cent. as compared with 15.9 per cent. for the production of means of production). The plan provides for a considerable increase of real wages, to the extent of 210 per cent., an increase to the extent of 200-300 per cent. of the norm of consumption of meat, fats, fish, eggs, sugar and manufactures. General compulsory polytechnical education will be introduced in all the schools (in the towns this has, in the main, been accomplished). The solution of the great problems of the Second Five-Year Plan will be accompanied by a sharpening of the class struggle. The fulfilment of these tasks which leads to the ousting of the last remnants of the capitalist elements from their old positions and condemns them to extinction cannot but cause a sharpening of the class struggle, “with new attempts on the part of the kulaks to undermine the collective farms and attempts on the part of anti-Soviet forces to wreck and sabotage our industrial enterprises.” (From the Theses of Comrade Molotov and Kuibyshev’s report to the Seventeenth Party Congress.)

The Party could raise all these world historical problems only after the triumph of the general line of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., leading Section of the Comintern—which under the leadership of the Leninist Central Committee, headed by Comrade Stalin, is carrying on a consistent fight on two fronts with all the opportunist deviations, after the defeat of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, after the defeat of the right kulak deviation, after all the agents of the class enemy in the ranks of the Party have been exposed. The example of the U.S.S.R. has smashed before the whole world the Trotskyist counter-revolutionary theories as to the impossibility of building Socialism in one country, namely in the U.S.S.R. The ever-increasing part played by the U.S.S.R. in the victory of the world proletarian revolution, delivers another smashing blow to the counter-revolutionary thesis that the work of building up Socialism in one country spells “national limitation,” a thesis which has now become a permanent part of the armoury of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and of Social-Fascism all over the world.

The tremendous successes of the U.S.S.R. cannot but have their effect on the international proletarian revolution.

“The accomplishment of the Second-Five-Year Plan will still greater enhance the importance of the U.S.S.R. as a bulwark in the fight of the

international working class, will raise the authority of the Land of the Soviets as the rallying ground of the world proletarian revolution still higher in the eyes of the toiling and exploited masses of the whole world." (Theses to be submitted to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

The new powerful upsurge of the Land of the Soviets, which is proceeding against the background of the ever-deepening general crisis of capitalism, emphasises the *tremendous advantages of the Socialist system*, the advantages of the country in which the proletariat had seized power. All this only emphasises the fact that decaying capitalism is historically doomed and instils enthusiasm in the proletariat of all the countries in its fight for the realisation of the main slogan raised by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Comintern, namely, the winning of Soviet power, the winning of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the approaching new round of revolutions and wars the proletariat will find in the U.S.S.R. a powerful rally point.

The U.S.S.R. is the most important factor in the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis.

THE CRISIS OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL DEMOCRACY
AS ONE OF THE ELEMENTS IN THE MATURING OF THE
WORLD REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS.

The crisis of international social-democracy, the beginning of the dissolution of the Second International is one of the most important events which took place after the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. As a consequence of the immediate approach of a new round of wars the international organisation of social-democracy is splitting up in accordance with the interests of the respective national bourgeoisie.

"On the basis of the sharp antagonisms between the imperialist countries the international organisation of social-democracy is disintegrating. The crisis of the Second International is a fact." (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum E.C.C.I.) In a number of countries social-democracy is splitting up in separate groups as a consequence of the growing acuteness of the internal contradictions, as a consequence of the radicalisation of the broad masses of the working class and the growth of fascism.

This crisis of social-democracy is a consequence of the fact that *the world is faced with a new war*, that the League of Nations is beginning to collapse, that the old system of treaties and imperialist blocs is collapsing and new blocs are being formed. Contemporary social-democracy is openly taking up the positions of

its national bourgeoisie even now on the *eve* of war. "The Second and the Amsterdam Internationals are adapting their policy to the situation of the eve of war . . ." (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum.)

This crisis of social-democracy is a corollary of the growth of fascism. The collapse of the Second International has become quite *obvious* when German social-democracy capitulated to Hitler. It was a new political and ideological bankruptcy of social-democracy as a whole. *The entire line of the Second International has become bankrupt* since the road of German social-democracy is the road of the entire Second International, in spite of the attempt to divide the social-democratic parties into "bad" ones and "good" ones.

The Thirteenth Plenum strongly emphasised the fact that *Fascism cannot triumph in any country without the help of Social-Democracy.*

"The fascist dictatorship is not an inevitable stage of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all countries. The possibility of averting it depends upon the forces of the fighting proletariat, which are paralysed by the corrupting influence of Social-Democracy more than by anything else." (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum E.C.C.I.)

Social democracy, like all bourgeois parties, has become a party of *reaction*. Social-Democracy is *no longer even a "democratic" party*. In 1933, German Social-Democracy demonstrated before the whole world that *it did not wish* to defend the Weimar "democracy."

The Communists proposed to form a united front against fascism and raised the slogan of a general political strike. A considerable number of social-democratic workers were in favour of the general strike, but waited for the social-democratic leaders to issue the call. However, these leaders declared the call of the Communists for a general strike to be a "provocation" and they sold the working class to fascism. Since the Communist Party of Germany has not won yet the majority of the working class, the coming of the fascists to power depended upon the German social-democracy. Had German social-democracy accepted the proposal of forming a united front with the Communists, had it really wished to fight the bourgeoisie, be it even for the sake of democracy (in fact, after it had merged itself with the fascising bourgeoisie it could not and did not want to), fascism would have been obliged to retreat. However, German social-democracy, utilising its influence, held the masses back from fight, capitulated to fascism and did everything to join the system of the

"Third Empire" and thereby morally committed suicide. German fascism prohibited the German Social-Democratic Party because the extremely acute state of the class contradictions in Germany would force even German social democracy and particularly the trade unions to become, against their own will, centres around which the elements who are dissatisfied with fascism would concentrate.

To-day, social-democracy in Austria, which leads the majority of the working class, is still stronger than Austrian fascism. There, too, on the basis of a united front with the Communists, it would be possible to prevent fascism from coming to power. However, the party of Otto Bauer, following in the footsteps of German social-democracy, is surrendering one position after another to the Austrian fascism of Dollfuss, clearing the way for a more brutal fascist terrorism.

In Czecho-Slovakia, social-fascism, in coalition with the bourgeois parties, sets up a fascist dictatorship, initiates terrorist measures in the fight against the Communist Party. The social-democrats of all other countries follow the same road (Spain, Latvia, Esthonia), etc.

The crisis which is proceeding in social-democracy is directly connected with its rapid fascisation on one part and with the radicalisation of the proletarian masses on the other. The splitting of social-democracy into groups in various countries (in Germany, France, etc.), reflects the different degrees of fascisation of social-democracy and the allocation of the parts to be played by Right and "Left" social-democracy. Social-democracy resorts to "Left" manoeuvres in order to screen the rapid fascisation of social-democracy from the masses. In countering the opportunist theories about "the need to revise" the thesis on social-democracy, the Plenum in its theses emphasised the fact that social-democracy continues to play the part of the main social bulwark of the bourgeoisie also in the countries of open, fascist dictatorship, since they fight against the revolutionary movement of the workers, against the united front of the working class, against the U.S.S.R., and help the bourgeois counter-revolution by splitting the working class.

"However, in most of the countries, it is already in the process of collapse." This process of dissolution of international social-democracy is one of the aspects of the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis. The crisis of social-democracy is one of the elements which sharpen the general crisis of the capitalist system. Social-democracy assured the victory of fascism. The

open dictatorship of fascism, while destroying the illusions of legality, of bankrupt "democracy," digs its own grave; the bankruptcy of parliamentarism, of bourgeois democracy, helps the majority of the working class to emancipate itself from the influence of the bourgeois agents, thereby hastening the downfall of the bourgeoisie, a downfall which will come the sooner, the better the Communist Parties are able to make use of the crisis of bourgeois "democracy" in order to lead the working class and its allies on the road to the proletarian revolution.

THE MAIN TASKS FACING THE SECTIONS OF THE
COMINTERN IN THE WORK OF PREPARING THE
DECISIVE FIGHTS FOR SOVIET POWER.

The Plenum has not only given an analysis of the present-day situation, but has also advanced the main slogan which determines the tactics of the nearest period: "*The main slogan of the Communist International is Soviet Power.*"

To bring the masses face to face with the solution of this basic problem, it is not enough to have a favourable objective situation, and the present situation is favourable. What is of decisive importance is the subjective factor—the force, the influence of the Communist Party, its perseverance, its self-denial, the Bolshevik work of organising the class struggles of the proletariat in the face of the growth of fascism and the immediate war danger. A knack for organising battles, a knack for real mass work (and in the conditions of the underground), a knack for clinching organisationally the influence of the Communist Party—that is what is necessary in the first place, and this is where our Sections are weak.

"To recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat means radically to reorganise the everyday work of the Party, to approach the millions of workers, the *agricultural labourers* and petty peasants who cannot be saved from the miseries of capitalism and war without *Soviets*, without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. To explain this concretely, in plain language and clearly to the masses, to the tens of millions, to tell them that *their* Soviets must take *all* the power, that their vanguard, the Party of the revolutionary working class must lead the fight—this is the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Lenin, "Notes of a Publicist.")

How do the Communist Parties cope with the task of utilising the situation of the maturing world revolutionary crisis for the purpose of bringing up the masses for the decisive battles for Soviet Power?

The majority of the Communist Parties have

increased their influence upon the working class during the period between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenums, have consolidated their ranks, although, as a consequence of the unheard-of terrorism, as well as of the weak work in turning their influence to good *organisational* account and taking all the Sections of the Comintern as a whole, their membership has not increased.

With the obvious bankruptcy of the Second International which capitulates to fascism and openly takes part in the preparations for a new war, the authority of the Communist International and the influence of Communist ideas have gained in strength throughout the world.

Indeed, has not the authority and influence of the ideas of the Communist International been enhanced throughout the world by the historical triumphs of socialism in the U.S.S.R., which were gained under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party with Comrade Stalin at its head, or by the heroic mass struggle of the Communist Party of Germany, under the conditions of unheard-of fascist terrorism, or by the heroic and tenacious struggle of the Chinese Soviets, of their Red Army, under the leadership of the heroic Communist Party of China, etc., etc.? Has not the truly Bolshevik heroic behaviour of Comrade Dimitrov, member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, in the face of the enraged fascist gang, found a powerful response in the hearts of millions of the oppressed and exploited all over the world, have not his words sounded as the true call of the Comintern to expose blood-thirsty fascism and to fight against its dictatorship?

The Communist International has gained influence over hundreds of thousands and millions of new followers among the proletariat and toilers of all countries.

However, the growth of the influence of Communist ideas is by far inadequate in the face of the tremendous tasks now confronting the Communist Parties. The Thirteenth Plenum indicated how and in what direction the work of the Communist Parties must be strengthened in regard to the fight against fascism and war, and to the preparations for a fight for power.

In regard to the fight against fascism, the Plenum first of all laid stress upon the task of fighting against "the fatalist, defeatist line which assumes that the fascist dictatorship and imperialist wars are inevitable." At the same time it would be opportunism to underestimate the *tempo* of fascism and the danger of imperialist wars. Both these theories condemn the Communist Parties to passivity. The Communist

Parties must *raise the masses* against the fascist dictatorship, and on the example of Germany expose the fascist deceit, the capitalist essence of the national and social demagoguery of the fascists.

In regard to the fight against fascism and war, the urgent task is the everyday concrete fight against chauvinism and the fight for proletarian internationalism.

All the Sections of the Comintern are faced with the great historical task of mobilising the *broad masses against war, even before the latter had broken out.* "Only Bolshevik struggle before the outbreak of war, for the triumph of revolution can assure the victory of a revolution that breaks out in connection with war." (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum.)

And here, first of all, it is necessary at all costs that the Communists should, beside an intensification of the agitational work, *pass to the practical organisation of mass action* (stopping war transport, hindering the execution of war orders, demonstrations against military manoeuvres, etc., and they should develop greater activity in the army and navy).

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. called upon all the Sections of the Communist International, upon all workers and all the toilers of the world to a "self-sacrificing defence of the U.S.S.R., against the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the imperialists, to the defence of the Chinese Revolution and its Soviet Power from imperialist intervention."

In the fight against fascist dictatorship, the Communist Parties must mobilise the masses "taking as their starting point the defence of the everyday economic and political interests of the toilers"!

The most important task in the fight against social-democracy is the work of explaining to the workers the essence of the bankruptcy of the Second International and of the bankruptcy of German social-democracy. Our slogan in this question is "*against Social-Democracy — for a united front from below.*" The problem of gaining the co-operation of the social-democratic workers in the active revolutionary fight under the leadership of the Communist Party, the organisation of a broad united front from below, is the most important task of all the Sections of the Comintern in capitalist countries.

The Plenum fully approved the appeal of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. for a united front, as well as the position of the Polit-Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. in its negotiations with the I.L.P., which aimed at the establishment of a militant, united front. The solution of these basic tasks

may be effected by *the actual reorganisation of the entire mass work of the Communist Parties.*

"The fulfilment of these fundamental tasks demands the genuine reorganisation of the whole of the *mass work* of the Communist Parties, especially the work in the factories and trade unions, which still represents their weakest sector. In the situation when the toilers are in a state of great ferment, the Communists, while taking into account the moods of the masses, must formulate *slogans and demands* in such a way as to make them arise from the present level of the movement; at the same time they must show the workers the revolutionary way out." (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum.)

The concentration of the forces of the Party and of the Party organisations on the decisive enterprises, is one of the most important conditions necessary to effect in the *shortest period of time* a change in the work carried on by the Party in the factories and mills.

