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Discussion on the Reports of Comrades Kuusinen, Pieck and Pollitt

Comrade Lenski (Poland)

The fundamental feature of the international situation is, on the one hand, the convulsive efforts of the bourgeoisie to save the capitalist system from progressive disintegration, and, on the other hand, the rapid, though very uneven, process of growth of the international revolutionary crisis.

At present it has become evident even for the bourgeois economists that within the limits of capitalism it is impossible by measures of autarchy to overcome the world economic crisis. The symptoms of bankruptcy of the artificial inflation boom in the U.S.A. and Japan, which are trying to save the situation by increased military-inflationist stimulants with a definite line for a war in the near future, is becoming more and more obvious. The military-inflationist boom, accompanied by a further intensification of the economic crisis, is bringing capitalism face to face with an imperialist world war. The extreme intensity of capitalist contradictions which were characterised by Comrade Kuusinen are now passing into the provocational unleashing of a world war, above all, counter-revolutionary intervention against the U.S.S.R.

The entire development of the crisis and the bankruptcy of all the experiments which have been made to overcome it must be considered in the light of the dominating contradiction between the world of decaying capitalism and the world of gigantic achievements of socialist construction. Of course, the degree of intensity of this antagonism is not always the same. However, it would be a mistake to draw the conclusion from this that at certain periods the struggle between the two worlds takes second place compared with the struggle in the imperialist camp. In this respect we have a two-fold process of the intensification of imperialist contradictions which always display the ruling tendency towards beginning an anti-Soviet war, a tendency which is increased by the maturing of new wars between the imperialist States.

As the theses correctly point out, the main centre of world war is now in the Far East. As the instigator of anti-Soviet intervention, Japanese imperialism is trying by means of impudent provocation methods to set in motion the interventionist forces in the capitalist world. The Japanese military clique are reckoning on the support of the chief organiser of intervention—

British imperialism, on the active participation of fascist Germany, and the more or less friendly neutrality of the U.S.A. The interventionist bloc of England, Japan, and Germany, according to the plans of the British imperialists, should delay the new round of wars between the capitalist States and thus create the conditions for the further preparations of British imperialism for war against the U.S.A. The Japanese imperialists have the same aim when they try to seize the maritime provinces of the Far East as a land and naval basis for further expansion and the future war against the United States. German fascism sets itself the most complicated task. In trying to expand to the East at the expense of the Soviet Union, it wishes simultaneously to wriggle out of the vice of the Versailles Treaty through its vanguard role in Anti-Soviet intervention.

The fascist military circles in Japan, feverishly preparing for an attack on the U.S.S.R., find a faithful ally in German fascism, which is shown by the recent demonstrations of German-Japanese friendship in Tokio and Berlin.

The next ally on whose help the Japanese bourgeoisie is reckoning is **Polish imperialism**. A factor which makes this more difficult is undoubtedly the Polish-German antagonism, intensified by the crisis of the whole Versailles system. Hence, there has recently been a change, not so much in the line as in the methods of the foreign policy of the Pilsudski government. The Four-Power Pact and the danger of the revision of the western frontier of Poland for the benefit of Germany brought about a temporary

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strengthening of the Polish-French alliance and the conclusion by Poland of the so-called Eastern Pact with the Soviet Union. This policy was intended to strengthen the position of Poland towards Germany. At the same time the peace demagoguery of the Pilsudski government, along with the frantic terror, was a means of struggle against the growing revolution in Poland, by the method of disorientating the masses and lulling to sleep their vigilance regarding the danger of anti-Soviet war.

Our Party firmly resisted this blow. It succeeded in taking up the political counter-offensive at once, exposing the diversionary essence of the peace manoeuvres of Polish fascism, contrasting them to the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Government, showing to the masses the necessity for the further defence of the Soviet Union against international and Polish imperialism. Our Party was able to reorganise itself rapidly and without confusion after the big arrests and to offer the necessary resistance to the provocative blackmailing attacks of the secret police.

The sharpening of Polish-German contradictions did not remove the tendency towards an anti-Soviet agreement which existed on both sides. This is why from the very beginning of the sharpening of Polish-German contradictions we warned against such an over-estimation of them as would permit the assumption that under a new regrouping of imperialist forces in Western Europe, Polish imperialism would cease to be the rallying ground of anti-Soviet forces, or that war between Germany and Poland is a question of the immediate future. While maintaining the necessary realism in the estimate of this danger, the Party must carry on a systematic merciless struggle against all manifestations of nationalism and the defence of the fatherland which are preached by all parties of the Polish bourgeoisie.

In putting forward the slogan of the self-determination of Upper Silesia and the Danzig Corridor, the Party was not afraid of the intense demagoguery of the Polish social-fascists and Trotskyists, who represented us as supporters of the annexation of the disputed territories by fascist Germany, as agents of German fascism. "This slogan can only be carried out," we wrote in our declaration, "by a revolutionary struggle both against Polish imperialism, which seized Upper Silesia and the Corridor by force, and against German imperialism, which wishes to violently annex them to Germany."

Naturally, the Party directed its main fire against any manifestation of Pan-Polish nationalism, against military preparations and the imperialist policy of its bourgeoisie. In order to inculcate active internationalism among the masses, the Party developed a campaign of solidarity with the German proletariat, which aroused a wide echo among the striking workers, especially among the Lodz textile workers. The Party paid special attention to the struggle for the masses of the toiling youth who are being infected with the poison of nationalism in the most varied forms of pogrom chauvinism, the anti-fascist defence of the fatherland, right up to the so-called national Communism.

Finally, we definitely rejected the views of some comrades on the impossibility of a Polish-German agreement and showed that the fascist government of Hitler, closely linking up the strivings of the German bourgeoisie to become a great Power with their interventionist plans against the U.S.S.R., and which was prepared to play the main role in the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, was inclined to conclude a non-aggression pact with Poland, which none of the former compromise governments of the German bourgeoisie have been prepared to do.

The declaration against the use of violence does not, of course, remove German-Polish contradictions. The question of the Polish-German frontier remains open. The economic struggle continues. Fascist nationalism on both sides of the border is filled with explosive elements. It would be premature to talk of a bloc already existing between Polish and German imperialism, against the U.S.S.R. But a big step has been taken in this direction, after which the other steps may follow. An open attack by the Japanese imperialists on the Soviet Union, by rallying together the interventionist forces in Europe, might considerably accelerate the organisation of a military bloc of fascist Poland and Germany against the U.S.S.R.

The solution of imperialist contradictions through war, of course, depends on the tempo of growth of the international revolutionary crisis. On the whole we have a peculiar interweaving of the further growth of the revolutionary upsurge in a number of capitalist countries, the strengthening of the forces of the Soviet

revolution in China, the insurrectionist movement in the weak semi-colonial links of capitalism such as Chile, Cuba, and Palestine, with the development of a preventive civil war against the proletariat by fascism in such countries as Germany and Austria, a development which calls forth a tremendous intensity of class antagonisms creating the objective conditions for revolutionary outbursts.

The development of the fascist dictatorship in Germany intensified the fascist regime in other countries like Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, etc., and hastened the fascisation of the so-called democratic countries.

The "Hitlerisation" which is being carried on in Poland is expressed in the frantic, unbridled terror, the secret murder of our active workers, the establishment of compulsory arbitration, the increased concentration of power which is intended to be rooted in the new constitution, the seizure of the village administrations by means of faked elections, attempts to enlarge the mass basis of Pilsudski by means of various organisations like the Nazis and a harsher attitude by the ruling party to the oppositional parties. A broad network of organisations of the Hitlerite type is being formed by the national democrats who look on Hitlerism as the universal ideal of the fascist dictatorship.

A peculiar kind of "Gleichschaltung" is taking place, an equalisation with the fascist dictatorship in Germany, which has gone beyond the Italian prototype in its impetuosity. However, the varied forms of the fascist dictatorship and the methods of fascisation still depend to a great extent on the aggregate of the conditions in various countries.

The ruling camp of the Pilsudski-ites in Poland still cannot make up its mind completely to liquidate the other competing parties. The extreme weakness and insecurity of the mass basis of the Pilsudski-ites compel them to allow other parties to exist within restricted limits as an auxiliary force in the struggle against the growing revolution.

On the basis of the general consolidation of the counter-revolutionary forces, although accompanied by internal friction, the basic contradictions in the bourgeois camp are gradually smoothed over. The approach of the national democrats to Pilsudski's position in the matter of parliament, of foreign policy, etc., is an indication of it.

One of the reasons for the comparative tolerant attitude of Pilsudski to the social-fascist parties is their lower degree of organisation than German social democracy, which in the conditions of the rapid development of the fascist dictatorship became a hindrance not as a force which was fighting against fascism but as the chief competitor which had obtained a firm hold of the State, municipal and trade union apparatus. By depriving social democracy of its organisational positions, the Hitler government wanted to make it easier to carry out the fascisation of the central power and give the good jobs of the social democrats as presents to its own people. By its well-advanced fascisation of the Weimar Republic, social democracy considerably accelerated the tempo of the development of the fascist dictatorship of Hitler.

In Poland, the system of the old parties showed greater vitality and resistance than in Germany. Such a system also remains at present in Japan, where the role of the military fascist circles in the sphere of home and foreign policy is now decisive. In Poland and in Germany the former parliament is being replaced by institutions based on the principle of fascist "leaderism" or, as we term it, "elitism." However, the Polish "elite" are to a greater extent promoted from below, concealed by "democracy," than is the case with the German gang of appointed leaders.

The fascisation which is being carried on under the cloak of the defence of democracy with the active participation of social fascism in countries like Czechoslovakia, is much more complicated. Here, on the whole, there still remains the system of the old bourgeois parties, and the chief blow is directed against the revolutionary vanguard led by the Communist Party. Here parliamentarism in a reduced form may exist for a longer period. But even here parliamentarism is not an independent factor, as Trotsky stated:—

"At the present moment," wrote Trotsky in a book on Germany, "social democracy is not so much faced with the task of defending the foundations of the capitalist fatherland against the proletarian revolution, as the parliamentary bourgeois system against fascism."

This means that social democracy now plays an objectively revolutionary role, carrying on a struggle against fascism, and that

it has ceased to play the role of the chief social buttress of the bourgeoisie.

Under the pressure of the revolutionary upsurge, the fascist dictatorship in Italy and in Poland, is compelled to manoeuvre before the masses, above all concealing its big capitalist features, the features of the dictatorship of monopolist capital. In this respect, the manoeuvring powers of Italian and Polish fascism are wider and more varied than Hitlerism, which is exposing itself quite rapidly as the terrorist regime of the financial, industrial and land-lord oligarchy. The demagogic howl raised in connection with the resignation of Hugenberg could not trick the petty bourgeois masses for long, for he was replaced by Schmidt, who liquidated any attempts to carry out the demagogic programme of corporative construction.

In the latest programme of the corporative system, Mussolini very strongly emphasises the principle of the defence of the collective interests of labour, using anti-capitalist demagogy and promising to create a synthesis of capitalism and socialism. Mussolini claims that he will be able to avoid the mistakes of bankrupt Roosevelt.

Still more cunning are the manoeuvres of the Pilsudski Government, which talks of control over production, threatening the coal barons with jail for closing down their mines, speaking sharply against wage-cuts, even prosecuting the cartels for sabotage of the people's interests, etc. This comedy is intended to convince the masses that the government is above classes and to arouse their confidence in fascist arbitration.

"We are not enthusiasts for any of the existing systems . . . the world is waiting for new paths. We do not limit ourselves to the dilemma: capitalism or socialism," wrote Medzinski, a famous Pilsudski-ite writer in the government organ, "Polska Gazette."

Medzinski, who plays the role of an objective observer, according to his own statement, is even prepared to utilise the "Communist experiment" for the good of his fatherland if he would be sure of its successful conclusion.

Of course, all this is said under the pressure of the tremendous sympathy of the toiling masses of Poland for socialist construction in the Soviet Union. All this forms one of the indirect indications of the growth of the proletarian revolution.

In Poland there is an accelerated, though very uneven growth of the revolutionary upsurge. Proceeding from Lenin's law of unequal development, the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. warned against relying on the automatic breakdown of capitalism as the result of the end of its relative stabilisation. By the perspectives which we indicate for Poland, we understand an uneven growth of the forces of proletarian revolution in Poland, accompanied by growing difficulties, depending on the international situation and conditioned by the activity of the Party. In spite of the fresh big difficulties, these forces have greatly increased and strengthened. As a result of the general deepening and chiefly of the intensification of the economic crisis and especially of the agrarian crisis, as a result of the unbounded poverty increased by taxation plunder, there has been an increase in the revolutionary activity both of the proletariat and of the peasants.

The force with which the crisis strikes at the toiling masses is shown by the fall in wages by 60 per cent. compared with 1928 (even among the metal workers by 50 per cent.), the fall in the daily income of a peasant family by almost 65 per cent. and the increase of deficit peasant farms from 3 to 39 per cent. These are official statistics.

In the second half of the past year there took place the rapid straightening out of the revolutionary fronts of the workers and the peasants, accompanied by the general strengthening of the hegemony of the proletariat, especially in Poland proper. The extremely tense situation in Poland, where the fascist dictatorship is most undermined and shattered, carries with it the elements of sharp turns in events which might suddenly bring the Party face to face with a revolutionary crisis, opening up a period of the mobilisation of the majority of the proletariat and the basic masses of the peasants for an armed revolt.

The chief link in the revolutionary upsurge still consists of the strike struggle which has reached a record extent compared with other countries.

The most important features of the strike movement in Poland during last year consist of the greater vigour of the strikes, the increase in their size, the variety and the combination of various

forms of struggle, their great stubbornness and repetition, the increasingly marked political character and the great strengthening of our political leadership.

The most important feature in the extension of the mass base of the strike movement is the increasing participation of the metal workers during the last few months.

Compared with other countries, with the possible exception of Spain, the extent and intensity of the strike struggle in Poland is highest of all.

In the present year the strike wave spread to the basic branches of industry—the coal and textile and building industries—throughout the country, taking the form of general demonstrative strikes in centres like Lodz and Bielostok, combined with the stormy occupation of factories, sympathy strikes and mass street fighting, leading the proletariat closely up to the general strike of whole provinces.

The general strike of the Lodz textile workers exceeded previous strikes in length. The fact that 120,000 strikers held out for a whole month (March 6th to April 5th) and that the front of struggle was not broken in a single place by the unemployed, shows the great change which has taken place in the consciousness of the entire proletariat of Lodz.

The masses were in constant movement, owing to which the strike could take place with a rapidity of an avalanche, overcoming any waverings among the strikers. The street meetings were attended by 5-9,000 people, demonstrations consisted of 20-40,000 people. The size and the fighting spirit of the demonstrations recalled the times of 1918-1919. Towards the end of the strike the demonstrations turned into barricade fighting. This was a genuine breach of the chain of fascist terror.

The strikes were practically led by the Communists. The initiative was in their hands. They had prepared the strike organisationally and politically, concentrating forces on the decisive factories. They held a one-day general sympathy strike in Lodz, they organised the mass united front from below, forming a network of strike committees, and thus, in spite of the social fascists, led the struggle of the textile workers to victory. For the first time the Communists succeeded in overthrowing the agreement which had just been concluded by the P.P.S. leaders with the factory owners after a three weeks' strike, and continuing the strike with all the strikers until the owners signed the 1918 agreement.

A considerable role in launching the spring strike was played by the correct combination of strikes with the seizure of individual factories. At the beginning of the present year this was the prevailing form of struggle. The workers saw in it a means of putting pressure on the manufacturers and the best guarantee against strike breaking.

The Polish Communists were also able to avoid a mechanical general application of this form of struggle. During the general strike, the seizure of the factories was of subsidiary importance. It was necessary to see that the working masses did not lock themselves up in the factories, because the central point of the struggle at that time was to spread the strike and to carry out mass street actions.

The general strikes of the textile workers and the miners are of great international importance. These strikes were a reply to the frontal attack of the Polish bourgeoisie, encouraged by the success of Hitler. In these strikes the Polish proletariat refuted the defeatist theories of the P.P.S., the Second International and the Trotskyite hangers-on, who considered that, with the victory of Hitler, the entire international labour movement had been thrown many years backwards.

The weakest side of the strike movement was, in spite of its comparatively high political level, the absence of a wave of political strikes on the basis of the economic struggles.

It is true that the vast majority of economic strikes contain the elements of the revolutionary struggle. It is true that we cannot mechanically contrast the two forms of struggle, but, above all, the mass political strike, the demonstrative strike, is the strike which is unfolding the red flag, carrying revolutionary slogans to the broad masses, the strikes which link up proletarian struggles, with the peasant struggle and the national liberation struggle, which accelerate the disintegration of the army, induce the soldiers towards fraternisation with the workers and peasants. "Such a strike," wrote Lenin, "cannot be called forth artificially. It cannot be stopped when it begins to involve hundreds of thousands of people."

A model for us and other Sections is the small C.P. of Bulgaria, which, rich in revolutionary experience and achievements, was able, in the difficult conditions of illegality, to win over the majority of the proletariat. Here already in 1932 political strikes formed 50 per cent. of the total number. In 1933 the proportion of these strikes is probably still higher. The causes of political strikes mentioned by Comrade Iskrov are characteristic of the high level of the revolutionary activity of the masses.

The chief causes of the weakness of our Section and of other Sections in the sphere of the mass political strike is the insufficient initiative of the Parties, in their lagging behind the actual political events, in an incapable, unconcrete, stereotyped propagandist approach to political questions and the retreat of weak elements in face of growing difficulties.

The raising of the strike movement and of every mass movement to a higher political level is not only a lever of the revolutionary crisis but also a necessary condition for the further extension and success of the economic struggle.

We must concretely and insistently put before the masses the revolutionary perspectives, develop our programme of the way out of the crisis on the basis of mass experience of the every-day struggle, skillfully advance political demands which are popular among the masses, reply to every act of violence which excites the masses by means of meetings, strikes, and demonstrations, and thus prepare the ground for the general strike, linking it up with the popularisation of the slogan of the armed revolt.

The broad masses of workers and peasants must always see in our Party a force which is marching towards the conquest of power and is capable of capturing it. In this question there are revealed all the weaknesses of our Sections which hinder the winning of the decisive majority, i.e., the decisive Sections of the proletariat in the matter of war and revolution, and the attraction of the basic masses of the peasants to the side of the proletarian revolution.

The chief cause of the slow tempo at which the masses are leaving social-fascism, though the objective conditions are very favourable, is the inadequate and unconcrete exposure of the social-fascists, above all, on the most important question—the question of power. A skilful juggling with radical and almost revolutionary slogans of power now forms the key point of the counter-revolutionary manoeuvring of social-fascism, which thus tries, firstly, to retain the masses; secondly, to distract the broad masses from the every-day struggle; and, thirdly, to play the role of the last reserve of the bourgeoisie in case of a proletarian revolution.

Hence, the peculiar "maximalist" tactics of the social-fascists in a number of countries, above all, in countries where the strike struggle and the stormy actions of the unemployed have assumed the largest dimensions. There is no need to waste energy in the struggle for small concessions or in the defence of rights which cannot be defended, such as social insurance. Let us preserve our forces for the decisive struggles (it is not clear which struggles) for power and for socialist transformation.

Polish social-fascism, which imitates the methods of the Austrian school in the Second International, has a rich arsenal of demagogic tricks. Their leaders speak in resolutions and articles about the necessity of a "Worker and Peasant Government," which "shall arise from the toiling masses and be organisationally linked up with them" (Zaremba: "The Tasks of the Workers' and Peasants' Government").

Simultaneously, every resolution speaks of the struggle against all dictatorships, i.e., against the dictatorship of the proletariat in its living form—the Soviet power. The resolution of the general council of the P.P.S. openly places the Soviet Union "into one class with fascist States." It is precisely in this formula that the counter-revolutionary essence of the social-fascist slogan of power can be found, as it means in practice a variety of the fascist dictatorship carried out by the social-fascists for crushing the revolutionary forces.

With all the greater stubbornness and concreteness we must contrast fascised "democracy" cloaked with the phraseology of the workers' and peasants' government to the slogan of the government of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants Deputies as the incarnation of the genuine workers' democracy.

To hasten the breakdown of social democracy there must be a persistent and systematic development of the united proletarian front not only in individual countries but also on an international

scale. Only then will the spontaneous strivings of the working masses towards unity be directed along the channel of the irreconcilable class struggle and revolutionary internationalism, helping to break down the wall between the Communists and the social-democratic workers. In this direction we developed the campaign for the anti-fascist congress, which found a wide echo among the non-party masses and the P.P.S. workers. The participation of a number of local groups of the P.P.S. and one whole organisation in the election of delegates testifies to the growing strivings towards revolutionary unity among the P.P.S. masses, in spite of the obstacles raised by their leaders.

In Spring, this year, the P.P.S., like the German social democrats and the Second International began a peculiar kind of attack against the Communists on the question of the united front. This attack was just before the Spring strike wave in Poland. The comedy of the united front of the P.P.S. broke down on the concrete proposals of the E.C.C.I., which could be understood by every worker, which our C.C. adapted to the conditions of the Polish proletariat, putting in the centre of the proposed platform of a united front a one-day general protest strike against the liquidation of social legislation, and also demonstrations and strikes against emergency courts and the new law for the destruction of workers' organisations.

The Party carried out this tactical measure on the basis of the united front from below with a speed which is unusual in illegal conditions, taking into consideration not only the internal but international conditions. It compelled the P.P.S. to show its cards and come out openly against the united front with the Communists.

However, we have not been able to develop a wide campaign of exposure in connection with the refusal of the leaders of the P.P.S. and the Bund, and have not been able to carry it into the social-fascist trade unions and party organisations. There were also some opportunist mistakes in the localities during the negotiations which were staged by the Bund fakirs, who were able to gain time and to some extent rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of their masses. Like other sections, our Party did not succeed in making the proper use of the circumstances to carry disruption into the ranks of the social-fascist organisations.

Our inability to raise the problem of power concretely on the basis of the everyday experiences of the masses in close connection with immediate political questions is also the cause of the weakness of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and especially the weakness of our positions in the social fascist unions. While contrasting our programme to the social fascist "maximalism," acting in defence of the struggle for the everyday interests of the working class, very frequently we converted this struggle into an aim in itself in practice, instead of using it as an auxiliary method of the political class struggle. This is why we very frequently successfully conducted economic strikes, and the workers who are grateful for our help and leadership still join the social fascist unions. The slogans put forward in the economic struggles which we carry into the social fascist unions with great persistency, are lacking a clear connection with the political demands and with revolutionary slogans, they are lacking a convincing exposure of the whole policy of social fascism for the masses.

This cannot be replaced by wordy abuse, often not going beyond the limits of the narrow experience of the economic struggle, because then the political initiative passes into the hands of the social fascists.

It seems to me that in the present conditions a great danger of the lowering of the political level of our work threatens our legal sections above all. In these sections the chronic weakness of the revolutionary trade union movement is clearly apparent. In Poland, where the number of our organised supporters reaches 50,000, while the social fascist unions have about 200,000 members, the tempo of growth of our forces is typically slow. Our shock task is to develop the revolutionary trade union movement by the activation of the Red Trade Unions, to use every legal possibility.

The great possibilities of this work even among the trade union activists are shown by the actions of the "Left" delegation at the October Congress of the social fascist unions. Under the pressure of the masses of P.P.S. delegates, the "Left" delegation was able to develop its position in a number of speeches, and at its initiative the Congress honoured the memory of Comrade Radigo, a member of our C.C. who had been brutally murdered by the gendarmes.

Among the unemployed our work is chiefly of an episodic,

primitive character. There is no real co-ordination of the actions of the unemployed, and unemployed activity has become chronically scattered. This weakness has to be liquidated by means of actions linked up with the everyday interests of both parts of the working class, and also by putting our political contents into them. A widespread form of struggle of the unemployed in Poland is the seizure of food, coal and clothing from the capitalists and landlords by means of proletarian self-help. Our task is to mobilise the masses of unemployed, not replacing mass actions by the attacks of small, scattered groups which dissipate the fighting energy of the masses. The Party must give an organisational form to the spontaneous efforts to seize food and clothing or else it must itself launch the slogan of the confiscation of food from the big stores and the store-houses of the landlords (and not from the petty bourgeoisie) on the basis of mass activity, and as the results of proper preparations, combining this form of struggle with other forms of the mobilisation of the masses.

Still more urgent is the question of raising the political level of our work in the Revolutionary Peasant Movement and the National Liberation Movement.

The Revolutionary Peasant Movement in Poland has long since ceased to be a scattered movement, and has long since gone beyond the confines of the village and in the last few months has taken the form of outbreaks of rebellion on a scale previously unknown. The peasant rising in Middle Galicia, which embraced about 100,000 peasants, marked a sharp turning point.

The most characteristic feature of this movement is the interweaving of various forms of the peasant struggle, with the prevalence of such forms as directly bring the masses into conflict with the local apparatus of the fascist dictatorship, leading up to the revolutionary seizure of the land. For two weeks tens of thousands of peasants fought against large detachments of police, disarming the police and arming themselves with anything that came to their hands, in the course of the struggle. The peasant masses besieged the police stations, released prisoners, drove out the representatives of the government, beat up spies, built barricades and used the primitive strategy of a peasant war. A more than favourable attitude was shown by the troops to the rebellious peasants, which proves the possibility of an extensive break in the chain of military discipline and the fraternising of the soldiers with the masses of the people. The soldiers shouted: "Long live the Fighting People!" The whole Party should devote the greatest attention to this question.

On this occasion the C.P.P. realised in time the tremendous significance of the peasant struggles in Galicia and immediately put forward correct slogans and gave concrete directives. The concrete directives of the C.C., C.P.P., were: Not a cent in taxes for the bloody fascist dictatorship; not a cent in payment of debts; no forced labour; seize grain from the big estates; chase out the police; release the prisoners; demand support for the families of the killed and wounded. Then come the basic slogans: Expropriation of land without compensation; and workers' and peasants' government. Mass self-defence detachments were set up in the course of the struggle.

A big role was played in setting the movements on foot by the joint work of the Communists and the revolutionary peasants in preparing for hunger marches. In a number of places the Communists were able to stand at the head of the fighting peasants and directly lead the struggle. However, the movement was mainly spontaneous in character, for we did not succeed in rapidly mobilising the necessary forces and sending them into the districts seized by the rebellion. We were unable to become the genuine staff of the rebellion.

A new feature in the development of the peasant struggles was the fact that the village poor began to play the foremost role. This tendency is becoming the prevailing one. It gives a class revolutionary edge to the movement, deepens the social differentiations in the villages, makes it difficult for the kulaks to get in and weakens the vacillations of the middle peasants. But it would be an illusion to think that in such movements as the insurrectional struggle in Middle Galicia there cannot be vacillations simply because the majority of the peasants there are poor and have little land.

Big vacillations were shown in the strike of the whole province which was declared by the People's Party under the pressure of its rank and file and the peasant masses against low prices for agricultural produce. In many respects it resembled the strike of the American farmers. In places where the Communists succeeded in

getting the leadership of the strikes, the struggle of the peasants took the form of genuine revolutionary actions. However, in general we did not succeed in giving the necessary scope to the movement. The activity of some organisations was also undermined by sectarian arguments that the movement only corresponds to the interests of the kulaks, while in reality the broad masses of the middle peasants and the very small peasants were interested in it.

