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The XIII Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

Opening Speech by Comrade Wilhelm Pieck

COMRADES,—

The most important event that has happened since the Twelfth Plenum last September is the magnificent success of **socialist construction in the Soviet Union** achieved by the heroes of the innumerable shock brigades. The Second Five-Year plan, the Five-Year Plan for the establishment of a **classless society**, is being triumphantly carried out. Among the great achievements in the industrialisation of the country we can name: the great blast furnaces in Magnitogorsk, the Dnieper power plant, the White Sea canal, the flight into the stratosphere, and many others. These achievements are proof of the great strides which are being made in the mastery of technique and in scientific progress. The Soviet Union has won for itself a foremost place among the advanced industrial countries. The application of Comrade Stalin's directives for the socialist transformation of the rural districts has resulted in a tremendous step forward in the consolidation and extension of collectivisation of the peasant masses, and an exceptionally good harvest. The political departments organised on the initiative of Comrade Stalin in the Machine and Tractor Stations and on the Soviet farms have ensured the destruction of what is left of the kulak class, and have laid a solid foundation for the flourishing of Soviet agriculture.

The increased strength of the Soviet government is expressed in its great achievements in foreign policy, which have made it the greatest force for peace in the whole world. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has succeeded in forcing recognition from the strongest world power of capitalism, the United States of America. Other achievements in the foreign policy of the Soviet government are recognition by Spain and the non-aggression pacts signed with France, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic States.

The rapid advance of socialism towards a classless society, with the continual rise in the economic and cultural conditions of the workers in the Soviet Union is the best spur for the exploited masses in all capitalist countries to follow the example of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union and pursue the revolutionary way out of the crisis. It is a most important factor in the revolutionary advance which is taking place to-day in all capitalist countries, however varied may be the pace.

The tremendous growth in the power of the Soviet Idea is being promoted also by the advance of the Chinese Soviet Army. The imperialists of all countries, together with the counter-revolu-

tionary Kuomintang, have organised their sixth campaign against the Soviet territory. White Guard officers, fascist mercenaries, and social-fascist police agents are being employed by international capital against revolutionary China. But their attack encounters the victorious defence of the Soviet territory.

The revolutionary events in a number of capitalist countries and colonies, the uprising in Cuba, the revolt of the Arabs in Palestine, the deepening of the revolution in Spain, the peasant revolts in Poland, mutinies and refusal to obey orders in the armies and navies, as in France, Sweden, Holland, and Switzerland, the great wave of strikes in the United States, the rising tide of revolutionary action in all capitalist countries—all these factors have led to a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and have shaken the very foundations of the capitalist system.

As a result of the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism we find a rising wave of fascism. This has led to the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in a number of countries, where the bourgeoisie, by resorting more and more to open methods of violence, is attempting to crush the working class and its vanguard. This process has at the same time contributed to the general sharpening of imperialist contradictions, has led to the bankruptcy of the League of Nations and the break-up of the Geneva Disarmament Conference and the London Economic Conference, to a mad race for armaments and to a more speedy organisation of imperialist war, and is increasing the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

This attempt to find a capitalist way out of the crisis with the adoption of forcible methods encounters the rapidly growing resistance of the masses. The Second International and its sections are attempting, by both overt and covert methods, to check the revolutionary rising of the masses, and backing up their own bourgeoisie, to further the war preparations by weakening the resistance of the masses.

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In face of the attempts of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries to whip up the masses by their chauvinist and nationalist war propaganda, the Communists of all countries are raising all the higher and more courageously the banner of proletarian internationalism. The general development of events confirms the prediction of the Twelfth Plenum. The world now faces an inevitable round of wars and revolutions, a round of wars and slaughter between classes and States.

In the capitalist countries the most outstanding event for the working class of the whole world is the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Germany, the industrial centre of Europe and the accelerated process of fascistisation in a number of other capitalist countries. This is in no sense a symptom of the strength of the bourgeoisie, but the expression of the extreme instability of the capitalist system and of the accelerated process of capitalist decay. But just as in Germany ten years ago, when the social-democratic president Ebert banned the Communist Party, it could not be crushed, so to-day, under the Fascist Dictatorship, the vanguard of the German working class is not crushed, but has begun a new advance.