The Plenum has concentrated its attention on the necessity of "putting an end to the opportunist, defeatist neglect of *trade union work*, and, in particular, *work inside the reformist unions* and mass fascist and Christian trade unions, in accordance with the directives given by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on work inside the trade unions." In the countries of fascist dictatorship, the task of the Communist Parties is to penetrate into and carry on work inside all the mass fascist organisations.

At the Plenum Comrade Piatnitsky dwelt at great length on the weaknesses of the mass work of the Communist Parties and subjected their crudest opportunist mistakes to the most relentless criticism:

"Again and again it is necessary to emphasise," said Comrade Piatnitsky, "that the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition have up till now failed to learn how to carry on mass work well, how to agitate, how to clinch the influence which they acquire in the cause of their everyday work."

It is owing to the weakness of the work, particularly of mass work, that notwithstanding the especially favourable conditions, the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union opposition have not been able in a sufficient measure to liberate the working masses from the influence of social-democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, and that in a number of cases the workers who turn their back on social-democracy do not come over in considerable numbers to the Communist Party, but either go to the fascists or

refrain from joining any party. This to a considerable degree explains the fact that in a number of cases social-democracy even succeeds in increasing its influence at election times (the municipal elections in Britain, the parliamentary elections in Norway, the Cantonal elections in Geneva, etc.).

"It may be stated quite definitely that: (a) in many cases we agitate unskilfully, not popularly, not correctly (Norway, Czecho-Slovakia and others), our agitation does not penetrate deeply into the masses; (b) the Communist Parties have not yet learned how to consolidate the influence they have already gained." (From Comrade Piatnitsky's speech).*

At present oral agitation carried on individually and collectively is of particular importance, especially for the countries where the Party is underground, but we have not learned yet how to do it.

The Plenum drew attention to the need for preparing to pass to a state of illegality, to the task of reorganising the entire system of work on the basis of illegal factory cells, to the importance of a fight against espionage. Of the greatest importance in the present situation is an effective combination of legal and illegal methods of work.

The Plenum set before the Sections of the Comintern the task of immediately linking up their mass work with the fight for power.

"*It is necessary with all insistence to raise the question of power in the mass work of the Communist Parties.*" (Theses, Thirteenth Plenum.)

In every strike, in every demonstration, in every movement of the toilers in town and country, in all the daily economic and political demands, in all the mass agitation, the Communist Parties must raise immediately the cardinal question of a fight for power as the only way out of the crisis of capitalism, out of the misery, famine and starvation. The forms of struggle as well as the forms of the proletarian organisations must be subordinated to the central task of fight for power.

What is new in the decisions of the Plenum is that stress was laid upon the *inadequacy* of raising before the masses only the general slogan of fight for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, and that stress was laid on the need for all Communist Parties in all capitalist countries to raise before the masses *the concrete programme of Soviet Power, the programme which the Communists will carry into effect in the course of the revolution, after the seizure of power.* It is necessary to explain to the broad masses that only the road indicated by the October Revolution—the over-

* Appearing complete in pamphlet form.

throw of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the banks, of the factories, mills, mines, transport, houses and the capitalist stores, the lands of the landlords, of the church and of the dynasties, etc., that only these measures offer safety to the broad masses from crises, unemployment, poverty and terrible suffering. That is why "it is necessary to increasingly popularise *the living example of the great Land of the Soviets*" and to explain its meaning to the toiling and exploited masses in all capitalist countries.

While popularising the experience of the great victories of the Soviet workers and the Soviet farmers, it is necessary to unfold before the workers of all the capitalist countries the programme which shows "*what the Soviet power will give them in their own country.*"

* * *

The Thirteenth Plenum laid the greatest stress on the necessity of fighting opportunism and particularly Right opportunism as the main danger. In order to win the majority of the working class, in a situation when the world revolutionary crisis is maturing, in order to emancipate considerable sections of the working class from the influence of social-democracy, a consistent and irreconcilable fight against opportunism is an absolute necessity. It is one of the most important conditions of our successes.

The establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Germany was a great test of the strength of the ranks of the Communist Party. *The Sections of the Communist International stood the test well.* The opportunist attacks which took place in connection with the German question in some of the Sections, could not in the least disturb the unity of the ranks of our Parties. The capitulating elements, such as Remmele and Neumann in Germany, the renegade Gutmann in Czecho-Slovakia, some of the comrades from the editors of the *Cahiers du Bolchevisme* proved isolated. The position of these Right opportunist elements is only a re-hash of the social-democratic theory which describes the "counter-revolutionary situation" that set in as a decisive victory of the forces of reaction over the forces of revolution. These theories are calculated to sow pessimism in the ranks of our Party and represent a defeatist position on the question as to the prospects of the German revolution after the coming of Hitler to power.

The speeches at the Plenum disclosed the coarsest opportunist distortions in the questions of the organisation of the united front, of hiding the face of the Party (in Norway, until recently in Czecho-Slovakia, in a few cases in France,

etc.). A characteristic example of an opportunist distortion in the question of the united front is presented by the case of Troix in France, where the main thesis of the programme of the united front spoke of the defence of French "Democracy." The Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, until the recent change, gave a glaring example of an inability to mobilise the working class in defence of the mass organisations, in the conditions of rapid fascisation when the mass organisations were prohibited (Red trade unions, Communist Youth, etc.). An un-Bolshevik position was taken up by the Communist Party of Norway, in all the most important questions which led to the hiding of the face of the Party and to its isolation from the masses.

It is important to note that in the *weakest links* in the imperialist chain, namely, in Germany, China, Poland, Bulgaria, etc., we have strong Communist Parties, which carry on a resolute fight against opportunism and in the period between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenums considerably increased their authority and influence. The heroic Communist Party of Germany, which is working deeply underground, displays a *mass heroism* in its fight against fascism. After it became illegal, the Communist Party of Germany did not lose its contacts with the masses, but on the contrary, widens its influence. The overcoming of those weaknesses in the mass work which are peculiar to the majority of the Sections of the Communist International and which are also to be found in the German Communist Party, will still further increase the influence of the Communist Party of Germany, and help it solve the tasks set before it, namely, to become the *only mass Party* of the German working class within the shortest period of time, so as to fight the decisive battles for power, by means of armed insurrection.

The Communist Party of China, which is at the head of the revolution, leads the Soviet state, and organises the defence of Soviet China, has increased its numbers during the past period from 350,000 to 410,000, has increased its rôle in organising the anti-imperialist struggle throughout China. The Communist Party of China is solid behind its Central Committee. The Communist Party of China is faced with the particularly responsible tasks of repelling the imperialist intervention which has just begun against the Chinese Soviets.

The Communist Party of Poland is one of the best old mass illegal Communist Parties, which rapidly reacts to events, combines illegal work with real mass work, and issues the right political slogans in the right time. The task set by

Comrade Lensky in his speech at the Plenum, namely, of assuring that the political fights do not fall behind the economic fights as was hitherto the case, will still further strengthen the part played by the Polish Communist Party as the vanguard of the Polish working class.

The Communist Party of Japan offers the best examples of anti-military work in the army and navy, examples of a struggle against the war in China carried on by Japanese imperialism. In Japan, we see the growth of the forces of the revolution and the mobilisation of the counter-revolutionary forces. The whole situation with the sharpening of the class contradictions to the utmost may soon lead to great revolutionary events. The most important task of the Communist Party of Japan is, while organising the united front of struggle, to become the really mass Party of the Japanese proletariat and to learn in a Bolshevik manner to carry on mass work in the most difficult conditions of the underground.

In Spain, where the revolution is developing, where the spontaneous strike movement has reached enormous dimensions, where in hundreds of villages the peasants are rising in revolt, seizing the land of the landlords, together with the implements, etc., the Communist Party has, in the course of two and a half years, grown from a small sect which was isolated from the masses, into a big political force. The situation in Spain, with the pulverised state of the revolutionary movement, and the strong traditions of anar-

chism, demands that the Communist Party learn the work of organising the revolution, learn the work of organising and leading the spontaneous movement in town and country, that in the corresponding situation it tackles the task of organising Soviets, that while marching everywhere at the head of the masses and together with the masses, it strive within the shortest space of time to become the only mass Party of the working class, destroying the influence of anarchism and social-democracy, that it gain the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle, fighting for a final settlement of the problems of a bourgeois revolution, fighting for the triumph of the *proletarian revolution*.

* * *

The world social-democracy and its Brandlerist-Trotskyist tail orientate the workers in the direction of a "counter-revolutionary situation," of the triumph of the forces of reaction over the forces of the revolution. The Communist International, on the contrary, opens the prospect of the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis, of the near perspective of a new round of revolutions and wars. The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. will enter history as the Plenum which was held in conditions presaging a new round of revolutions and wars, in a situation when the world revolutionary crisis was maturing, as the Plenum which has set before the Communist Parties the fight for Soviet Power as the main slogan of the Comintern in the present stage of development.

Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

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THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE FIGHT FOR THE MASSES

(Abridged Speech at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.).

O. PIATNITSKY.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE QUESTION.

THE resolution of the Second Congress on the fundamental tasks of the Communist International (Part I., paragraph 4) reads as follows:

“Only the Communist Party, if it is really the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it includes all the best representatives of this class, if it consists of fully conscientious and loyal Communists, educated and steeled by the experience of stubborn revolutionary struggle, if this Party has succeeded in linking itself indissolubly with the life of its class and through it with all the exploited masses and creating complete confidence among this class and these masses, only such a Party is capable of leading the proletariat in the most merciless and decisive final struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a Party can the proletariat develop all the power of its revolutionary onslaught.”

Have we in the capitalist countries, after fifteen years' existence of the Comintern, such parties as fully satisfy all the above enumerated requirements? The reply to this question must be in the negative. But although not a single Communist Party in the capitalist countries completely satisfies the requirements laid down in the resolution of the Second Congress, nevertheless, in a number of countries (China, Germany, Poland), the Communist Parties have come close to them during this period.

The Sections of the Comintern have a number of achievements to record, and I will deal here only with a few of them.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

The Communist International, unlike the Second International, and the Communist Parties, unlike the parties affiliated to the Second International, during the fifteen years of their existence, have achieved considerable success in regard to the proper presentation of the question of the struggle against imperialist wars and in the organisation of this struggle. As is well known, in 1914 the Second International collapsed shamefully, precisely during the war and in connection with the war.

To-day, with the intensification of the antagon-

isms in the camp of the imperialists, the post-war Second International is again cracking up, and the fascisation of its separate parties is being accelerated in the process of transition to the second round of revolutions and wars.

During the fifteen years of its existence, the Comintern has achieved absolute clarity, not only in the principles of the question of the struggle against imperialist war, but also in regard to the strategy and tactics of this struggle.

Various Sections of the Communist International have proved that in this difficult and important question of war they are striving to pursue, and in many cases are really pursuing the line of the Comintern, are fighting against the stream of chauvinism, and are remaining true to the requirements of proletarian internationalism.

Let us take only a few examples.

(a) The Communist Party of France during the Morocco War.

In 1925, French imperialism waged war against Morocco. At times the French suffered defeat. This called forth a wave of chauvinism in France. The bourgeois parties, including the Socialist Party, furiously called for war against Morocco and did all they could to support this war. The Communist Party alone waged a proper, consistent struggle against this predatory war; and at meetings everywhere it openly exposed the predatory, colonial policy of France, fought for the independence of Morocco, and demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from the colonies. It goes without saying that it is easier to adopt a defeatist position in a colonial war, which openly bears a predatory character, than in a war which the imperialists may claim to be a war for the defence of the country against the attacks of the powerful enemy. Nevertheless, the correct position taken up by the Communist Party of France was an exemplary one, the more so that the Communist Party of France had been formed comparatively recently out of the Socialist Party, which during the imperialist war was thoroughly infected with chauvinism. In 1925, the Communist Party of France passed its examination on the question of war.

(b) There are still greater grounds for saying the same thing in regard to the struggle waged by the Communist Party of China at the time the hordes of Chang Hsueh-liang seized the Chinese

Eastern Railway, and during the Japanese invasion of Shanghai. What happened during the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway? It is well known that not only the Chinese militarists, the Kuomintang, etc., but also the parties of the Second International in all the capitalist countries, in order to discredit the U.S.S.R., falsely depicted the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Chinese militarists, who were backed by the imperialists, as a war against unequal treaties. The Northern militarists were also supported by the Trotskyists, Chen Tu-hsuh and others. The Chinese Communists did not allow themselves to be influenced by this demagogy. In its propaganda, agitation, and in the whole of its practical work, the Communist Party of China pursued the Leninist line and fought against the Kuomintang and the militarists in its own country.

During the invasion of Shanghai by the Japanese imperialists, the Communist Party of China succeeded in taking the lead in a mighty, anti-imperialist mass movement against the Japanese invaders, and it organised resistance to Japanese imperialism while continuing the struggle against the Kuomintang.

And what about the glorious, heroic story of the Red Army of China? After the treachery of Chiang Kai-shek, who was supported by international imperialism, and the victory of the Kuomintang counter-revolution, a small group of armed men, led by Communists, fought its way out of the ring of enemies, retreated to the hills, began to rally around itself new forces, fortify itself in the territory it occupied, and gradually enlarged its territory.

Enlisting to its side the broad masses of the peasantry in the fight against the imperialists, the militarists, and the landlords, gradually arming itself with the weapons it captured from the enemy, repelling the superior forces of the Kuomintang counter-revolution and of the imperialists with exceptional heroism, it managed to build up a Red Army which to-day is a big factor in the international revolution.