The chief tactical conclusion to be drawn from the revolutionary situation in the villages consists now in a capable and immediate intensification of the slogans and forms of struggle, especially those which led the peasants to the revolutionary seizure of the land. The general slogan, "Expropriation of Land Without Compensation," which is also put forward by the social-fascists, must be made more definite by us, as the revolutionary seizure of the estates of the landlords and the government. In cases like the rebellion of the peasants in Central Galicia, we must lead the spontaneous strivings of the masses to seize these estates, setting up peasant committees in the course of the struggle as a special kind of embryonic organs of power. We now put forward the organised struggle against taxation and hunger as the chief of the practical tasks of the Party in the villages. In this struggle it is necessary to make wide use of the tactics of the united front, drawing the rank and file of the People's Party, who are now in a state of profound unrest, into the united front.

The necessity for intensifying the slogans and forms of struggle has also matured in the national liberation movement in West Ukraine and West White Russia, where the struggle of the peasant masses against national oppression and the Polish occupation is distinguished by increasing aggressiveness. In West Ukraine, the masses tear down the Polish flag, drive out teachers who are carrying on Pole-isation, attack the occupational agents, etc. This movement, which extends chiefly to the villages, has mainly a spontaneous character. During the last few months the leading role of our Party has weakened, and the activity of the national liberation organisations which were destroyed by fascism has diminished. The insufficient contacts between town and village and the weakness of the leading role of the proletariat, especially in West Ukraine, is becoming more and more obvious.

Simultaneously the Ukrainian and White Russian counter-revolutionaries have increased their activity, seeking a support in German imperialism and strengthening their alliance with Polish imperialism. The coming of Hitler to power revived the hopes of these bourgeois for rapid intervention against the Soviet Union. All the parties of the Ukrainian and White Russian bourgeoisie, with the active support of the Polish bourgeoisie, have begun a frantic attack on Communism and the Soviet government in connection with the liquidation of the kulaks and the counter-revolutionary spying and sabotaging groups in Soviet Ukraine and White Russia, crowned by the shooting in the Soviet consulate in Lvov. This attack is accompanied by provocative attempts to get possession of the national liberation organisations and disintegrate them from within.

The leadership of the Communist Party of West Ukraine has not been up to its task, was not able to take up the counter-attack at once, to expose the interventionist machinations regarding the Soviet Union and thus to strengthen confidence in the Soviet national policy among the masses. Opportunist vacillations and capitulatory tendencies appeared in the weakest links of the Party. The fact that a certain part of the activists and the leaders gave way to the pressure of nationalism proved that the nationalist ideology of Vasilkov had not been completely overcome and that not sufficient resistance was offered to the national opportunist conceptions of Skrypnyk, as a result of which hostile elements were supported.

We have long since opposed the national opportunist mistakes of Skrypnyk which were carried into the C.P. of West Ukraine, mistakes which were based on an anti-Leninist approach to the national question as the most decisive factor.

The most important factor in our struggle against Ukrainian and White Russian nationalism, which in their interventionist plans are in practice allied to Polish nationalism, is to impress on the minds of the toilers of Ukraine and White Russia that their national liberation is an inseparable component part of the capture of the Soviet power, and that the path towards the overthrow of the Polish occupation leads through the proletarian revolution throughout Poland. Here we cannot make any con-

cessions to the radicalising rank and file or the lower organisations of the national fascist parties. There can be no concessions to their anti-Soviet feelings. For or against the Soviet Union and its national policy—this is the dividing line.

In the same way we must not idealise the terrorist fighters of the U.V.O. (the Ukrainian military organisation) as heroes of the national liberation movement. Communists must be able capably to combine their defence against the occupationist hangmen with a critical contrast of our methods of mass revolutionary struggle with the methods of individual terror.

It is further necessary to concretise the right to national self-determination to the point of separation from Poland, in close contact with the partial slogans which lead the masses up to the direct struggle against the occupationist regime, such as: "Use the Ukrainian and White Russian Language in the Schools, Municipalities and other Institutions, despite Official Prohibition; Drive Occupationists Agents Out of Them; Disarm the Police," etc.

The leaders of the C.P. of West White Russia also lost tempo, though to a smaller extent, when they underestimated in practice the counter-revolutionary activity of White Russian nationalism. Under the influence of the initiative and criticism of our C.C., the leaders of the C.P.W.W.R. and the C.P.W.U. began to correct their mistakes and shortcomings, passing on to a successful counter-attack against Ukrainian and White Russian nationalism.

As the slogans and forms of struggle intensify, we must not indulge in a "Leftist" leap ahead, putting before the Party tasks which are beyond its power, and beyond the concrete revolutionary situation. Among such non-urgent tasks is the development of the guerilla struggle.

Our only correct line is to turn the guerilla elements into a mass self-defence force which will always be able to pass from defence to attacks on the enemy.

In connection with events like these in Central Galicia, it would be equally premature at the present moment to start to partially carry out the slogan of soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies, as some comrades proposed at our last Plenum. This can only be carried out in the conditions of a revolutionary crisis, in the conditions of the high revolutionary activity of the workers and peasants in the whole country, activity which passes into tempestuous outbreaks against the fascist regime. In cases like that of the peasant struggle in Central Galicia we should not leap over the peasant committees as organisations of the mass sections, and as rudimentary organs of power.

On the raising of the political level of our work depends the further qualitative and quantitative growth of our sections, the Bolshevik assimilation of new elements, the overcoming of the fluctuations in the membership and the training of Bolshevik cadres.

In spite of all its weaknesses, which are being systematically eliminated, our Party has obtained greater achievements in the leadership of the everyday struggles, in widening its influence among the masses of the proletariat, the peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie, in strengthening the Party organisations, in the Bolshevik selection of the Party activists, in the improvement of the methods of leadership. The Party showed the greatest activity in the sphere of economic strikes. The flexible strike tactics decided on by the Sixth Congress of our Party were applied in practice, penetrating deeply into the Party organisations. The Party enhanced its role in the peasant struggles and also in the Polish villages, especially in Central Galicia. The initiative and activity of the local organisations have also increased. The resisting power of the Party organisations to the frantic fascist terror has grown. The organisations which were destroyed by the gendarmes are being restored rapidly. The struggle against provocation has become more stubborn and recently has become more successful.

We have done a great deal in the sphere of practical Bolshevik self-criticism, leading not to self-castigation, but to the raising of activity, widely using the method of correcting and studying various mistakes in the course of the work.

Our achievements are not at all sufficient. The organisational situation of the Party must be raised to a level corresponding to the whole revolutionary situation. The work of our C.C. is developing in this direction.

The development of the revolutionary upsurge during the past year has completely confirmed the correctness of the clear and comprehensive estimate of the changes in the international

situation and the correctness of the perspectives indicated by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. This estimate guarded our sections both against hurrah revolutionary exaggerations and against panic in connection with the forced temporary retreat of the German proletariat. Every effort of the Trotskyites to cause panicky feelings in our ranks has been defeated. No result was produced by the desperate curses repeated at every step by the frantic renegade and hanger-on of social democracy, Trotsky, who shouted that the Twelfth Plenum claimed that "the whole international situation is characterised by the revolutionary offensive." No result was produced by his frenzied attack on the heroic C.P. of Germany, which, in the difficult conditions of fascist terror, succeeded in maintaining its influence on the masses, its fighting powers and Bolshevik unity, rapidly passing on to a new mobilisation of the forces of revolution for the purpose of a counter-attack.

We have carried on the struggle against the capitulatory elements, Remmele-Neumann, hiding themselves behind "Left" phraseology, and we have decisively criticised every deviation from the general line of the Party.

In developing the defeatist perspectives of the long years of victory of Hitler, the "stabilisation of German fascism," the "normalisation of its internal difficulties," the Trotskyists are fulfilling the counter-revolutionary orders of the bourgeoisie, calculating on restraining the masses from the struggle.

The German proletariat, which retreated after various heroic struggles with fascism, is not broken and not duped by fascism; this was shown even in the distorted mirror of the fascist plebiscite and the Reichstag elections. This is the basic pre-requisite for the development of a new revolutionary upsurge in Germany.

The bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy and the demagogic promises of fascism on the general background of the process of the breakdown of capitalism and the simultaneous victorious development of socialist construction raises more and more sharply before the masses the problem of power and the paths which lead towards winning it. But we must not suppose that fascism of itself will uproot the democratic illusions among the masses. Here it is possible that there will be various kinds of relapses, as is shown by the experience of Poland, Italy and Yugoslavia.

In the sphere of perspectives, the thesis correctly says that "at the present time the world situation is already approaching closely to a new cycle of revolutions and wars." This means that the growth of revolutionary forces is greatly accelerating, although together with this the forces of counter-revolution are also rallying until the stunning blow of the growing revolution converts the process of their disintegration into a panicky collapse.

To see these prospects clearly, deeply to inculcate them into the consciousness of the whole revolutionary vanguard and raise the whole system of work to the necessary height, so that, in the words of Comrade Stalin, every step will lead to the organisation of the forces of revolution, such must be the role of the Communist Parties which are marching towards power and fighting for power. (Applause.)

12th Party Conference of the C.P. of Ukraine

The Twelfth Party Conference of the Ukraine has been opened. "Between the Eleventh and Twelfth Party Conferences"—stated Petrovski in his opening speech—"there lies a period of mighty socialist construction and of earnest class struggles for the consolidation of the collective farming system. Under the banner of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Ukraine gained huge successes during the first Five-Year Plan. The Party organisation has grown by 50 per cent. The Ukrainian proletariat, too, has grown, and thanks to its heroic efforts the socialist industries have been created and consolidated.

In 1931-32 the Party organisations of the Ukraine failed to observe the attempts of the class enemies of our work to destroy the socialist transformation of agriculture. Other errors were committed in the carrying out of the nationalities policy. With the aid of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., we have now corrected these errors. We have still many serious faults. But with Bolshevik energy, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, we shall overcome them, and shall go forward to the accomplishment of the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan."

The proposal that Stalin should be elected honorary president of the Party Conference was greeted with enthusiastic applause.

Comrade Ercoli (Italy)

One feature of fascist ideology, which we find everywhere, is the claim that it is necessary for the State to renounce the traditional forms of bourgeois democracy and to become a *strong State*.

The second element of fascist ideology to which we must devote our attention is the nationalist pathos, which is taking on more and more pronounced forms—a sign that we are already on the threshold of the second cycle of the imperialist crisis.

The third element is the anti-capitalist demagoguery which takes the most varied forms in the different countries and in different situations, according to the elements of the population to which fascist agitation and propaganda is addressed and among which fascism is attempting to establish an organised mass basis.

It is characteristic, however, that the anti-capitalist demagoguery of capitalism to-day shows a general tendency to put forward a slogan of the necessity for *organisation of capitalism*. In a number of countries, countries where fascism is already at the helm, as well as countries where it is still striving for power, this slogan is coming more and more to occupy the central point of fascist propaganda. It is perfectly clear that the origin of this slogan is to be traced directly to social-democratic ideology. Fascist ideology in its new form appears as a variety of social-democratic ideology.

If we now come to analyse the real character of fascist policy we have to emphasise the following main features:—

(1) The offensive against wages and against social insurance as well as against the standard of living of the workers and poor peasants in general.

(2) The outspoken tendency to capitalist concentration, the intervention of the government in the sphere of production, which the fascists represent as organisation of capitalist production, is only a means of promoting this tendency.

(3) The tendency to create a new State apparatus, especially organised and trained for open struggle against the working class.

(4) Systematic efforts to win over the youth, especially the working youth, for the struggle against the working class and for defence of the capitalist regime.

If we consider the various attempts which are being made to-day in the different countries to find a capitalist way out of the crisis, we find that in every case at least one, if not all, of these features exists.

One of the differences between the development of fascism in Italy and its development in Germany is the far greater rapidity with which Germany has arrived at the most advanced forms of "totalitarian" dictatorship. This difference has played an important part also in a number of other countries, in which fascism came into power at the same time as it did in Italy. The organisational difficulties of the dictatorship were not so great, which to some extent explains the retaining of parliamentary institutions, with which fascism continued to collaborate over a long period, but was ready at any moment to abolish if they became an obstacle to its policy.

There is, however, another difference between fascism in the various countries: The difference between fascism which came to power after defeating the working class, and fascism which came to power without having defeated the working class. The importance of this distinction is particularly great to-day. The defeatist tendencies which arose in several parties after the fascists took over the government in Germany were based on two types of argument.

First of all it was maintained that the C.P. of Germany should have dealt a decisive blow against fascism, i.e., the slogan of armed uprising was to be issued at the moment when the preliminary conditions justifying such a slogan did not exist.

Secondly, an argument was brought forward, which is perhaps still more dangerous than the first, because in spite of the fact that it is more meaningless than the first, it appears under the mask of "left" demagoguery. It was claimed that even if the C.P.G. could not put forward the slogan of armed uprising in order to block the way of fascism, it at least could have "done something" to "set an example," to "save the honour of the working class," even at the risk of being completely crushed by the enemy. It is well worth while to point out once again the contradictory character and meaninglessness of this line of reasoning. These same elements, who on the one hand set up a "cry of alarm" because the German working class and the German Party had apparently

been defeated by the enemy, maintain on the other hand that the Party should have allowed itself to be defeated and smashed to pieces in order "to save its honour"! It is clear that such arguments can only help fascism, bring confusion and demoralisation in the ranks of the working class, and provide material for the social democrats in their struggle against the winning over of the majority of the working class by the C.P.G.

What is the real meaning of a *defeat* of the working class? By this we mean that not only has the working class been forced to abandon various positions which it held hitherto, but also that every group of the working class has been disrupted and crushed to pieces, and that all contacts between the Party and the masses have been completely broken off for a long time to come and every possibility for re-establishing these contacts has been eliminated. Everything that we know about the situation in Germany, and especially about the situation of the Party and its work after the time that Hitler came to power, shows us that the situation there is quite different from what it was when Mussolini came to power.

The situation in the C.P. of Germany offers an example, unique in the history of the labour movement, of a party re-establishing its contacts within a very brief period, and rallying its forces, taking up the revolutionary struggle at the head of the working masses under the most difficult conditions. There has been nothing in the history of the labour movement to compare with the fact that an absolutely illegal party has succeeded in organising such great masses of active members in its ranks, and even in increasing its membership after being driven underground. This fact is the best proof of the unshakable force of the German proletariat and its Party, which, although it was forced to retreat when Hitler came to power, was not defeated.

An outspoken, social-democratic deviation, which arose in the German Party, is the view upheld by Comrades Neumann and Remmele, according to which fascism had brought about a "change in the system" in Germany. What is the meaning of this statement—if it has any meaning at all—from the standpoint of Marxist analysis? A "change in the system" could only mean that the class nature of the fascist regime is different from the class nature of the parliamentary democratic regime. Therefore the comrades upholding this position declare that fascism is not the open dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, the banks and the big landowners for the oppression of the working masses, but a form of dictatorship of the petty-bourgeoisie or the lumpen proletariat. This view is drawn directly from the social-democratic theories. The general stand of the social democrats with regard to the fascist regime can be summed up in three points:—

(1) The assertion that the present period is a period of *reaction* and not of revolution, that the revolutionary period is over and for a long time to come we must resign ourselves to the rule of the bourgeoisie in the form of fascism, which will be followed by the rule of the bourgeoisie in the form of parliamentary democracy.

(2) In this period, according to the social-democratic leaders, capitalism will give place to a system which is no longer capitalism and which contains the elements of "socialism." In particular it is the French social democrats who are developing this theory, which is to-day coming to be accepted by the social democrats in all countries.

(3) The conclusion to be drawn from these two statements is the following: The victory of fascism is inevitable, fascism will conquer in all countries and thus any struggle to prevent it from seizing power is useless.

The Italian social democrats, who, after the collapse of the S.P.G., attempted for a time to take over the political and ideological hegemony of the Second International, and to pose as "lefts" and as the most uncompromising party with regard to the fascist regime, are to-day taking over this theory completely.

Now is fascism actually a "transition stage"? Does it "overcome" capitalism? Does it replace "the good of the individual" by "the good of society"? The best answer to this question is to examine what fascism has accomplished in Italy during the ten years of its rule—what it has brought to the workers and peasants on the one hand, and to the capitalists on the other.

Fascism came into power in 1922. The average daily wage was at that time 18.13 lire. In 1923, one year after fascism had come into power, it suddenly dropped to 16.92. This was followed by a

slight increase during the coming years, when industrialisation was being favoured by fascism. But since 1926, as soon as the first signs of the coming crisis appeared, wages began to drop rapidly, and by 1932 the average daily wage had fallen to 13.92 lire, and in 1933 to 13.60.

These are the official fascist figures, but the fascists themselves declare that these statistics apply only to the wage cuts carried through on the basis of the labour contracts drawn up by the fascist trade unions, and do not include the wage cuts put through by private employers in the most widely varied forms—dismissing and re-hiring at lower wages, replacement of men by women and children who do the same work for half the wages, the replacement of skilled workers by unskilled at greatly reduced wages, etc. If we take all this into account we find that the wages of the Italian industrial workers have dropped more than 50 per cent. since fascism came into power.

As for the rural districts, i.e., the wages of agricultural workers, the fascists themselves speak of wage cuts amounting to 30, 40, 50 and even 60 per cent. As for working hours, even the fascist officials admit that the eight-hour day is not observed.

With regard to intensification of work in the factories, we see that there has been a highly developed process of rationalisation in all branches of industry. To all these forms of wage cuts and exploitation of the workers in the enterprises must be added the tremendous sums which are wrung from the workers by fascism in the form of contributions, for compulsory membership of the fascist trade unions and other mass organisations established by fascism.

If we ask ourselves why, in spite of the extremely difficult situation, the economic crisis in our country has not yet taken on the sharp forms which we observe in Germany and other countries, the first answer to this question is: This was possible thanks only to the tremendous lowering of the standard of living of the working class by the fascists.

In the rural districts a two-fold process is taking place: On the one hand the small and middle farms are going to rack and ruin as a result of the impoverishment of their owners, and on the other hand they are being absorbed by the big capitalist holdings.

What has fascism brought to the capitalist? The marked increase in quotations of the most important stocks shows how fascism defends capitalist profits, and how the capitalists have been able to maintain and even increase their profits, while the wages of the workers were steadily declining. Another typical feature is the advanced process of concentration and trustification of Italian industry promoted by fascism.

All that fascism has done in the eleven years of its dictatorship is glaring proof that it is nothing but an open dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, the big landowners and the banks over the great masses of the workers.

From the objective basis of this capitalist dictatorship arose the form of State organisation which fascism characterises as the "totalitarian State."

Many comrades emphasise the fact that German fascism, which also undertook to organise its dictatorship in the form of the "Totalitarian State," achieved in the course of a few months what Italian fascism could only accomplish in three or four years. This formulation is correct, but only from the external point of view. It is true that Mussolini was forced to work with a coalition government for two years after he had seized power, and that after that he tolerated other bourgeois parties for over two years more, and that he did not dissolve the socialist party until 1925, or the Communist Party till 1926, while Hitler accomplished this within five or six months after he came into power. It is true that Mussolini allowed the reformist trade unions to remain, basing his support on them more or less indirectly, while Hitler took only a few weeks to get rid of them. These facts are all true. But if we emphasised them too strongly it means closing our eyes to another fact, namely, that the dictatorial and "totalitarian" organisation of the State in Germany was prepared and to some extent carried out by the social democrats themselves, and by the governments, which still called themselves parliamentary and which had the support of the social democrats.

The organisational process of the fascist dictatorship contains antagonistic elements which contradict each other. In general it can be said that fascist "totalitarianism" is a sign that the ruling capitalist classes are confronted with objectively difficult problems, that the inner contradictions of the situation are coming to a head, and that, consequently, the bourgeoisie is forced to seek a

way out by intensifying its pressure upon the working masses. But this "totalitarianism" in itself cannot do away with these objective contradictions, nor with the contradictions between the various groups of the bourgeoisie. Equally great, in fact greater, difficulties are arising in another field. Fascist "totalitarianism" is the expression of the necessity for the bourgeoisie to annihilate all legal forms of organisation of the labouring elements, above all of the working class, to prevent all forms of legal struggle of the working masses against the employers, and, consequently, to crush the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party. But in this field other contradictions arise, owing to the fact that the establishment of the fascist regime helps to dispel the democratic illusions of the masses and that this struggle soon shows a tendency under certain conditions—as, for example, when the Communist Party succeeds in preserving its contacts with the masses and in taking over the leadership of struggles—to take on more radical forms than in other countries.

In support of the social-democratic theory that under the fascist regime the working class must struggle to re-establish bourgeois democracy, Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the Second International, pointed to the illegal struggle of the German social democracy under the Bismarck anti-socialist law. This example does not apply to-day. First of all the social-democratic party in Bismarck's time was still a revolutionary workers' party and not a social-fascist party. And secondly, the character of the present historic period to-day is quite different. In Bismarck's time the reaction adhered to a certain legality, while the struggle of the proletariat and its Party at that time was aimed at extending the limits of this legality and thus forcing bourgeois society to carry through its democratic reorganisation to the full.

The present fascist regime, the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie set up by fascism, has no "legality." If there are laws, the fascists are always ready to throw them over. It is clear that under fascist dictatorship we must put forward a number of political demands in order to stir the workers to struggle against fascism. We must call the workers and all the labouring masses to struggle for the right to strike, for organisational freedom and freedom of the press for the labouring masses. But this political struggle must be a struggle for the overthrow of a capitalist regime, for the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. When I make this statement I by no means wish to imply that the overthrow of fascism can be followed only by the setting up of a proletarian dictatorship. What is decisive for the solution of this question is the force and the political capacity of the Communist Party to win over the majority of the proletariat in spite of the illegal conditions of its struggle and to thwart all the manoeuvres to which the bourgeoisie may resort in the moment of revolutionary crisis. In the course of this struggle we must make use of all legal possibilities, but of course such utilisation of legal possibilities has nothing in common with the struggle which the German social democrats carried on in the time of Bismarck. The utilisation of legal possibilities under a fascist regime is above all a means of sharpening the internal contradictions of the regime, in order to bring them to the point of explosion.

What is the concrete meaning of the social-democratic statement that a struggle must be carried on for the re-establishment of bourgeois democracy? This is very clear from the utterances of Otto Bauer, who declared that if there are workers whose eyes have been opened, who no longer believe in the lies of bourgeois democracy, or the treacherous tactics of the social democrats, and who are ready to struggle shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party for proletarian democracy and for proletarian dictatorship, the paragraph of the Austrian military code must be applied to them, which provides that any soldier leaving his post must be shot on the spot. This is nothing new. It is the old reactionary "wisdom" of Noske and other leaders of German social democracy who in the revolution of 1919 drowned in blood the struggle of the revolutionary workers for proletarian dictatorship in order to defend bourgeois democracy. When the social democrats claim that the aim of the struggle of the proletariat under fascism must be to turn back to bourgeois democracy, this is nothing but an admission on their part that in the coming struggles for power they will be just as faithful bloodhounds of the bourgeoisie as was the case in 1919 and in the following years, up to this very day.

It is very significant that the counter-revolutionist Trotsky declares that we must subject the Leninist teachings about the dictatorship of the proletariat to a revision, and combine them

with the social-democratic theory of defence of bourgeois democracy. Thus Trotsky arrives at the conclusion that when we capture power, we must allow a certain measure of "freedom" to the social-democratic party, in accordance with its influence in the working class. This amounts to saying that the social democrats will play a revolutionary role in the struggle for power; but at the same time it means that in the formerly fascist countries the proletariat, after seizing power, must renounce the method of revolutionary terrorism for crushing the last resistance of the bourgeoisie and its allies.

The mass movements in Italy have increased considerably during the past year. In Trani 3,000 unemployed demonstrated and took by storm the house of the fascists and the fascist trade unions shouting "bread and work!" In Andria 1,000 agricultural unemployed demonstrated in front of the office of the mayor. In Genoa 1,000 workers demonstrated in the streets of the city. In Canossa 4,000 unemployed demonstrated before the office of the mayor and came in conflict with the police. In Capri a political demonstration of 2,500 workers was held in connection with the burial of a revolutionary worker. In Spezia the masses of workers participated in the meeting of the fascist trade unions in order to demand the maintenance of the piece-work scale. The strike slogan was issued. In Milan the chauffeurs demonstrated before the mayor's headquarters. In Genoa a second demonstration was held in the streets. In Sassano and Monte S. Giacomo the population stormed the mayor's offices. Eight of the demonstrators were killed, and two gendarmes were wounded. In Arieta there were mass demonstrations against tax increases. Some of the demonstrators were killed and others were wounded. In Bergamo there was a hunger march in which several hundred unemployed participated. In the province of Ferrara there was a mass demonstration of the unemployed which took on a stormy character. In Comsechio also there were stormy demonstrations of the unemployed. The unemployed there enforced the release of arrested demonstrators. In Mugnano there were violent demonstrations against taxes. The demonstrators forced their way into the mayor's offices. In Selz the workers in one of the mines went on strike. In Leghorn there was a mass demonstration in connection with the burial of a Communist comrade. In Saronno there was a mass demonstration of the unemployed. In Empoli there was a mass demonstration of the workers in connection with the burial of a comrade. An eight-day strike was carried out in the neighbourhood of Forlì. In Spezia after a large number of mass demonstrations in the meetings of fascist trade unions, a political strike broke out in the factory in protest against the deeds of violence committed by the fascists. The strike was conducted under the slogan: "Drive the fascists out of the factory!"

In Spezia the masses participated also in other meetings of the fascist trade unions in order to put forward the demands of the workers at these meetings. In the province of Biella mass protests and attempts to strike were carried out in many factories against the introduction of the "two-loom" system. In one factory the workers are forced to work in the presence of gendarmes. In Turin a three-day strike was carried out in a typewriter factory. In Trento and in Brescia there were demonstrations of taxpayers and holders of small savings accounts in protest against heavy taxes and bank crashes. In Soraville there was a strike of the navvies against the introduction of the rationalisation system. In Naples an attempt was made to demonstrate before the factories for the Communists held for deportation to prison islands.

I have given here only a few of the movements which we know about during the last few months, but the movements mentioned (56 in five months) constitute only about one-third of all the mass movements which have taken place in the country and which for the greater part escape our attention.

In this connection there has been a considerable shifting of mass movements in the direction of the big industrial centres. The number of those participating in these movements is much larger and their mass character is much more pronounced than in previous years. The militancy of the masses is much stronger, and clashes with the police and fascists occur much more quickly than they used to.

In general, the struggle of the masses for their immediate demands is being accompanied by a utilisation of legal possibilities, such as appearance at trade union meetings, etc., but there is a rapidly growing tendency to break with fascist legality and to adopt the form of open struggle against the employers and against fascism. Among the fascist authorities we note an in-

clination to grant the masses minor economic concessions in order to prevent a spread of the movement, but as the mass movements spread they at once adopt violent methods. Moreover, the influence of the Party and its direct participation in the organisation of mass movements have greatly increased.