A new revolutionary tide is rising. From the depths of the submerged German working masses the revolutionary forces are rising up under the leadership of the C.P.G. for the overthrow of the fascist hunger dictatorship. As each day goes by it becomes clearer to the masses that only the power of the working class and the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship can save it from the catastrophe into which fascism is plunging the German nation.

As in Germany, so also in the other countries of Europe, the bourgeoisie is making use of the increasing fascist violence for breaking down the revolutionary forces. In Austria a form of fascist dictatorship has been set up with the help of the social democrats. In Czechoslovakia, where the social democrats bear the immediate responsibility for the government, an emergency law has been passed against the Communist Party.

Wherever the bourgeoisie makes a desperate attempt to rescue itself through a fascist dictatorship it invariably does so with the open or disguised help of the social democrats and of the Second International as the chief support of the bourgeoisie in maintaining the split in the working class.

On the agenda proposed for the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International there are extremely serious questions of proletarian class struggle, of struggle against fascism and against imperialist war. Our discussions and resolutions must equip the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries for carrying out their most important tasks: the conquest of power by the working class, the liquidation of the mass influence of the social democrats and the Second International and the re-establishment of the unity of the working-class movement on the basis of the organisation and leadership of economic and political partial and daily struggles. Our Communist Parties must become the only mass parties of the proletariat, and must weld and strengthen the militant alliance of the proletariat with the petty bourgeoisie in the towns and with the poor peasants. Under the banner of the Communist International, the only world party of the proletariat of all countries, we shall lead the proletariat on to the great decisive mass struggles and establish the preliminary conditions for the triumph of the proletarian revolution, for the armed insurrection for the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship, and for the establishment of a Soviet government in every country.

Comrades! We still have an important duty to fulfil, and that is to turn our thoughts to our dead heroes, who have been torn from our ranks by death since the time of the Twelfth Plenum. (The delegates rise from their seats.)

Our thoughts go back to our comrade Clara Zetkin, the standard bearer of proletarian internationalism, who fought for the emancipation of the working women, who fought tirelessly and with militant determination against the imperialist war criminals and their social imperialist watch-dogs, and who was a loyal leader for the cause of the world proletariat.

Our thoughts go back to our comrade Sen Katayama, the veteran fighter for the Japanese proletariat and the workers and poor peasants of the whole Asiatic continent, who warned and combated the imperialist robber bands which are attempting to launch a war against the Soviet Union.

We remember our comrade Sergei Gusseff, a Bolshevik of long experience and an outstanding leader in the Communist Inter-

national, who performed invaluable services for all sections, particularly the German section.

We call to mind the many leaders of our sections who have been murdered by the fascists, among them the two members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, Comrades Schuett and Stenzer, the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland, Comrade Rediko, the two members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, Comrades Iwara and Uyeda, the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Tsai-Cho-Siang, the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Boyovidas-Vuk, the two members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Rumania, Comrades Encl Mauricia and Velico-Marino, the member of the C.C. of the C.P. of Latvia, Comrade Smilsen, the Finnish comrades, Honen and Wichewara, and the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, Ali Archam. We recall the French Communist who wrote our international fighting song: "The International—Comrade Pierre Degeyter. We call to mind the two members of the Communist Party of Catalonia, Comrade Ramon Casanellas and Comrade Francesc del Barrio. We also call to mind in particular the Hamburg worker and Red Front fighter, August Luetgens, who, together with three other comrades, was executed by the fascist blood-hounds and who shouted to his hangman when he had been put on the scaffold: "Long live the proletarian revolution! Red Front!" We think of the many comrades who have fallen in the open class struggle, and of the nameless heroes of the Chinese revolution who have been murdered by the bourgeoisie and the fascist terrorist bands.

Comrades, you have risen from your seats in honour of our dead heroes. I thank you.

Comrades, let us now call to mind our comrades who are languishing in the prisons of the fascist and the so-called democratic countries. Let us name just a few from the ranks of our leaders:—

Comrade Ernst Thaelmann and other members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

Our Italian comrade Gramsci, our Yugoslavian comrades Moscha, Piade, Andreas Hebrang and Panko Braschnarov, our two Czech comrades Korb and Bubenchik, our Austrian comrade Berthold, our Hungarian comrades Rakosi, Reval, Lador, Weinberger and Szanto, our comrade Tim Buck in Canada, and Griffin in New Zealand. Let us think of the tens of thousands of Communist and social democratic workers now in the concentration camps of the Hitler dictatorship exposed to the brutalities of those savage beasts.