Having set up a Soviet government, and having proved to the workers and peasants of China, and of the whole colonial East, that it is possible to fight victoriously against the imperialists and landlord reaction, the Communist Party of China not only strengthened its positions among the broad masses in the Soviet regions, but also disintegrated the rear of the enemy. Thanks to this, the Red Army, led by the Chinese Communists, repelled all the five Kuomintang campaigns against it, and emerged from each campaign stronger than it had been before. It is now heroically repelling the sixth campaign, in the

organisation of which the biggest imperialist powers are taking a direct part. The Red Army is improving the fighting qualities of its units, and is paralysing the monstrous military machine which Chiang Kai-shek has built for the purpose of eradicating Communism from China.

The successes the Communist Party of China has achieved in the midst of war and revolution should serve as an example to all other Communist Parties, particularly at the present time when we have come right up to a new round of revolutions and wars, when the application of the Leninist line in war and revolution becomes the central task of every section of the Communist International.

(c) Finally, the Communist Party of Japan.

In Japan, where the whole bourgeoisie, the whole press and all the parties are shouting that without Manchuria and expansion on the continent of Asia, Japan will suffocate, where the Social Democratic parties speak with exceptional cynicism about the civilising rôle of Japan in Asia, where day after day it is dinned into the minds of the masses that Japan is invincible since she has never suffered defeat in war—it has been particularly difficult for the small Communist Party to raise the question of the defeat of the fatherland and the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war. . . . Nevertheless, it did this. It boldly and determinedly went against the stream. It not only put forward correct slogans, but carried them right among the masses, penetrates everywhere where there are workers and peasants, and comes out in opposition to the war and in defence of China.

The examples quoted give us grounds for saying that the question of the fight against war has been properly put in these sections of the Communist International. By this I do not want to suggest that all the Communist Parties have in the past period properly agitated against war, sufficiently mobilised the masses for the purpose of combating it, and in particular, have done all that is necessary to prevent the shipment of munitions to Japan and to defend the Chinese revolution. Only after all these weaknesses have been overcome, when mass work, concerning which I shall speak later, has been properly organised, will the sections of the Communist International be able at the decisive moment to fight properly against war and for transforming the imperialist war into civil war.

The revolutionary workers and the bourgeoisie of all countries know now that the Communist Parties alone champion the interests of the working class and they alone are capable of organising it for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. That

is why the bourgeoisie is driving the Communist Parties underground.

The Communist Parties are pursuing the uniform line of the Communist International. The Communist International is united by the Executive Committee of the Comintern into a single, world, centralised party, which the Second International never had and never will have.

The Communist Parties are monolithic parties and not a "bloc of trends." In these parties there are neither factions nor groups as there are in the Second International. The Communist Parties are waging a tireless and successful struggle on two fronts; against opportunism and against "Left" sectarianism.

And what about our cadres? Our cadres display self-sacrifice in the struggle. This applies to the legal parties in the so-called democratic countries, and there this is of great significance, because the times have passed when it was possible to demonstrate or strike without being arrested or shot; but this applies particularly to the illegal parties.

In Bulgaria, Poland, Japan, China and other countries, where every Communist who falls into the hands of the class enemy is beaten up, subjected to torture, is sentenced to long terms of severe imprisonment, the majority of the Communists do not cease to be Communists, and do not cease their struggle even in prison. On leaving prison, the majority of them immediately take up their work again.

Or take Germany. Even in China and Japan, where Chiang Kai-shek and the Arakis know how to torture and exterminate revolutionary workers, we have not witnessed such torture and cruelty and such a mass of extermination of captured revolutionary workers as we have witnessed in Germany. In fascist Germany, on various pretexts, after trial and without trial, everyone who is suspected of belonging to the ranks of the Communist Party is tortured and killed. The dead are silent. But there is already a literature based on the statements of those who have managed to escape from the concentration camps after unprecedented torments. These unprecedentedly cruel and refined tortures of the fascist executioners are intended physically to exterminate or break the spirit of the Communists. Has it succeeded? Those party workers who have escaped from the camps display indomitable readiness to take up their work again immediately.

We have Party workers with whom we can go through fire and water. What then is it that is so often lacking? They are not always able to carry on systematic, practical, mass work properly.

THE SPHERES IN WHICH THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT FULFILLED THEIR TASKS.

In passing now to what in my opinion is an important question, I must utter a warning. Naturally, I shall speak principally about defects and mistakes. That does not mean, however, that our sections have not achieved positive successes in this work during the past year.

But in the first place, the comrades who spoke before me dealt mainly with their achievements and, in all probability, those who speak after me will also do the same. (Laughter.) Secondly, it is necessary to analyse the mistakes that are being committed in order that they shall not be repeated. Moreover, attention must be concentrated on defects in order to learn the lessons they teach and achieve greater successes than those which the sections of the Communist International have achieved in the period between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenums.

What have the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions failed to carry out in regard to what is required in the present situation? Again and again it must be emphasised that the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition have not yet learned to carry on mass work well, to agitate and to consolidate the influence they acquire in their everyday work.

Notwithstanding the fact that the socialist parties and the reformist trade unions in all countries are taking part in the growing political and economic offensive against the working class (the fascisation of the state apparatus and the application of fascist methods of violence, the continued sharp reduction of nominal and real wages, the furious increase in the intensification of labour, the cutting down of all forms of unemployment relief and the line taken for the complete abolition of unemployment insurance, compulsory labour, etc.), *the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions have not sufficiently liberated the masses of the workers from the influence of the Social-Democratic parties and of the trade union bureaucrats.*

The number of workers and unemployed who are disillusioned with the policy of the reformists is increasing, and this is due to no small degree to the work of the Communist Parties and of the revolutionary trade unions. But the workers who leave the Social-Democratic parties and the reformist trade unions do not, in the mass, come over to the Communist Parties; they either join the fascists (Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria), or the Conservatives and National Labourists (England during the last election), or else remain outside of all parties. Moreover,

the Communist Parties, the revolutionary trade unions and the unemployed organisations have not managed to enlist and retain in their ranks the masses of the workers who follow their lead (Germany, before Hitler came to power; England and America, during the big unemployed movements and strikes).

At the same time another dangerous phenomenon is observed: *under the influence of advancing fascism, the approach of war and the sharp worsening of their conditions, the masses of the workers in the so-called democratic countries, as a result of the faulty work of the Communist Parties, the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary mass organisations, are again throwing themselves into the arms of the social-fascists.* Thus, during the municipal elections in England, the Labour Party gained 292 seats at the expense of the Conservatives and the National Labourists. In the parliamentary elections in Norway, the Labour Party obtained 69 seats. In the cantonal elections in Geneva, the Social-Democratic Party obtained 46 per cent. of the total number of votes cast; and yet in French Switzerland the workers, in the beginning of this year, engaged in mass battles during which Communists were killed. The workers are also joining the reactionary trade unions (the American Federation of Labour increased its membership by 500,000).

At a time when the world situation is approaching right up to the second round of revolutions and wars, it is particularly important for the Communist Parties to understand why their influence on the broad masses of the workers is weak, and why considerable numbers of workers still follow the Social-Democratic parties and the reformist trade unions. I shall try, by comparing the situation in several Social-Democratic parties and Communist Parties, and also by comparing the work of the reformist trade unions with that of the Red trade unions in the same industries, to indicate some of the reasons why the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions are lagging behind.

ENGLAND.

I.—THE C.P.G.B. DOES NOT CONSOLIDATE ITS INFLUENCE AMONG THE MASSES.

In England, before the last parliamentary election, mass demonstrations were organised as a result of the very widespread discontent of the masses with the 10 per cent. cut in the salaries of civil servants, the unemployed relief cuts, and the Means Test. The unemployed movement was led by the National Unemployed Workers' Movement and the correct line adopted by the "Daily Worker" on this question exercised a

great influence upon the members of the Independent Labour Party, as well as upon the workers who follow its lead. This can explain the resolution passed by the I.L.P. conference on the desirability of establishing a united front with the Communists and of supporting the N.U.W.M.

However, the Communist Party of Great Britain failed to take full advantage of the favourable situation, it did not increase its membership, it did not increase its work in the reformist unions, and did not consolidate its influence in them. More than that, the Communist Party of Great Britain did not even utilise the "solidarity movement" for the purpose of consolidating the increased influence it obtained as a result of this movement.

2.—THE MANŒUVRES OF THE I.L.P. AND THE MISTAKES OF THE C.P.G.B.

The Communist Party did not take full advantage of the correspondence between the Comintern and the I.L.P. in order to win over to its side individual organisations of the I.L.P. or any considerable numbers of the members of the I.L.P. It did not see through the manœuvres of the leaders of the I.L.P. against the united front, and failed to appreciate the very definite discontent of the members of this party in a number of local organisations with their leaders' policy of sabotaging the Derby Conference resolution on the united front. It did not even give a proper reply to the I.L.P. leaders, who resorted to the counter-revolutionary services of Trotsky. The latter, in order to prevent the members of the I.L.P. from joining the Communist Party, poured forth a stream of lies against the Communist International.

What was this manœuvre? Everyone here knows that at the Derby Conference of the I.L.P. the leaders spoke and voted against the resolution adopted by the conference calling upon the leaders to ask the Comintern in what way the I.L.P. could help the former in its work. A long correspondence followed. Our letter to the I.L.P. was couched in clear and simple terms that every worker could understand. It very clearly and sharply described our differences with the I.L.P. With this document we wanted to help our English Party to strengthen its work among the members of the I.L.P. What was the position in the I.L.P. at that time? The majority of the members were in favour of a united front with the C.P.G.B., of rapprochement with the Comintern. The leaders of the I.L.P. were opposed to this. Clearly, our task was to drive a wedge between the leaders who sabotage the Derby resolution and the members of the I.L.P.

who were in favour of the resolution. But owing to the fact that our English Party failed to develop the necessary activity among the members of the I.L.P., a dual process took place: a section of the members of the I.L.P. who belonged to the Right wing, and who were dissatisfied with the Derby resolution, returned to the Labour Party, from which the I.L.P. had only recently disaffiliated. The other section, which belonged to the Left wing, influenced by our exposure of the sabotage of the leaders on the one hand, and not being pulled together by the work of the Communists, which would have drawn them into the Communist Party, on the other hand, left the I.L.P. and abandoned politics altogether. As a result, our influence, which might have caused members of the I.L.P. to join our Party, was weakened.

Actually sabotaging the decision of the Derby conference, the leaders of the I.L.P. started a long, diplomatic correspondence. In order to pretend that they were carrying out the Derby decision they sent an enquiry to the Comintern asking in what way the I.L.P. could assist it; but they did not make a single concrete proposal. At the same time, they evidently proposed the following division of labour to the district leaders: the National Council of the I.L.P., i.e., the central leadership, is to continue formal negotiations in accordance with the Derby resolutions, while the leadership of the local organisations, notwithstanding the desires of their members, is openly to oppose the united front. As a result of this manoeuvre, the following situation was created: in its letter to us the National Council of the I.L.P. does not openly reject our proposal, but restricts itself to polemical remarks, and adopts a resolution on strengthening the united front in England. At the same time it succeeds in getting several local organisations of the I.L.P. to pass resolutions against the united front decision. Our Party did not understand this manoeuvre. The "Daily Worker" wrote that the resolution of the National Council of the I.L.P. was a step forward. Very belatedly our newspaper reported cases of openly expressed hostility of local I.L.P. leaders towards the united front. Placing its hopes on the evolution of the National Council of the I.L.P. to our side, our Party allowed the decisive moment for winning the members of the I.L.P. to slip by.

It must be admitted that we have not yet obtained as much as we could and should have obtained from this correspondence. We have not increased the membership of our Party at the expense of the Independent Labour Party; we have not won over whole organisations, which was quite possible. Meanwhile, Trotsky comes

on to the scene in order to develop his counter-revolutionary attack on the Soviet Union in the pages of the "New Leader," and while criticising the I.L.P. from the right, creates the necessary smoke-screen for the manoeuvres of the National Council to deceive the working class members of the I.L.P. The Communist Party, and our central organ, failed also to expose Trotsky's counter-revolutionary outburst.

Our Party must exert enormous effort to make up for what it has lost in this campaign.

3.—THE WORK OF THE SCOTTISH REVOLUTIONARY AND REFORMIST MINERS' UNIONS.

The recent municipal elections have shown that the Communist Party has not increased its influence among the working class in Great Britain to any considerable degree. The Communist Party has not even organised the work of the only union that we have, the United Mineworkers of Scotland.

At the present time the revolutionary United Mineworkers of Scotland has 3,000 members (the majority of whom are in Fife; in 1931 the reformist union had nearly 8,000). The reformist union has 20,000 members. The revolutionary union has 49 branches, of which, only two are organised on a pit basis; the rest organise the miners according to place of residence, in the mining villages. The union is in a bad way financially. Its expenditure considerably exceeds its income, which is due mainly to the large number of paid officials. Thus, in addition to paid organisers, who also collect membership dues, the union has special dues collectors who receive a salary, and a percentage on dues collected in addition. The reformist union has 54 branches in Fifeshire alone and 92 in Lanarkshire.

How is work carried on in these two unions?

In 1928, at the time of the split, the Communists had strong fractions in all the branches of the revolutionary union and in its leading bodies, the Executive Committee and delegate council (in the leading bodies alone there were 69 Communists). At the present time only 64 Party members are organised in the Red Miners' Union. In the reformist miners' union, the Communists have no positions whatever. Out of 370 pits (of which 60 are large pits) the revolutionary union carries on work only in 16. Although it secures improvements for the workers in separate struggles, insufficient advantage is taken of these successes to extend and organisationally consolidate influence acquired by organising pit committees, etc. This year the union carried on considerable work in the election of pit inspectors (hitherto safety conditions in the mines

had been ignored). In spite of all the efforts of the reformists to pour ridicule on the campaign developed by our union, the latter managed to secure the election of ten inspectors in five pits, all members of the revolutionary miners' union, although the reformists also put up their candidates. But these inspectors did not use the material they collected on the violation of the safety regulations, in order to mobilise the masses in the pits to fight against these irregularities.