Fascism is reacting with a great demagogic manoeuvre, putting forward the slogan of transition from capitalist industry to co-operative industry. This is a sign that fascism is compelled to polish up its demagoguery in order to keep under its influence and in its organisations the petty-bourgeois elements in the towns, and particularly in the villages, who are growing more and more discontented, and in order to influence certain sections of the working class.

Actually, what are fascist corporations? They are nothing but a new demagogic attempt to apply the theory of class collaboration. But even this attempt is doomed to defeat in view of the impossibility not only of abolishing the class struggle between the workers and the employers, but also of doing away with the contradictions which exist between the various sections of the bourgeoisie.

Concretely speaking, the fascist corporation system will result only in an advanced concentration of industry, in the organisation of big production and sales trusts and in the establishment of the foundations of an organisation for mobilising industry in case of war. Thus the corporation policy of Italian fascism fits in completely with the preparations for war. It also fits in with the general perspective of the situation in Italy, which is a perspective of further sharpening of class contradictions and of a new offensive against the standard of living of all labouring elements, and at the same time of an extension and intensification of the struggle of the workers, the unemployed and the poor peasants against fascism—a struggle in which our Party must attempt to play the rôle of vanguard.

Let us consider the development of our Party. Ever since fascism was established as a "totalitarian" regime, the irregularity of this development is particularly striking. The influence of the Party is steadily increasing, but the organisation of this influence and the organisation of the Party itself is not keeping step with the growth of this influence. There are jumps ahead, retrograde movements, and sudden precipitous leaps forward. What are the chief results of our experience?

Transition to illegality is a severe test even for the strongest Party. In going over to an illegal basis every Party runs the risk of being dealt a blow which will hold it back for years to come. The problem of preparing Parties which are not yet entirely illegal for an illegal basis must be taken up by this Plenum and must be made the object of most careful study. The prospects of war and of further fascisation of the most important capitalist countries mean for the Communist Parties prospects of illegality.

In our report to the Twelfth Plenum we gave the membership figures of our Party for the various years. These were not very large figures, but still they show that the force of our Party cannot be ignored. The increase of the membership of our Party during the past three years is from 1,500 to 2,000 annually. Even during the past year, when our conditions of work were still more difficult, the number of new members exceeds 1,500. At the same time, however, we have to admit a strong fluctuation. Our C.C. investigated the causes for this fluctuation and came to the conclusion that it was largely due to our own errors in the field of recruiting new members and organising our forces.

Most of our organisations have won many new members during the past three years, but this recruiting work lacked careful guidance and control. In a number of cases our comrades ignored the Bolshevik principle according to which every Party member must be active and must carry on definite work for the Party—a principle which is doubly important for an illegal organisation.

What helped us most to correct this error was a study of the organisational experiences of the Bolshevik Party, and particularly the Leninist formulations on these problems. On the basis of this study we carried on in the Party Central Committee, and began in the Party organisation as a whole, an ideological and political struggle for the victory of the Bolshevik view of the Communist Party as the organised and leading vanguard of the proletariat and the labouring masses in all their struggles, as a Party of active members, who are organisationally bound together and who lead the masses of workers by means of a large number of broader organisations which serve as transmission belts between

the Party and the masses. Only if we go ahead in this way can we build up our Party into a real Communist mass Party.

As a particularly dangerous tendency, we must point to the tendency to keep the Party organisations out of the factories and to work on the basis of residential districts. In connection with the problem of mass work we must admit very serious deviations and must carry on an energetic struggle to overcome them.

On the one hand we have had openly opportunist deviations, such as the view that under the fascist regime "it is impossible to begin anything, we must wait until fascism collapses, in order to take up once more the work among the masses." This same deviation came to light also in a so-called "Left" form. Many comrades declared, and still declare, that under the conditions of fascist dictatorship any struggle for the partial demands of the workers is useless, because even the most restricted of such struggles is inevitably bound to develop into actual uprising. It is clear that in a fascist country the transition from economic struggles to political struggles and to struggles of an advanced revolutionary character does not develop in the same way as in the other countries. It is clear that if in Italy, for example, mass struggles spread and are linked up together, the development of the situation and the development of a revolutionary crisis must necessarily proceed very rapidly. It is true that to-day we must begin to direct every mass action to political struggle for the overthrow of fascism and for the conquest of power. But it is also true that we cannot achieve any success in this field unless we base our action on daily agitation or the most immediate economic and political demands, on the organisation of demonstrations of the unemployed, of demonstrations in the factories, of strikes, etc.

Comrade Earl Browder (U.S.A.)

Roosevelt's policy, known as the "New Deal," called for "national concentration" and "class peace." But, in spite of the apparent surface successes of his regime, even the "honeymoon period" of the New Deal has been marked by rising mass struggles, by great class battles, by a radicalisation of large sections of all the toiling masses of the population. The protracted strikes of 70,000 or more miners in Pennsylvania, Utah and New Mexico; the long strike of 60,000 silk workers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania; the many strikes of steel workers, penetrating into the heart of the steel industry around Pittsburgh; and the hundreds of smaller strikes, in almost all industries and regions, increasing in numbers and intensity from March to October, all disclose the hollowness of the "civil peace" of the Roosevelt New Deal, resulting from the fact that N.R.A., while promising wage increases, actually made a general wage-cut of exceptional severity. The mass struggles of the bankrupted farmers, quieted for a few months by the promise of an Agricultural Act and a moratorium on debt foreclosures, are breaking out again on a large scale and with full sharpness with the disclosure that the Roosevelt "allotment plan" has failed to meet a single one of the problems faced by the poor farmers. Even the middle classes are stirring with unrest, under the pressure of continued expropriations carried out by the closing of many hundreds of small banks, by the rapid progress of trustification in all lines, and by wholesale inflation.

Characteristic for the whole system of policies known as the "New Deal" is their nature as preparations for war. National antagonisms have placed their mark deeply upon domestic policies. The so-called Recovery Programme is carried out by military men (General Johnson), under military slogans and atmosphere. The economic contents of these measures, in so far as they represent the so-called "Experimental" character proclaimed by Roosevelt, are those of war economy. The famous three-billion-dollar building programme turns out in reality to be a programme of Navy building, mechanisation of the Army, building of military roads, and the putting into operation of the Muscle Shoals explosive plant abandoned at the close of the World War. The "unemployment relief" programme turns out to be first of all the setting up of a network of military training camps, under the direction of the War Department, where 300,000 young men are being prepared for the army. The National Recovery Administration follows the pattern laid down by the War Industries Board of the World War. Never before has there been such gigantic war pre-

But the most serious error which the Party has made in this field is in connection with the forms to be adopted by the Party in its mass work under a fascist regime which has established a number of mass organisations on which it bases its support. One thing which we did not understand from the start, but came to realise only several years later under the leadership of the Communist International, is that our mass work must take the form of penetration into all mass organisations of the fascist party, first of all the trade unions.

For all illegal Parties the question of cadres is of the utmost importance.

We have worked in this field, but our work is not yet sufficient to fulfil the great tasks which face us. In particular, we must devote more attention throughout our whole Party to the problem of the cadres of the Y.C.I. and to its organisation and the forms which it adopts in its mass work.

Our Party is well on the way to correcting its old error: failure to understand the forms of mass work which should be applied under fascist dictatorship. We firmly believe that our experience will be useful at least in so far as they help our German comrades not to repeat the mistakes which we have made. We are convinced that for the German proletariat to speak of an Italian perspective is a counter-revolutionary crime, but we are also coming to believe that the perspective opened to the Italian proletariat owing to the work of our Party, under the leadership of the C.I., is a German perspective of growing influence of the Party and greater and greater mass struggles in which our Party will do its part. (Applause.)

parations at a time when the "enemy" is as yet unnamed. Simultaneously, U.S. oppression of the colonies and semi-colonies takes on sharper forms, as the resistance of the colonial masses grows; witness the 50 million dollar loan to Chiang Kai-shek to finance the anti-Soviet campaign, the naval concentration in Latin-American waters, and especially in Cuba, where the anti-imperialist revolution has already partially broken through the chain of American imperialist puppet governments.

If we witness all these developments during what may be called the "honeymoon" period of the Roosevelt regime, then we have every reason to expect the growth and intensification of class conflicts, and of all the contradictions of capitalism, now when the Roosevelt programme has already exposed its inability to improve the condition of the masses, when production again declines precipitately, when rising prices and inflation cut further sharply into the living standards of the masses, and when demagoguery is rapidly being reinforced with a sharp development of fascist ideology and terror directed against the struggling masses.

International social-fascism has hailed the Roosevelt policies as "steps in the direction of socialism." The British Labour Party and Trades Union Congress have adopted the Roosevelt programme as their own, demanding that it be imitated in Britain. The American Socialist Party has not lagged behind in this respect; Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit hastened to pay a public visit to Roosevelt, upon his assumption of office, to congratulate him upon his policies, which they hailed as nothing less than a "revolution" in the interests of the masses.

But the fascist direction in which the Roosevelt policies are carrying the U.S. is becoming clear to the whole world. Nowhere is this more manifest than in the efforts to merge the reformist American Federation of Labour into the machinery of government, under the avowed banner of the fascist conception of the "corporate state," prohibition of strikes, compulsory arbitration, governmental fixing of wages, and even control of the inner life of the trade unions. For the edification of the masses this was spoken of as a "partnership of capital and labour, together with the government."

During 1933 over a million workers have engaged in strikes. From six to eight hundred thousand workers have come into the various trade unions; of these, between four and six hundred thousand were recruited into the A.F. of L., about one hundred thousand into the Red trade unions of the Trade Union Unity League, and one hundred thousand into newly formed independ-

ent unions opposed to the A.F. of L., but not yet prepared to enter the Red trade unions.

Of outstanding importance to us is the fact that the A.F. of L. has grown by about a half million members, placing very sharply before us the urgent task of organising a mass revolutionary opposition and overcoming all hesitations in our ranks towards this work. This growth has resulted from the mass illusions built up around the N.R.A., from the direct support of the government, which looks upon the A.F. of L. as its main support within the working class. It must be said, however, that the bourgeoisie has been disappointed by the performance of the A.F. of L., which could not control the masses nor prevent the strike movement, nor recruit such masses as was expected of them.

The comparative failure of the A.F. of L. to recruit the great masses or control the strike movement arises from a number of factors: first, not all capitalists accepted the government policy, and especially in the basic industries most employers preferred to establish "company unions" instead of the A.F. of L., or even to continue to refuse to have any kind of union at all in their plants. Second, the crude and open strike-breaking policy of the A.F. of L. repelled large numbers of workers ready to join, but disillusioned by their first contacts. Third, the A.F. of L. bureaucracy, which is of tremendous size, with 15,000 full-time paid officials, has, to a great extent, become so parasitically corrupted and degenerated by their past life, that it is incapable of the energetic activity demanded by a mass recruitment campaign, to the great disgust of the more virile leaders in the Roosevelt administration. And, fourthly, the A.F. of L. unions have, in many places, been captured by the underworld gangs, turned into typical American "rackets," dealing in blackmail and bribery on a huge scale, and become incapable of conducting mass policy on the scale contemplated in the Roosevelt programme.

The growth in the trade unions, and in the strike movement, after four years of decline during the first years of the crisis, is of tremendous significance to our Party. This is all the more true, when we see the character of the strike movement. With only a few exceptions, these strikes were directed not only against the employers for economic demands; they were also strikes against the official leaders of the American Federation of Labour, they were against the operations of the N.R.A. and the Labour Boards set up by the government—that is, they were also political strikes. This was true of almost all the strikes, whether of A.F. of L. members, of the Red unions, or of the independent unions. From this situation it followed that, when our Party (after some hesitations) began boldly to develop work inside the A.F. of L. as oppositions in combination with the independent building of the Red unions, even in the same industries and fields, and also to build independent unions where the workers hesitated to join the Red unions, our Communist and sympathising forces played a constantly growing role in the whole strike movement. Thus it is that we have 45 per cent. of all strikers (during ten months of 1933) members of the A.F. of L., but fighting in opposition to their officials and the government, and to a growing extent openly following the lead of the Red Unions, even while remaining in the A.F. of L.

The Red unions are about 5 per cent. of the volume of membership of the A.F. of L. But these small unions directly led 20 per cent. of all strikers, and indirectly influenced in a decisive manner more than half the struggles of the A.F. of L. members and the independent unions.

We maintained our Red union throughout the strikes, however, even though in a minority, and fought for unification of the strike committees and picket lines. The open efforts of the A.F. of L. leaders to sell out the strike, repeated several times, were each time defeated by almost unanimous votes of all workers, in each case under the leadership of the small Red union. The result was that the influence of the Red union continued to grow in the ranks of the A.F. of L., who more and more looked to the Red union for a lead on all questions, even though they remained formally within the A.F. of L. This influence became so decisive that when a large mass delegation was elected to go to Washington, to place the demands of the strikers before the National Labour Board, even the A.F. of L. leaders were forced to accept Ann Burlak and John Ballam, the two main leaders of the small Red union, as the leaders and spokesmen of the mass delegation, while the bourgeois press and employers openly declared that it was impossible to settle the strike unless they dealt with the Red union at the same time. The A.F. of L. leaders were forced by

the workers to discontinue their attacks upon the leaders of the Red union, and at the most decisive meeting the workers drove their leaders off the platform and invited our comrades to speak to them. Since June, all trade union questions have been dominated by the questions of policy regarding the N.R.A. For a time we had to conduct a sharp struggle within the Party on two fronts, against the tendency represented by the idea of "boycotting" the N.R.A., and against the tendency to surrender to the illusions concerning the N.R.A., to drag at the tail of the A.F. of L. and the Socialist Party.

Our Party and the Red unions came out openly and boldly against the N.R.A. and exposed it as a general attack against the workers' standards, and as a movement towards fascism. The disillusionment of the workers which set in greatly increased the prestige of our Party and the Red trade unions, which had from the beginning told the workers what they now see to be the truth.

Our most successful application of the united front has been in the anti-war and anti-fascist movement. We led a highly successful U.S. Congress Against War, which brought together 2,616 delegates from all over the country, and unanimously adopted a manifesto and programme which is politically satisfactory. The composition of this Congress was overwhelmingly proletarian, with a core of 450 trade union and shop delegates; it contained a very satisfactory youth delegation of about 500, a majority from reformist and socialist organisations, which in a special meeting openly accepted the leadership of the Y.C.L. in the Congress; a considerable delegation of farmers; representation from every important pacifist organisation in the country; a group of local organisations of the Socialist Party and mass organisations under its influence; and a few important A.F. of L. trade unions with about some 100,000 members. We also had a delegate from the U.S. Army. The Congress from the beginning was led by our Party quite openly, but without in any way infringing upon its broad non-Party character, with the Party members at all times in a minority numerically, and leading by the quality of their work. This success was, of course, largely due to the very favourable situation, and the position of our Party as almost a monopolist of anti-war movement in the U.S.

Our campaign of solidarity with the German working class and against German fascism has been growing and involving new circles of workers. The American workers have been filled with enthusiasm by the magnificent defence, or rather counter-offensive, of the Communists in the Leipzig trial, led by Comrade Dimitrov.

Especially effective for the U.S.A. was our exposure of the work of the Nazi organisation in the United States, which was even taken up by bourgeois organisations and resulted in a criminal indictment of the Nazi leader in America, Heinz Spanknoebel, and his disappearance into hiding. There fell into our hands, and we published, a secret Nazi letter, written from New York to Berlin, a document which has been placed in the records of New York City, and now in the last days before a Committee of the Congress of the United States, with expert testimony which substantiates its genuineness. It is a letter written by W. Haag, adjutant to H. Spanknoebel, leader in the U.S. of the Nazi organisation, addressed on September 23 to "Uschla Berlin Alexanderplatz": "In reply to your letter of September 5," and in the course of dealing with various confidential matters, the letter contains the following paragraph, which I read:—

"I cannot find a place for Van der Lubbe here, it is best if you throw him overboard into the ocean while en route to another country. Whom do you intend to hang in his place in Germany? I agree with you entirely that it would be good to give the damned Communists in Leipzig an injection of syphilis. Then it can be said that Communism comes from syphilis of the brain."

The leading Nazi committee in New York held a special meeting, with one of their important American friends, Congressman Hamilton Fish (a leading enemy of the Soviet Union) and discussed the question whether they should not bring a court action against the "Daily Worker" for publishing this letter. Unfortunately, they finally decided against bringing suit against the "Daily Worker," evidently understanding that we would be able to establish its genuineness. After two months the document is now accepted as genuine by the bourgeois press of America, but they consistently refuse to publish the paragraph about Van der

Lubbe, which I have quoted above, and confine themselves to the other parts of the letter which show the Nazi violation of American immigration laws, and the organising of anti-semitic agitation in America.

Our Party work among the farmers, leading their mass struggles and raising their political understanding, has improved in the past period. We now stand at the head of a growing mass movement, which marches under the chief slogan of cancellation of debts and back taxes, and which actively fights against the disposssession of the bankrupt farmers, and which establishes the closest unity with the city workers, employed and unemployed. This farmers' movement has just concluded its second national conference, with 660 delegates from 40, out of a total of 48, States of the United States of America.

The Party leadership is fully united in carrying into effect the Open Letter, expressing the policy of the C.I., which was adopted at our Extraordinary Party Conference in July. The efforts of the Party to concentrate on the basic industries has given us the beginning of a growing trade union movement in almost every district. About a hundred new shop nuclei have been formed in the past five months, of which two-thirds are in the concentration industries; the proportion of Party membership in the shop nuclei has been raised from 4 per cent. to 9 per cent. The Party membership rose in 1932 from 12,000 to 18,000 dues payments per week, with 21,000 members registered in March, 1933, and at the present moment the dues payments have risen to more than 20,000 per week, with more than 25,000 registered members. Our "Daily Worker" has broken out of its stagnation, improved its contents, and begun to grow in circulation, selling 45,000 copies daily in October, with 100,000 on Saturdays, when the paper gets out a special edition. Our eight other daily newspapers in various languages have all registered some improvement politically and some growth in circulation, and the same can be said for most (although not all) of our 18 foreign-

language weekly newspapers. Lower Party committees have, in the main, been strengthened.

Our Party has made the first steps in carrying into effect the Open Letter, in becoming a mass Bolshevik Party. The beginnings have been uneven, and are not yet consolidated. The Party still lags far behind the objective possibilities. The danger of Right opportunism, especially opportunism in practice, still shows itself in our work, and requires a constant struggle, a constant education of the new Party members and especially of the new cadres that are gradually being built up. Examples of "Left" opportunism also are often seen.

The weakest point in all our Party mass work, from which most of our other shortcomings spring, is the weakness in popularising in mass agitation the revolutionary goal of our Party, the programme of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The deepening crisis, the growing misery of the masses, forces the workers to look for a way out. They want a leadership which can connect their daily problems with a wider perspective, with a possibility of final solution of their problems, with a programme of building a new workers' State. They more and more realise that such a new society is being built in the Soviet Union. This opens their minds to what the Communist Party has to say to them. They want the Communist Party in their own country to give them the answers to all their questions, to the question of power, the question of building the new society under American conditions, as well as the problems of the trade union and unemployed struggles. As we learn how to fulfil these demands of the American workers, we are succeeding, and we will more and more succeed in building a mass movement of struggle around the Communist Party, building solid cadres which are more and more Bolshevik. In this way the U.S.A. will not be the last capitalist country in the world, in which the question of Soviet power, of proletarian revolution, will be placed on the order of the day. (Applause.)

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

The Ukrainian bourgeoisie and the powerful and active Ukrainian kulaks have offered desperate resistance to the Soviet government and to the Communist Party during the civil war and later in the course of peaceful socialist construction. That resistance proceeded under both the banner of Great Russian chauvinism and Ukrainian nationalism.

Relentless struggle waged against nationalism may be traced throughout the entire history of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. The Ukrainian Communist Party conducted that struggle under the leadership of the C.C. C.P.S.U., under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, pursuing a Bolshevik national policy, eliminating the survivals of the colonial character of the Ukraine, building up a Ukrainian Soviet Republic, as an inseparable part of the great Soviet Union, building up a Ukrainian Soviet culture, national in form and socialist in character.

The bourgeois nationalist elements, overcome by the Party in acute class struggle, had a certain influence on some of the sections of the Party, and this was the cause of nationalistic deviations making their appearance in the Party.

The Communist Party of the Ukraine, under the leadership of Comrade Kaganovich, who was then the general secretary, exposed and smashed Shumsky's nationalist deviation in 1926-1928, which aimed at a separation of the Ukraine from the Soviet Union and at turning the country into a colony of Polish fascism. Smashed in the ranks of the Ukrainian Party, the followers of Shumsky sought to establish for themselves a base in the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, which is part of the Communist Party of Poland.

In its memorandum of May, 1927, to the Comintern and its Polish brother Party, the Communist Party of Soviet Ukraine pointed to the necessity of carrying on a most relentless struggle against the followers of Shumsky in Western Ukraine, represented by the Vasilkov, Turiansky and Maximovitch group, which represented the interests of the bourgeoisie of Western Ukraine which stood for co-operation with the Pilsudski government. Attacked by our Polish comrades at the Fourth Congress of the C.P.P. and criticised by the Communist Party of Soviet Ukraine, that group resorted to duplicity, formally admitting its mistakes, but, true to the instructions of the Ukrainian nationalists, continuing its counter-revolutionary disruptive work in the C.P.W.U. After a

few months, at the beginning of 1928, an open attack was made on the Comintern and on the national policy of the C.P.U., under the banner of Shumskyism, with the aim of winning over the whole West Ukrainian Party. That attempt, however, completely failed. The rank and file of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine remained loyal to the Comintern, and the Vasilkov-Turianski group was expelled from the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and from the Comintern as an agency of Polish fascism.

In 1929, upon our insistence, after the matter had been taken up by the International Control Commission, Maximovitch was also expelled from the Comintern, while Shumsky was severely censured. To-day the Shumskyites in the Western Ukraine—Stepan Volinets, for example—attack the Soviet Union, in a common front with the whole gang of Ukrainian counter-revolutionaries, with Metropolitan Shepticky, Bishop Lamishin, the National Democrats and social-fascists of Western Ukraine.

The last few years in the Soviet Union, and particularly in Soviet Ukraine, were characterised by an extreme sharpening of the class struggle. This was in connection with our socialist offensive all along the line, our reorganisation of agriculture, our policy of complete collectivisation and elimination of the kulaks as a class. After we had removed their economic basis, the kulak elements wormed their way into the collective farms, the machine tractor stations, the cultural institutions, and even the Party, continuing here in new forms their desperate resistance to the consolidation of the collective farm system, sabotaging in every possible way the measures of the Party and of the Soviet government.

Realising their isolation and inevitable downfall in the Soviet country which is filled with the enthusiasm of socialist construction, these hostile bourgeois-nationalist elements naturally staked all on the organisation of intervention and subsequent secession of the Ukraine from the Soviet Union. This attitude is characteristic of all counter-revolutionary organisations discovered in the Soviet Ukraine in recent years. These organisations were closely linked up with Polish and German fascism. The first of these organisations to have been discovered was the so-called "Union of Ukrainian Liberation" (S.W.U.) which was tried in Kharkov in 1930. The last one was discovered at the beginning

of 1933, known as the "Ukrainian Military Organisation."

There is no need to expatiate here on fascist Poland and Pilsudski, though Polish fascism, it is true, is lately conducting a peace manoeuvre in relation to the Soviet Union.

But we should be fools and not Bolsheviks if we closed our eyes to the most obvious facts. The desperate anti-Soviet campaign of the bourgeois press in Western Ukraine is conducted on the orders of the Polish occupation authorities. The anti-Soviet meetings held in Western Ukraine are all protected by the police.

One of the bones of contention between the Polish and German fascist circles is the hegemony over the Ukrainian bourgeois counter-revolutionary elements. But both the German and Polish fascists regard the Western Ukraine as a rallying point for the attack on the Soviet Ukraine and, through it, on the Soviet Union. There is no need to go into detail about the Hitler fascists. Hitler came to power flying the flag of anti-Soviet intervention, of separating the Ukraine from the Soviet Union. He wishes to repeat the experiment of 1919, when German imperialism tried to turn Ukraine into its own colony and drenched the land with the blood of the workers and peasants and covered it with a forest of gallows. The plans of German imperialism, to tear away the Ukraine from the Soviet Union, are perfectly clear and have been unequivocally proclaimed to the world by Hitler, Rosenberg and Hugenberg.

The increased activity of international imperialism in its attempt to separate the Ukraine from the Soviet Union, and the extreme accentuation of the class struggle in the Ukraine itself, called for special Bolshevik vigilance on the part of the Ukrainian Communist Party, called for the most irreconcilable and relentless struggle against the counter-revolutionary bourgeois-nationalist elements and against their undermining work in the Soviet organisations and in the Party. Unfortunately, the Communist Party of the Ukraine relaxed its Bolshevik vigilance in recent years. The Party did not give the necessary leadership to agriculture, it weakened the struggle against nationalism, especially against Ukrainian nationalism, and thus enabled the counter-revolutionary nationalist elements to place their people at the most important points in agriculture and in a number of People's commissariats, where they organised sabotage of the measures of the Soviet government and founded their counter-revolutionary groups.

The counter-revolutionary elements who thus wormed their way into some of the most important positions caused a good deal of damage to socialist construction in the Ukraine, especially in agriculture. The result of their activity was, the Ukraine failed to carry out its agricultural plans of 1931 and 1932, the crops of some of the collective farms were destroyed; where the backward sections of the collective farmers fell under the influence of the kulaks there were food difficulties on the backward collective farms. On January 24, 1933, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., to remedy the situation, passed a historical decision to strengthen the leadership of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Party in the most important provinces of the Ukraine. On the basis of that decision Comrade Postishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., was sent to the Ukraine. Shortly previous to that one of the most prominent workers in the sphere of agriculture, Comrade Kharayevich, was sent to the Ukraine. Comrade Balitsky, who for years specialised in combating counter-revolution in the Ukraine, was again sent to that country as chairman of the Ukrainian Political State Department (G.P.U.). The Bolsheviks of the Ukraine were mobilised for the occasion. Concrete daily guidance was given by the C.C. C.P.S.U., and especially by Comrade Stalin; enormous assistance was given by the government of the Soviet Union. All of these measures have had their effect and the situation has greatly improved within the period of the last nine to ten months.

The plan of grain deliveries this year was completed by November 6, ahead of scheduled time. Never in the history of the Ukraine were grain deliveries finished by such an early date. The autumn sowing plan was carried out in full, and several provinces have finished their autumn ploughing. Most of the collective farmers have received such quantities of grain that they have more than enough to cover all their requirements.

Our Party organisation is still confronted with an enormous amount of work in order to overcome the backwardness of the Ukraine in regard to agriculture. But a big step forward has already been made towards the realisation of Stalin's slogan to

make all collective farms Bolshevik organisations and all collective farmers well-to-do.