Let us call to mind our comrades, Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov and Tanev (great and prolonged applause), threatened with the penitentiary and death, and let us send our warmest greetings to Comrade Dimitrov, courageous Bolshevik and staunch revolutionist, and to the other prisoners on trial.

We will rally our forces and make every effort to enforce the liberation of our imprisoned comrades, and we will avenge the blood of our comrades who have fallen in struggle by the revolutionary mass action of all oppressed and exploited for the overthrow of the capitalist rule of violence.

And now, comrades, permit me in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany to say a few words to you:—

If the leader of our Party, Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, is not present at this Plenum, it is due to a reason which you all know. Ernst Thaelmann is not only the most popular leader of the German workers' movement, he was also the strongest force in our collective party leadership, and we miss him all the more because of the fact that the illegal work of the Party places greater demands on the leadership. If in spite of everything the Party is fulfilling its revolutionary tasks under the most difficult conditions, it is the result of the revolutionary leadership of our Party by Comrade Thaelmann. The entire Party membership stands united and firm, loyal to its leader and fighting for his release as well as for the release of all imprisoned anti-fascists. The Party is marching further ahead along the pathway of revolution pointed out by Comrade Thaelmann. The Party is following the line of uncompromising struggle against social fascism and opportunism, of fearless struggle against fascism and imperialist war, and on the basis of this line it will win over the majority of the German working class and lead the struggles for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

and will set up a proletarian dictatorship, a Soviet Germany in alliance with the workers' and peasants' state and its Red Army.

I know that I am speaking in the name of all of you when I ask to send Comrade Ernst Thaelmann from this tribune our special, most warm and brotherly militant greetings and assure him of our close solidarity with him, even through the prison walls. (Great and prolonged applause.)

Herewith I declare the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. opened.

The Presidium for the Plenum was unanimously elected in the following order:—

Thaelmann, Dimitrov, Browder, Ercoli, Gottwald, Koplenig,

Kun, Kuusinen, Lenski, Manulski, Okano, Piatnitsky, Pieck, Pollitt, Richter, Thorez, Chemodanoff, Wan-Min, and the representative of the C.P. of Spain.

The following agenda was then adopted:—

(1) Fascism, the war danger and the tasks of the sections of the Communist International. Reporter: Comrade Kuusinen.

(2) Reports from the Parties:—

(a) On the activity of the C.P. of Germany. Reporter: Comrade Pieck.

(b) On the United Front in England. Reporter: Comrade Pollitt.

(3) On the calling of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. Reporter: Comrade Piatnitsky.

Fascism, the Danger of War, and the Tasks of the Communist Parties

REPORT OF COMRADE KUUSINEN

I. The Changed Character of the Economic Crisis and the Further Intensification of the General Crisis of Capitalism

In the theses which we have submitted for the approval of the Plenum the following is advanced as one of the most important theses:—

"The world economic crisis has become closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism and has intensified all the main contradictions of the capitalist world to such a degree that at any moment a turn may come that will imply the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis."

In order to prove this thesis it is necessary first of all to make an analysis of the economic situation.

For four years already the "most serious and profound world economic crisis that has ever occurred before" (Stalin) has been in progress. It is characteristic that authoritative bourgeois economists are now comparing the decline in the national income during the years of the crisis with the cost of the imperialist world war. According to E. Schultz, the economic loss caused by the world war is calculated at a figure ranging from 744,000,000,000 to 833,000,000,000 gold marks, while the decline in the national income of the United States and Germany alone from 1929 to the end of 1932, i.e., three years of the crisis, represents about 500,000,000,000 marks. This fact alone is sufficient to give one an idea as to how much the present economic crisis has cost the capitalist countries.

The rate of decline of industrial output from 1930 to 1932 has been such that it can even be compared with the rate of growth of industry in the U.S.S.R. Comrade L. Mendelson makes the following comparison between the dynamics of industry in the U.S.S.R. and in the capitalist world (per cent. increase or decrease):—

	1930	1932	1932
U.S.S.R.	+ 27.3	+ 22.6	+ 11.0
Capitalist World	- 13.1	- 12.9	- 18.5

In the present year, however, the course of the world economic crisis, in so far as it is expressed in the general indices of production, has partly changed in character.