Under the guidance of the Red union, eight pit papers are published. Although these papers publish a fair amount of worker correspondence, correctly present political questions, played a big part in the aforementioned election of inspectors, they, however, do not deal sufficiently with the work of their own union, do not give the officials guidance as to how to carry on their work, and above all, they do not sufficiently fight against the reformist miners' union.

Generally speaking, the guidance of the work of the local organisations and officials of the Red trade union is very weak, notwithstanding the relatively large number of paid officials. The committees of the local unions do not hear reports on the work of these officials, do not concretely criticise the defects in this work, and in the majority of cases limit themselves to passing resolutions on the inactivity of the local branches.

In the summer of 1933, the union developed a wide campaign throughout the coalfield against the wage-cuts, for a 10 per cent. increase in wages, for a seven-hour day without reduction of wages, for the abolition of overtime, for improvement of safety measures, etc. Commenting on this campaign, Mr. Ebby Edwards, General Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, speaking in Swinton, Yorkshire, said:

"We are ready to-morrow to negotiate with the employers, not merely to prevent a reduction of wages, but to put the industry outside the pale of continual conflict. . . . It is not my intention to call a union stoppage in July, but to obtain 100 per cent. union membership to prevent a stoppage. . . ." ("Daily Worker," April 22, 1933.)

In spite of the fact that the reformists so clearly ignored the pressing needs of the miners, the campaign developed by the Red union was not crowned with success, precisely because it did not sufficiently expose the reformist trade union bureaucrats.

The Red union organised women's guilds for the wives of its members. These women's guilds organised outings, social evenings, concerts, etc., for the purpose of collecting funds. But neither

the leaders of the union nor the Party organisations devote constant attention to these guilds, do not widen their field of activity, and do not draw them into political work.

The reformist unions, however, in their mass work, make wide use of the Miners' Institutes, which are built up with money from the Miners' Welfare Fund. These institutes, which exist in every village, have halls for meetings and dances, gymnasiums, billiard rooms, reading rooms and libraries. Frequently, lectures are arranged. In a number of institutes, technical training courses are organised for the miners. Throughout the whole of Scotland (with the exception of Fife, where the revolutionary union is stronger than the reformist union), it is only the reformist union that utilises the Miners' Institutes for mass work. Moreover, the reformists have access to the Workers' Educational Association, which organises classes on various subjects in many places.

The revolutionary union does nothing to combat the influence of these organisations.

4.—A FEW CONCLUSIONS.

Thus, the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Revolutionary Miners' Union have all the advantages of putting forward the urgent demands of the workers and of fighting for these demands, but they are unable to mobilise the masses for the struggle against the reformist union, they are unable on this basis to organise the work in the reformist union (after the split nearly all the Communists left that union), they are unable to increase their membership and consolidate their influence.

That being the case, how can the Communist Party of Great Britain increase its membership and consolidate its influence if the Communists do not work in the unions, or work badly, that is to say, do not fight to obtain influence? And yet, in England, if work in the trade unions were carried on properly and energetically, influence could be won and consolidated.

At the present time new wage-cuts are being imposed in England and the conditions of the unemployed are being greatly worsened. The National Government, at the head of which is one of the ex-leaders of the Second International, is introducing a number of terroristic measures against the working class, the like of which England has never known before. In the British trade unions discontent is growing. In a number of trade unions (engineers, railwaymen, etc.), there is a change of temper in favour of the Communist Party, of a united front, etc. The Communist Party must at all costs increase its membership by enlisting members of the most important trade unions and employed workers.

COMMON WEAKNESSES OF THE MAJORITY OF THE SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

What I have just said applies to the majority of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. It can be stated quite definitely that:

- (a) In many cases we carry on our agitation unskillfully, not popularly, not correctly (Norway, Czecho-Slovakia, etc.); our agitation does not penetrate deeply into the masses;
- (b) the Communist Parties have not yet learned to consolidate the influence they have already acquired.

I shall quote a few examples:

1. On International Unemployed Day, in the United States, 1,225,000 workers in all the industrial centres answered the call of the Communist Party to demonstrate. But the Communist Party failed to consolidate this response by creating broad unemployed organisations. And what happened? The influence of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. soon evaporated. But even now—in spite of the fact that after the wage-cuts resulting from the recent measures introduced by Roosevelt the American workers are returning to the trade unions—the revolutionary trade unions have increased their membership to a very small extent only, while the reactionary trade unions which are affiliated to the A.F. of L. have increased their membership by half a million.

2. Last year, in England, when the 10 per cent. cut in civil servants' wages and salaries and unemployed relief was introduced, the National Unemployed Workers' Movement made excellent use of the discontent of the broad masses of the unemployed to organise huge demonstrations the like of which have not been seen in England for a long time. *But this influence was not consolidated.*

The "solidarity movemet," under the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain, not only organised demonstrations, but also took part in a number of strikes. This "solidarity movement" is not in itself a strong, well-built organisation, and failed to consolidate its influence.

Thus, during the past year, broad masses of the workers in England were drawn into the struggle with the help of the Communist Party and the organisations that follow its lead. Nevertheless, we see no material change in the attitude of the workers towards the Communist Party. The recent municipal elections show that although the masses of the workers are deserting

the National Labourists and the Conservatives, they are again voting for the Labourists, and have not yet found the road to the Communist Party. It is particularly true of England that the basis of the Party can be broadened and its positions consolidated best of all by working in all the reformist trade unions, fighting in them for influence, fighting for the removal of the inveterate reformist trade union bureaucrats, and for their substitution by revolutionary workers. But the Party organisations do not yet sufficiently realise this and act accordingly.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MASS WORK AND OF CONSOLIDATING ACQUIRED INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

By improving oral agitation—individual and group agitation, but particularly individual agitation—and by carrying it deeply among the broad masses, we can extend our influence. By creating our own mass organisations and by working in the mass working class organisations of our opponents (fascist, reformist, Catholic), the Communists can consolidate this influence.

I said at the beginning of my speech that in this moment of the acute intensification of the class struggle the Communist Parties, by pursuing a correct political line and with firm revolutionary leadership, can free the broad masses from the influence of the Social-Democrats, the reformist and fascist trade unions, and other organisations, and that they can win the majority of the working class only by improving their mass work and consolidating their influence. This, in its turn, will serve as the guarantee that the Communist Parties will be able to take the lead in the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to show to what extent the mass work of the Communist Parties and the consolidation of their influence plays a decisive rôle in the organisation and the victory of the revolution, it is sufficient to compare Germany in 1923 with Russia in 1917. During the revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923, the Social-Democratic Party was in a state of complete disintegration, the trade unions lost two-thirds of their membership. The trade union apparatus fell to pieces, because there was no money with which to pay the officials. But at that time the Communist Party had no mass workers' organisations, even trade unions. The Communist Party was not sufficiently connected with the factory committees—which played such an important rôle in Berlin in 1923 (the strike against the Cunow government)—because there were no Communist cells in the factories. All the various trends existing in the leadership of the Communist Party

were opposed to organising soviets. Had not the Communists almost entirely abandoned the reformist unions, they, in view of the weakness of the trade union apparatus, could have won the majority of the important unions. The trade unions and factory committees would then have become the mass organisations by means of which the Party could have utilised the revolutionary situation in order to take power. It is now generally well known that the leadership of the Communist Party at that time estimated the political situation in an opportunistic manner and allowed the opportune moment for seizing power to slip by. One of the important factors in this was that the Party lacked driving belts connecting it with the proletariat, viz., mass working class organisations.

The policy and practice of the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917 was altogether different. In spite of all the difference there is between Russia of 1917 and Germany of 1923, with which there is no need to deal now, it is still possible to draw a parallel between them and to compare the Bolshevik mass work in 1917 with the helplessness of the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany in 1923 in regard to the winning of the masses.

After the February victory over Tsarism, the Bolsheviks, everywhere, including all the industrial centres, were in the minority in the workers' and soldiers' organisations (factory committees, soviets, trade unions, in the company, regimental, brigade, army corps and front committees); they did not have a majority either in the working class or among the soldiers. But thanks to the correct political line they pursued, the timely advancement of slogans which mobilised the revolutionary activity of the masses, and the broad printed and oral agitation they carried on, including individual agitation in the factories, in the trade unions, in the factory committees, in the soviets, in all the soldiers' committees and barracks, they, day after day, extended their influence in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries. They consolidated this growing influence and won elected positions in all the workers' and soldiers' organisations (soviets, executives of trade unions, factory committees and various soldiers' committees). As a result of this work, the Bolsheviks, on the eve of the October Revolution, had the majority in the soviets, in the factory committees, in the trade unions and the elected soldiers' bodies. The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries still held certain positions in the central bodies, such as the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, the All-Russian Executive Com-

mittee of Railway Transport Workers' Union, and in the front and army corps committee; but they were powerless, as the lower organisations refused to follow their lead.

Allowing for the concrete situation in each country, the Communist Parties must fight to win the working class organisations in the same way as the Russian Bolsheviks did in 1917.

I now come to the last part of my speech.

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES' PREPARATION FOR UNDERGROUND WORK, UTILISATION OF LEGAL POSSIBILITIES AND REDISTRIBUTION OF CADRES.

I.—THE UTILISATION OF ALL THE POSSIBILITIES IN THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH THE PARTY IS WORKING.

According to the degree and character of the persecution to which they are subjected by the bourgeois state, the sections of the Communist International can be divided into three categories, viz., more or less legal Communist Parties (16, including the quite legal Communist Party in the Soviet regions in China); semi-legal (7); and completely illegal (38). Recently the line of development has been in the direction of the further intensification of the class struggle and the growth of fascism, which must affect the position of the Communist Parties. Undoubtedly, in all countries the Communist Parties will be driven underground on the outbreak of war. It is difficult to forecast the form the illegal position of this or that Communist Party will assume.

The countries where the Communist Parties have been driven underground can be divided into two categories, viz., the countries where the Communist Parties have been driven underground, but where the mass reformist workers' organisations continue to exist legally (Poland, Austria, Bulgaria, Japan, etc.); and countries where all working class organisations and all political parties have been dissolved, and only fascist organisations exist.

In the first category of countries, the Communist Parties must use all the mass workers' organisations for the purpose of their work, such as, the trade unions, co-operative organisations, sports organisations, workers' educational organisations, freethinkers' organisations and the workers' organisations of all trends, such as reformist, Christian, etc. In all such organisations Communist fractions should be organised. In these countries, efforts must be made to get the Party committees to guide the work of the Communist fractions, to prevent the latter from becoming isolated from the Party, to get them to carry out the Party line and to get the Party

committees to help them in their work. At the same time, the semi-legal and illegal revolutionary workers' and peasants' organisations must be strengthened.

In the second category of countries, the Communist Parties must utilise for their work all the fascist mass organisations to which workers, office employees, peasants, young workers and women workers belong, such as trade unions, sports and co-operative organisations, youth organisations and women's organisations. Not only is it necessary to organise constant work in these organisations, but it is also necessary to arrange for people to speak at meetings called by these organisations.

The Communist Party of Germany must avoid the mistake committed by the Communist Party of Italy, and immediately commence work in the fascist organisations.

In countries like Germany and Italy, working class mass organisations such as trade unions, I.L.D., unemployed organisations, etc., should be formed and strengthened. Into these organisations it is necessary to enlist those ex-members of the reformist and Catholic trade unions and Social-Democratic and Catholic Parties who are willing to fight against the fascists.

In both types of fascist countries, the centre of gravity of the work must be transferred to the factories, where it will produce the best results, of course, if it is carried on skilfully and energetically.

2.—CADRES.

(a) The re-distribution of forces before going underground is very important. In Germany it was the middle and lower *active* that suffered most in the process of transition from the legal to the illegal position. Why? Because it was this *active* that came most in contact with the National Socialists in the factories, in discussions, in the districts, and finally, in open conflict with them. At the time of the fascist *coup*, the first thing the National Socialists tried to do was to arrest this *active*. In this they were assisted by the petty-bourgeoisie who, after the victory of the fascists at the elections, threw themselves into the arms of the National Socialists. They pointed out where the Communists lived, who read "Rote Fahne," etc. The Party did not succeed in concealing the best of its active members. The biggest arrests of Communists in all towns took place immediately after the fascists burned the Reichstag, on the night of February 28. It is characteristic that in spite of the fact that the provocation against the Communist Party had developed to the utmost at that time, many of the

leading Communists stayed at their homes that night.

Although our Party reorganised itself very quickly, it was not in a position to save the middle and lower *active*, the preservation of which was very important for its future work, for it was this *active* that maintained contacts with the factories. Our sections must take measures to prevent this happening again. The Parties who are in danger of being driven underground in the near future must take measures to prevent the middle and lower *active*, not to speak of the leading *active*, staying at home when arrests take place. There is nothing terrible in prematurely leaving one's home; what is terrible is to be caught and sent to a concentration camp and thus to be prevented from doing Party work. Comrade Pieck, in his speech, said that even after the German Party had been outlawed, many Communists were caught by the fascists in their homes to which they had gone to visit their families. And this has happened not only in Germany.

The more acute the class struggle becomes, the more persistently do the fascists shadow and hunt for our cadres, and the greater is the danger that our cadres will be exterminated.