The Ukraine is becoming one of the advanced republics and regions in Soviet agriculture.

The Communist Party of the Ukraine has had considerable success under the leadership of the C.P.S.U. also in the sphere of industry. Donbas, which provides coal for the greater part of Soviet industry, and which in the course of several years has been lagging behind the plan, is now fulfilling its production programme as a result of measures taken following the decisions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in April, 1933. Many important metallurgical plants are also carrying out their plans.

The whole of the Soviet Ukraine is making rapid headway along the line of Bolshevik industrialisation, of strengthening the state and collective farms economically and organisationally, and of raising the cultural level of the country.

I repeat that the recent success of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks is due to the strict pursuance of the general line of the Party, the firm leadership and constant and systematic aid of the C.C. C.P.S.U. It is under that leadership and with that aid that the nationalist counter-revolutionary nests in the Ukraine were destroyed. Quite a large number of counter-revolutionary political double dealers in the Party were exposed. A new nationalist deviation was revealed in the ranks of the Party. Skripnik, whose mistakes, as stated in our recently published resolution, had become a regular system of national opportunist views, favouring Ukrainian nationalism and directly linked up with it, was exposed.

Our G.P.U. organs, with the aid of the class vigilance of the broad masses, discovered the threads of counter-revolutionary activity carried on by agents of Polish and German fascism in Soviet Ukraine. We met with unusual methods of spying. The governments of various countries first sent their agents into the Communist Parties at home in order later to send them across to the Soviet Union. That was practised particularly in Czechoslovakia, and to an incredible extent. Our Czechoslovakian comrades must by all means become more vigilant and remember the long connections that have existed between the Ukrainian counter-revolutionaries and the Czech secret police.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern we elected a certain man, named Mondak, formerly a member of the Czechoslovakian parliament, a man who at one time was at the head of the Party organisation of Ruthenia, as a member of the International Control Commission. Later it was discovered that Mondak belonged to a counter-revolutionary organisation which he had joined in 1926, i.e., when he was still in Czechoslovakia. In that country the Ukrainian counter-revolutionaries created their fake Communist groups in the Galician internment camps, and also among students. As members of such groups, these people had no difficulty in getting into the Party, which accepted them, and later they came to the Soviet Union disguised as political refugees. Many of them came to this country as early as 1923 and 1924, and have carried on their counter-revolutionary work over many years. Now they have all been exposed and arrested, and are kept under the strong guard of our G.P.U. (Applause.)

The Ukrainian military organisation which was recently discovered by the G.P.U. is of interest because of its orientation on German fascism, while at the same time it had in its ranks quite a large number of agents of Polish fascism. In that organisation was reflected a peculiar form of Polish-German collaboration directed against the Soviet Union.

In disbanding this Ukrainian military organisation the G.P.U. discovered that it had very close connections with a secret military agency of Polish fascism which operated in the Soviet Ukraine. In that agency were found Polish "Communists," such as Skarbek, for example, a Polish Government agent ever since he had joined the Communist Party in 1919.

This and other similar facts betoken the crying necessity for carrying through a cleansing of the ranks of the Communist Party in Poland. The Skarbek example, as well as the recently discovered agent-provocateur Bratkowski, shows how cunningly Polish fascism organises its system of political provocation.

A few words about Skripnik's nationalist deviation. Skripnik was an old Bolshevik who had rendered many great services to the revolution in the past, but who in his declining years fell under the influence of the Ukrainian nationalists. When the Soviet Union was formed in 1923, Skripnik made serious mistakes of a nationalist character, speaking against the formation of a

government of the Soviet Union with one system of foreign policy and one system of foreign trade. When that question was discussed in the leading bodies of our Party, his point of view tended to weaken the Soviet Union and played into the hands of our enemies abroad.

Skripnik's nationalist tendencies were exposed right then by Comrade Stalin. Skripnik at that time spoke together with the Trotskyist Rakovski on this question.

For several years after that, Skripnik pursued the general line of the Party, fought against Shumskyism and against the Vasilkov group. He was even appointed as People's Commissar of Education after the removal of Shumsky. But even in those years he committed several serious blunders. If it took so long to expose the Vasilkov group in the C.P.W.U. and the C.P.P., it was the fault not only of the Polish Right wingers Varski and Kostczewa, who protected them even when they opposed the idea of confiscation of the landed estates; it was also the fault of Skripnik, who deceived the Party and the Comintern by recommending these nationalist double dealers as the best Bolsheviks of the Communist Party of Poland. When the Vasilkov-Turyansky group was finally exposed Skripnik spoke against them, but in doing so he wanted to create the impression that they had previously been 100 per cent. Bolsheviks, but had suddenly, as if by magic, become fascists.

In later years, in the period of thorough collectivisation, Skripnik's mistakes developed into a whole system of national opportunist views. Skripnik adopted an anti-Leninist position on the national question. He even had the presumption to "complement" Lenin on this question and created a school of his own. Skripnik pursued a consistent policy of weakening the ties between the Ukraine and the Soviet Union, of separating Ukrainian culture from the culture of the other nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

Skripnik sought a theoretical justification for the compulsory Ukrainisation of the schools, for which Shumsky had been removed by the Party. In his practical work Skripnik systematically followed a policy of compromise with Ukrainian nationalism. Having his support and protection, the nationalists, counter-revolutionists and spies of several bourgeois states succeeded in securing extremely important positions at the ideological front in the Ukraine.

When the Ukrainian Bolsheviks started their determined offensive against the counter-revolutionaries, Skripnik's deviation was naturally exposed, and, after Comrade Postishev's speech at the June Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, it was widely discussed in all Party organisations. But the man who at one time had been not a bad Bolshevik, was so far gone in his nationalist demoralisation that he could no longer extricate himself from the counter-revolutionary net. His suicide was the best service he could have rendered to the Ukrainian and international forces of counter-revolution, and they duly appreciated this service.

The Polish Ukrainian Bulletin, published in Warsaw, commented on Skripnik's suicide as follows:—

"Years will go by. Things will calm down. Matters will take their normal course. The Ukrainian history writer in Kiev will be able to look at Skripnik's figure impartially and without bias. He will then take into his hands the scales of justice and place the great crimes committed by Skripnik on one side of the balance, and the cumbrous load will pull the scale to the ground. On the other side of the balance he will throw the tiny steel revolver bullet, which will fall into the balance with a ring and outweigh Skripnik's crimes. And then, it seems to us, the portrait of Nicolai Skripnik, the member of the Academy, will be hung on the walls of the building of the Academy of Science, which will have been cleared of all that had polluted it in the course of so many years."

The Ukrainian counter-revolutionaries dream of hanging Skripnik's picture on the walls of the Academy of Science in Kiev.

Skripnik's deviation, as I already pointed out, placed him in one front with Ukrainian nationalism. As stated in the resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Ukrainian nationalism constitutes the main danger in the struggle of the Party for Lenin's national policy in the Ukraine, because it is closely associated with imperialist intervention, which aims at severing the Ukraine from the Soviet Union, at its imperialist enslavement. This nationalism reflects the desperate resistance of the remnants of the Ukrainian kulaks, the last bulwark of capitalist exploitation in the Ukraine.

The nationalist deviation headed by Skripnik was found not only in Soviet Ukraine. It could be found also among the functionaries and even among the leaders of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine. Skripnik's followers in the C.P.W.U. had adopted a conciliatory attitude to Ukrainian nationalism and proved incapable of and unwilling to combat the furious anti-Soviet agitation carried on in Western Ukraine. They could not fully expose the Ukrainian Military Organisation, the most dangerous counter-revolutionary body, an agency of Hitler fascism which was simultaneously connected with the Polish Intelligence Service, working under cover of the slogans of national emancipation. They permitted these counter-revolutionary nationalist elements to hold responsible Party positions, although they belonged to the Ukrainian Military Organisation, and did not even take any steps to explain to the Party functionaries of Western Ukraine the significance of Skripnik's suicide as an act of treason and betrayal of the Party.

It is the task of the Communist Party of Poland, therefore, to take serious steps to strengthen the leadership of the C.P.W.U. and to establish closer connections with it.

Greater vigilance is necessary. The leadership of the C.P.W.U. has to be of a Bolshevik standard such as is needed in Western Ukraine in the present international situation in which that country is expected to be a rallying ground for anti-Soviet intervention. The Communist Party of Western Ukraine has to be purged of its nationalist elements. These measures will permit a real Bolshevik leadership of the struggles of the workers and toiling masses of the Western Ukraine together with those of Poland for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, for the establishment of a Soviet Poland, for the emancipation of the Western Ukraine from fascist occupation, for self-determination of all nations subjected by Polish fascism.

Skripnik's nationalist deviation did much harm to socialist construction in the Ukraine, since Skripnik had become the mouth-piece and instrument of Ukrainian nationalism. It did no little harm to the cause of the national revolutionary struggle of the toilers of the Western Ukraine. It rendered great service to the Ukrainian bourgeois counter-revolution, to Hitler, Pilsudski, the imperialist interventionists, all of whom are seeking to sever the Ukraine from the Soviet Union and turn it into a colony of German and Polish fascism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Ukraine characterised Shumskyism at one time as a manifestation of Ukrainian fascism. Skripnik's nationalist deviation continued Shumsky's line. Skripnik's capitulation to Ukrainian nationalism was tantamount to his capitulation to Ukrainian fascism and, through it, to German and Polish fascism.

Skripnik's deviation, exposed by our Party, signals an urgent task facing all Communist Parties, the task of fighting nationalism, of combating that nationalist wave on the crest of which rides the fascist terror. Nationalism assumes various forms. In the Soviet Union the main danger is Great Russian nationalism. In some of the national republics of the Union, including the Ukraine, local nationalism is the main danger, which, however, does not exclude but presupposes a most relentless struggle against Great Russian nationalism, which is an ally and to a considerable extent a source of local nationalism.

To carry on more intensive international education is an immediate task confronting the Communist Party of Soviet Ukraine, as well as of the other organisations belonging to the C.P.S.U., and all sections of the Communist International. It is an essential prerequisite for the further success of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, for the victory of the working class over capitalism, fascism, and social-fascism throughout the world. One of the mightiest means of international education of the masses for all sections of the Comintern is extensive propaganda of the achievements of the national policy of the Soviet Union, closely linked up with the achievements of socialist construction. The national policy of the Soviet Union, based on these achievements of socialist construction, really emancipates the nations which were kept in subjection for centuries, while in the capitalist world national oppression is becoming more intense and national hatred is becoming a mighty lever in the hands of the fascists and the imperialists for the preparation for new wars.

The Bolsheviks of the Ukraine, constituting an inseparable part of the All-Union Communist Party, consider it their task to pursue unwaveringly the general line of the Bolshevik Party, firmly to follow Lenin's national policy, using their methods of

proletarian international education as against the propaganda of bourgeois nationalism, in order thereby to convert the Ukraine, this Western outpost of the Soviet Union, into an exemplary Soviet

Republic, to convert it into an invincible fortress of the Soviet Union, against which the imperialist interventionists will break their heads. (Applause.)

Comrade Thorez (France)

The entire situation in France is dominated by the main problem—the preparation for war, especially preventive war against Hitler Germany. Still, contradictory elements manifest themselves in the relations between France and Germany. In France itself the various sections of the bourgeoisie are not united regarding the aims and the means to be applied in foreign policy. In certain circles which represent the interests of heavy industry, they gladly listen to Hitler's suggestions regarding a Franco-German alliance which would, of course, be directed against the Soviet Union.

The changes which have taken place in the relations between France and the Soviet Union by no means contradict this latter tendency. The pressure of the masses who are enthused by the successes of socialist construction, the internal and external difficulties of France, the firm peace policy of the Soviet Union, have for the moment caused France to renounce crass provocations of the type of the Gorgulov affair or the support of counter-revolutionary plots. However, the abysmally deep hostility of imperialist France towards the land of socialism still continues. Hence we see that the French bourgeoisie and its socialist agents, regardless of its declarations of friendship, continues its campaign of slander against the Soviet Union, that the French government was officially represented at the funeral of Yudenitch, the White Guard, that it continues to train the White Guards that are united in military formations, on a war basis, that it admits the counter-revolutionary Trotsky and that it permits negotiations with Japan regarding the investment of a milliard francs in Manchukuo.

The French bourgeoisie is more and more looking to war as its only way out. The material organisation of war is everywhere in the foreground, in the military and technical sphere, in aviation, in the navy, in industry and in colonial policy. France is arming itself and organising for the war in the name of "security." The lie about "security" is closely linked up with the lie about the "defence" of democracy against fascism. The French bourgeoisie veils the capitalist nature, the basic imperialist character of the contradictions and antagonisms between France and Germany, as it has also done with regard to Italy, and is playing itself up as the champion of democracy. It understands cunningly how to make use of the deep and sincere indignation of the toilers of France about the crimes of Hitler fascism in a chauvinist manner. German barbarism is counterposed to French noble-mindedness. The whole press is filled with small bits of information and notes about the "Boches." They are again beginning to see spies everywhere. In short, they are trying to create a real war psychosis.

This chauvinist frenzy is being enhanced by stirring up hatred against numerous working class elements that have emigrated to France and who are accused of having come to France in order to steal the bread of the French workers. At the same time that the French bourgeoisie feigns sympathy with the Jews who are persecuted by Hitler, it encourages or organises anti-semitic campaigns in France and Alsace-Lorraine.

The social democracy actively participates in the efforts of the bourgeoisie to prepare for war. It openly supports French imperialism in its foreign policy. The Socialist Party demands the firm application of the Versailles Treaty, including the clauses on sanctions. Still its main task consists in propagating among the masses, and especially among the workers, the deceptive theories which are very useful for the bourgeoisie, such as national defence, "security," defence of democracy, etc. The Socialist Party is never tired of slandering the Soviet Union. It speaks of a military alliance between France and the Soviet Union just as ten months ago it spoke of a treaty of friendship between Hitler and Stalin.

Our Party conducts a permanent campaign against the chauvinist delirium and against the war preparations. Especially at its last session, the Central Committee emphasised the dangers arising from the chauvinist propaganda among the workers. And in the activity of our Party we have discovered mistakes and weaknesses which testify to the pressure of the enemy upon our own ranks.

In the general council of the Department of the Nord, the

Communists voted for an agenda which proclaimed loyalty to the democratic regime of the bourgeoisie. In Marseilles a member of the District Committee declared: "To fight against the Versailles Treaty means to play into Hitler's hands." In St. Etienne a member of the District Leadership proposed to abolish the slogan: "Down with the Versailles Treaty!"

In other places it could be observed that the slogan: "Defence of the Soviet Union" disappeared for some time. The insufficient and belated refutation of the slanders of the social democracy created confusion among our own members and at times even among the leaders. The lower organisations asked for a denial of the rumours regarding a Franco-Soviet military alliance. There were protests against the reception which was being prepared for Herriot and Cot on the occasion of their most recent trip to the Soviet Union. Some comrades could not understand the nature of the relations between imperialist France and the Soviet Union. They awakened illusions about the peaceful intentions of France.

The Central Committee very sharply criticised all these vacillations or mistakes. In France we are particularly bound to be vigilant and decisively to combat the chauvinist tendencies, to tread firmly the path of consistent proletarian internationalism and to popularise the Leninist conception of the struggle against war.

In order to overcome the economic crisis, the French bourgeoisie is undertaking a systematic attack upon the standard of living of the toiling masses in France, in Alsace-Lorraine, and in the colonies. The wages of the workers are being considerably decreased.

All the "left" governments, since May, 1932, have been striving to depress still further the salaries of the small and middle government officials, at whose expense a milliard francs has already been "saved." The reduction of bonuses and relief of various kinds have been announced such as social aid, bonuses for the families of those called up for military services, etc. The heavy taxes upon the articles of mass consumption have again been increased and in that way the cost of living increased.

In France we see a revival of the strike movement with several large strikes, each of which involves thousands of workers. With the exception of Strassburg and Armentieres, where we shared the leadership with the reformists, all the large strikes were led by our unitary trade unions and by the Communist Party (Citroen, Marseilles, Castres, Dunkerque, seamen's strike).

The strike at Citroen in Paris destroyed the opportunist legend that strikes cannot be launched and led in giant enterprises which have a complete police system at their disposal.

In Strassburg a solidarity strike of 20,000 workers employed in industry and in public undertakings was launched in support of the building workers who were on strike for an increase in wages and for the conclusion of an agreement. This was a political strike in which the resistance of the Alsatian people against the oppression by French imperialism was expressed. It led to serious clashes with the French police, and to the erection of barricades in the heart of the town. In Sidi-Bel-Abbas, in Algiers, a strike broke out at the docks. Demands were raised which aimed at establishing equality between the native workers and the European workers.

Large strikes of farm labourers also took place, such as the strike at Capeatang. The peasants, who have no land, demonstrated. They came into the towns and went to the market places in mass processions and forced their way into the Prefecture of Chartres. In many districts the peasants offered resistance to the draisants. Municipal councils had to resign under their pressure.

The soldiers who are subjected to strenuous and brutal drill collectively write to our press. Several hundred soldiers joined the World Youth Congress Against War and two of them spoke. In the barracks there were numerous meetings.

The protest movement of the masses against the threatening war and fascism is developing under our leadership by means of the Amsterdam movement and along the path of a broad united front which involves thousands of socialist workers.

The extent of the united front movement, the ferment in the

Socialist Party and the reformist trade unions—all this is also a sign of the powerful impact of the revolutionary mass movement. This mass movement assumes still greater proportions in the oppressed countries as, for instance, Alsace. Several strikes of the native workers broke out in North Africa. In Indo-China the revolutionary wave is increasing under the leadership of the heroic Communist Party of Indo-China, despite the fierce terror of French imperialism that has condemned about 100 comrades to death, and half of them have already been executed. The proximity of Soviet China, the echo of its successes, and the victories of the glorious Red Army kindle the revolutionary spirit of the Indo-Chinese people and stir up the rage of French imperialism.

We still have not got fascism in France, but we can state that there is an accelerated process of fascisation of bourgeois democracy.

There is no doubt that there are in France organisations of a typical fascist character with a pure fascist programme or an orientation which is very friendly to the fascists. But still the characteristic circumstance is that in all of the "left" parties, including the Socialist Party, there is a wing which more or less openly comes out for a fascist programme.

"*Volonte*," a radical paper, openly speaks of fascism of the "left," which is to overcome the looseness and the impotency of the old parties, to assure the predominance of the general interests, to put new life into the methods of government and to freshen up the conceptions of order and authority. These conceptions of order and authority keep cropping up in all the speeches of the politicians of all parties as the guiding motive.

How should we defend ourselves in France against the fascist dangers and against fascisation? Above all, by striving to extend the mass movement and completely to bring it under our leadership.

The struggle against oppression in France and against the terror of French imperialism in the colonies must at the same time be an immediate aim of action and an element for mobilising the masses against fascism. A further element must be the concrete exposure of the chauvinist and nationalist tendencies. Finally, our Party must draw its lessons from international events, particularly from the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

Comrade Pieck's report will give us a great deal of help in this direction. The Central Committee of the Party has entirely approved the resolution of the Presidium of the C.I. on the German question. Nevertheless, doubts prevailed in the Party as to whether the policy of the C.P. of Germany was correct.

A certain feeling of panic, of defeatism, could be observed in some districts, and even influenced the editorial committee of our central organ.

The resolution of the Presidium and the article of our comrade Heckert were published after some delay and were very badly made up. Opinions similar to those which were expressed by the Neumann-Remmele group about the "defeat of the German proletariat" and the "capitulation of the C.P.G." were also to be observed amongst us. These tendencies were condemned by the Central Committee.

The Socialist Party of France has now been split into three parts. One fraction, the most numerous and influential, is behind Blum and Paul Faure; these are the "hards." The second fraction, which has 40 deputies, is behind Renaudel, Marquet, and Déat. These are the "softs" or neo-socialists. A third smaller fraction comprises the socialist elements who participated in the Amsterdam movement.

The task of the Socialist Party as the main social bulwark of the bourgeoisie becomes more and more responsible from day to day. In the interests of the bourgeoisie it must have recourse to more and more complicated and daring manoeuvres in order again to consolidate its sinking influence upon the masses. The alleged re-establishment of the socialist party at the cost of splitting off the most compromised elements is a manoeuvre on a very large scale. It is a new and extremely clever application of the **division of work** between the two main fractions of the Socialist Party, which do not differ from one another with regard to the fundamental questions of imperialist policy.

The Renaudel fraction openly represents and defends the fascist tendencies. But the Blum-Paul Faure fraction is no less occupied with national defence. The Blum-Paul Faure fraction has likewise

voted for the war credits and for the entire budget. It openly supports the repulsive colonial policy. It voted for several proposals as a result of which the small government officials were severely hit. It co-operated in sabotaging and throttling strikes. It shows the greatest persistency in conducting campaigns of slander against Communism and against the Soviet Union.

The differences in opinion between the Blum and the Renaudel fractions are exclusively concerned with questions of method. For the Renaudel group the moment has arrived when an essentially nationalistic policy and a policy which is openly directed against the revolutionary movement can be carried out. The Blum-Paul Faure group, on the other hand, wants to continue and still more intensify the "Left" pseudo-revolutionary phrases in order to prevent the workers from coming under the influence of Communism.

The process of disintegration of the social democracy and its very important consequences must not be underestimated. At the same time, we consider it necessary to issue a warning against the illusions to the effect that everything is over now, against the naive conception according to which it is here a question of the fatal collapse of social democracy.

It is now necessary strongly to emphasise the danger of illusions regarding the ostensible re-establishment of the Socialist Party and to conduct a vigorous struggle against the "hards" and against the Blum-Paul Faure fraction.

At the last national congress the third fraction, the Action Socialiste, which comprises many young socialist workers who participate in the united front committees of the masses and who are developing towards our Communist Party, united a rather large number of mandates—300 out of approximately 3,500. The Blum and Renaudel fractions will act jointly against the Action Socialiste. By developing our united front work among the masses, by more closely tying the organisational bonds with the elements in the Action Socialiste, we must quite openly explain to them that they must not stop half-way, but they must take one more step forward and join the Communist Party.

In our struggle against the Socialist Party and its various fractions, the most effective means is the determined and firm application of the tactic of the united front from below and the organisation of joint actions with the socialist workers.

Now we can say, although everything is not yet in order, that there is something new in the activity of the C.P.F., in its efforts to take over the leadership of the mass movement and to realise in practice the united front from below.

The members of our Party and the leading bodies no longer speak about formulas which have nothing in common with life, as was formerly the case. We discuss the problems which are raised by the broad united front movement, which is the outcome of our work and which we are more or less effectively animating. Never before were there in France such a large number of united front committees on almost all fields of activity of the workers. Never before have we shaken the positions of the Socialist Party and the C.G.T. to such an extent. I repeat that our work is not perfect, there are great weaknesses and great mistakes have even been committed. But the main thing is that we have begun to overcome our fear of the masses, to take the first steps in order to make the Party the organiser and the leader of the actions of the masses.

Five hundred committees of action against war and fascism were created under the aegis of the Amsterdam movement. Eight thousand socialist workers, 150 sections, and several unions joined in the movement.

The main shortcoming of the Amsterdam movement is that it almost exclusively concerns itself with agitation, which is also belated, and not with action and organisation in the factories. The reasons for this are the still inadequate activity of the Communists and the tendency to reconcile themselves with the petty bourgeois and intellectual socialist elements, the tendency to hide the face of the Communist Party.

The Party and the Unitary trade unions devoted a great deal of attention to the struggle of the civil servants and the employees engaged in public services. The movement of the government employees is very important. There is a definite tradition of struggle and organisation prevalent among these categories of employees.

The Party made an effort to mobilise the organisations of the railwaymen, the postmen and the municipal workers, so far as they were under our influence, in order to launch and to intensify

the resistance against the lowering of salaries and bonuses. The Unitary trade unions held numerous meetings, led powerful demonstrations and even carried through partial actions as, for example, with the gas workers and the railwaymen. They proposed a programme of action, and on this basis numerous united front committees were created. Approximately a year ago it was placed on record that the criticism of the reformist leaders and organisations had slackened to a certain extent. Under the pressure of their membership, and in order to prevent action, the reformist leaders changed their attitude. They were prepared to establish contacts with the leading committees, to hold joint meetings, under the conditions that criticism of them should cease and that the leadership of the movement by the trade unions should not be disputed. Instead of organising and carrying out action from below, an agreement was reached at the top. Assisted by this opportunist deviation, the C.G.T. leaders succeeded in keeping the government employees under their influence and in maintaining the leadership of the strike which took place on February 20. The Central Committee signalled these mistakes, but omitted quickly and completely to rectify them. Since then the Communists have been systematically intervening and are following the correct line in this connection. We came out against the C.G.T. leaders, who wanted to restrict the struggle to the narrow parliamentary field, and after the overthrow of Sarraut we organised large mass meetings and partial actions, in which 50,000 government employees participated.

In connection with the problems of the united front, I would like to point out here two examples of strikes which were the subject of thorough-going criticism.

In Armentières, instead of working for the election of strike committees in every factory, and for the building of a central strike committee approved by the general strike meeting, the proposal of the reformists with regard to the inter-trade union commission, consisting of five delegates from each trade union, was adopted. We submitted to impermissible conditions. We suggested that delegates should be elected by the strikers in every factory and that they should be affiliated to the inter-trade union commission. That was not carried through, despite the efforts of the delegate of the Central Committee of the Party and the local leaders of the C.G.T.U. They protested against the articles in "l'Humanité," against the publishing of a Unitary strike bulletin. They refused to distribute a leaflet of the district organisation of the Party. The Unitary leaders signed a compromise which had been rejected by the strikers. The Central Committee undertook a public enlightenment campaign on the spot, and the leaders who were guilty of this standpoint were removed, with the approval of the Unitary trade union members and the members of our Party.

The same mistake was committed in Strassburg, but with still more serious consequences. Just as in Armentières, the Communist leaders of the Unitary trade unions here also permitted the formation of a three-cornered leadership composed of representatives from the Unitary, the C.G.T., and the Christian trade unions. Here also they quietly looked on at the shady manoeuvres against the strike. They asked for a government arbitration board, which the strikers indignantly rejected. They went so far as to agree to a statement of the employers in which the Communist press was condemned. We made an effort to make a change, but we only partly succeeded in doing this.

In Armentières, as in Strassburg, the chief mistake arose in neglecting the struggle against the social democracy, in persistence of illusions regarding the role of the reformist leaders and trade unions whom our comrades really considered capable of leading the struggle, whereas they had no other aim than to throttle the strike, even when the pressure of the masses of the workers compelled them to launch the struggle.

The mistake which the Central Committee of our Party committed at the beginning of this year did not permit it to correct the mistakes in good time, and to a certain extent it fostered these tendencies. In view of the extent of the existing strivings towards the united front, the leadership of the Socialist Party attempted to carry out a big manoeuvre a year ago. It sent a letter to our Central Committee and to the national leadership of the Socialist Party and proposed the initiation of negotiations in order to create a single party of the working class by merging the Communists and the Socialists.