1. The Elements of a Pre-War Inflation Revival Amidst the Continuing Economic Crisis

Not a single capitalist country can be said to have extricated itself from the clutches of the economic crisis. Throughout the whole capitalist world there is almost a complete absence of new capital investments and there is a further decline in world trade; owing to the absence of demand the stocks of raw materials have not diminished; inflation has already affected fifty-two capitalist countries; the prices of manufactured goods expressed in gold continue to decline, while the prices of agricultural produce have dropped still further, which leads to the intensification of the agrarian crisis. At the same time, however, evidences of an in-

creased industrial output have been observed this year. In the first half of this year the general index of production rose in a number of countries. Output did not increase in all branches of industry, however, but only in certain definite branches. Generally speaking, the changes in output are very uneven. The output of the industries producing consumer's goods continues to decline. The output of the building and engineering industries revealed slight fluctuations, while the general position has been one of stagnation. At the same time the output of metals has increased, and so also has that of the textile industry.

A very sharp increase in production affecting a number of industries took place in the United States immediately after the abandonment of the gold standard (in April). Thus, in a period of three to four months the rate at which the steel industry was working to capacity rose from 16 per cent. to 59 per cent. (in July). Then followed a very sharp decline in all branches of industry. In the steel industry particularly, by November the rate of capacity at which it was working had dropped to 26 per cent. There were no such sharp changes in other countries; but the changes in the output in a number of important countries (England, France, Germany, and particularly Japan) were not simply rapidly passing fluctuations, they remained fairly considerable and stable increases in output in definite and important branches of industry. In these countries there was even a slight diminution of unemployment, which, however, even according to the cooked official statistics, did not correspond to the increase in production.

These facts concerning the increase in production in the midst of an economic crisis must be explained; we cannot brush aside stubborn facts, the more so that very often they prove to be cleverer than we are. They must be studied and understood; and they must serve as our starting point.

The first series of facts in this sphere shows that the armament industries are developing by leaps and bounds. The most characteristic features in this are the following:—

(1) A comparatively large increase in the output of pig iron and steel, while there is only a slight rise, and even a diminution in the output of the engineering and building industries.

In the United States the output of steel in 1933 increased by 3,800,000 tons compared with last year. The automobile, canning, building and all other industries used only one million tons of steel more than last year. What became of the other 2,800,000 tons? Part, of course, went into stock, but the other part certainly went into the armament industries.

In France the output of pig iron and steel rose 24 per cent., while the output of the engineering industry in the strict sense of the word increased by 8 per cent. The principal consumers of iron and steel were the army and the fortified zone on the Eastern frontiers.

In Germany the general index of production rose from 64.1 (February) to 74 in September, while the index of production of the engineering industry rose from 34.2 to 39.5. The output of steel increased 48 per cent. If this rate of increase is maintained, the output of steel in Germany will be 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons more than in 1932. If this increase in the output of metal is calculated in terms of the armaments and fire-arms used in western European armies, then we will get enough equipment for 1,000,000 troops. The approximate cost of equipping an army of 1,000,000 is one milliard marks. The fascist government has allocated for orders for armaments and "public works" 1,200,000,000 marks. The coincidence is almost complete.

In England the output of pig iron and steel increased approximately by 30 per cent., partly due to the introduction of duties on iron and steel and to the decline in imports. The output of the engineering industry rose 46 per cent. In an official statement denying that they were engaged on producing armaments, the Sheffield steel manufacturers declare that their enterprises are "only" engaged 20 per cent. in armament orders.

In Japan the output of pig iron in 1932 exceeded that of 1931 by 508,000 tons. In 1933 there was a further increase of 23 per cent. Japanese sources themselves openly state that these are orders for armaments.

We see the same thing in other countries. Clearly, it is the production of means of extermination and destruction that is developing. This is proved also by such facts as the rise in the shares of armament manufacturers (Vickers in England, Schneider Creuzot in France, Skoda in Czechoslovakia, Bofors in Sweden, Krupp in Germany, etc.) and by the stability and even increase in the dividends of these enterprises.