(b) It is necessary to decentralise the work, both in order to develop local initiative and to minimise the losses in the event of arrests. Here I must say that before it went underground, the local organisations of the German Communist Party were shackled by an incredible centralism, a sort of super-centralism. We have spoken about this a score of times. For example, for the sake of economy, manifestoes used to be printed in Berlin and distributed over the whole country without any consideration for the necessity to adapt this literature to the conditions and industries in the districts, and to raise the questions that interest the respective category of workers at the given moment. The local organisations did not discuss any political questions until the Central Committee had defined its attitude towards them. This shackled the initiative of the local Party organisations. But, to their honour be it said, the moment they were left without any leadership, owing to the fact that the middle and lower Party bodies had been paralysed by arrests for a certain time, individual Communists and local organisations displayed remarkable initiative. As Comrade Pieck pointed out last night, the slogans issued independently by the local organisations were later on found to coincide with the slogans issued by the Central Committee.

This local initiative is very important. The Communist must not wait under the Party is driven underground to remember that he is a Communist and that he must pursue the Party

line on his own responsibility. Decentralisation must be introduced at once in preparation for the transition to an illegal position. This work is possible and necessary in view of the growing discontent of the masses and in view of the fact that the masses follow the lead of the Communists if they are given concrete guidance as to how to wage the struggle.

(c) On the other hand, decentralisation is necessary for the purpose of secrecy. In Germany a case recently occurred in which a scoundrel, who at one time had some connection with the Party leadership, roamed the streets of various towns in the company of fascists who were searching for Communists, arresting them and exterminating them. The more decentralisation is carried out, the less possible will it be for traitors who have managed to penetrate into the Party to damage it.

I do not know whether Comrade Ercoli mentioned in his speech what he told us privately, that in one place only six persons were arrested, but each of these mentioned several other names. In this way, the secret police managed to arrest 150 persons. Afterwards, a large number of these were released, and no one knew which of these was the *provocateur* and which the denounced. As a result, the whole organisation was demoralised.

The maximum of caution must be exercised in order to avoid arrests. I will quote another example from Germany: a certain ex-functionary of the Party, who had gone over to the fascists, turned up at a secret meeting-place. At this place, without any investigations being made (although not long before that arrests had taken place in the district this fellow came from), he was given the secret address of the secretary of the Central Committee, a secretary who was underground, and whom the fascists were looking for. By a stroke of good fortune, the secretary was absent at the time, and this fellow met another comrade, who was immediately arrested. Direct contact with the secretary of the Party must under no circumstances be given to untrustworthy persons. Contact should be given only through intermediary links, and in this way the most effective safeguards against arrest will be created. In the case I have just mentioned the violation of the elementary principles of secrecy was totally unjustified, because it was known at this secret meeting-place that big arrests had taken place in the district from which this particular functionary had arrived. I think it was even known that this person had actually been arrested and later released. In fact, he had been arrested, and when the fascists began to beat him up he went over to their side.

In the middle of June there were further big arrests in Germany and a number of active Party workers were seized. Better concealment, better work is necessary!

(d) How should the Communists behave under examination? It is necessary to bear in mind that once an arrested man has communicated anything at all, he will not be left in peace until he becomes a traitor. I must say that when our Party was underground, we issued a special pamphlet on how to behave under examination. If anyone in Germany is arrested and beaten up and he begins to talk, then the fascist sadists do not let him alone, but keep on beating him until he betrays his comrades and goes over to the fascists. The less he talks, the less the fascist executioners will expect him to say, and the more quickly will they stop examining him.

The popularisation of the experience of the illegal work of the Communist Parties of Poland, Bulgaria, Germany, Italy, China and Japan is of enormous importance. We must see to it that the experience in every country shall be made known to all the Communist Parties. Individual Communists must know how to behave under examination, and how to avoid arrest under any given situation.

(e) In those countries where the Communist Party is illegal, individual and group oral agitation is of enormous importance (the exposure of the fascists and the Social-Democratic Party in connection with the urgent demands of the masses, which should be linked up with the struggle for power). This agitation should be carried on among the broad masses and be backed by facts. In this way it will be possible to enlarge the sphere of influence of the Communists. In this connection, the factory newspapers play an important rôle. There was a moment when the fascists in Germany declared that the Communist Party had been utterly crushed, that it no longer existed. And our comrades set themselves the task of getting Communist literature into the streets at no matter what sacrifice. The Communist Party took to distributing literature and in this way showed that it was alive. This had enormous significance at that time. The foreign correspondents wrote about it to their newspapers, and even the fascist press could not ignore it. But this method of distributing literature must cease now. Literature must be energetically distributed, but this distribution must be organised in such a way as to involve as few arrests as possible, and above all, it must be organised so that the literature gets into the hands of those for whom it is intended, i.e., the workers. It is precisely among the workers that we must distribute our literature in the first place.

It goes without saying that the factory newspapers play a great rôle in this. Special attention must be devoted to it. It is extremely important to utilise the popularity of the factory newspapers among the workers, to distribute them widely, to deal in them with all the general political questions, and questions affecting the given factory.

(f) Finally, the organisation of protest demonstrations. Here, too, we must take into account whether these are organised in legal or in illegal conditions. Take Australia. When the Party there was legal and organised demonstrations, it was almost exclusively Party members who came out on the streets. This showed that the Party's contact with the masses was very weak, and that it could not draw the masses into the struggle. Well, one can become reconciled to demonstrations in which only Party members take part when the Party is legal, although, of course our task is to organise mass demonstrations; the loss in Party cadres involved in such exclusive demonstrations, is relatively small. It is true that the police beat up a few of the comrades, arrested a few, but there the matter ended. But the damage caused by such exclusive demonstrations in countries where the Party is illegal is very much more serious.

What is now happening in Germany? Here too we organise demonstrations, which is very important, enormously important. But whom do we bring out on to the streets? Only our *active*. Our *active* is unable to bring large masses on to the streets, and so the fascists hurl themselves upon our members and exterminate them. Is it a good thing that demonstrations are organised, that protests are made? Of course it is. But it is bad that our cadres are exterminated. We must organise protests, but they must be imposing protests, otherwise it is not worth while putting our cadres in danger of being shot down. It would be far better if they went to the factories and carried on agitation among the workers. This would produce bigger results than the small demonstrations that are now organised.

(g) The skilled distribution of forces and functions is very important, not only for legal, but also for illegal parties. I have already had occasion to state that there are no members of the Party who could not be useful to the Party. The question of utilising their services is exclusively a matter of leadership, both central and local. If a Communist is not suitable as a propagandist he can perform certain technical functions; if he is not suitable as an agitator he can distribute literature, stick up posters, etc. However, the line we take is as follows: If an old Party member is in the leadership, even if he is good for nothing, he has got to be retained. Although he

cannot carry on any mass work, is incapable of doing trade union work, nevertheless, he is left in the leadership. Even if he wrecks campaign after campaign, he is still left on that work. Why? He is an old Party member. But here and there new cadres are coming forward who have contacts with the workers and know how to approach the workers. Very often these are not utilised for permanent leading work in the Party organisations or in mass workers' and peasants' organisations only because the salaried positions are occupied by old Party members who are not able to cope with their work properly. Of course we must treasure our old Party members: for years they have proved their loyalty to the Party, their readiness to make sacrifices for the Party. Nevertheless, our main criterion in approaching them should be: Does this or that old Party member properly carry out the work he is entrusted with? If he does not do that work properly then, although he may be an old Party member, he must be replaced by new cadres who are able to work, who have contacts with the masses of the workers and are able to lead them.

If we have certain active workers who are able to work fairly well, so many duties are imposed upon them that they are unable to fulfil any of them. I will read you a document received from the Communist Party of France:

A certain active member in Marles, near Calais, holds the following offices:

- (1) Secretary of a trade union branch.
- (2) Secretary of the Communist Party cell.
- (3) Secretary of the Freethinkers' Society Branch.
- (4) Treasurer of the Freethinkers' Society Branch. (Laughter.)
- (5) A member of the Bureau of the Mutual Aid Society.
- (6) Member of the Executive of the Miners' Union.
- (7) Member of the District Committee of the Communist Party. (Loud laughter.)
- (8) Member of the Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Miners' Union.
- (9) Member of the Editorial Committee of the Miners' Union journal.
- (10) Member of the Auditing Committee of the Miners' Federation.
- (11) Manager of the Mutual Aid Fund.
- (12) Member of the Bethune Trades Council.
- (13) Distributor of the newspapers *L'Enchâmes*, *La Voix du Mineur*, *Defence*, etc.
- (14) Dues collector (house-to-house) in a district other than the one in which he lives.
- (15) Also does work in the "A.R.A.C." (Ex-Servicemen's League).

In addition to all these functions the comrade also fulfils the following functions in the district where he lives:

- (1) Does all the leaflet distribution.
- (2) Sticks up posters.
- (3) Collects money for special funds for the Party and the trade union as well as other organisations.

"For an active member to have ten functions is quite normal in our Miners' Union." (Report by Comrade Henri at the Federal Bureau of the Unitarian Confederation of Labour, October, 1933.)

The trouble here is not merely that this comrade cannot fulfil all these functions, and not merely that the work must suffer, but that the imposition of so many functions on a single comrade prevents the promotion of new cadres. If a single comrade badly fulfils sixteen functions, they could be well fulfilled by sixteen comrades if they were utilised for this work. We ourselves shout about the inadvisability of imposing many functions on a single comrade, but we do not improve the distribution of work, we make no progress in this matter. This is harmful. This retards the creation of cadres. We must declare war on such a method of distributing the work. Every single Party member must be utilised and be given the opportunity to show what work he can do.

CONCLUSION.

The reformists and the Social-Democrats could not retain their positions in the working class if they had not behind them the bourgeoisie and its state. But from this it only follows that the agitation and organisational work of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions among the masses must be incomparably better than that carried on by the reformists.

Unfortunately, this is far from being the case.

The reformists give answers to the workers on all the urgent questions; of course, they give answers which correspond to their *main* aim, viz., to serve the bourgeoisie and to betray the proletariat.

The Communists can successfully expose the Social-Democratic Party and the reformists only if, to counteract the reformists, they, in a timely and revolutionary manner, respond to all the urgent needs of the broad masses of the workers on questions of wages, the working day, unemployment, insurance in all its forms, labour legislation, capitalist rationalisation, etc., and at the same time, link all these questions up with the home and foreign politics of the country and with the preparation of the masses for the decisive struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the time of the first round of wars and revolutions no definitely formed monolithic Communist Parties as yet existed. Owing to this, the Social-Democrats and reformist trade unions managed to keep the revolution under their influence, to betray and smash up the vanguard of the working class. To-day, Communist Parties exist, and their main and urgent task is to win the majority of the working class and guarantee the victory of the revolution. For this purpose the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement must first of all expose the defects in their own work and remove them as quickly as possible in order to prevent the Social-Democrats and the reformist trade union bureaucrats from betraying the working class again by leading them to be massacred in the interests of the bourgeoisie in time of war, and by saving capitalism from the victorious proletarian revolution in time of revolution. (Prolonged applause.)

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THE SITUATION IN BRITAIN AND THE POLICY OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

(Abridged Speech at the Thirteenth Plenum E.C.C.I.)

By HARRY POLLITT.

THE events in Britain in the last period have been a striking confirmation of the analysis made by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

The situation in Britain is particularly important, especially the efforts made to solve the economic crisis.

After two years the National Government, though armed with an unprecedented majority, and resorting to the exercise of dictatorial powers on a scale not witnessed in Britain before, has failed to solve or even seriously alleviate the crisis of British imperialism.

On the contrary, the crisis deepens, imperialist rivalries intensify, the basic industries are stagnant, and this in spite of the adopting of quotas, tariffs, depreciation of the currency—all of which have been tried, and while certain trade advantages have been gained over their imperialist rivals—nothing fundamental so far as solving the crisis has been achieved by the National Government.

In the same period, fierce attacks on working-class standards and conditions led to mass impoverishment through wage-cuts, application of the brutal Means Test, restriction of civil rights and liberties, police terror and now open preparation for new wars.

The National Government attempts to hide these facts by mass demagogic propaganda about “masses returning to work,” “factory gates opening again,” “the Government stands for democracy,” “the Government stands for peace,” but the actual facts will reveal what the true position in Britain is, and what is the real policy of the National Government.

The National Government has abolished the historical British policy of free trade. They have gone off the gold standard, carried through ruthless economies at the expense of the working class, and increased the exploitation of the workers in Britain and in the colonial countries. What are the results?

Certain temporary trade advantages have been gained by depreciation of the currency, by tariffs, by the Ottawa Agreement, by trade pacts with Scandinavian countries and the Argentine and by increased exploitation of the resources of the British Empire. But no basic improvement can be seen in the vital industries concerned with the ordinary market trade of British imperialism, and where there are certain signs of trade revival

to-day, it is in industries closely connected with war preparations.

Yet it is in this situation that the National Government not only makes its prosperity speeches, but covers the hoardings with posters declaring that 792,000 returned to work, and every week Britain is regaled with stories of thousands less unemployed.

The actual fact is that there has been a return to work of a small section of the unemployed workers. The bulk of these figures simply represent thousands and thousands of men and women who have been struck off from all forms of benefit at the Labour Exchanges, and no longer officially exist in the records of the Government.

There is also a rise in the cost of living, which has risen by eight points since June, due to the higher price policy of the National Government. This avowed policy of raising prices is openly stated by responsible leaders of the Government.

Every method adopted to solve the crisis by the National Government, every temporary trade advantage they have gained, only sharpens the competition and rivalry between Britain and other imperialist powers, especially between Great Britain and the U.S.A. British imperialism meets with fierce competition from Japan in India and now in Britain itself, and a terrific anti-Japanese campaign is being waged in Lancashire on the Japanese menace to Lancashire's cotton industry. The struggle between Britain and America intensifies, particularly for the South American and Canadian markets.