Immediately after our great success in Bullier, we proposed to the Socialist leaders that a large number of joint meetings be held in which the question of the united front and of unity was

to have been discussed. We declared ourselves to be prepared to discuss the organisational conditions with the leadership of the Socialist Party. There was a meeting at which two members of our C.C., two Socialist leaders, and two Pouipists were present. No decision was made and later on we broke off the connection. The mistake consisted not so much in the exchange of letters and in the conversations that were held as in the contents of our proposals and our dealing with the leadership of the Socialist Party. We permitted the belief to crop up that we Communists, under certain circumstances, were prepared to discuss the realisation of organisational unity with the Socialist Party.

Our tactics obliterated the natural difference between our Communist Party and the Socialist Party, although in Bullier we had said that a wide chasm separates us from this Socialist Party. At that moment our tactics facilitated the attack of the government in as much as it approved the socialist game which had in mind the sabotaging of mass action. By directing the attention of the workers to the negotiations at the top, we diverted them from immediate and direct action in the factories. It is not sufficient to state the treacheries of the social democracy and enumerating these at a discussion meeting with it. Only by organising the struggles and drawing the socialist workers into these struggles can we deal a blow at the Socialist Party.

A further mistake was that we permitted the Central Committee of the Y.C.L. to organise a discussion regarding the question of unity with the leadership of the Socialist Youth and a group of Trotskyites, by which the greatest possible confusion was brought into the ranks of the toiling youth and of our Young Communist League regarding the fact that the Party is not falling into sectarian mistakes again, that it is making much greater efforts to extend its united front work among the masses. **"To correct our mistakes in the course of the work"**—that was our slogan.

The leadership of our Party declared itself to be completely in agreement with the letter of the E.C.C.I. which invited every Communist Party simultaneously to address the socialist workers and the leadership of their party. We made our proposals to the Socialist Party without defining with sufficient clearness the demands and the actions that had to be prepared and carried through.

Now the leadership of the Socialist Party undertook a fresh manoeuvre. Several subordinate organisations of our Party fell into the trap and let themselves in for a discussion with the Socialist Party regarding organisational unity. This especially took place in Cahors and in Bourges. Our Central Committee immediately intervened openly. The C.C. sent one of its secretaries to Bourges, in the Broges District. Large meetings of the most important Sub-Districts were held, the District Committee was called together and removed the secretary from his position.

In connection with the opportunist mistakes in the tactics of the united front and with the tendency of weakening the struggle against the Socialist Party, there were various proposals in our Party which aimed at turning away from the tactics of "class against class." And in 1933 there were even members of organisations of our Party who allowed themselves to be taken in by the attack of the Socialist Party and accused us of "playing into the hands of reaction." Instead of explaining the reasons for our tactics and carrying through these tactics with a firm hand, it was proposed that we should vote for the socialists in the second ballot. During the municipal elections several proposals came up to set up joint lists of the socialists and the Communists for the second and sometimes even for the first ballot. The C.C. energetically rejected these opportunist proposals and condemned their being carried out.

The roots of the opportunist errors and mistakes of the Party on united front questions lie in the survival of illusions about democracy and parliamentarism among the masses and the reflection of these illusions in the ranks of the Party as well as in the underestimation of the role of the Socialist Party and the G.G.T. as the agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class.

Added to these reasons there has recently been a certain disorientation in our internal struggle on two fronts. The activity of our Party which is directed against sectarianism and for Bolshevik mass work among the masses helped us here to make some progress and to attain some successes. Out of fear of falling back into sectarian isolation, as was the case the first time at the beginning of 1932, the C.C. only hesitatingly combated the right mistakes, and,

what is still more dangerous, did not even always realise their very serious character.

The increased attention which was devoted to the urgent demands of the masses, after the Twelfth Plenum, led to better work of the Communists in the trade unions, and consequently also to better activity of the Unitary Trade Union organisations. The last congress of the C.G.T.U. recorded an improvement in the connections of the Party and the Unitary Trade Unions with the masses. Discussion of demands occupied a great deal of space there. The problem of the struggle for trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle was also raised in a concrete manner, using the organisation of daily struggles as a point of departure. But the situation is by no means yet satisfactory, particularly so far as organisation is concerned. That is one of the reasons for our poor growth in membership.

The Party has not made any noticeable progress in the countryside. Only in some districts, such as in Bergerac and Marmandes, it was able to launch a broad movement and to strengthen the peasant organisations by raising the demand of two-thirds of the harvest yield for the tenant farmers. The Party did not carry on any serious work in other districts. A tendency became apparent to place the question of defending the prices of agricultural products in the foreground which is against the interests of the proletariat, strengthens the agricultural bloc instead of breaking it up and awakens dangerous illusions about the possibility of a way out of the agrarian crisis within the confines of the capitalist social order.

In the present situation of revolutionary advance of the masses, where the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns and the poor peasants are also rising along with the industrial proletariat and the lower government officials, it is more than ever necessary to turn to partial demands to an increased extent. They are one of the most decisive means for capturing the leadership of the mass movement, to direct it into the channels of the proletarian revolution, to undermine the influence of social democracy and to defeat the demagoguery of the fascist elements.

Capturing the leadership of the masses by devoting our attention to partial demands also means the creation of favourable conditions for widespread action against war and fascism. The agitation of the Party was rather consistent in this field. Several large mass meetings demonstrated the international character of our struggle. In parliament our fraction repeatedly came out against the war policy of the French bourgeoisie and for the defence of the oppressed peoples of Alsace-Lorraine, Algiers, and Indo-China.

Still, our propaganda did not repel the slanders and the sophism with which the bourgeoisie, supported by the social democracy, is preparing for the war to the full extent necessary and at the right time. The action of the Party suffered as a result of this. The First of August was not a large mobilisation of forces. A broad united front action against the manoeuvres, under the direct leadership of the C.C., was only carried out in Troyes.

In the field of the anti-fascist struggle and the support of the German people, we were able to prevent the unloading of ships flying the swastika flag. Large demonstrations took place.

The anti-militarist activity of the Party shows an improvement. The Party occupies itself with colonial work, particularly in North Africa, more than formerly. Several campaigns for the support of the colonial peoples were organised in the metropolis.

In view of the present role of the toiling youth, the thesis binds all Parties "to overcome the sectarianism in the organisation of the Young Communist League." This is a particularly urgent task for the C.P.F.

The Party did not understand how to carry out the decisions of the Twelfth Plenum in this field of work. The Y.C.L. is still weak and does not make any progress. The C.C. of the Y.C.L., as was characterised by the last congress of the Y.C.L., deviated from the line, pursued a line of organising recreation and pleasure instead of concentrating the attention of every Young Communist on the needs of the young workers, on the preparation and leadership of their struggles against the bourgeoisie.

At its session in March, 1933, the C.C. of the Y.C.L. was unable to bring about a change, as it was not supported by the C.C. of the Party, and did not understand how to combat the mistakes by revealing their causes and defects. Vacillations led to postponing the mobilisation of the Party and before all of the nuclei, for preparing

the masses of the youth for the extraordinary congress of the Young Communist League.

At the same time, however, some partial successes (World Youth Congress, formation of Young Communist groups in the strikes at Dunkerque and Castres) showed that there are possibilities at hand and that they point the path to be followed by the Party and the Y.C.L.

The Party was able to bring a broad united front movement into being, even though it still did this with numerous shortcomings. It led large strikes, it actively participated in the struggles of the government employees. It propagated partial demands, developed widespread agitation and carried through several actions against fascism and war. But we fully realise that the results attained are still inadequate and still lag behind what the situation demands from our Party and its leadership. We know that we must adopt a critical attitude towards our own work and that we must not conceal the fact that our movement and our party are still beset with great weaknesses which can become a danger for it.

Notwithstanding a definite growth in our influence, which became apparent during various elections and during the leadership of large militant mass meetings of the workers, the membership of our Party and of the Unitary Trade Unions does not increase to a satisfactory degree. The number of factory nuclei is not large and they do not develop large political activity. At the same time there are examples of good work. The territorial decentralisation of our Party Committees which we have already begun is showing good results. It has brought the Party committees nearer to the lower nuclei and has considerably extended the number of active elements in the Party. The formation and the training of cadres is improving. The Central Committee succeeded in again winning back old and experienced comrades who had been pushed aside through the sectarian narrow-mindedness for active work.

The Party has not yet succeeded in organising its influence, above all by means of the large non-Party mass organisations, and in consolidating its successes.

Its political and organisational preparations for illegality are weak just as they were before.

It can be said that the leadership has consolidated itself since the Twelfth Plenum and that the work has improved although it is not yet quite satisfactory. The lower committees are not given any systematic concrete support. The decisions that are made are not yet applied with the necessary speed and firmness. Control over the organs of the Party, the Communist fractions or leading bodies of the large mass organisations is still inadequate.

The International and the internal political situation of France places serious responsibility and large tasks upon our Party.

Our first great task is to improve our efforts for the organisation of mass work and of the united front and multiply these efforts tenfold. This is the pre-condition for carrying out our second task, the great strategical task of our Party, namely, the launching of a broad, popular, anti-capitalist, anti-fascist movement directed against war.

What tasks arise out of this for our Party?

- (1) Increasing attention to the partial demands of the masses.
- (2) Relentless struggle against social democracy and winning over the socialist workers by means of struggle and in the course of this struggle.
- (3) Strengthening the trade unions and the large non-Party organisations that are led by the Communists.
- (4) Intensifying the ideological, political and organisational struggle against the fascisation and war policy of the French bourgeoisie and for the support of the people oppressed by it.
- (5) Concrete leadership of the Young Communist League in order to make a militant organisation of the masses of the toiling youth out of it.
- (6) Decided improvement of the work in the villages, using the struggles for daily demands as a starting point and drawing in and leading the poor peasants in the struggle against fascism and war.
- (7) A thorough change in the attitude of the entire Party and its leadership towards the organisational problems of the Party and the problems of the mass movement.

This whole work must be developed with a firm hand and with persistence. The aims of our Party, the struggle for the power of the proletariat, must be constantly and convincingly explained as the only way out of the capitalist crisis.

Comrade Gottwald (Czechoslovakia)

The Czech delegation, in the name of the whole Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, greets our heroic brother Party, the C.P. of Germany and its imprisoned leader, Comrade Thaelmann. (Applause.) The Czech workers and the C.P. of Czechoslovakia are following the heroic struggle of the Communist Party of Germany against the Hitler dictatorship with sympathy, inspiration and profound admiration, and are ready to offer the most far-reaching support in the struggle. Never have we felt ourselves so close to our German comrades as we feel to-day. The C.P.G. is a brilliant example in every respect in its heroism in revolutionary struggle, in its Bolshevik firmness of principle and in its unswerving struggle on two fronts against all deviations from the Bolshevik line. I wish also to emphasise particularly the fact that we condemn most bitterly all the liquidationist tendencies and anti-Party factional machinations of the Neumann-Remmele group, and unreservedly approve all the measures adopted by the C.P.G. and the Comintern against these groups. We ourselves will crush in a most determined manner all elements in our Party still daring to slander the C.P.G. and its policy by Trotskyist liquidationist arguments.

Czech imperialism, which is internally torn and eaten up by countless contradictions and is in an advanced state of decay, is seeking a way out through war. Under the leadership of France, it is openly proceeding along the path of international military adventures. Central Europe is an inflammable centre of war preparations, and the torch will be thrown not only in Berlin, but also in Prague. The Czech robber imperialists are casting greedy eyes not only westward and southward, but also eastward, towards our great Soviet fatherland. While Benes, the little minister with big ambitions, is now making hypocritical speeches about his friendship and love for the Soviet Union, he and his agents are carrying on the dirtiest intrigues against Soviet Ukraine. But the Czech imperialists and their great protectors in Paris, as well as their adversaries in Berlin and Budapest, are making their reckoning without their host, without taking into account the Central European proletariat, the working masses. There is a united revolutionary front reaching all the way from Berlin over Prague, Vienna and Budapest, to the Balkans. A proletarian counter-offensive on one point of this front will rapidly spread over the whole front and make a huge breach in the ranks of the enemy—a breach which is likely to break up the whole enemy front.

The thesis correctly states that the disintegration and undermining of capitalist rule have continued still further during the past period. The economic situation in Czechoslovakia is very bad and is growing continually worse. The social tenseness in the atmosphere has tremendously increased. The anger and bitterness of the masses are growing. National contradictions are developing so far that they threaten not only the unity of the state, but even the existence of the imperialist rule of the Czech bourgeoisie. On this external and internal political basis, the process of fascistisation in Czechoslovakia is going on at an accelerated pace. **A fascist dictatorship is being carried through in Czechoslovakia to-day.** The government has far-reaching authority and power to issue emergency decrees, which it exercises most freely. All elections have been suspended for the time being. Fascist measures are being systematically adopted by the municipal authorities. The Communist press has been prohibited. By means of a special law relating to anti-government parties, a sort of fascist reform of the constitution has been introduced. A large number of proletarian mass organisations have been disbanded. Our Y.C.L. is illegal. The Red trade unions and co-operatives are daily threatened with dissolution or the assignment of government commissars, which is tantamount to fascistisation. The Party is likely to be driven underground any day and be deprived of all its mandates. Even now the Party is at least four-fifths illegal, and a widespread campaign of persecution has been organised against it, while during the last three or four weeks several hundred Communists have been imprisoned. But fascist dictatorship is making itself felt in other fields as well.

Czechoslovakia is a classical example of how bourgeois democracy organically, in legal forms, grows into fascist dictatorship.

It would be a great illusion to believe that simply because the fascist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia is being carried out so to

speak "legally" under the slogan of "Defence of Democracy," and with the direct participation of the social democrats, the fascist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia will not be brutal or bloody. But this illusion is, unfortunately, very prevalent in our Party. To maintain that the establishment of an outright and bloody fascist regime in Czechoslovakia, according to the Hitler pattern, necessarily involves a special fascist coup, would be to underestimate the fascist role of the present government and of the social-fascists. We must recognise that this same government, the personal composition of which is immaterial, and which is now carrying out fascist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia by "legal" methods, is likely any day, especially with the outbreak of war, to launch the most intense, brutal and bloody fascist terrorism.

The resistance put up by the Party and the working class of Czechoslovakia against the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, and especially against the persecution of the revolutionary movement, have so far been entirely inadequate. It is true that hundreds of meetings are being held, hundreds of deputations are being organised, resolutions are being adopted and action is being carried on in the enterprises, and small demonstrations are being held. Even political demonstrations and strikes are being carried out, and a widespread unemployed movement has been revived, especially during the last few weeks. We find that the masses are helping actively and effectively in getting out illegal Communist papers and other agitational material. In the last weeks since our legal press has been suspended, several hundred factory, local, street and district papers have been issued. The "Rudo Pravo," the central organ of the Party, appears in printed form three times a week. There are good examples of mass defence against victimisation of functionaries in the municipalities and in the enterprises. Moreover, a number of social-democratic workers have demonstratively joined our Party. Protest demonstrations have been held against the establishment of a fascist dictatorship and the persecution of the Communist Party. Protest resolutions have been adopted by social-democratic workers and by social-democratic party and trade union groups. But the extent and the form of the resistance to the establishment of the fascist dictatorship do not compare with the seriousness of the fascist attacks against the revolutionary movement.

One of the chief reasons why it is so difficult for us now to mobilise the masses in defence of the Party and against the fascist dictatorship is the fact that the Party, in appraising the most important international question of recent times, namely, the German question, has permitted opportunist deviations in its ranks and in its leadership.

Hitler's victory flung the petty-bourgeois elements in the Party into a state of panic. They seemed to have forgotten the fact that we were at the end of capitalist stabilisation and entering a new round of wars and revolutions, and that for the bourgeoisie, fascist dictatorship is a sign of weakness, a last resort. When Hitler took over power, their hearts sank into their boots and they were overcome with despair.

The reaction of the workers was quite different from that of the petty-bourgeois and opportunist elements. The workers reacted to events in Germany in a revolutionary and proletarian manner. The working class was seized with a wave of indignation and anger, not only against Hitler, but also against the S.P.G. The social-democratic workers, in particular, were upset and indignant at the result of the policy of the S.P.G.

Under the influence of the bankruptcy of social democracy, and as a result of the whole development in Germany, the social-democratic workers were receptive to the sharpest criticism of the policy of their party.

The bourgeoisie, the class enemy, realised this danger only too well. The whole camp of the class enemy, reaching from the fascists and over social-fascists right up to the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, launched an offensive of disruption. What was the chief aim of this offensive? During March, April and May it was very difficult to deny the fact that the social democrats had failed and that the policy of the social democrats led to fascism. This was too obvious, and the indignation of the social-democratic workers was too great for any denial. Consequently the offensive of the enemy was concentrated particularly on the declaration that the C.P.G. had failed. The enemies spread these arguments with all the pressure at their command. The petty-

bourgeois and opportunist elements in our ranks succumbed to this agitation. Their mouthpiece in the Polit-Bureau of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia was, unfortunately, Comrade Guttman, who, at the Twelfth Plenum, had criticised from an opportunist standpoint the correct united front tactics of the C.P. of Germany. Nevertheless, it must be emphasised that in the Polit-Bureau of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Guttman was completely isolated in his views on the questions of the German Party. But this does not change the fact that advocates of opportunist and petty-bourgeois views appeared in the leadership of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia. The comrades did not recognise the fact that the bankruptcy of the social democrats in Germany is a historic proof of the bankruptcy of the whole policy of the Second International, and that the impression made by the German events, and the lessons which they involved, greatly facilitate our approach to the social-democratic workers, making it much easier to prove to them the correctness of the policy of the Comintern and to make great inroads into the ranks of the social-fascist parties.

Comrades, the results of the deviations mentioned here, especially in connection with the German question, were very serious for us. The direct result was that almost the entire press of the Party neglected the popularisation of the line of the Comintern on the German question, and in many cases actually sabotaged it. This in turn resulted in the fact that, instead of our launching a sharp offensive against social-fascism, the initiative rapidly passed into the hands of the social-fascists, and that our Party was very hesitant in reminding the social-democratic workers that the danger not only in Germany, but also in Czechoslovakia, lay on the side of the social-fascists, in their own parties and in their own government. And the result of all this was that in Czechoslovakia the social-fascists succeeded—temporarily, to be sure, but nevertheless succeeded—in side-tracking the indignation and anger of the working class against fascism, and its disillusionment with the S.P.G., on to a false track, namely, the track of “defence of democracy,” that same democracy in whose name the fascist dictatorship is now being carried out in Czechoslovakia.

With the help of the Comintern we have now practically liquidated the false views which prevailed in connection with the German question, and in the future also we shall carry on a bitter struggle against all these Trotskyist and semi-Trotskyist views. We are also faced with exaggerations in the other direction. The theory was put forward that in Czechoslovakia an open fascist dictatorship already exists. Of course, none of us believe that fascist development in Czechoslovakia had reached its highest point, that nothing worse and nothing different could follow. But the above-mentioned formulation of the setting up of an open fascist dictatorship is likely to give this impression, and for that reason it is incorrect. It is correct to say that a fascist dictatorship is now being carried on in Czechoslovakia by the present government, with the help of the social-fascists and that it is being carried through without restraint, and that its development into an open, brutal, bloody fascist dictatorship can be prevented only by the undermining of the mass influence of the social democrats and by the winning over of the social-democratic workers for the revolutionary united front, by drawing them into the struggle under Communist leadership and developing mass struggles, mass strikes and political mass strikes and by extending the struggle and raising it to the level of a decisive struggle.

While the German events were driving the masses of social-democratic workers further and further to the left, the social-fascist leaders were going more and more to the right. They based their tactics on the following line of reasoning: Hitler came to power and Wels had to emigrate to Prague, because the S.P.G. was not complying with the wishes and demands of the German bourgeoisie. Consequently, they reason: we will comply with the wishes and demands of the Czech bourgeois. Of course, they do not say it in so many words, but express it in different terms. Nevertheless, this is what it means. They say: Hitler came to power because the S.P.G. was too weak in its defence of democracy; then they go on to say: We will defend democracy, and build up a strong democracy in Czechoslovakia. And in actual fact they are carrying through the fascist dictatorship under this slogan.

On an international scale we observe the formation of right neo-fascist groups in the parties of the Second International. In Czechoslovakia we have a very special case in the Party of the

so-called Czech socialists, which already is of a marked fascist character and can be looked upon more or less as a neo-fascist party.

Among the Czech social democrats we thus see the formation of neo-fascist groups and tendencies, but at the same time “left” groups and tendencies are developing. But the direction in which the Czech social democrats as a whole have been moving, is clear not only from their daily activities, but also from their last party congress, which was held a month ago. At this party congress the Czech social democrats, and with them, as one party, the Slovak, Magyar, and Ukrainian social democrats, came out quite openly for war preparations, for the defence of the fatherland, for the army, for militarism and for a war of conquest in the truest sense of the word, for a preventive war. They threatened occupation of Austria. Moreover, at this same party congress, the Czech social democrats approved in full the line of carrying out the fascist dictatorship, naturally under the slogan of defending democracy, and worked out an economic programme of such a character that most of the items were unreservedly approved by the representatives of heavy industry in Czechoslovakia.

Another characteristic feature of the fascisation of Czech social democracy is the case of the reformist trade union of glass workers. The leadership of this union combined with the glass manufacturers to set up a cartel on a corporative basis, as advocated by Dollfuss.

As for the German social democrats, they are going loyally step by step with the Czech social democrats and are carrying out basically the policy of the Czech social democrats, including defence of the fatherland. On October 28, the anniversary of the establishment of Czechoslovakia as a nation, they celebrated, together with the leading officials of the district, gendarmes and Czech military forces, the founding of the Czech imperialist State. In this they in no way went against the interest of their own bourgeoisie. German social democracy is nothing but a pair of tongs, which the German bourgeoisie is holding in a fire while it speculates on the coming imperialist war. It calculates thus: If Hitler wins, then we will have swastikas; if the French—Czech block wins—then the German social democrats can “save the nation from collapse.”

The discontent of the working-class elements of the social democratic parties is prevalent throughout. The resistance to the Party leadership, to the upper Party bodies and to the policy of the Party is very widespread. In many cases—sometimes with our help, but frequently quite spontaneously—an opposition movement is developing and opposition groups are being formed both in the trade unions and in the parties. In many cases the social democratic workers set up a united front with us, in spite of the threats of their party. It is no exaggeration to say that between the membership of the social fascist parties and the apparatus and leadership, a bitter struggle is being waged, in which the social democratic apparatus, in addition to its ideological influencing of the members, is resorting more and more to the method of threats and terrorism—with the help of the employers, and frequently also the police.

Politically this opposition is still very confused. It has not yet grasped the anti-proletarian character of the whole policy of the social fascists. These workers still have many illusions about the possibility of bringing about a change within the Party by driving out the old leaders and establishing a new leadership. These illusions are, of course, being demagogically supported and nourished by the “lefts.”

Why has this oppositional discontent in the ranks of the social democrats in Czechoslovakia not yet taken the form of a mass transfer of the social democratic workers to our Party? Why is it that, on the contrary, the influence of the Party has recently declined? The cause for this is the opportunism which has found its way into the Party in recent times. But these false views and deviations on the German question were in themselves merely the result of a whole system of opportunist tendencies in regard to a number of questions of principle and tactics of the revolutionary movement—the chief representative of these tendencies in Czechoslovakia being Comrade Guttman. Instead of correctly understanding the tactics of the united front as a militant alliance between the Communists and social democratic and unorganised workers, some of our comrades developed the theory of the united front as a compromise between the views and principles of the Communists and the views of the social democratic workers. It is clear that this incorrect platform was bound to lead, both in

practice and theory, to the most serious opportunist errors, which subsequently resulted in holding back the social democratic workers from us, and in weakening the fighting power of the Party and its ability to attract the masses. Comrade Guttman proposed to us that we Communists should draw up a special political platform for the social democratic workers, not a social fascist platform, to be sure, but not a Communist platform—something in between the two. Comrade Guttman did not realise that he was thus playing directly into the hands of the “left” social democratic demagogues and also the Trotskyites. Comrade Reimann, as a result of his deviations in connection with various questions and owing to his failure to be sufficiently on guard as head of the central agitation department and editor of the theoretical organ of the Party, permitted the advocacy of opportunist views in the daily as well as in the theoretical press of the Party and was also to a great extent responsible for the fact that opportunism became so widespread and so deeply rooted in the Party.

Comrades, a few words more about the youth. There is a proverb which says that the twittering of the young is copied from the singing of the old. Unfortunately in our case, the young twittered in a still more ugly tone than the old sang. The result of the serious opportunist errors of the Y.C.L. is that not only has it failed to grow, but it has actually declined, and that now the Y.C.L., as well as the Party, is confronted with the vital task of equipping itself to become a real mass organisation of the working youth by the extermination of all opportunist tendencies. Now, with the help of the Comintern, a widespread struggle is being carried on in the Party against opportunist tendencies and opportunist views. Of course the opportunist tendencies are by no means overcome. Now, with the carrying out of fascist dictatorship and the threatened illegality, they are coming to light in new forms, such as liquidationism, open Trotskyism and renegadism, and are thus all the more dangerous. Therefore we are compelled to realise that the struggle against opportunism is only just beginning.

Now I wish to say just a few words about the main tasks which face the Party to-day. In the present situation, the first task consists in checking and frustrating the fascist dictatorship by means of mobilising the masses, organising widespread mass action, and carrying out great political strikes and demonstrations. This must be based on the development of mass struggles in the various fields; in connection with the defence of the Party and the revolutionary movement and struggle for the political rights of the working class; in the field of the economic struggles of the unemployed and of the employed workers; in the mobilisation of the poor peasants and the organisation of economic struggles for their demands; around the national question, in the struggle against national oppression and for self-determination to the point of separation. Finally, we must be active in combating the increasing war preparations, and the threatening imperialist war. The Party must learn how to direct all these tendencies in the class struggle, for which the objective conditions in Czechoslovakia are now ripe, into one channel, against the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship in general. The Party must bring up the question of power, the question of proletarian dictatorship, the question of Soviets, and also make it clear to the masses how the dictatorship of the proletariat and a Soviet government will satisfy all the needs of the working population.

Side by side with this mass mobilisation against the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship, the Party is faced with the urgent task of reorganising its ranks and preparing itself for an illegal status. Considerable advance has been made in this field in spite of the blows which have been dealt by the enemy recently, but the Party is not yet in a position to be prepared for all emergencies. Consequently, we must face the question not only from the narrow, technical standpoint, but also from the organisational and political standpoint. This means first all a serious and effective reorganisation of the Party on a factory basis, carrying out the old Party slogan that all Party members in the factories must work in factory cells. On the other hand, the organisational and political preparation of the Party for an illegal status must take the form of carrying out the slogan: Every Party member must be a functionary; and of abolishing membership on paper only, and of seeing that Party work is made compulsory. And in this connection Party units must be safeguarded by splitting up the numerically large cells into smaller cells in a factory and in the formation of smaller units in the residential and street cells. All of this must, of course, be carried on from the standpoint of maintaining contact with the masses under all circumstances and of preserving and extending the possibilities of revolutionary mass work even under conditions of strictest illegality. This calls for a reorganisation of the ranks of the Party not in a dogmatic manner, but from the standpoint of strengthening its revolutionary mass work.

The third group of our main tasks consists in the offensive which must be carried on against the social democrats and the struggle to win over the social democratic workers. This must be accomplished by carrying out the tactics of the united front from below, rooting out all our previous opportunist errors, by bringing about a mass transfer of the social democratic workers to our Party, and by building up a widespread opposition movement in the social democratic trade unions.

These are three groups of tasks, which are closely linked up with each other, and which must be carried out simultaneously. Moreover, it is absolutely necessary for the Party to carry on more effectively than hitherto the struggle on two fronts, especially against opportunism. During the last few months we have paid dearly for our neglect of opportunist deviations and for our rotten liberalism in connection with various anti-Leninist views.

We are looking ahead to the near future with revolutionary confidence. The class atmosphere and the international atmosphere throughout Europe resemble a powder magazine. It is likely to explode at any moment. In Czechoslovakia the harbingers of the outburst of this explosion are not yet so evident as they are, for example, in Poland or in other countries, but nevertheless they are at hand. In recent times the Party has made very serious blunders. But with the help of the Comintern it will get back firmly on its feet. We do not yet say that we have overcome all our weaknesses. We are well aware that great obstacles lie ahead. But with the help of the Comintern and on the basis of the resolutions of the Comintern, the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, whether legal or illegal, will not be weakened in the struggle. Following the example of the heroic Communist Parties of Germany and Poland, and side by side with the Communist Parties of Poland, Germany, Austria, and Hungary, it will fulfil its historic task. (Applause.)

Comrade Richter (Germany)

The thesis very correctly emphasised the necessity of the decisive struggle against nationalism and chauvinism. Any neglect of the struggle against chauvinism, any slackening of stubborn and courageous struggle against it, would be dangerous opportunism. The double yoke of oppression and robbery inflicted on the working population of Germany by the foreign capitalists and those who have profited by the Versailles Treaty has greatly facilitated the unleashing of an unprecedented wave of chauvinism in Germany.

By what means, forms and methods of chauvinist incitement is the fascist dictatorship now attempting to accomplish its ends?

The youth did not go through the horror of trench warfare and misery at home, but have lived for fifteen years in the bog of Weimar democracy. Their path into life led from the school to the Labour Exchange. The desire to live for something and to place their enthusiasm and spirit of sacrifice at the service of

an “unselfish” cause and lend meaning to, and provide a future for their comfortless existence, makes the petty-bourgeois youth, and large sections of the working youth as well, doubly receptive to fascist phraseology. The fascist demagogues told them that they would be the “heirs of a great ‘Third Reich,’” and that they are the “standard bearers of the future.” They have falsified the horrors of imperialist war into “heroism” and fighting for the “honour of the nation and the people.”

As for the middle class, who have been ruined by monopoly capital, and their sons and daughters, to whom the universities and technical schools are closed, and the poor and middle peasants, whose land has been transferred to the “book of debts,” the fascist demagogues remind them of former prosperity, when German pre-war capitalism was in a position to give the middle class better possibilities of existence. The Weimar democracy reduced millions of ex-servicemen to the ranks of beggars and

organ-grinders, and robbed the war victims of their benefits. Fascism gives them still less, but knows how to disguise its starvation policy with regard to these elements with phrases of "serving the fatherland." They promise the office employees better jobs and chances of promotion as a result of new imperialist conquests, increased exports and the conquest of colonies. They are attempting to penetrate into sections of the working class, the labour aristocracy and backward elements. The slogan "armaments and war bring work," which was adopted by the social democratic trade union bureaucracy to the interests of German imperialism, is being systematically propagated. Part and parcel of this whole system of stirring up a general chauvinist psychosis among the population is the widespread utilisation of the "public influence monopoly" (the press, the schools, the cinema, the theatre, the civil air-defence organisations and the gas-defence movement).

Attempts are being made to prop up this chauvinist ideology by means of direct bribery of declassed elements and elements of the labour aristocracy. New paid posts are being created for this purpose in the entire armament apparatus. On the other hand, fascism is by no means neglecting the "finer" methods of deceit, which serve the same purpose and which were also prepared by social democracy in an exemplary manner. This involves special phraseology, such as was used especially in the campaign for November 12, to the effect that Germany wants peace, that nothing is further from the thoughts of fascism than war, and that the militarisation of the youth and the manufacture of cannons and poison gas is only a moral exhibition for the "defence of German honour" and of "Germany's desire for peace."

Fascist chauvinism, which as a rule speaks in the language of extreme imperialist aggressiveness, is leading Germany nearer to war as each day passes.

In its designs for building up a bloc of powers for a bloody redivision of Europe under the banner of struggle against Versailles, fascism is utterly unscrupulous in its selling out of German minorities and German areas.

Hitler, Goering and Goebbels are aligning themselves with the same fascist Duce, who is oppressing the German minorities in the South Tyrol, closing down all German schools, and has had the German native language prohibited. Hitler is ready to sell out Danzig, and is pledging himself to respect French interests in the Saar. His whole foreign policy is subordinated to the drive to the East and the preparations for a war against the Soviet Union. In carrying through this policy, and under the pressure of class contradictions, the fascist dictatorship is plunging into the wildest adventures in the field of foreign policy.

As long as the German social democrats were in power they built armed cruisers for their bourgeoisie. They helped their bourgeoisie to set up fascist bands for crushing their own proletariat. In the Reichstag they gave their votes to the nationalist foreign policy of the fascists. Throughout Europe they are the persistent advocates of the maintenance of the Versailles system.

The Second International has become an agency for the preservation of Versailles slavery under French hegemony in Europe. Ostensibly it is desirous of liberating the working population of Germany by supporting the invasion of French bayonets in place of the iron rods of the storm troop bandits. Under the pressure of these sentiments, called forth by the social democrats, we find among certain sections of the working class to-day dangerous tendencies towards submission, passivity and open opportunism in the struggle against chauvinism. In practice these tendencies take the form of expectation of an intervention of the imperialist powers against Hitler Germany. In some of the western districts of Germany the opinion prevails, for example, that a French re-occupation of the Rhine and the Ruhr district would give the working class a certain freedom of action. Another view which prevails is that only war can bring about revolution. The thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, according to which, as the result of a new war, revolutions are inevitable, is being twisted around into a fatalistic attitude with regard to the inevitability of fascist rule until a new imperialist mass slaughter is brought about. Another so-called "Left" view prevails, according to which it would be simply impossible for fascism, by repeating and intensifying its chauvinist manoeuvres, to drive the masses into a chauvinist frenzy, even for a brief period. We, on the other hand, must realise that the more fascism loses the possibility to make social manoeuvres, the more inevitably it launches out into chauvinist manoeuvres and adventures.

The C.P.G. has been, and still is, conducting a permanent, tena-

cious and tireless struggle against the dangerous epidemic of chauvinism and is emphasising all the complications and difficulties involved in the combating of national demagoguery. The Communists have to carry on daily concrete work in combating chauvinism, and have to swim against the current tenaciously and courageously if it temporarily seizes the majority of the masses. The underestimation of the Leninist attitude towards this question in our Party was evident also in the Neumann group. In the opportunist interpretation of the conception of a "people's revolution" as a "triple alliance of the workers," this group showed its underestimation of the role of the proletariat as the leader, which was practically the expression of their yielding to the nationalist sentiments of the middle elements. The petty-bourgeois masses, who are under the influence of fascism, cannot be brought on to the path of revolution by our yielding to their national sentiments, but only through agitation and practical explanation of proletarian internationalism.

The nationalist wave stirred up in connection with November 12 served primarily to weaken the increasing resistance to the shifting of the burden of armaments on to the shoulders of the workers, and the militarisation of the youth, which is closely linked up with it, through propaganda for the alleged interests of the people and the fatherland. The increasing compulsory donations and the continually rising cost of living are the two chief forms of material robbery of the masses to provide armaments in the name of "community of nations." These should serve as our starting points. We must go to the worker, who is indignant at the reduction of his wages on pay-day as the result of compulsory donations, and to the wife of the petty bourgeois who, when she goes shopping, grumbles about the increased cost of running her household, and we must explain to them the direct connection between the material lowering of their own conditions and the so-called "interests of the fatherland," i.e., interests of the war profiteers, Krupp and Thyssen, the militarisation of the country, the fascist propaganda for civil aviation, the gas defence movement and the constant increase and strengthening of armed forces, both of the government and private formations.

Our youth comrades are making great progress in organising movements of resistance to militarisation in the labour service camps and resistance to obligatory sport in the apprentice departments. But our Y.C.L. must go a step further. It must carry on systematic work to link up partial slogans and various forms of action with an exposure of the purpose of fascist militarisation, showing that it is a misuse of the working youth for the benefit of military defence of the rule of capitalism.

In working out our tactics we must be guided solely by the interests of the working class and the promotion of the proletarian revolution in accordance with the existing relationship of class forces within the country and the relationship of powers in the international arena.

We are for the complete right of self-determination of dependent and oppressed nations to the point of separation; but, for example, although we came out before the establishment of the fascist-Hitler dictatorship in Germany for the return of the Saar district and of Danzig, and for the affiliation of the Austrian nation to Germany—which was entirely correct at the time—to-day, on the other hand, if we were to call upon the proletariat of these regions to come out for affiliation to Germany, it would be a direct support of the bloody Hitler regime, a direct support of his imperialist war adventures. Our demand for complete self-determination must, from its very nature, be based on the struggle of the proletariat of the region in question against its own bourgeoisie, and complete independence of any and every imperialist interest or group of powers.

For example, fascism is attempting to utilise the question of the Saar Region for chauvinist incitement, which is likely to give rise to vacillations even within our own class. Already the national socialists are attempting to turn to their imperialist ends the tense feelings among the workers which are arising in connection with the plebiscite set for 1935. In this, the national socialists are being supported by the social democrats, who characterise the emergency decree regime of the League of Nations as the "lesser evil" as compared with fascism. On the other hand, French imperialism is attempting to foster separatist tendencies and to promise the workers an improvement in their conditions. We answer their agitation by declaring that the Saar is a strictly German country. We are opposed to the imperialist plebiscite swindle, which is only in the interests of this or that imperialist Power. We

are opposed to its return to a fascist Germany, which is attempting to crush the proletariat by the methods of terrorist civil war, and we are the only Party which comes out for the complete right of the working population to self-determination, independent of all imperialist intrigues and interests, also in the question of the plebiscite. In this connection we bring up the question of the direct community of interests between the German workers and the workers of the Saar, as well as of the French workers and the international proletariat for the overthrow of the Hitler government and the establishment of a Soviet government and for the affiliation of the Red Saar to Soviet Germany.

We must realise the danger that as a result of the chauvinist incitement of the masses the question of immediate struggle against social reaction and terrorism on the part of the French regime in the Saar, as well as on the part of the fascists, is being hampered. Consequently our tactics must be directed to linking up the existing social and political partial interests of the working population of the Saar with our basic attitude to the right to self-determination, and must utilise it as a lever for partial and mass action against chauvinism. The same holds true for the question of Austrian affiliation, for Danzig, for German Upper Silesia, for the Polish Corridor and for the German South Tyrol.

The Soviet Union furnished the proletariat of the whole world with an example of the solution of the social and national question, showing that only by overthrowing the capitalists and junkers at home is it possible to achieve national liberation, to develop national culture and increase the productive forces of nationalities which have been oppressed, bringing them up to the level of general social development. As was pointed out in the memorable speech of our Party leader, Comrade Thaelmann, at the international workers' demonstration in Paris in November, 1932, it is the task of our Party to carry on propaganda for proletarian internationalism and to make it comprehensible to the masses. At this international demonstration in Paris, Comrade Thaelmann said:—

"Both on this side and on the other side of the border the bourgeoisie are attempting to deceive the masses into believing that the enemy of the worker is not the capitalist class in his own country, together with all its supports and its agents, but the workers on the other side of the frontier. We Communists say to you: Only hand in hand, you with us, and we with you, is it possible to break down the barbarous capitalist system and the brutal bourgeois class-rule. Only by joining together in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and confidence in victory over capitalism can we carry on a successful struggle for the national liberation of the workers, as well as national liberation from the yoke of Versailles."

Organisational questions, and questions related to the adapting of our Party to work on an illegal basis and the establishment and maintenance of its contacts with the masses are all the more important owing to the fact that the experience of the German Party has shown that every weakness, every error must be at once paid for with the loss of part of its responsible cadres.

In carrying the Party organisation over onto an illegal basis, certain defects and weaknesses were evident in the Party as a whole. These were: (1) An opportunist attitude towards legality and views to the effect that Hitler will not dare to outlaw the Party, and that although we shall have to suffer from greater persecution under Hitler, illegality will be carried out in a manner similar to that of 1923; (2) A slackening of the struggle for the utilisation of existing legal possibilities and the consequent danger of having our contacts with the masses cut off.

One of the most decisive lessons which we had to learn in this period was that our political work in the revolutionary mass organisations had in the past been entirely inadequate, and that owing to this shortcoming, which was the result of poor fractional work, marked defects and weaknesses came to light in the adapting of the mass organisations to an illegal basis. These organisations demanded that special forces be released from the Party cadres for the purpose of transferring the mass organisations to an illegal basis. There was also the view that the mass organisations would no longer play the same role as formerly, and that consequently they should either be amalgamated or have their membership transferred in full to the Party.

Even in the period immediately preceding the transfer to illegality, the central apparatus of the Party was greatly reduced. The backbone of the old apparatus had already been put on an illegal basis. Under illegal conditions the question of concentration

and cutting down of the leadership became much more acute than we had expected.

When the Party was outlawed, control of factory work was still maintained by the Central Committee in about two dozen of the most important factories. For the leadership itself, this was an extremely important means of direct contact with events and struggles and sentiment among the factory workers. Just before the Party went into illegality, the Central Committee centralised the technical apparatus. At the same time a number of capable comrades, who had hitherto been politically active, were turned over to the central technical apparatus, which is responsible for the printing and mass distribution of illegal material. The secret police had to admit, to its own amazement, that the greater part of the voluminous Communist material was printed within the country. It is clear that such a mass of material can be effectively distributed only if the distribution is not in the hands of the apparatus but is carried out on a mass scale with the help of a broader organisation and with the help of groups of sympathisers and social democratic workers.

In some cases it is impossible to avoid having the contacts between the central committees and the districts, between the districts and the sub-districts and between the sub-districts and the cells cut off for weeks at a time. As a rule, however, the interruption does not last long. And in most cases efforts from above and the initiative of the lower units of the Party, which cannot be too strongly emphasised, have succeeded in speedily re-establishing these contacts.

The necessity for safeguarding the political independence of the lower Party units gave rise to many problems. Under the existing circumstances the former dimensions of the cells and lower Party units could not be maintained. Even when the Party was still on a legal basis the instruction was issued to split up the cells into groups of five, and this reorganisation had not yet been completed when the Party was driven underground. Then two very great weaknesses came to light owing to the fact that it was impossible from now on to call the nuclei together on such a broad basis. Where groups of five existed it was usually only the leaders of these groups who met together, and a sort of delegates' system resulted. Although this in itself was bad, it was not the worst. Much more serious was the following development: A very small number, only the most reliable comrades, were called together, while the great majority of the members were cut off from them. It is quite clear that such a method was bound to give rise to wrong views, spy psychosis, suspicions, insinuations, etc. Under the present conditions a cell cannot in most cases have more than from 5 to 7 comrades. Our error here was to apply this dogmatically. The organisation should adapt this system better to factory and local conditions. It is quite possible to have the cells larger when they are organised on a street basis. At the same time we must combat the views of certain comrades, who considered that wherever possible the cell should be reduced to three comrades. We must take a determined stand to safeguard the capacity of the cell for action and for carrying on political and organisational work. The greatest weakness at the present time consists in the fact that in many cases there is no collective leadership and no systematic distribution of work.

Another mistake consisted of the fact that we were too rigid in the application of democratic centralism and too rigid in the carrying out of the Central Committee instruction that even under illegal conditions the rule of electing lower and middle leading bodies must be adhered to under all circumstances. We have attempted to overcome this error, so that now the leading bodies are chosen partly by election and partly through co-option. The danger existed of the development of an instructor system, i.e., a system of issuing orders from above and cutting out the lower leading bodies. Such an instructor system in fact actually did develop to some extent. In certain places it had disastrous effects.

In general there have been tendencies in the Party to deal with the question of Party construction under conditions of illegality in a dogmatic manner, confining it to the apparatus instead of extending it to the Party as a whole. In this connection we had to overcome a slight but clear-cut sectarian tendency.

In agitation and propaganda, as well as in other Party work, our Party comrades have shown extraordinary courage in risking their lives. What they have not always understood, however, is to link up personal courage with the necessary caution. The tremendous increase in the initiative of our Party organisations is,

I believe, one of the strongest points of our work during the ten months of the Hitler dictatorship.

This initiative applies primarily to the main points of the anti-fascist struggle, to the factories and labour exchanges. The time when we were undergoing a marked decline in our factory organisations has passed, and during the last six months we can point again to steady progress. This success must, however, in no way blind us to the fact that the weaknesses of our factory work, which existed when the Party was still on a legal basis, have been further increased by the fascist terrorism and by the throwing of hundreds and thousands of Communists and sympathising workers out of the factories. To-day we have contacts only in a few of the big factories, which enable us to come forward as the real leader of the workers in these enterprises.

The new factory cells which have been formed are largely due to the initiative of social democratic and non-Party workers. During the past few months we have succeeded in reaching workers whom we never could reach before. This can be said of the most important and decisive sections of the social democratic workers. For example, we have the entry of social democratic workers into our organisations and the active collaboration of our local units with social democratic, Christian workers and workers who had hitherto been completely indifferent. In a large number of places there is very close collaboration in the distribution of our material, as well as in discussion groups. Unity committees have been formed. In a number of localities this contact extends even to the former functionaries of the S.P.G.

The most important work which we have had to carry out in the lower units and in the factories was the establishment of shop and department cells, without prejudicing the political importance of the general cell leadership or the leadership of the factory as a whole. Owing to the widespread system of terrorism and spies, the methods of work of these cells had to be changed. The Party is now confronted with a number of particularly important tasks: The establishment of delegate bodies, the formation of unity committees,

the utilisation of legal possibilities and the building up of factory units of the independent class trade unions. The fact that we have so far approached these decisive tasks in a most inadequate manner is a marked weakness in our work. This is a weakness which merely emphasises the weakness of our factory work in general.

The weakest point of our work, however, is the work among the unemployed. Undoubtedly a number of factors have been created under fascist dictatorship, which make it tremendously difficult to continue our work in the forms which we used hitherto. Our chief weakness consists in the fact that we have not succeeded in linking up our work at the Labour Exchanges with work among the unemployed on a residential basis.

Even when our Party was on a legal basis, the difficulties arising from a lack of functionaries were very great. Nevertheless, during the ten months of the Hitler dictatorship, and in spite of the appalling number of arrests, the Party brought its forces into play to develop new cadres for revolutionary struggle. The speedy development of new cadres, the training of our members to become capable functionaries, the establishment of collective leaderships, the drawing in and building up of groups of sympathisers and the winning over of former social-democratic and trade union functionaries, constitute a task to which the Party must devote all its energies and determination. In each cell every member must have a function.

The fact that we have succeeded in building up a tremendous illegal mass organisation and, with the help of this mass organisation, have succeeded in building up a broad revolutionary front of struggle against the fascist dictatorship, is proof of the good revolutionary work of the Party in the past and proof that we have tried to carry out our revolutionary duty during the past ten months. The rooting out of existing defects and weaknesses and the drawing of the masses in a more concrete manner in the future into the struggle for power—this is the task which faces us during the coming months. (Applause.)

Comrade Jacquemotte (Belgium)

By the end of 1932 there was a fresh sharpening of the crisis in capitalist industry in Belgium. The number of fully and partially unemployed rose to 400,000, out of a total of 1,250,000 workers, engaged in enterprises employing at least ten workers. The total population of Belgium is 8,000,000.

In December, 1932, the government demanded and obtained from parliament a law granting it "unlimited power" in the matter of balancing the budget. It issued "emergency decrees" providing for new taxation amounting to 1,450 million francs and 550 million francs savings on expenditure for social purposes. But ever since May, 1933, it has been clear that these measures are inadequate, and by means of a new "Enabling Act" the government cut down its social service expenditure by a further 800 million francs. This hits hardest the unemployed, the pensioned workers and invalids, while the wages and salaries of civil service and railway workers have been again reduced.

These measures and the lowering of the already miserable standard of living of the masses have produced tremendous indignation and discontent, which the social democrats have attempted to direct into parliamentary channels by means of a number of manoeuvres, such as the petition campaign for "driving out the government." They have throttled the struggles which the workers started, and the "Left" wing of the social democrats has been carrying on a demagogic campaign for the "later calling of a general strike" and for "preparation of the revolutionary struggle for power."

Instead of putting the question of the general strike clearly, and organising partial struggles against the government's measures, our Party issued the slogan: "Drive Out the Government by Means of the General Strike." Basically speaking, this was a repetition, with revolutionary trade mark, so to speak, of the social-democratic slogan, and in actual fact was a Right opportunist deviation.

Although the activity of the Party shows definite weaknesses, we must nevertheless give it credit for a number of positive achievements, as, for example, the very successful Hunger March carried out on March 29, 1933, in spite of the most bitter resistance on the part of the reformists, and the struggle of the soldiers

against the reduction or complete abolition of their monthly allowances after having served more than eight months in the militia, as well as action against the military air manoeuvres, etc.

The General Council of the Belgian Labour Party expressed its approval of the "Five Year Plan" for the liquidation of the crisis, which is nothing more nor less than a plan for the unprecedented strengthening of the rule of finance capital. This "Plan" was drawn up by Henry de Man, author of "Beyond Marxism."

In this "Plan" it is claimed that the crisis can be liquidated in five years and unemployment can be abolished, and the home market can be increased 100 per cent. by the introduction of a mixture of public and private industry, i.e., by nationalising the key industries and maintaining other industries on a "private" basis. A "strong" government is to appoint Commissioners to be in charge of the carrying out of this plan. This revisionist of Marxism bases his plan on the spirit of "national solidarity." National solidarity and suppression of the class struggle—these are the formulæ for the social-fascist rescue of capitalism.

The social democrats, the Rights as well as the "Lefts," have accepted this "plan" with the greatest enthusiasm. It is being submitted to the Congress of the Belgian Labour Party, so that its acceptance as the platform for the fascisation of the capitalist state and the rallying of the social democrats for "state reform" seems to be assured.

On the 28th of last October the Dutch daily, "De Telegraaf," published an interview with Camille Huysman, the former secretary of the Second International and Mayor of Antwerp, who, upon being asked by the journalists regarding the activity of the "extremists," replied: "I will throw anyone into the river who tries to stir up trouble among the population."

The fascisation plans include seven important draft laws: (1) On the suppression of the incitement of soldiers to disobedience; (2) on suppression of any insult of the banner or coat-of-arms of the kingdom; (3) suppression of slanderous attacks upon the royal family; (4) suppression of slanderous attacks upon ministers, deputies, senators, and officers; (5) police supervision of foreigners; (6) suppression of crimes and offences against the

security of the state; and (7) prohibition of wearing badges of organisations with seditious aims.

This means a tremendous intensification of the reaction in Belgium, an accelerated advance of the bourgeoisie towards fascism. On the other hand, the problem of Belgium's war preparations comes to the fore in connection with a similar development in France, to which Belgium is bound by a secret military treaty. The government, which squeezed 800 million francs out of the poorest of the population by cutting down unemployment relief, by striking unemployed workers off the relief lists, and by the reduction of old-age pensions, is appropriating 759 million francs for putting up a solid line of fortresses on its eastern border.

We have reached a point in which the employers are no longer content with carrying on partial attacks against the workers, but are launching a systematic and general attack on wages, and are terminating wage contracts. In September, the mine barons announced the termination of the wage agreement affecting 135,000 workers. Under the pressure of the miners, the reformist leaders were forced to submit the matter to a vote, in the course of which 95 per cent. of the miners organised under reformist leadership declared for a general strike. Consequently, the employers were forced to maintain the contract up to January 1, 1934. Nevertheless, they declared that if the government did not grant them privileges and subsidies they were determined to end the national wage agreement. On the other hand, the textile manufacturers decided to terminate their contract with 200,000 textile workers on January 1, 1934, while the quarry owners have also terminated a wage agreement affecting 35,000 workers. These wage-cuts are very far-reaching, affecting approximately 370,000 working men and women. Of these 370,000 workers, 317,000 are organised in reformist or Christian trade unions. It suffices to present these problems in concrete form in order to realise that the most important task today is to work inside these reformist and Christian trade unions in order to win these workers over for struggle. The masses are determined to put up a vigorous resistance to this fresh offensive of the employers.

We are able to report that out of the 54 pits in the Charleroi coal basin, united front lists have been put up in 30. Work is under way in ten more mines. Thus we can say that in Charleroi we will have united front lists in forty mines. This method of putting up united front candidates can be applied only if we combat certain elements in our ranks who underestimate the importance of these elections, as well as those who wish to have only members of the revolutionary miners' committee selected as united front candi-

dates, or to have these candidates nominated by the members of the Central Committee of the revolutionary miners' organisation. We upheld the view that these candidates should be chosen from among workers elected at public miners' meetings on the basis of their pledge to safeguard the interests of the miners. The application of this line enabled us to rally the masses of the miners and to achieve success.

The struggle which must be carried on in defence of the interests of these 370,000 workers, who bear the brunt of this offensive of the employers, calls for the most intensive work to set up a united front in the enterprises, to form preparatory committees of action and to strengthen the opposition work in the reformist unions.

Another important task is to develop the R.T.U.O. and trade union work in the enterprises. I am able to record that the sentiments of the masses of socialist workers have undergone a fundamental change. Formerly, up until the last few years, the social-democrats in Belgium were impregnable, with their trade unions, their co-operatives and the various other organisations which serve as channels for spreading the influence of the Social-Democrats among the masses of workers. Now the situation has completely changed. In a coal mine in Borinage, a miner, who was put up by our Party as candidate in an election, became the object of the most bitter attack on the part of his own comrades in the mine, almost all of them socialist workers, and was finally driven out of the mine as a result of the pressure of the reformist delegates, because the employer "wanted peace in his mine." This worker was then unemployed for fourteen months. About a month ago the workers of this mine got together. Eighty workers formed themselves into a delegation and went to the engineer, whom they asked to reinstate the Communist colleague, declaring that if his reinstatement was refused they would all go on strike. "But you realise that he is a Communist and therefore he could not be taken back?" answered the engineer. The workers then declared: "If you don't want any Communists in the mine you will have to chase us all out, because we are all Communists now." The worker was reinstated. Still other examples could be given to show this development which is taking place among the socialist workers.

With the growth of the crisis, the development of the offensive of the employers and the government against the working class, and with the development of mass struggle, our Party, which is growing and which got its baptism of fire in 1932, will be able to continue unswervingly on its way in the spirit and under the leadership of the C.I., and occupy a position of honour in the front of the revolutionary army of the Communist International. (Applause.)