The foreign policy of the National Government is clearly directed against America, its greatest imperialist rival, but whilst this is so, its greatest war drive is against the Soviet Union. *The National Government has become the organiser of the anti-Soviet campaign.* This is seen in its initiative in the Four-Power Pact; the vicious anti-Soviet campaign leading to the imposition of the embargo on the Soviet Union, arising out of the trial of the British engineers.

The National Government gives open support to Japan in its Far East policy and particularly in its policy against the Soviet Union, and big shipments of munitions have taken place both to Japan and China for use against both the Chinese Soviets, and against the U.S.S.R. While there is acute economic rivalry between Britain and Japan, the political considerations override this

factor and make the National Government look to Japan as one of its most valuable allies.

In regard to Germany everything possible is being done by the National Government to maintain the closest and the most friendly relations with the Hitler dictatorship.

OPEN PREPARATION FOR NEW WAR.

In spite of all its protestations of peace, the National Government is to-day openly preparing for a new war. Perhaps the most striking confirmation of the open war preparations that are going on in Britain is the new trade revival in all war industries. For example, the shares of 13 armament firms have recently increased in value by £27,000,000, Beardmore's preference shares by 100 per cent. and John Brown's by 87 per cent. These are two of the biggest armament combines in Britain. In addition, new orders for all forms of munitions have been issued by the National Government quite recently. These orders cover manufacture of aerial bombs, bomb-boxes, tanks, fighting aircraft, conversion of old aircraft into bombers, new cartridges, mine-sinkers, high explosives, shrapnel, new gun plant and provision for 18 new warships.

TOWARDS FASCISM IN BRITAIN.

A few remarks with regard to tendencies towards fascism in Britain. It is the proud boast of capitalist and labour politicians that Britain is the last stronghold of democracy, that what has taken place on the continent could never happen in Britain. In actual fact we are proceeding at a rapid rate towards fascism in Britain, carried out under the slogan of democracy—and achieved by so-called constitutional means.

What Hitler did brutally, MacDonalld prepares to do like a true British gentleman. In December, 1932, Tom Mann was arrested under an Act of Parliament passed in the time of Edward III. in the year 1350. This was a test case. The magistrate informed Comrade Mann that he had committed no offence, and that it was not necessary for him to have done so, in order to render himself liable under this particular Act. Tom Mann was called upon to give an undertaking to make no speeches that would be calculated to cause a breach of the peace, or go to prison for two months, as a preventive measure. Naturally, Tom Mann refused to give any such undertaking, and he served the term of imprisonment. *As a matter of fact it is significant to note that there has been more prosecution on questions arising on free speech and public assembly in the last ten years in Great Britain than in the whole previous hundred years.*

But most significant of all are the tendencies

towards fascism contained in the National Government's new unemployment bill.

For the first time on a wholesale scale in Britain, three dictators are now to be the sole arbiters of the fate of the great mass of permanent unemployed and their families. The National Government have seen the effect of the hunger marches and mass demonstrations to the P.A.C.s, which have been the means of forcing of important concessions, and they are now proposing measures which have for their aim the precluding of such demonstrations to such local committees in the future. Hitherto local P.A.C.s have been subject to mass pressure; now all power is out of their hands. For the enforcement of the principle of going into slave labour camps or losing relief money, is no longer to be the direct concern of some known local or county body upon which mass pressure can be exerted, but this power is to be concentrated in London. All power is centralised in the hands of three men sitting in the government office in London. These three men will have the right to see to the enforcement of this principle with regard to those masses who are to be struck off from unemployed benefits.

In short, this Bill goes farther along the road of fascism in Britain than anything we have set seen. Unlimited powers to government dictators; splitting the ranks of the unemployed, driving a wedge between the unemployed and employed workers; taking the labour camps into agricultural areas where those workers who are in these camps are away from the mass of the industrial workers, the compulsory physical training that will be enforced on the younger unemployed men, is meant to provide directly the reserve army for use in the coming war. These are the aims of this Unemployed Bill of the National Government.

The whole line of this Bill follows closely upon all the previous legislation which has limited the right of free speech and public assembly, and undoubtedly constitutes the greatest step forward to fascist dictatorship that we have yet seen in Great Britain. They are being carried through under the cover of lip-service to democracy. Above all, they show the steady preparation for the destruction of working-class rights and organisation, and for new attacks on working-class conditions and preparation for new wars.

THE SITUATION IN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT.

In this situation and against this policy of the National Government, the working class fights back, and big changes are now taking place in the working-class movement, especially through hostility to war.

There is a rapid growth in the disillusionment

with the National Government and its whole line and policy. The German events made a powerful impression upon the British workers. Nevertheless, reformist influence is still strong.

The recent elections reveal in some way how this disillusionment expresses itself.

But, whilst there is undoubtedly growing radicalisation and disillusionment taking place, it is prevented from being given really effective decisive development and successes by the splitting and strike-breaking policy of the trade union leaders and the attempts to keep the mass movement in parliamentary channels, and defeatist propaganda to the effect that it is no use resisting attacks in periods of economic crisis.

THE POLICY OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The recent annual conference of the T.U.C. at Brighton in September and the Labour Party Conference at Hastings in October clearly show in all their basic decisions, *i.e.*, fulsome adulation of the policy of Roosevelt; refusal of the united front; left manoeuvres on the question of war; their so-called "socialist" schemes of legislation, their debates and decisions on the question, "Democracy versus Dictatorship," that the general line of British social-democracy is the same policy as led to Hitler coming to power in Germany.

This line is being carried through in Britain under cover of mild "criticism" of German social-democracy coupled with vicious slanders against the C.P. of Germany, sham opposition to the National Government, left manoeuvres and intensive attacks upon the revolutionary movement.

They oppose the Means Test, but oppose fighting by mass action. They set up rival unemployed associations, and under the guise of using them for sports and cultural purposes, endeavour to divert sections of the unemployed from militant struggle against the National Government and the Means Test. In Parliament in the speeches of the "Left" leader, Sir Stafford Cripps, they call upon the Government to make no concessions to the demands of the unemployed that are associated with Communist leadership and activity.

Henderson, leader of the Labour Party, feeling the workers' hostility to war, now threatens his resignation as chairman of the Disarmament Conference, after he has finished his rôle, and carried out the line of the National Government. He does this to deceive the masses that he fights for peace.

The Trade Union Congress and Labour Party Conference, under pressure from the rank-and-file, passed resolutions for a general strike in the event of war, but this feeling was distorted to support the line of the Second International and

the International Federation of Trade Unions. In keeping with this they outlawed the anti-war movement in Britain, which has carried out great work in its fight against war and its efforts to mobilise the working class for a real struggle against war, particularly for the prevention of munitions going to the Far East.

The same conferences refused the united front with the revolutionary workers and threatened with expulsion any of their members who dared to take an active part in united front activity against the capitalist attacks, fascism and war.

Recently, Citrine, leader of the General Council of the T.U.C., came out with a speech on the question of the general strike and war, a speech which is the most open exposure of the character of the manoeuvre of the reformist leaders on the question of opposition to war. His line is clearly seen in the following extract from his speech:

"The Trade Union Congress has special obligations in respect to resistance to war. Under its standing orders, it is required to call a special conference for the purposes of deciding on industrial action when war threatens.

"The recent Congress at Brighton considered a resolution from the I.F.T.U. on the same point. This resolution for the first time defines specifically the action which trade unionists should take in the event of war.

"Congress decided that the issues were so grave that the General Council should prepare a report on the methods of giving effect to the resolution.

"It is no use assuming that the trade union movement can be used on any and every occasion when war broke out in some remote part of the world.

"A general strike under our present law is illegal, and it would be folly to attempt to resort to this method in the way we are exhorted to do from some quarters" (From the *Daily Herald*, November 5, 1933).

This speech shows that the first steps are already being taken to prepare a similar betrayal on the question of the general strike against war as took place in 1914, and, secondly, it is an open invitation both to Japan and to the National Government in its anti-Soviet policy to go ahead with any attacks against the Soviet Union or the Chinese Soviets that they care to make, and the Trade Union Congress will not lift a finger to prevent any munitions being sent to assist Japanese and British imperialism in their predatory designs on other countries' territory.

THE UNITED FRONT.

The Communist Party had been active in developing the united front from below for a long

time, and some successes have already been achieved in connection with the anti-Means Test fight, the anti-embargo campaign, the release of Tom Mann, the anti-war movement and F.S.U. Then came the publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist International*, in which the lead was given for the Communist Party to make approaches to the Central Committee of the reformist organisations. The Communist Party addressed appeals for united front action to the Labour Party, Trade Union Congress, Co-operative Party and Independent Labour Party, and proposed a certain time and place for a meeting when a common discussion could take place on the situation, and an attempt be made to reach an agreement upon a programme of action that could then form the basis for developing a united front of struggle.

Only the I.L.P. agreed to take part in a common meeting. The Labour Party, Trade Union Congress and Co-operative Party refused to take part in any meeting, and later, after special meetings of their executive committees, issued a manifesto called *Democracy or Dictatorship*, which dealt with the iniquities of dictatorship, whether from the Right or Left, the benefits of democracy, and finally stated that there could be no united front with bodies believing in civil war and proletarian revolution and dictatorship. It was a manifesto which evaded every practical issue the Communist Party has raised, and aroused great resentment even in their own ranks.

A basis of agreement was reached with the I.L.P. A series of joint demonstrations were carried out by the Communist Party and the I.L.P. on April 2, May 1, and in connection with Anti-War Day, and in London and Scotland good united front activity has been carried out by the divisional organisations of the I.L.P. and the district committees of the Communist Party.

The result of the united front campaign can also be seen in the votes recorded at the National Union of Railwaymen's Annual Conference, where a resolution expressing their disgust at the refusal of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress to make a united front with the Communist Party and the I.L.P. was only defeated by 49 votes to 41. Also the decision of such important trade councils as Bradford and Newcastle for participation in anti-war activity. The anti-War Conference in March was attended by over a thousand delegates and important trade unions like the N.U.D.A.W. and N.A.F.T.A. became affiliated to the anti-war movement—the anti-war movement has also a hundred active anti-war committees.

Here I would like to say a word about the F.S.U. It has a very big influence, particularly

among the trade unions, co-operatives and local Labour Parties. It conducts big agitation and popularisation of the achievements of the Soviet Union. It replies to the slanders made by the capitalists and social-democratic leaders against the Soviet Union. Through its meetings, conferences, campaigns and workers' delegations, it has succeeded in drawing into activity a big membership and has 170 active functioning committees. Its publication, *Russia To-day*, has a circulation of 60,000, and the whole work of the F.S.U. is a splendid example of united front work.

But, on the whole, we have failed to make a decisive break against the ban imposed upon the united front by the reformist leaders, and the united front itself, as far as the Communist Party and the I.L.P. are concerned, has been confined largely to platform meetings and demonstrations.

Arising out of our experiences, it is interesting to note some of the questions and reactions of the workers to the united front call of the Communist Party. The most frequent of these are as follow, and they are representative of the whole country:

"Why is it that only a short time ago the Communist Party declared it was impossible to make a united front with the Labour leaders and yet now you have asked them to join in united front activity?"

"The Communist Party is not sincere in its desire to build up the united front of the workers. It is only a tactic and manoeuvre on your part to get into touch with masses of workers by exploiting the meaning of unity for your ordinary Communist propaganda."

"Why should the Communist Party, which is such a small organisation, expect the powerful Labour Party and Trade Union Congress to bother making a united front with it?"

"The Labour Party and Trade Union Congress and the Co-operatives are the real mass organisations of the working class. They are the only united front that is necessary, and are big enough to embrace all workers who want to join them."

"How can you be sincere in your united front proposals to the Labour Party when you put up candidates against them in elections?"

"You have a united front with the I.L.P., yet look at the dog fight that is going on between you."

These are typical questions which need to be studied and very carefully answered.

One of the greatest weaknesses the Communist Party has to record in regard to its united front activity is that it has tended to absorb the entire energy of the Party, and there has been a grave neglect to carry out mass propaganda and agita-

tion for the revolutionary aims of the C.P. and the popularisation in a concrete fashion of the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

These weaknesses are being recognised by the Party and efforts made to overcome them.

(a) WORK IN THE REFORMIST TRADE UNIONS.

Since the Twelfth Plenum and our Twelfth Party Congress there has been a big improvement in the work of the Party, both inside the unions and in preparation and carrying out of economic struggles.

The results of these improvements can be seen in the winning of many important positions, both in regard to the election of delegates to the trade union conferences and the winning of positions inside the trade unions themselves. Of particular significance is the recent victory achieved by Comrade Arthur Horner in South Wales.

Important elections for pits inspectors have also been won by the United Mine Workers of Scotland, a revolutionary union, in spite of a combination of the reformist trade union leaders and the pit managers.

Since the Twelfth Plenum there has also been effective participation by the C.P. in many strikes, such as the big Lancashire cotton strike of last year and this year in the miners' strikes in Durham, Yorkshire and South Wales, the strike of the London busmen and the strikes at Ford's, Brigg's, Silver's, Hope's, Firestone's, and various textile strikes in Lancashire. It is important to note that in most of these strikes significant gains were achieved by the strikers in face of reformist opposition and that many of the strikes were against various features of rationalisation.

The growing attempts at expulsion and denying the right of Communists to hold official positions in the unions is also a measure of the growing influence of the Communist Party in the reformist trade unions. We are confident that when once we can end all the "ifs," "buts," and "ands" in regard to work in the trade unions, really decisive influence for the C.P. and the Revolutionary Trade Union Oppositions can be won.

What have been the weaknesses in our work in the trade unions?

First, that work in the reformist trade unions is looked upon as a thing in itself and with no conscious driving for the creation of a powerful R.T.U.O. and for the strengthening of the Communist Party.

Second, where there has been a growth of our trade union influence, there has been no bigger corresponding activity on the part of the Party locals in the same areas.