Comrade Wan-Min (China)

I. China—The Scene of War, Intervention and Revolution

What new events have taken place in China since the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.?

First of all the further victory of the Chinese revolution and the growth of the Chinese Soviet Republic. It is a known fact that at the time of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the imperialists and the Kuomintang organized a gigantic campaign on an unprecedented scale against the Chinese Soviet Republic and its Red Army. About one million troops of the regular Army, as well as the auxiliary forces of the Kuomintang took part in these military operations.

At the beginning of this campaign, Chiang Kai-shek once more boastfully declared that this campaign would once and for all put an end to the Soviet movement in China. The right opportunists, who succeeded in temporarily remaining in the ranks of our party, in one voice declared that the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army were not in a position to resist this colossal military attack. These panicky feelings caused the opportunists to go over openly to the camp of the Kuomintang. However, in spite of their "prophecies," at the present Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the Chinese delegation has every right and is proud to declare to the world that this Fifth Anti-Soviet cam-

paign, which began in the autumn of 1932, was concluded in the beginning of this summer with a total defeat of the Kuomintang troops and a big victory for the Red Army, led by the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Soviet Government, under the leadership of the Communist International with Comrade Stalin at the head. (Applause.)

What is the situation after the victory over the Fifth campaign?

(1) The further strengthening, extension and unification of the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic. The territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic has increased to such an extent that it is now larger in size than any big capitalist country of Western Europe.

At the time of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic was equal to one-sixth of the territory of China proper; this included stable Soviet districts and districts where guerilla warfare was being conducted. At present the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic, including stable Soviet districts and districts of guerilla warfare, equals one-fourth of the huge territory of China proper. The stable Soviet districts alone constitute one-sixth of the area of inner-China.

The total area of the Chinese Soviet Republic is 1,348,180 square kilometres, the territory of the stable Soviet districts is 681,255 square kilometres.

The territory of the stable districts of Soviet China is approximately four times that of Great Britain (without its colonies).

The central Soviet district alone is twice the size of Holland and Belgium taken together.

(2) A further consolidation and development of the Red Army. In the course of our military operations against the fifth campaign of Chiang Kai-shek the Red Army defeated 40 Kuomintang divisions, of which 18 were completely crushed. We took 80,000 prisoners, including a number of generals, brigade commanders and colonels.

In 1933 we captured two division commanders, two brigade commanders and one colonel. We captured from the enemy 140,000 rifles, 1,390 machine guns, 20 portable wireless stations, hundreds of heavy and light field guns, and six aeroplanes. Moreover, about 30,000 soldiers of the Kuomintang troops have gone over to the side of the Red Army. (Applause.)

At the time of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the regular forces of the Red Army consisted of from 200,000 to 250,000 men, the guerilla detachments and the Red Guards had about 400,000 men. At present the strength of the regular forces of our Red Army is 350,000 and our irregular forces have about 600,000 men.

Also, from the point of view of *quality*, the Red Army has achieved a great deal within the last year. First of all we have strengthened the Communist and proletarian cadres within the Army.

(3) Enormous achievements in the field of Soviet structure.

(a) With a view to improving the Soviet political administrative system we issued and carried out special decrees regarding the alteration of administrative boundaries, the structure of the local and provincial governments and their duties, a decree on the system of electing the Soviets, etc.

(b) In the sphere of economic policy the central Soviet Government has issued a special decree on the co-operative movement (for example, in the central Kiangsi Soviet district over 500 industrial, consumers' and credit co-operative societies have been established). A decree was issued on government and private credits, on capital investments in industry and commerce, on the utilization of military and other specialists, on workers' control in industry, and on the purchase and sale of land under control of the Soviets. We also issued a decree prohibiting the continual redistribution of land, which practice was typical of a number of Soviet districts and became a serious obstacle to the revival of agriculture.

The central and local Soviet Governments, having taken upon themselves the task of improving agriculture, industry and commerce in Soviet districts, continue to direct the agricultural campaigns, such as the sowing campaign, harvesting, etc. The Soviets organised revolutionary competition and a shock brigade movement in all branches of economic activity. We have succeeded in improving the functioning of the Soviet workers' and peasants' banks, have established a correct tax system, and are carrying out a broad campaign for economising Soviet funds and for improving the system of supplying the Red Army.

(c) In our work of improving the Soviet State apparatus and of reducing the expenses of this apparatus, Soviet China has begun by the organisation of a workers' and peasants' inspection, by establishing a "light cavalry" organisation and other mass organisations, whose task it is systematically to check up on the work of the Soviet apparatus. In many places there is already a great deal of self-criticism on the part of the working class and peasant masses with regard to the work of the Soviet apparatus. The central and local Soviet Governments have begun the introduction of a budget system and every one, two, or three months, they publish a financial statement for the information of the broad masses. Such financial statements allow the workers and peasants to make comparisons with the Kuomintang Government institutions and thus become convinced that the Soviet Government is run much more economically than other Chinese Governments.

(d) The organisation of public education. In the course of last year, in all the important Soviet districts, a widespread organisation of public education was begun, notwithstanding the great difficulties encountered in view of the lack of funds and trained cadres. Our public schools are not only free of any tuition fees, but they supply the pupils with food and text books. Only the children of the kulaks pay for their schooling.

At the beginning of this year, the first Communist University, named in honour of Marx, was established in the capital of the Chinese Soviet Republic, the city of Suikin. In the district occupied by the Fourth Army, several secondary schools have been opened.

(e) The emancipation of women. The central Soviet Government not only consistently carries out its decrees on the freedom of marriage and divorce, and on the equality of toiling women in regard to land distribution, but strives to draw the women into the work of all Soviet institutions, in such a way that from one-fifth to two-fifths of the members of the various Soviet bodies consist of women. In every Soviet there is a special commission for the protection of mothers and infants.

(f) Last year was one of rapid development of all mass revolutionary organisations in Soviet China. This is true first of all of the Red trade unions, of the Soviets and the Red Army. In the Central Chinese Soviet districts alone, already at the beginning of this year, there were from 180,000 to 220,000 members of the Red trade unions. There now exist nine provincial trade union councils in all Soviet districts, and in the course of last year many trade union conferences and congresses, as well as delegate meetings, have been held.

Upon the initiative and invitation of the All-China Trade Union Federation, two model Red Army divisions, made up exclusively of workers, handicraftsmen, clerical workers, and agricultural labourers have been organised in Kiangsi. In all Soviet districts from 10-15 per cent. of the trade union membership have voluntarily joined the Red Army. The workers in the arsenals in all Soviet districts have doubled and even tripled the daily production of ammunition and weapons for the Red Army.

The poor peasant groups are a mass support of our party and the Soviet Government in the struggle against the kulaks and the remnants of the landlord class. In the Central Soviet district alone, there are 600,000 people organised in the International Red Aid. At the I.R.A. Congress, held in August, 1933, a collection was made to help our brothers in Germany and Japan.

This is only one of the many facts that go to show the deep feeling of solidarity of the Chinese workers with the heroic struggle of the German proletariat, led by the party of Comrade Thaelmann. Neither this solidarity of the toiling masses of China with the German proletariat and its Communist Party, nor the deep sympathy of the Chinese workers towards the heroic Japanese proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeois-monarchist régime is accidental, but both are results of the systematic work of the Central Committee of the C.P. of China. The C.C. of the Communist Party of China conducts a systematic struggle against fascism, for the popularisation of the resolution of the E.C.C.I. after Hitler came into power, and exposes the opportunistic slanders of Remmele and Neumann against the Communist Party of Germany.

With regard to the Anti-Imperialist League. In the Central Soviet district alone the Anti-Imperialist League has 500,000 members. Another important mass organisation, the Friends of the Soviet Union, has 600,000 members in the Central Soviet district.

(g) Our struggle against counter-revolution in the Soviet districts has led to the organisation of the G.P.U. (State Political Administration). The work of the G.P.U. has been improved and its organization perfected to such an extent that all the attempts of the Kuomintang to organize counter-revolutionary revolts in the Soviet districts have failed. Last year there were no serious counter-revolutionary revolts in any of the Soviet districts, as was formerly the case. (Applause.) Our G.P.U. suc-

ceeded in discovering and liquidating numerous counter-revolutionary plots of the Kuomintang and the imperialists against Soviet China.

(4) The central Soviet Government, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, has been able to show in practice that notwithstanding the fact that the Soviet territories have not been united, nevertheless in all sections of the Chinese Soviet Republic a united centralized administrative system has been introduced, and one uniform economic policy is being pursued. Moreover, the organizational structure of the Soviet apparatus and the financial and taxation policies, as well as the military and political leadership in all districts, are directed by the Central Executive Committee, Council of Peoples Commissars and Revolutionary Military Committee. Thus, the Chinese Soviet Government has shown that it is different from the Nanking or any other Kuomintang, militarist government of China. This difference lies first of all in the fact that the Soviet Government of China, although it does not unite territorially all Soviet districts, is nevertheless in practice the only Government capable of bringing about a revolutionary unification of China. At the same time, although the Nanking Government calls itself the Central Chinese Government, in reality every militarist, every official, every member of the gentry, or even Tu-Hao, is free to establish his own rule, to impose and collect taxes, etc.

From what has already been said, it is clear that *the Chinese Soviet Republic has already all the elements of a modern State and with full right can call itself a civilized people's Republic.*

This is precisely why the foreign Powers and various Chinese militarist governments have already been compelled to recognise Soviet China *de facto*. This is obvious first of all from the bourgeois Press. One bourgeois paper is compelled to recognise the invincibility of the Chinese Soviet Republic. Another paper declares the Soviet Government to be the best organized government in China. A third paper claims that the conditions of life of the population of Soviet China are better than in Kuomintang China. Other papers speak about the Soviet Government as the only hope for the unification of China, etc.

For example, the League of Nations report (The Lytton Report) says that Communism in China has become the only political doctrine. In China there has been established not only an independent Communist Party, but this party *has become the competitor of the National Government, because Communism in China has established its own laws, its own army and Government, and has its own territorial sphere of influence.*

The London "Times" (November 13-14, 1933) published two articles from its correspondent, who had paid a visit to the Soviet districts of Kiangsi and Honan. In his articles, entitled "Communism in China," the correspondent writes:—

"The curse of China is ineffectiveness; the Chinese Communists are not ineffective. The Red areas are controlled and rigidly controlled, by a central government with headquarters at the 'capital,' Suikin."

The American Liberal weekly, the "New Republic," in its issue of September 27, 1933, published an article called "Red China," which contains the following passage:—

"Soviet regions were immeasurably more prosperous than adjoining regions ruled by respectable war lords. The harvests were bigger, the taxes lower, the dykes along the river banks much higher. Here the Communists had maintained a stable government, a State bank of issue, an arms factory and a school system that had made immense progress toward its goal of providing universal free education."

And further: "During six years of continual warfare they have proved themselves to be the only truly native government in China. Time and again they have shown that if Western and Japanese support were withdrawn from the puppet governments of the sea coast, all China would be Communist within a few months or years."

The Japanese paper, "Osaka Mainichi," of October 14, 1933, in an article from its special correspondent in Tientsin, devoted to the situation of the Chinese Red Army, writes: "The population of Soviet districts in China has been placed in better conditions than those prior to the Red rule."

Of special importance is the fact that recently individual militarist groups, after repeated defeat in their struggle with the Red Army, under the strong pressure of revolutionary sentiments among the soldier masses and even among a certain part of the lower and middle commanding staff, have openly begun to face the question of the advisability of continuing their struggle against the Red Army. They realize that the continuation of the struggle with the Red Army will undoubtedly bring total defeat for their armies. Thus, the question arises for them, is it not better to change their tactics in regard to the Red Army and the Soviet Government and to turn their weapons against Japanese imperialism and its agent, Chiang Kai-shek, i.e., actually to accept the conditions outlined in the appeal of the Central Soviet Government and the revolutionary military council of the Red Army to the Chinese people on January 6, 1933, calling for a united front and joint military operations against Japanese imperialism.

The growth of the revolutionary movement outside of Soviet China is expressed in the further development of the anti-imperialist movement, especially the armed anti-Japanese struggle of the broad masses of China, particularly in Manchuria, Jehol, North China and Fukien, in the further revolutionization and intensification of the working class struggle, in the broad development of the peasant movement and the growth of the leading rôle and influence of the proletariat, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government in this movement. The growth of Soviet China finds its further expression in the revolutionization of the soldiery of the militarist armies, in the disintegration of these armies, in the leftward trend of the petty-bourgeoisie and the fact that greater masses are becoming free from the influence of the Kuomintang and other reactionary parties.

In China there is taking place not only a revolution, side by side with revolution, war and intervention in China have considerably developed in the last year.

First of all there is intervention and war against the Chinese Soviet Republic and its heroic Red Army. After the defeat of the Fifth Chiang Kai-shek campaign against Soviet China, the Kuomintang militarists, with the more active help of the international imperialists who supplied money and ammunitions, are organizing the sixth and even greater anti-Soviet campaign. In order successfully to organize and carry out this sixth advance, American imperialism has loaned the Nanking Government 40,000,000 dollars under the guise of a "cotton and wheat loan." A further 40,000,000 dollars has been advanced under the so-called aviation loan, which permits the construction of 850 military planes in America for the Nanking armies; 150 of these planes have already reached China. British imperialism has given Chiang Kai-shek £5,000,000 and 20,000,000 dollars to Lu Sian (Szechwan militarist). The Japanese imperialists have signed a so-called "Northern Truce" with Chiang Kai-shek.

Numerous ships loaded with ammunition, machine guns, tanks, aeroplanes, and means of chemical warfare continue to arrive in Chinese ports from the U.S.A., Great Britain, Germany, Japan, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Poland and other countries.

The sixth counter-revolutionary campaign against Soviet China is different from all previous attacks, in that it is being carried out with the direct and open participation of international imperialist counter-revolution. 150 American and Canadian military pilots are engaged in the Kiangsi-Fukien-Hunan front. Numerous American and German military and technical specialists, particularly specialists in chemical warfare, are in the service of Chiang Kai-shek. The former commander-in-chief of the German Reichswehr, General von Seeckt, and two other German generals, Weitzel and Kriebel, as well as over 70 officers

of the Hitler general staff, not only participated in working out the plans of the sixth campaign, but are actually participating in the military operations of the Kuomintang armies. It is precisely these hirelings of international capital who are now carrying on the horrible chemical and air attacks against Soviet China. The social-democrat, Grzesinski, and his former assistant in the Berlin police presidency, Weiss, have come to Nanking to reorganize the Kuomintang police force. Simultaneously the American, Japanese, British, French and Italian navies have surrounded the chief ports of China with an iron ring.

The direct united participation of the imperialist Powers, their direct and open participation in the military operations of Chiang Kai-shek, is primarily dictated by the fact that the defeat of Soviet China, the second Soviet Republic, is necessary for world imperialism in its preparations for the carrying out of a world imperialist war in the Pacific and primarily its counter-revolutionary war of intervention against the U.S.S.R., for delivering a hard blow against the International Proletarian Revolution and the fight for the world Soviet Republic!

An imperialist war is proceeding for a full and final division of China. During the last year, the Japanese occupation forces have seized Jehol, Chahar, and have established their control in North China. The British plunderers, who conduct their imperialist war by using the feudal lords of Tibet (according to the British Press the Tibetan troops wear British uniforms, are armed with British rifles, and directed by British officers), have already occupied the province of Chuan-Ping and are advancing towards the borders of Szechwan and Yunan. French imperialism, which by no means wants to be left out in this distribution of China, has already occupied nine islands along the southern coast of China, and is preparing for military expansion in the provinces of Yunan and Kweichow. The United States, for various reasons, has not yet begun military operations in China, but day by day American imperialism is concentrating its military and naval forces and is preparing at any moment to seize the richest and most fertile Chinese provinces.

The partial evacuation of Japanese troops from North China and the zone of the Great Wall, which has been going on in recent months, by no means signifies the end of military operations or the lessening of the war danger in China and in the Far East, as the Japanese imperialists and their agents, the Japanese Socialists, and Chiang Kai-shek claim. On the contrary, this partial evacuation is only proof of the intensive preparations of the Japanese military clique for the beginning in the near future of *a colossal war against the U.S.S.R.*

Thirdly, the fear of the militarists of the growing revolutionary movement has temporarily held back the outbreak of a gigantic militarist war in all important provinces of the country. Nevertheless, the militarist war is still raging in five provinces (Shantung, Fukien, Yunan, Kweichow and Szechwan). According to authoritative information, it is probable that in the near future we shall witness a new militarist war on a much larger scale, which will engage all the main forces of Chiang Kai-shek and his enemies. All these facts show that the fire of a new world war is being kindled in the Far East.

From the above it is plain that in China there is taking place simultaneously a revolutionary war and a war of counter-revolution and intervention. From the point of view of the present international situation, as well as the situation in China proper, the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang war of the armed Chinese people is a *progressive, revolutionary, and just war*. This war, and only this war, is the struggle for national and social liberation of hundreds of millions of Chinese people, and it is *a war for the liquidation of imperialist war in the Far East and the attacks of the Japanese and other imperialists against the U.S.S.R.* In this light one sees very clearly that the war of plunder and intervention conducted by international imperialism with the aim of enslaving the Chinese people, is in the present situation doubly *a war of reaction and aggression, because it is*

the prelude to the carrying out of the world imperialist and anti-Soviet war in the Far East!

The policy of international imperialism of intensifying its advance in China along the whole front is connected with the deepening of the world economic crisis, with the extraordinary sharpening of contradictions between states and classes throughout the world, and the policy of the imperialists to transfer the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working class and the toilers of the colonies and semi-colonies.

The division of China, occupation of Chinese territory, armed intervention against the Chinese revolution, establishment of economic and political privileges in China in connection with loans and credits for the Chinese militarists, dumping of cheap products (particularly Japanese silk and cotton goods, American and Canadian wheat, American cotton, Indian and Indo-Chinese rice, etc.) and the unprecedented fall in prices of Chinese raw materials, accompanied by the fall in the value of the Chinese silver dollar—these are the main links in the system of imperialist advance in China and against the Chinese people.

In the face of this increased attack of imperialism against the Chinese people, the policy of the Kuomintang Government, the policy of national treachery and degradation, becomes clearer than ever before. As an illustration of this treacherous policy of the Kuomintang it is sufficient to take the example of the so-called Hui-Joi agreement between Chiang Kai-shek and Japan, entitled "Principles of Sino-Japanese Compromise." This agreement contains, among other points, the following clauses:—

China recognises Manchukuo as an independent State, Japan reserves the right to dispatch naval forces to all points on the Chinese coast, the Japanese and Manchurian troops receive the right of passing through the territory of Chahar and Si-Yun provinces.

This economic and financial catastrophe in Kuomintang China is intensifying owing to the fact that Chiang Kai-shek and his hangmen have carried out and continue to carry out the policy of economic blockades against the stable territories of Soviet China. This blockade has not caused so much hardship to the population in Soviet China, as it has to the population of Kuomintang China.

The process of disintegration of the Kuomintang has been rapidly progressing in the last year. The Kuomintang was never a united party and now it has split into three independent parties. These parties are the "Blue Shirts" of Chiang Kai-shek, who call themselves the national-socialist party, following Hitler's example, the "New Kuomintang," headed by Hu-Han-Min, and the so-called "Peasant Labour Party." All of these groups have serious inner-contradictions and a split is imminent. Very soon there will most likely be armed struggle between these parties as well as between various warring groups within each of these parties. In connection with this one can say that the past year was a year of disintegration of the auxiliary organizations of the Kuomintang and its so-called opposition groups, such as the "Third Party," or social-democratic party, the latter being completely disbanded after the execution of Den-en-Das by Chiang Kai-shek's hangmen. The Trotskyite group has been completely liquidated after the arrest of its leader, Chen Du-Su, Pen Sheji, and others; moreover, the self-exposure of these counter-revolutionaries during the trial has led to their complete disintegration. The same processes are undoubtedly taking place within the so-called young Chinese nationalist party.

A new, peculiar fascist movement is developing, consisting of different tendencies, but which is especially that group called "Blue Shirts" under Chiang Kai-shek's control, who are replacing more and more openly the banner of Sun Yat-sen by the banner of Hitler.

There is no doubt that neither the German, Italian, nor any other fascism, not even the social-fascist manoeuvres in Germany, Poland and other countries, can save the dying German, Italian, or world capitalism. It is therefore clear also that neither Sun Yat-senism, nor the "Neo-Hitlerism" of Chiang Kai-shek, nor

the apparent anti-fascist manoeuvres of Hu-Han-Min, nor the so-called "Peasant Labour Party" will be able to save the rule of the imperialists, the big landlords, and the bourgeoisie of China.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that in China there is going on simultaneously revolution, war and intervention. It is possible that the future development of events in China will lead to the appearance of a new round of wars and revolutions. The basic question for China has not been solved, namely, either the decisive victory of the Soviet revolution in China will avert the outbreak of imperialist war and the war of the imperialists against the U.S.S.R. in the Far East, or the imperialist war, primarily the counter-revolutionary war of Japanese and other imperialists against the U.S.S.R., will break out before the decisive victory of the Chinese Soviet revolution. But the struggle for the overcoming of the war danger in the Far East by decisive victories of the Soviet revolution in China is the immediate aim, the basic and great task of the Communist Party of China. *The development of events in China and in the whole world raises the significance and rôle of the Chinese revolution to first-rate importance in the struggle of the proletariat of all countries for the victory of world Communism!* The Chinese revolution is at present the second decisive factor, after the U.S.S.R., of the world revolution!

II.—The Communist Party of China—The Sole Leader of the Chinese Revolution

We have every right to declare that the past year has been a year of further Bolshevization of the Communist Party of China. All the achievements and successes attained during this time in the revolutionary movement in Soviet and Kuomintang China were made possible primarily owing to the correct political line, militant tactics, continuous work, and courageous struggle of our party, owing to the fact that the Central Committee of our party has been firmly carrying out the general line of the Leninist C.I. led by Comrade Stalin.

The further Bolshevization of the C.P. of China in the recent period finds its expression in the fact that the C.P. of China, directed by the Central Committee, *firmly and consistently carries out its general political line, defined and elaborated by the Fourth Plenum of our Central Committee (January 7, 1933), under the leadership of the E.C.C.I., and that our party is not afraid to tackle difficulties and obstacles arising in its work.*

Our general political line in the present stage of development of the Chinese revolution consists in a struggle for combining the revolutionary mass movement in Soviet and Kuomintang China under the united leadership of the proletariat for the overthrow of the rule of the imperialists and their agents, the Kuomintang, and the establishment of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry in the form of Soviets throughout China.

After the Manchurian events of September 18, 1931, and the establishment of a central Soviet Government, our general line was made concrete and formulated in the following three slogans:—

(1) National revolutionary war of the armed people against Japanese and other imperialists for the defence of the integrity, for the independence and unification of China; (2) the overthrow of the Kuomintang, the government of national treachery and national degradation, as a pre-requisite for successfully carrying out the national revolutionary war; (3) only the Soviet Government and the Red Army of China are capable of consistently carrying out and directing the national revolutionary war against Japanese and other imperialists and achieving full national liberation.

At present every party member, every worker and toiler is becoming more and more convinced in the light of the practical activities of our Central Committee that "*full and unconditional loyalty to the general line of the Leninist Comintern*" (a slogan

of the Fourth Plenum of the C.C.C.P., China) *is the only road and only guarantee of the further Bolshevization of the party and victory of the Soviet revolution.*

Our party is able to conduct the concrete, flexible, tactical measures and manoeuvres which make it easier to carry out our main tactical line. What tactical measures carried out by the Central Committee of our party in the past year, aiming at the further victory of Soviet China, are the most important, typical and instructive?

(a) The Central Committee gave the whole party a clear and comprehensible theoretical basis on this question, pointing out that the fundamental ideas of the economic policy of the Chinese Soviet Republic at the present moment should be based upon the following: (1) The character of the revolution in its present stage, *i.e.*, that of bourgeois-democratic revolution; (2) the present situation of the Soviet Republic, *i.e.*, continuous, prolonged civil war, economic backwardness and scattered territory; (3) the perspective of the revolution, *i.e.*, the struggle for the non-capitalist road of development. Only owing to this were we able to achieve positive results from our economic activities in Soviet China. Only this correct economic policy in Soviet China made it possible to supply the Red Army, considerably improve the material conditions of the workers and peasants, thereby calling forth great enthusiasm and heroism in the ranks of the Red Army and among the broad masses of toilers in their struggle for the victory over the Kuomintang troops and for the strengthening of the Soviet power. Only this correct economic policy could ensure the existence of a militant alliance between the working class and the peasantry under the hegemony of the proletariat, this alliance which brought us victory. Only this correct economic policy is able to show the masses the difference in principle between Soviet China and Kuomintang China, thereby calling forth a wave of sympathy and support among the toilers, particularly the workers in industrial centres like Shanghai, Hongkong, Canton, Amoy, Harbin, etc., for the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and the Red Army, and demonstrated the willingness of these masses to fight in defence of Soviet China against intervention of Kuomintang imperialism and for the victory of the Soviet revolution throughout the country.

(b) Our work in further strengthening and developing the Red Army and increasing its fighting capacity. Our party, led by its Central Committee, has carried out the following measures in the past year: enforcement of the Soviet Government's decree granting special privileges to the soldiers of the Red Army (beginning with social aid in cultivating their land, helping their families, and including free postal and transport service, etc.), improvement in the methods of mobilizing the toilers into the ranks of the Red Army, consolidation of the cadres of workers and agricultural workers and the Communist leadership in the Red Army, the founding of model shock divisions and corps from the best Communists, members of the Communist youth, workers, agricultural labourers and poor peasants, reorganizing of the higher and lower units of the Red Army in accordance with the new conditions of big fights, improvement and extension of the activity of various military schools, and finally strengthening the bonds of contact between the regular detachments of the Red Army and all armed (guerilla detachments, Red Guards, Young Guards, militia, etc.) and unarmed military mass organizations, such as the communication service, transport, auxiliary troops, scouts, Red Cross Society, and other auxiliary organisations which directly participate in the military operations of the Army, both on the front and behind the lines. In Soviet China, under the leadership of our party, every toiler, including women and children, stands steadfastly at his or her post. The rôle of the women in the military operations of the Red Army against the attacks of the Kuomintang is exceedingly important. The activity of the women is by no means limited to work in the Red Cross groups, laundries, sewing circles, etc., but they directly participate in the fighting with the enemy troops. In Szechwan

province 500 Red peasant women succeeded in disarming a whole regiment of the White Army. (Applause.)

Here is an example illustrating the rôle of the youth and the Young Communists. The political commissar of the fourth Red Army, Chiang Chan-Hao (member of the Y.C.L.), during the military operations against the Chiang Kai-shek troops in the winter of 1932, while questioning prisoners found out that the general and the supreme commander of the Army, together with 50 bodyguards, succeeded in escaping during the night. Comrade Chiang Chan-Hao immediately ordered a cavalry detachment, consisting of 100 men, to follow and capture them. After 24 hours of continuous pursuit, Comrade Chiang Chan-Hao was able to capture general Chao Kuan-Hin *alive*. This general is one of the most faithful Chiang Kai-shek agents. Together with his staff and bodyguard he was brought back to the Red Army staff and put into prison.

Even Chiang Kai-shek is now compelled to acknowledge the excellent organization of mass work by our party in the ranks of the Red Army and the hatred of the masses towards the Kuomintang. In the course of an interview with the correspondent of a Japanese magazine, Chiang Kai-shek declared:—

"It is very difficult to pick out the good and bad elements among the native population. This is particularly so because there is no difference between the law-abiding citizens and the members of guerilla warfare detachments. Our troops always feel that the enemy is hidden everywhere. Even in those districts where the population has not yet been involved in Communist activities, our troops feel that without killing all of these good citizens it is impossible to establish law and order. If the executed turn out to be members of a guerilla detachment then everything is in order. But it is very difficult to pick out such people. As a result of this we are confronted with the following difficulties in our military operations: (1) It has become totally impossible to organize local supplies for the Army or to engage the services of the local population; (2) the population of the districts bordering on the bandit (Chiang Kai-shek is referring here to Soviet districts.—Wan Min) regions is so terrified by the executions carried out by our troops that they more and more go over to the side of the Reds."

Now this statement of Chiang Kai-shek has completely and finally shattered to pieces the slander which Chiang Kai-shek himself and his Trotskyite allies have been spreading in their fight against the Red Army and the Communist Party. It is well known that they maintain that the Red Army and Communists are merely "Red bandits" and "murderers of the people." But now Chiang Kai-shek has declared openly before the whole world, *that the wholesale murder of the peaceful population in the Soviet and adjoining districts is and remains exclusively the work of Chiang Kai-shek and his armies!*

(c) One of the main factors contributing to the quick victory of our Red Army and Soviet Government over the fifth Kuomintang advance is the victorious completion of the first Five-Year Plan of the U.S.S.R. in four years and Comrade Stalin's report on the results of the Five-Year Plan. Our party popularised very widely Comrade Stalin's report at the January Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., particularly that part of the report in which Comrade Stalin speaks about the treacherous nature of the policy of pushing into the background our work of industrialisation. In reference to this Comrade Stalin said:—

"Our position would then have been more or less analogous to the present position of China, which has no heavy industry, has no war industry of its own, and which is pecked at by everybody who cares to do so."

Our Party took the lesson from these words of Comrade Stalin as well as the facts illustrating the victory of the first Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union. Our party, on the basis of this, was able to demonstrate to the broad masses of China and the whole world that only the Chinese Bolsheviks and the Chinese Soviet

Republic led by them are in a position to transform China from a country without heavy industry, without war industry, unable to defend itself, from a country which serves as an arena for military operations of the imperialists, into a country of heavy industry, war industry, capable of defending itself and resisting any blows from without. We demonstrated by this that only the Chinese Soviets were able to transform China from a country of endless suffering of the toiling masses, from a country of hunger, unemployment, opium smoking, murder and death into a country of growing industry, in which hunger, unemployment, and opium smoking—that poison of the people—shall be abolished once and for all, into a country of universal prosperity and classless society similar to the U.S.S.R., which has achieved this under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. This agitation and propaganda undoubtedly raised to a high level the authority of the Chinese Communist Party, the Soviet Government and the Chinese Red Army, and at the same time it cemented the bonds of solidarity, sympathy and support among the broadest masses of Chinese people. This fact once more confirms the words of Comrade Stalin that "the international significance of the Five-Year Plan is really immeasurable."

After the first Congress of collective farm shock brigades of the U.S.S.R., our party convened the first Congress of shock brigades of the poor peasant groups from eight districts of Kiangsi Province. The result of this Congress was expressed in bigger successes and in a general intensification of our struggle against the remnants of the landlord class and kulaks, and in the mobilization of the peasants into the ranks of the Red Army. The Congress decided to mobilize 80,000 peasants for service in the Red Army within three months. Our party, led by its Central Committee, has in practice shown the absolute correctness of the ideas of Lenin and the Communist International that the Soviet power is a *world system*. Our party has in practice shown that the Soviet form of power is not only suited to industrial countries, but that it is also applicable for the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Our party has shown in practice that the Soviets are not only the only form of proletarian dictatorship, but that the Soviets are also the best form of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry. Together with this our party, led by its Central Committee, has enriched the theoretical teachings of Lenin on the gigantic rôle and significance of the provisional revolutionary government, of the revolutionary Army and the establishment of a territorial base of the revolution, even on a small scale at the beginning. The experience of our party in the development of the Soviet revolution in China has become an important factor and provides a significant lesson in the emancipation struggle of the peoples of Indo-China, India, Korea, Formosa, and the whole colonial world. More than this, it is an important lesson for the Communists of all capitalist countries, and first of all for our comrades in Japan, Spain, etc.

From the moment of Japanese military occupation of Manchuria, the question of the armed national defence against the division of China by the imperialists became the hub of all political problems in China to-day. Whoever gains the upper hand in this question will rule in China. We, our party, understand this, and our enemies, Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang, also understand it. That is precisely why the Kuomintang, notwithstanding its endless and shameless treachery and surrender to Japanese and other imperialists, is always attempting to manoeuvre and struggle, with the help of all its social demagogues, against our party on this question. Has our party been able, under the leadership of the Central Committee, to expose these manoeuvres and demagogues of the Kuomintang and to convince the masses of the correctness of our slogans? In the main we have succeeded in this.

Up to the eve of the defence of Shanghai at the beginning of 1932, the demagogic slogan of the Kuomintang was "the Nan-king Government is prepared to declare war against Japan," and on the other hand the Kuomintang called upon the people to

"keep cool and wait for the help of the League of Nations and the United States in the struggle against Japan."

In order to expose this Kuomintang manoeuvre our party in practice organized a broad mass anti-Japanese movement that took the form of strikes, meetings, demonstrations, organization of anti-Japanese volunteer detachments, mass demands on the Kuomintang for immediate arming of the troops for war with Japan, etc. The result of all this was that Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang in all their actions (the shooting down of anti-Japanese workers, students and city poor in Shanghai, Nanking, Canton, and other cities, the wholesale ban on all forms of anti-Japanese mass movement and the ban on any talk about war against Japan, etc.) were very soon exposed.

In the period from the Shanghai defence to the occupation of Shanhaikuan at the beginning of 1933, the main demagogic slogans of the Kuomintang were "the defeat of the Shanghai Defence is a result of the destructive activities of the Red Army," therefore it is necessary "to fight simultaneously against Japan and against the Communists," but "a successful struggle against our foreign enemies is possible only after victory over the enemy at home," i.e., it is first necessary to finish with the Communists.

Our party, led by its Central Committee, has done a great deal; it gave moral aid to the heroic Shanghai workers and to the soldiers of the 19th Route Army during the defence of Shanghai, and actively participated in the political and military operations at the time of the glorious national defence of Shanghai. In April, 1933, the Government of Soviet China declared war against Japanese imperialism and began a mobilization of the Chinese Red Army and broad masses to prepare for this war. The Soviet Government and the Communist Party came out openly, and also organized mass protests against the Shanghai truce and the Lytton Report; it worked out the tactic of the united national front in all the guerilla warfare detachments. Of special importance is the publication of the appeal of the Soviet Government and the revolutionary military council of the Chinese Soviet Republic to the Chinese people, armies and military units, declaring the wholehearted desire and immediate preparedness of the Soviets to come to a working agreement with any army or any military unit for common armed struggle against Japanese imperialism. Such agreements are to be based upon the following elementary conditions: (1) To cease military operations against Soviet districts; (2) to grant to the people freedom of speech, Press, strikes, etc.; (3) to grant the people the right of organizing anti-Japanese volunteer detachments and the arming of such detachments. The result of this was that Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang were compelled to discard their mask and publish a special order to the Army and people to the effect that "now we must fight only against the Communists and the Red bandits; those who still speak about resistance to Japan must be severely punished." Once again Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, by issuing this order, exposed their treachery before the eyes of the broad masses of Chinese people.

In the present period Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang have openly declared that they have ceased any struggle against Japan because of the total impossibility of such a struggle, because of the poverty and weakness of China and the Chinese people. The Soviet Government and the Revolutionary Military Council on the day following the publication of Chiang Kai-shek's order issued an appeal to the Chinese people and an order to the Red Army, calling for an increase of the regular forces of the Red Army to 1,000,000 men. Further, they called upon all military units and the Chinese people, in spite of Chiang Kai-shek's ban, to come out independently, together with the Red Army, for a national defensive war against Japanese and other imperialists. On the other hand, the revolutionary mass organizations (Red trade unions, Anti-Imperialist League, Union for the Fight against Japan and for the Salvation of the Fatherland, and others) elaborated a concrete programme for the organization of the anti-Japanese national war, including the most elementary, but nevertheless necessary demands, comprehensible and accept-

able by the broadest masses. At the same time our party has been extensively popularising the Marxist-Leninist theory on the revolutionary and progressive character and the possibilities for victory of the national revolutionary war. In this connection we made very good use of the experience of the victorious struggle of the Russian Bolsheviks against the intervention of fourteen capitalist Powers, etc., in order to prove to the masses the necessity of the national war of the armed people under the present conditions in China and particularly the possibility of victory.

The further Bolshevization of the Communist Party of China is expressed in the continuous organizational strengthening and growth of party membership. The membership of our party has grown in the past year from 300,000 to 401,600. This growth has taken place not only in Soviet China, but also in the Kuomintang districts; for example, last year we had 30,000 party members in Kuomintang China, of whom 15,000 had no constant contact with the party as a result of the White terror. This year we have 60,000 party members in Kuomintang China, and over 30,000 of them regularly pay membership dues and are constantly engaged in party work. The quality of the mass membership has also been considerably improved. The percentage of workers in the party has increased from 15 to 25-30 within the past year. The methods of leadership have been improved, having become more concrete and better adapted to directing the activities of our nuclei in the factories, whose work has also improved considerably and has become more independent. The rôle of the party Press has grown, the quality of its material has been improved, and its circulation in many places and in many factories, both in Soviet and Kuomintang China, has increased. We have advanced new forces, particularly from the working class; the theoretical and political level of our cadres and their activity is constantly improving.

Naturally, this does not mean that in these circumstances in the Communist Party of China there are not cases in which individual responsible functionaries have made this or that "right" or "left" mistake. It would be a wonder if no mistakes were made in a mass party in such an extremely difficult and complicated situation. The Communist Party led and leads a sharp struggle against the right deviation as the principal danger in the present period. This deviation shows itself in a pessimistic attitude towards the Kuomintang offensive and the approaching imperialist intervention against the Soviet revolution. At the same time the party fights the "leftist" attitude of certain leading comrades, who considered the Kuomintang a corpse even at the time of its Fifth Anti-Soviet Offensive.

The same decisive struggle on two fronts is conducted by our party, under the leadership of the C.C., in regard to all questions of policy and work.

Our party grew and prepared itself in recent periods by this general struggle on two fronts in matters of both theory and practice.

The Chinese delegation at the present Plenum has every right to declare with pride that our party is at present united, monolithic, around its Bolshevik Central Committee as never before in the 13 years of its existence. (Applause.)

The shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the party and in the mass organizations in Kuomintang China are in the main as follows. The inability to establish and organize a proletarian basis in the rapidly developing anti-imperialist movement. This is a result of the insufficient work of the party and trade unions in a number of cities (Hankow, Canton, Tientsin, etc.). Another shortcoming is the absolutely insufficient and unsystematic work of a number of party organizations within the armed forces of the enemy in an acute situation of revolution and war. It is necessary also to mention our extremely weak work among the broad peasant masses, who are more than ever suffering from hunger. Insufficient drawing of the city poor and intelligentsia into mass work, an under-estimation of the importance of working among the toiling women and youth, and, finally, short-

comings and weakness in the struggle for the elementary rights of the people and the fight against provocation.

In Soviet China insufficient attention is devoted to work among the *middle peasants*; often this leads to a wrong (particularly "leftist") attitude towards this section of the peasantry. In Soviet districts there is the lack of a definite and correct relation between the party and Soviet organizations on the one hand, and the party and Soviet and mass organizations on the other. Individual Communists have revealed the tendency to weaken the struggle and vigilance in regard to counter-revolutionary organizations and their activity.

The objective situation in China to-day is such that with stronger activities by our party, we have every possibility of winning over the local revolutionary and "national defence" elements who are not willing to become slaves of imperialism and are prepared to give their lives to the cause of saving their fatherland and their people. There is every possibility of winning over the hungry, unemployed and homeless toilers of our country and making them active fighters in the struggle for national emancipation, for rice, bread, land, work, and thus at the same time recruiting them for the fight to overthrow the hated yoke of imperialism and its Kuomintang and militarist agents, for the decisive victory of the Soviet revolution throughout China. There are millions and tens of millions of such people in all parts of Kuomintang China and Manchuria. *In this sense there is to be recorded a great lagging of our activities behind the possibilities and the tense objective situation in China.* The struggle to overcome this lagging behind is the immediate militant task of the Communist Party of China.

III.—The Immediate Perspective of the Soviet Revolution in China, Its Difficulties and the Tasks of the Communist Party of China and Brother Parties

The general international situation, as well as the position in China is undoubtedly more favourable than ever before for the further development and victory of the Soviet revolution in China.

However, notwithstanding this favourable general situation, we must seriously take into account the fact that the further development of the Soviet revolution towards decisive victory throughout China will meet with *difficulties and complications* of an international, as well as internal, character. These difficulties and complications will by no means be less, but rather more, than has been the case up till now, although in the main they will be difficulties of *growth* of our movement, and all of them without exception can be overcome. The main enemies of the Chinese revolution are all the chief imperialist Powers without exception, who with every day move nearer to open military intervention against the Chinese revolution.

The economic and military-technical backwardness of the country is an important factor contributing to the difficulties of our further struggle for the decisive victory of the Soviet revolution in China. The basic difficulties of the Chinese revolution are also the source of the uneven development of the revolutionary movement which, notwithstanding a considerable improvement in the past year, still remains one of the chief weaknesses of the Soviet Revolution.

The Central Committee of our party sets the following tasks to the party as the concrete measures for consolidating the revolutionary achievements and for establishing the pre-requisites for the final victory of the Soviet revolution: the mobilisation of all forces for the defeat of the sixth campaign of the Kuomintang and the imperialists, the further strengthening and extension of the Red Army and the Soviet State apparatus, intensive struggle for the further consolidation and extension of Soviet territory, especially in Szechwan and Kiangsi. The party demands a maximum development and leadership of the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang movements in Kuomintang China and the

establishment of a proletarian framework in these movements able to ensure proletarian hegemony. Further, a broadening of our work among the workers affiliated to the yellow and Kuomintang trade unions, and also among the unorganized masses, with the aim of winning them over to our side. Simultaneously with this, we must take all steps to transform the Red trade unions into broad mass organizations capable of organizing and leading the strike movement of the Chinese proletariat. Another important task is the development of a mass guerilla warfare movement (particularly in Manchuria and North China) and winning the leadership of this movement. We must play a more important rôle in the struggle of the peasant and petty-bourgeois masses in Kuomintang China and, finally, further strengthen and develop the party first of all by bringing more industrial workers into the leadership of our organizations, by training and advancing thousands of new cadres, by establishing strong and efficiently functioning party organizations in all important cities where they do not as yet exist or where their influence is yet weak. The party must establish its organizations in the munition plants, in the transport system. An urgent task is the intensification of our merciless fight against provocateurs, for better conspiratorial methods, and for iron discipline within the ranks of our party. The task of the party is to develop still further its relentless struggle on two fronts, against all opportunist tendencies, and against any deviation from the line of the party and the C.I. While these tasks are apparently not new, in reality they are new because they must be adapted to an entirely new concrete situation.

On September 6, 1933, the Chinese Soviet Republic issued an appeal through its Central Executive Committee and its Revolutionary War Council to the workers, peasants and intellectuals, to the toilers of the whole world, to all enemies of imperialism, and to all friends of the Chinese people, calling upon them to help in the struggle against this sixth anti-Soviet campaign of Chiang Kai-shek.

The workers and toilers of all countries gave a good response to this appeal of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

And now, the delegation of the Communist Party of China has every right to declare before the whole world that *the sixth anti-Soviet campaign of the Kuomintang and the imperialists has in the main been broken.* (Applause.)

With the sole exception of the Northern Wan San front, where military operations against Chiang Kai-shek are still in progress, where the Red Army has not yet achieved decisive victory, the workers' and peasants' Red Army has achieved complete victory over the Chiang Kai-shek troops on all fronts.

On the Fukien front the 19th Route Army was already completely defeated in October. Our victories on this front may be seen from the following: four divisions out of the six divisions of the 19th Army, one division commanded by General Lo Sim-Pam and one division commanded by the militarist, Lu Ho-Ting, have been defeated by us. Three regiments of the 19th Army have come over to our side. The Red Army captured 3,300 soldiers, one brigade commander, three colonels, and four majors of the enemy forces. In the course of our military operations we captured 12 big steamers fully loaded with food and ammunition, 4,600 rifles, 80 machine guns, 400,000 rounds of rifle ammunition, 5,000 hand grenades and three portable wireless stations; all this only on the Fukien front. Almost all of the districts of Western and Northern Fukien are now Sovietised. (Applause.)

On the Szechwan front our victory has also been considerable. The army led by the militarist Tian Sun-Yao, consisting of 46 regiments, was almost entirely destroyed by the 4th Red Army, resulting in the capture of 6,000 rifles and 100 machine guns. The loss sustained by the enemy in killed, wounded and prisoners was about 10,000. We defeated all the attacks of the troops of generals Lo Sian and Yan Sun. The 8th Brigade of general Lai Sun-Hui's army has joined our guerilla warfare detachments and is now reorganized into the first division of the Szechwan Red Army. The Canton troops who fought

against us in the Southern Kiangsi front suffered defeat after defeat, and as a result of difficulties behind their lines they were finally compelled temporarily to give up their operations against us. In the Northern Kiangsi front, the Red Army has defeated the 96th, 5th, 6th, 79th, and other divisions of Chiang Kai-shek's armies and captured 7,800 rifles and two wireless stations. The Red Army has constantly been upsetting the military plans of generals Chiang Kai-shek and von Seeckt, and has compelled them to change from tactics of attack to tactics of defence. In connection with the recent events in Fukien province the hinterland of Chiang Kai-shek's armies is becoming even more disintegrated.

We must specially emphasise here the fact that the present victory of the Red Army and the Soviet Government, under the direct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, is really of an *unprecedented character*. From the military point of view this victory consists of the following: (1) It has been achieved in an extraordinarily short time; (2) in the course of this struggle, the Red Army occupied a number of important cities and ports; (3) during the military operations the Red Army demonstrated its might and made its enemies come to terms; (4) the amalgamation of the 2nd and 4th Red Armies on the borders of Szechwan and Hupeh was carried out.

The political significance of our victory is expressed in the following: (1) This victory raised considerably the authority and prestige of the Red Army as an invincible force; it raised the authority of the Soviet Government; (2) as a result of this victory there is now going on a process of revolutionization among the broad masses and in the ranks of the militarist armies, especially those situated in districts bordering on Soviet China. Proof of this is to be found in the recent events in Fukien. The establishment of a Fukien government, "independent" of Nanking and Chiang Kai-shek and the radical slogans advanced by this government against Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, its declared readiness to grant the people of Fukien free speech, freedom of assembly, etc., its intention to convene a Congress of delegates of the toiling population, its declared repudiation of unequal treaties, its stand for complete independence of China, its programme of distributing the land among the peasants, and nationalization of all mineral and other resources, etc., all of this is a result of the serious pressure brought to bear upon them by the revolutionized masses of soldiers and even by a certain section of the junior officers in the militarist armies. One can say with certainty that the events in Fukien will not remain isolated, but that similar events will take place elsewhere in the near future.

Such developments will inevitably call forth a new wave of the mass anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang Kai-shek movement in China.

(3) Our previous victories always led to a further consolidation and unification of the counter-revolutionary militarist cliques in their struggle against the Red Army. This time, however, the militarists by their own experience are so convinced of the impossibility of defeating the Red Army, that there has been an intensification of the split, the friction and open squabbles within the imperialist camp, which is of advantage to the Soviet revolution. We have every reason for assuming that in the near future the toilers of China will celebrate the final and decisive victory of their Red Army over the sixth anti-Soviet and imperialist Kuomintang campaign.

If we pose the question as to what will be the position of the Red Army after its victory, in its fight against the sixth campaign, then there are two possible answers:—

(1) The fear of the militarists and imperialists in face of the growing might of the Soviet revolution may compel them temporarily to sink their differences, hold back the outbreak of open war between the imperialist groups, and unite for the organization of a new campaign against the Soviets. In this connection there is always the possibility of an immediate open armed intervention on the part of the imperialists—particularly

the British and Japanese imperialists—at Szechwan, Fukien, Kiangsi and other places. Or

(2) As a result of the imperialists not being willing to engage in this expensive military intervention, and as a result of the sharp struggle among the imperialists themselves, as well as the need for a certain period of time to prepare for operations against the Red Army, a situation may develop in which the Red Army will get a "breathing space." This is by no means impossible.

But in both cases the struggle of the Chinese Communist Party for the decisive victory of the Soviet Revolution, for victorious armed resistance to imperialist intervention, can under no circumstances be weakened.

But our brother parties, primarily the Communist Parties of Japan, Great Britain, the United States, France and Germany, must in the same way face and solve the question of rendering effective aid to the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Soviets.

In connection with the struggle against the sixth anti-Soviet campaign in China, a certain turn has taken place in popularising the Chinese Soviet revolution and in defence of the Chinese Soviet Republic by means of mass agitation and propaganda of several of our brother parties in Europe and America. Our brother party in Japan is fighting heroically and in Bolshevik fashion against barbarous Japanese imperialism, in defence of the Chinese people and the Chinese revolution. Our brother party in Germany, in the face of the most unbridled fascist terror, has come out heroically against the participation of von Seeckt and other German generals in the counter-revolutionary war of the Kuomintang, who are fighting against the Chinese Soviet Republic. Despite these facts, however, we must say with Bolshevik frankness that the mass actions of our brother parties and their *practical* activities for the defence of the Chinese Revolution and against imperialist war in the Far East are very much lagging behind the intensive activity of the imperialists of their countries in organizing intervention against the Chinese Soviet Revolution and against the U.S.S.R., the organization of their war for the complete partitioning of China.

How can one explain this continuous lagging behind of all brother parties in such a serious task?

Is it not because of the fact that many comrades still underestimate the international significance of the Chinese revolution? They still seem to think that the Chinese revolution is, after all, a colonial revolution, that it can only play an auxiliary rôle in the world revolution, and therefore it does not deserve serious attention. This is a big mistake, comrades. Such an attitude towards the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is wrong; it is not a Leninist attitude, and it is especially wrong and non-Leninist in its application to the Chinese Soviet Revolution.

Perhaps this lagging behind in the activities of our parties is to be explained by the fact that many of our comrades still maintain the same wrong view on the question of imperialist intervention in China, which was condemned in 1926 by Comrade Stalin. In other words, these comrades think that since there is no big mobilization of imperialist troops, particularly in their own country, for service in China, then this means that there is no actual intervention yet. However, without financial support, without arms, instructors and "advisers" supplied by the imperialists of Japan, Great Britain, France and Germany, Chiang Kai-shek and the whole Kuomintang would already have been wiped off the face of the earth by the mighty wave of Soviet revolution in China.

Finally, is this lagging behind a result of the fact that often our comrades do not clearly understand the correlation of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power in their country and the international revolutionary struggle and the defence of the revolutionary movement of the peoples oppressed by their own bourgeoisie? If this is so, then the comrades must carefully study the experiences of the Russian Bolsheviks led by Comrades Lenin and Stalin in the period of the October Revolution.

tion. Is it not known to all that the correct combination of real international revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war and for peace, with the struggle of the workers and peasants for land and bread, and with the national liberation struggle of the peoples suppressed by Tsarism and the Russian bourgeoisie, ensured the historical victory of the Bolsheviks in October, 1917? Therefore, it is absolutely clear that the defence of the Chinese Soviets is at the same time the defence of the world proletarian revolution, and constitutes a composite part of the struggle for the victory of Soviet power throughout the world.

The Communist International and its Chinese Party have every right to demand of our brother parties the fulfilment of one of the basic conditions for acceptance into the Communist International, proposed by Comrade Lenin, which reads:—

“Every party wishing to affiliate to the Communist International is obliged to support wholeheartedly every Soviet Republic in its struggle against the forces of counter-revolution. The Communist Parties must carry on untiring propaganda for the refusal of the workers to transport munitions to the enemies of the Soviet Republics, must carry on legal and illegal propaganda in the fighting forces sent to strangle the workers' republics.” (The 21 Points, Point No. 14.)

At the time of the imperialist intervention against the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries were just being organized and were still weak, nevertheless the proletariat produced from its midst such heroes as our Andre Marty. Even in those days the workers showed miracles of heroism in the struggle against their own bourgeoisie and for the defence of the first Soviet Republic. To-day, under the present conditions of rapid growth of Communist revolution and of the Communist forces in all capitalist countries, when in the midst of the sailors and soldiers of the imperialist countries, Japan, France, Great Britain, America, Germany and Italy, we can find thousands like Andre Marty, we are firmly convinced that the Communist Party of China, together with its brother parties, particularly the Communist Parties of Japan, Great Britain and the United States, under the leadership of the Comintern and our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin, and with the help of the C.P.S.U., will successfully fulfil its historical tasks.

(Prolonged applause. Shouts of greeting from the Chinese delegation, cries of “Hurrah!” Delegates rise and sing the “International.”)

Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International

Moscow, January 18.

The “*Pravda*” published the following statement:—

In January, 1934, the Plenum of the Young Communist International took place in Moscow. The Plenum heard the report by **Chemodanov** on the struggle against the fascisation and militarisation of youth and the tasks of the Young Communist Leagues, as also the following reports: **Grosse** on the activities of the Young Communist League of Germany, **Sekersky** on the activities of the Young Communist League of Poland, and on the convention of the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International.

After an exhaustive discussion on these reports, the Plenum adopted a resolution on the struggle against the fascisation and militarisation of youth and the tasks of the Young Communist Leagues.

After hearing Grosse's report, the Plenum confirmed the resolution adopted by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. in May, 1933, on the German question, and approved the activities of the Y.C.L. of Germany under the conditions of open fascist dictatorship.

With regard to Sekersky's report, the Plenum placed on record that the Y.C.L. of Poland, under the immediate leadership of the Communist Party and as its closest aid, has gained considerable successes in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship in spite of persecution and terror, and in the struggle for winning the masses of the working and peasant youth and their mobilisation against social and national oppression.

With regard to the fourth point of the agenda, the Plenum resolved, in accordance with the statutes of the Young Communist International (Y.C.I.), to convene the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International—that is, in the second half of 1934. The Plenum elected supplementary members to the Presidium.

All resolutions were adopted unanimously.

Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.