Third, where we do win positions in the trade unions, particularly in the miners' lodges in South Wales, this is then looked upon as a substitute for all other forms of Party activity, and the miners' lodge is also looked upon as the substitute for the Communist Party.

Fourth, in the weak struggle we have conducted against Left reformism.

Fifth, in the lack of effective fraction work and systematic guidance of the work in the trade unions by the Central Committee.

Finally, the neglect of big sections of the Communist Party to understand the importance and necessity of carrying on revolutionary mass work in the reformist trade unions.

Once we can overcome these weaknesses, not only will the work improve, the rank and file movements rapidly develop and greater possibilities of the work of the R.T.U.O., but there will also be a big growth in the ranks of the Communist Party as a result of the steady influx of new members from the trade unions.

(b) THE FIGHT AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE WORK OF THE N.U.W.M.

Since the National Hunger March of 1932 there has been a consistent record of mass activity, taking the form of mass demonstrations and hunger marches.

A great campaign is now being organised against the new Unemployment Bill of the National Government, and in this connection the fight against this Bill is being connected up with the fight for extra winter relief, and increased unemployment benefits to meet the rise in the cost of living. A manifesto has now been issued over the signature of a number of well-known political and trade union leaders for the convening of a great National United Front Conference in February, and for the organisation of a National Hunger March that shall arrive in London while the National Conference is in progress. It is hoped that this conference and hunger march will mark the biggest step forward yet in the development of effective united front activity and organisation, and it is undoubtedly going to play a historical rôle in the struggles of the working-class movement.

The Communist Party is supporting this call with all its strength and already is taking steps to popularise it effectively. The campaign for both the Conference and the march has been popularised greatly and is to be made the means for developing activity, especially through our work in the trade unions.

It must be remembered that all this great mass activity has been carried through in the face of

the open sabotage and splitting policy of the reformist leaders.

The N.U.W.M., whilst having a paying membership of 40,000 and 350 branches, does not yet develop its work so as to get the best and most lasting results out of its mass activity, and particularly its failure to develop broad unemployed councils, which would extend the whole sphere and influence of the N.U.W.M. at the same time as it would draw into increased mass activity large sections of the unemployed who at present are passive.

(1) There is still too much of the flavour of an unemployed "trade union" about the N.U.W.M. and this strongly militates against the carrying out of the line of the Prague resolution. (2) The weakness of Party fraction work in the local, district, and central organisation of the N.U.W.M. is particularly bad and the resistance that is met with on the part of leading comrades to the fuller development of mass activity can never be overcome unless the Party fractions are effectively organised. (3) The inability of the N.U.W.M. to draw in large sections of skilled and semi-skilled unemployed workers, and this is largely due to the weakness in the popularisation of concrete schemes of public works, the 40-hour week without wage cuts, and the fight against embargoes which restricts the possibilities of trade orders. (4) There is a serious non-recognition of the necessity of political training as well as a lack of sports and social life inside the N.U.W.M., and this considerably hampers the development of new leaders and forces. (5) There is also a lack of effective campaigning for a united front of struggle with the reformist unemployed organisations. Too often these are described as being "scab organisations" — an entirely wrong word to use to such bodies of workers and one that can only succeed in alienating the very sections that we have to win.

The Communist Party through its fractions is energetically trying to overcome these weaknesses and to carry out such a line as will enable the N.U.W.M. to win the full results from the very big improvements in all phases of work that have characterised the last period.

(c) UNITED FRONT AND YOUTH.

The Young Communist League, despite many weaknesses in their united front activity with the reformist youth organisations, have a few important successes, which are becoming of greater importance in the whole development of the united front work of our Party.

Following upon the publication of the C.I. Manifesto, the Central Committee of the League addressed a manifesto to the reformist youth

organisations, and succeeded in establishing the united front with the Left reformist I.L.P. Guild of Youth organisation, which claimed a membership of eight thousand at that time.

In most of the districts united front activity was carried out particularly among the youth unemployed, and the struggle against war.

The Y.C.L. has actively carried out work within the Guild to make known the proposals of the Y.C.I. and how these could be applied to the struggles of the youth in Britain.

They have succeeded in carrying out a number of meetings and conferences with the Guild membership on the question of the Y.C.I. letter.

The most important has been the Unity Conference, held in Scotland in October and attended by one hundred and fifty Guild and Y.C.L. members.

A joint working agreement was arrived at and results have already been achieved in a few places in Glasgow, in organising the fight of the youth unemployed.

Since then the Y.C.I. have replied to a recent letter from the National Guild Committee, wherein the proposal is made for a meeting with a national delegation of the Guild with representatives of the Y.C.I.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE I.L.P.

The question of the relations between the Communist Party and the I.L.P. has been, and still is, one of our most difficult problems.

After the Derby Conference, the I.L.P. leaders sent a very formal letter to the C.I. informing them of the Conference decision, enclosing a copy of the resolution that had been adopted on co-operation with the C.I. and asking for the comments of the C.I. upon it.

The Communist International replied to the I.L.P. resolution and letter,* indicating that the best way the I.L.P. could co-operate in independent work was along the following lines:

(1) To continue the united front work with the Communist Party as the first step towards practical co-operation in the work of the Communist International.

(2) To conduct a fight against reformism in Britain and internationally.

(3) To practically carry this out in economic struggles against fascism, British imperialism and war.

(4) A warning against the meaning of the attempts to form a new Two-and-a-Half International.

(5) The significance of the heroic fight of the German Communist Party.

* See the pamphlet, "Lenin on the I.L.P." for full text of correspondence.

(6) The question of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

Then the I.L.P. leaders replied to the C.I. letter, and the reply was a classical example of evading every vital question that had been raised by the C.I. The line of the letter was as follows: It repeated its charges about the failure of the policy of the C.I. That the C.I. had prevented united action of the working class, which in turn had prevented an effective fight against capitalism and fascism—in short, whilst avoiding every concrete issue that had been raised, represented a further step in the sabotaging policy that was being carried out against the Derby decision and co-operation with the C.I.

In September, the Communist International sent a second letter to the I.L.P. This letter was addressed to the membership of the I.L.P. It recalled the line of the first C.I. letter; it then dealt in detail with the line of the I.L.P. leaders—how this leadership, both on the Left and Right, were refusing to carry out the Derby decisions for co-operation with the C.I. It drew the attention of the I.L.P. members to Brockway's article and to the manoeuvres of the I.L.P. leaders as revealed at the Paris Conference for the formation of a new Two-and-a-Half International. It replied to the slanders about the Communist International and the united front, it dealt again with the rôle of the German Communist Party and finally put the proposal that all the organisations of the I.L.P. should really discuss the letter of the Communist International and it put two principal questions: (1) What concrete actions on the basis of the united front can the C.P. and the I.L.P. now carry out around certain immediate practical issues, such as the fight against the Means Test, for a 10 per cent. increase in wages, against the rise in the cost of living, etc.? (2) Is it desirable that the I.L.P. should join the C.I. with a consultative vote as an organisation sympathising with Communism as per paragraph 18 of the Communist International Statutes.

The N.A.C. of the I.L.P. replied to this letter along the following lines:

(1) A protest against the C.I. addressing its letter over the heads of the N.A.C.

(2) That the statements of the C.I. about the political line of the seven Left Parties were incorrect.

(3) That open criticism of the C.I. along the line of Brockway's article was not considered inimical to the interests of the workers.

(4) Finally, they inform the C.I. that their proposal for sympathetic affiliation would be put before the next Easter Conference of the I.L.P.

The Party also had many interesting experiences in connection with the recent elections so

far as the relation of the Communist Party and the I.L.P. are concerned.

After a full discussion of the situation as far as the municipal elections were concerned, the following statement was adopted:

"In view of the special circumstances of the Party campaign to win the I.L.P. for the line of the C.I. and for a united Communist Party, in the coming municipal elections, the district leadership shall carefully review the question of the seats at the municipal elections in order to secure the maximum strength of all forces standing for the united front and a united Communist Party.

"The district leadership to approach in those places considered advisable, I.L.P. candidates who had fought for the united front and for the line of the C.I. and on the undertaking of active support for the C.I. letter and a united Communist Party, to be prepared to make an amendment, whereby a fight between the C.P. and the I.L.P. candidates can be avoided and the support of both organisations given to the agreed upon candidate, the determining factor to be on the chosen candidate giving the best perspective of success. In all other cases, the line of the May document to be carried out."

That line was carried out in the municipal elections, but we had very little success in obtaining concrete guarantees from the I.L.P. candidates in regard to the specific questions regarding the united Communist Party in Great Britain and the affiliation to the C.I.

In an important by-election at Clay Cross, where I was the Communist candidate against Arthur Henderson, the leader of the Labour Party, we received a letter from John McGovern, I.L.P. Member of Parliament, informing us that he was willing to come and speak in the election campaign on behalf of the C.P. This offer was accepted and he took part in the fight, but we made a mistake both in the campaign, in the constituency itself, and in the *Daily Worker* in not clearly explaining the differences in principle that existed between the C.P. and the I.L.P. so as to avoid any impression being given that the I.L.P. and the Communist Party were two equal bodies with the same political line. Then came an important by-election at Kilmarnock, where the I.L.P. had had its candidate in the field since the general election in 1931, and who had previously received the official support of the Labour Party at the previous general election, but he was not being opposed by the Labour Party.

The C.P. was not in a position to contest this election with a candidate of its own, and a series of questions were submitted to the I.L.P. candidate, Pollock. His answers were that he was in

agreement with the decisions taken at Derby for co-operation with the C.I., that he was a whole-hearted supporter of the united front movement, and that he stood for unity and for the establishment of a united Revolutionary Party. His answers were not considered very satisfactory, as they evaded some of the direct implications of our questions. But Pollock had a good record as a trade union fighter and as a supporter of the united front. The C.P. therefore decided to support his candidature. The C.P. organised a series of independent meetings, at which the line of the Party was very clearly brought out, the reasons given to the workers for our support of the I.L.P. candidate and the differences in principle that existed between the C.P. and the I.L.P. on such questions as the fight for power, the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc.

On behalf of the C.P., I then had to undertake some negotiations with the I.L.P. leaders on the question of fuller participation in the election campaign. In the course of these conversations, I criticised some aspects of the campaign as it was being conducted, and made suggestions for its improvement, particularly along the lines of mass activity, and securing the fullest participation of C.P. speakers at all election meetings. The I.L.P. on their side, raised the question of the independent activity of the C.P., and it was pointed out that this could never be surrendered.

The Political Bureau, in considering the Kilmarnock situation, and especially my conversation with the I.L.P. leaders, adopted a resolution in which they declared that my intervention in the election had succeeded in breaking through the sectarianism of the Party on the one hand, and in giving a big impetus to the whole line and policy of the C.P. on the other, but that I had not sufficiently stressed the necessity of C.P. independent activity during the whole course of the campaign.

To sum up, in the election campaign in which there had been common participation by the I.L.P. and the C.P., our chief error was that we had not made it clear that whilst giving support to the I.L.P. or vice versa, there still existed differences of principle, which needed to be continually explained to the masses of workers.

I now come to our mistakes and weaknesses in connection with the I.L.P. and with the united front work in general. First, in regard to the so-called new policy of the N.A.C. that was adopted in June. It must be explained that one of the Derby Conference decisions was to appoint a commission that would make certain changes in the constitution and policy of the Party in accordance with the discussion at Derby. This

was done, and what was described as the New Policy of the I.L.P. was finally adopted.

We considered that this new policy should be treated as a step forward on the part of the I.L.P., and the same attitude was taken by the Party organ, the *Daily Worker*. What was the basis of our mistake in this connection?

The essence of the new policy was that it came out of the Derby Conference under pressure from the rank and file, and it represented a break, although a confused break, with the old parliamentarism of the I.L.P.

While this confused break with parliamentarism afforded an opportunity for the C.P. to make further approaches to the I.L.P. members and to sections of workers still under their influence, for mass work in the factories and trade unions, at the same time the C.P. had the task of explaining—it was absolutely necessary that we should clearly show—the weaknesses of this new policy and to make an exposure of the leadership of the I.L.P. both Left and Right, who would sabotage their efforts to move forward in this direction, outlined in the new policy in the same way as they were doing with the efforts of the rank and file to get into closer co-operation with the C.I.

Through our failure to carry out an effective campaign along these lines, the I.L.P. leaders have used this new policy and the correspondence with the C.I. for the strengthening of their own line, against the Derby decisions and against the C.I. and for the Two-and-a-Half International.

Second, in regard to our mistakes, we have not sufficiently and consistently popularised the C.I. letters. It is amazing the number of I.L.P. members who have not read either Brockway's article or the letters of the C.I.

Thirdly, we have not explained convincingly enough to the I.L.P. membership the political line of their leaders, and the division of labour that exists within the I.L.P. leadership itself to prevent their coming into the Communist International.

Fourthly, the sectarianism of the C.P. and the refusal of big sections of the Party members to see the importance of winning the I.L.P. for Communism.

We need to put the position correctly in regard to a united Communist Party—not to put it in sense of the swallowing up of the I.L.P. but as a real unification of the I.L.P. membership with the Communist Party, to which the members of the I.L.P. are able to make a big contribution, through work, influence and leadership.

A united Communist Party in Britain would be a great source of strength for the British working class and for the C.I. and the removal of a big Left reformist barrier between our Party and the

revolutionary workers at present outside our ranks.

In regard to our mistakes, both in regard to the Labour Party and the I.L.P., we think the basic reasons can be found in the fact that our isolation from the masses, the deep-rooted sectarianism in the Communist Party, our weak connections with decisive sections of the working class, and our under-estimation of the process of disillusionment and radicalisation and moods of the workers, makes us jump into situations, without carefully analysing all the factors of the situation and developing a clear political line that would prevent us from making opportunist mistakes, at the same time as we break down the Left sectarianism that still exists in the ranks of the Party. There is a strong tendency to believe that because of united front activity, the guiding line of all Party activity—class against class—has been temporarily suspended.

THE PARTY SITUATION AND PROBLEMS.

The slow growth of the Communist Party is a matter of serious concern to our C.C., and the Political Bureau recently discussed this problem especially in the light of the municipal election results.

We have already noted the strong opposition to the National Government and the swing to the Labour Party, but our votes do not increase; on the contrary, in some cases a decline is to be noted.

In the recent municipal elections 98 Communists and militant candidates went to the poll. Only five were successful. In England and Wales we polled 20,000 votes, in Scotland 28,266 votes, and our Scottish vote represented a decline of 1,740 over last year's vote. Of this number, 1,474 were lost in one town, Greenock. In the recent parliamentary by-election at Skipton the C.P. only polled 704 votes at the same time that the L.P. candidate polled over 13,000. Let us say at once that the rotten inner-Party situation, both in Skipton and Greenock, accounts for the debacle in Communist votes there, but the other result demands careful analysis and explanation also.

It is clear from all the recent election results that there is a big disillusionment with the Tories and with the National Labourists, but not yet with the Labour Party. The workers are against the National Government, but not yet against their agents, the Labour leaders. The workers see the Communist Party as a good fighter against unemployment, in strikes, etc., but not as a vital political force leading the whole fight of the working class against the National Government. The result is that the only alternative they see, and

the only way they see of striking a blow at the National Government in the elections, is through voting Labour. And one of the strongest arguments against the C.P. in elections is that we "don't believe in Parliament," or that "we haven't got a chance, and that to vote for the Communist candidates under these circumstances is not only wasting a vote, but is splitting the workers' ranks." In fact, so strong is the hostility against the National Government that in all the recent elections this question of the Communists splitting the workers' votes now takes a sharper form than ever before, and this is fed by the Labour Party propaganda, "Remember Germany and what happened there in splitting the vote in the elections."

In all the elections the C.P. has splendid meetings, many times much bigger and more enthusiastic than those of the Labour Party. The workers make many financial sacrifices, but we do not yet win a significant number of their votes.

Why is this? Some of the reasons are as follows:—

The Communist Party does not yet know how to effectively combine its mass work on partial demands with its final aims and revolutionary way out of the crisis. It does not yet give a strong political lead on all the issues that arise. For example, in regard to the recent new Unemployed Bill of the government, we have organised immediately our fractions for the carrying out of united front activity against the Bill, but the Party as a party has not yet brought out the full implications of the Bill as a whole, what are the intentions of the National Government, what are the class questions that are raised, and what slogans can be given as the lead to the whole fight against the Bill.

While parliamentary illusions are still strong amongst the workers, our methods of agitation and propaganda are very bad, and there is weak organisation in the carrying through of our campaigns—many times helping to foster the impression that we are not really serious in our efforts to win these elections.

In addition, bad methods of work and inner-Party life retard the workers coming to the Communist Party.

But perhaps the most important reason of all is in regard to the leading rôle of the Party. We ourselves do not sufficiently emphasise this and bring it out in all questions. We have too big a tendency to contract the work out to united front organisations, and whilst being tireless in energy, by this neglect of the leading rôle of the Party, the workers do not see the Communist Party as the leader of their whole struggle, with a clear lead to all questions, carrying through

united front activity and all the time out of it strengthening the fight of the working class as a whole and consciously developing the power and organisation of the workers to overthrow capitalism.

Inside the ranks of the Party itself the leading rôle of the Party is under-estimated. There is very good mass work in the factories, trade unions and localities, but it is looked upon as a thing in itself and not as a means of strengthening the workers' struggle for power under the leadership of the Communist Party, by consciously building up the Party out of every phase of activity.

Further, we do not give systematic attention to the bringing forward of new leading forces, even when they are not as experienced as older comrades.

The Party also badly neglects the work amongst working women.

THE Y.C.L.

So far our Party has not given sufficient attention to, and has not endeavoured to direct the activities of the Party organisations to the winning of the masses of young workers for Communism, and through the leadership of the struggles of the young workers by the Party, has not built up a mass Communist organisation of the youth.

Tremendous attention is being given by the reformists to the question of work among the youth, by the publication of special papers, the appointment of special national organisers, and the setting up of special sport organisations. In this respect in recent months our Party has achieved some successes in winning influence over, and in helping the Y.C.L. However, this is entirely insufficient and in the coming period we have to give renewed attention to this work with the object of building up our work among the working youth.

The question of better methods of revolutionary mass work, agitation and propaganda, raised by the thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum with special concentration on factories and trade unions, is of special importance for our Party. We have to start this work from the approach of understanding that *we have to help the workers to the C.P.* We can best do this in the way that the Party stands out as the real fighter against the National Government. It is necessary to explain every phase of its policy clearly and simply, and show that the policy of the National Government is that of the capitalists as a class—that no other government standing on the basis of capitalism could operate any basically different line.

We must learn how to arouse the hatred and

opposition of the masses to the National Government on the basis of concrete issues and show how to lead the fight against it in factory, trade union and locality.

From this approach we are then in a better position to expose the reformist leaders, to show how they disorganise the workers' ranks, how they are against the united front, how they are the splitters, how the National Government's attacks on the unemployed have only continued the Labour Government's line, how their advocacy of democracy is a fraud. They deny it in their own ranks. Their advocacy of capitalist democracy only helps forward the development towards fascist dictatorship.

In answer to the propaganda for a third Labour Government, we must show that if there was another Labour Government to-morrow, because of its denial of the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the workers' revolution, the confiscation of capitalist property and destruction of its political power, the policy of a third Labour Government would in all basic respects be the same as that of the present National Government.

We must explain very carefully its fancy schemes of so-called socialism such as public corporations and utility combines; that these have nothing to do with socialism and workers' control of industry, that they are only schemes of capitalist restoration along fascist lines, leaving untouched the exploitation of the working class and all existing class and property relations.

Our whole propaganda on these and similar questions needs to be made clearer, simpler and more popular. In the degree that we make the political fight against capitalism understood in its real sense and not as a parliamentary thing, so more concrete will be the exposure of the reformists. For example, on the question of the Government's new Unemployed Bill. Why does the National Government introduce this new Bill? Because of the deepening crisis and the growing resistance of the working class. And they introduce this class measure to try to solve one aspect of the economic crisis, at the same time as they disorganise the workers' ranks and consolidate the class power of the capitalists. Against this the workers must build up their united front of struggle and the C.P. must lead the whole fight of the workers until strong enough to win power through revolution. Then with the establishment of the workers' dictatorship, the Soviet power in Britain will solve unemployment by the reorganisation of the whole life and industries of Great Britain. In this way we can much more effectively get our policy understood and a correct approach made to the question of the relationship

of the fight for partial demands and the fight for power.

In connection also with the fight for partial demands and the struggle for power, much more use needs to be made of the experiences in the Soviet Union.

But whilst using the example of the Soviet Union, it is also necessary to very simply popularise what the Soviet Power would mean in Britain, that we should raise this as a principal question, explain how it would reorganise industry and agriculture, how the workers would no longer be exploited but would become conscious builders of their own socialist society, how it would solve unemployment and bring workers' prosperity to socialist industry, how it would bring all idle land into cultivation, develop all forms of culture and education, give freedom and independence to the colonial countries and by the abolition of capitalism abolish the causes of war.

There is no other way—only this revolutionary way. This is the big lesson of the Soviet Union and experience in all other countries, where every kind of "solution," whether attempted by capitalist, social-democratic or fascist governments, of the crisis have been tried, and have signally failed. Above all is the classical example of Germany, where fascism is in power because of the line of social-democracy, and the so-called easy way of parliamentary democracy.

If in the next three months we could equip 50 per cent. of our Party membership to carry out this line, it would mean a tremendous advance for the Communist Party.

What is to be done after the present Plenum?

(1) Popularise the Plenum decisions and carry out great enlightenment campaigns in the Communist Party.

(2) Organise broad study circles and systematic Party days to study the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum, specify Party problems and better methods of work.

(3) Broaden out all forms of united front activity on the basis of more concrete issues, especially against the National Government's Unemployed Bill, against fascism and war, making the main drive for this united front in the factories, trade unions and localities.

(4) To win the I.L.P. for a united Communist Party on the line of the Communist International, for its programme and policy.

(5) To help build up a mass Young Communist League.

(6) To defend every existing right and liberty of working-class propaganda and organisation and the real mass fight against fascism.

(7) To raise the whole question and popularisation of the fight for power and the revolutionary way out of the crisis in a more effective fashion.

(8) Give more systematic attention to the development of new forces and persistent daily recruiting for the Communist Party.

The British delegation believe that on the basis of the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum and the overcoming of our present weaknesses, it will be possible to speedily record a big improvement in the revolutionary mass work of the Communist Party and the big numerical increase in membership in the Communist Party and the circulation of its fighting organ, the *Daily Worker*.

(Continued from page 80.)

ents and with the collection of funds. The shock brigades concentrate their activity around the large plants and military barracks, etc. By means of these shock brigades, whose activities embrace at present all the industrial centres of the country and begin to penetrate into the countryside, the Party is able to permeate into the thick of the masses. These shock brigades, by creating groups of readers and friends of "Sekki" in factories where there are as yet no Party "cells," prepare the soil for the organisation of the Communist "cells."

A large amount of work is being done to dis-

tribute the paper and collect funds for the paper's defence among the leading intelligentsia who sympathise with us. For example, the large movement, involving the most important universities of Japan, which developed this past summer around the dismissal of Professor Tavikov was used for a widespread campaign of collecting funds for the "Sekki" fund. The collections are made in all universities. Characteristically, immediately after the mass arrests in Kioto, during two or three months, more than a thousand yen were collected among the students of Kioto university.

HOW MONEY IS COLLECTED FOR THE "SEKKI" FUND.

THE endless terror, mass arrests and provocations used by the ruling classes of Japan against the C.P. of Japan and its press have failed to stop the issue of even one number of "Sekki" (The Red Banner), the illegal central organ of the Party. For example, sixteen owners of small print shops were arrested recently in Tokio on charges of printing "Sekki." The bourgeois press reports a large number of arrests of revolutionary workers who were caught distributing "Sekki" at places of work. "Sekki," in spite of this persecution, continues to appear regularly every five days, and *at present the Party aims to issue the paper once every three days.*

The strength of "Sekki" lies, first of all, in its close contact with the wide masses. The paper goes everywhere, in factories and workshops, into army barracks, into the countryside, into schools and colleges, etc. The facts on the receipts of donations to the "Sekki" fund, published from time to time in the pages of the paper, eloquently testify to this. The average monthly receipts to the "Sekki" fund amount to 1,000 yen, and considerably more at certain periods. Thus, when after the mass arrests, the Party re-established its organisation, from the first of March to the end of April, the newspaper collected 5,698 yen, some 698 yen more than the plan. This fact is further noteworthy, since the mass arrests of sympathisers who contributed to the "Sekki" fund began during this time.

The basic source of the receipts is contributions of individual workers and factory-workshop groups.

The "Sekki" fund is literally built up from pennies. The average contribution of a worker is several sen; seldom higher than 15 sen. The *metal workers occupy first place*, both for the number of donations and the amount. The workers at military enterprises are by far not the least contributors, and the *contributions of peasants have been on the increase for some time past.* The receipts from groups of intellectuals occupy a significant place. The unemployed also contribute to the "Sekki" fund.

In organising the collection of funds for the revolutionary press, in the first place for the "Sekki" fund, the Party has made use of even the smallest activity of the workers to develop the most varied forms for penetration into the wide masses. Not one strike, not even the smallest conflict, takes place in an enterprise without the workers being organised about this

strike in defence of their paper. For example, the following notes from a worker-correspondent appeared on July 11th in "Sekki" No. 147.

"At the end of June, the workers of a factory in a northern region, demanded the repayment of train fare for the return to their native place, the introduction of sanitary services, the payment of relief in cases of sickness or unemployment during the wet season, and a reduction of street car fare from 5 to 3 cents. Having won these demands, the comrades decided that, from the first of July, they would each subscribe 2 sen to the 'Sekki' fund, and to the defence of the Communist Party."

Or a group of workers at a large plant, when sending in 60 sen to the fund of the paper, wrote:

"We do not grudge our life to assure the issue of 'Sekki' once in 5 days. We will not allow the paper to be closed down. It is hard to describe to you the excitement with which the workers of our factory await the issue of 'Sekki.'

The campaign conducted by the militarists for the collection of donations for the army was partially used by the Party to expose the plans of the Japanese Imperialists, and at the same time, to increase the donations to the "Sekki" funds. The following is a characteristic note which appeared in one of the July numbers of "Sekki" when this campaign of "voluntary" donations for the army was in full swing:—

"Leaflets asking for a contribution of 50 sen for conducting an aerial manoeuvre were distributed in the houses of workers at our Seinen-dan arsenal, and of the society of Reservists. But the revolutionary workers here brought these leaflets into the shop, where the aroused workers, having considered these demands and exposed the actual purpose of the manoeuvre, resolved: 'Not to give even one sen for an aerial manoeuvre of no use to us, but to give the money to the "Sekki" fund and to the Shanghai Anti-War Congress, gathered together in our interests.'"

The inventory of receipts into the defence fund of the paper shows that the work of collecting funds for the revolutionary press has embraced the entire country. The chief method of collecting money is the *activity of shock brigades, that is, of small squads of agitators*, who occupy themselves with the distribution of the paper, with the organisation of a network of worker correspond-

(Continued on page 79.)