(2) A similar revival is observed in certain branches of the chemical industry, particularly in the production of artificial silk. In England the index of production rose from 2.96 in 1932 to 3.17. In Japan the output of artificial silk rose 40 per cent., and Japan now occupies second place in world production of artificial fibre.

(3) A relatively big revival in the automobile industry in the U.S.A., France and Germany. In Germany, output trebled, and in the United States there has been an increase of 250 per cent. compared with last year.

(4) An enormous increase in the imports of raw materials for munitions in the big imperialist countries. Japan imported from the United States larger quantities than last year of the following items: Cotton, 28 per cent.; oil, 200 per cent.; lead, 16 per cent.; wool from Australia, an increase of 36,000,000 yen; iron, an increase of 50,000,000 yen. France increased her imports of lead ore by 268 per cent.; zinc, 189 per cent.; copper, 110 per cent.; nickel, 83 per cent.; aluminium, 11 per cent.; sulphur, 258 per cent.; oil, 354 per cent. Germany increased her imports of aluminium 1,049 per cent.; nickel, 117 per cent.; copper, 25 per cent.; crude oil, 25 per cent.; rubber, 23 per cent.; scrap iron, 600 per cent. All these are German statistics. English statistics show that Germany increased her imports from England of steel scrap by 330 per cent.; copper, 2,503 per cent.; and aluminium 1,900 per cent. over that of 1932.

This growth of the armament industries to a large extent (although not altogether) explains the above-mentioned increase in the industrial output of the majority of the capitalist countries.

Of course, the growth of the armament industries does not completely exhaust the question of the economic preparations for war. But it incontrovertibly shows that the approaching world war has already given the industries in the capitalist countries such large orders that this "demand" was able in the current year to give the course of the world economic crisis a new character this year, primarily in Japan and Germany, and to a certain degree also in France, England, the United States and in many other countries. This new character bears the features of a pre-war boom.

The second series of facts which influence the course of the economic crisis were the important measures taken by the financial oligarchy and the governments of the important capitalist countries:—

(1) The depreciation of the dollar, which has sunk 38 per cent. This, at first, caused a rise of nominal prices in the United States and the flight from the dollar to goods. People began to buy new automobiles, textile goods, and even houses.

(2) The mobilisation of enormous funds for carrying out Roosevelt's Recovery Plan: the total sum of credits, subsidies and government guarantees amounts to 15,100,000,000 dollars, of which, according to official statistics, 11,700,000,000 dollars have already

been assigned (for public works, for assistance to agriculture, for the settlement of house owners' debts, guarantees to insurance companies, etc.).

(3) The fascist government of Germany, of course, could not mobilise such a colossal sum; for the time being they are introducing inflation, not in an open, but in a concealed form. But according to the Konjunktur Institute, even the German Government has mobilised three and a half to four milliard marks. The main source of this, apparently, is the open utilisation of the funds of the Reichsbank, of the semi-State big banks, the savings banks, foreign payments deposited in Germany, bonds issued on the security of future taxes, government guarantees and bills. This enabled the fascist government to develop the automobile industry, speed up the aircraft industry, finance the manufacture of tanks, heavy artillery, etc. Public works consisted mainly of putting up fortifications in East Prussia, on the line of the Oder, and the building of strategic automobile roads. The demand for cloth for Storm Troop uniforms and for the requirements of the compulsory labour camps provided considerable orders for the textile industry.

(4) In England the position in industry began to improve with the depreciation of the pound sterling. The increase in tariffs, the Ottawa Agreement, and the substitution of the principle of greatest compensation for the most favoured nations principle in trade agreements serve to influence things in the same direction. Thus, British capitalism obtained fairly considerable relief at the expense of the capitalists of other countries, and at the expense of the British colonies.

(5) The Japanese yen has depreciated 60 per cent. on the foreign market. The export industries have not only maintained their positions, but have grown as a consequence of the super-dumping which is being pursued now by means of inflation and by cutting down the wages of the workers and the incomes of the peasantry. Orders for armaments are covered by internal loans, inflation, the deposits of the banks and savings banks, by the export of gold, etc. This has enabled Japan to develop a large amount of building activity: metals, chemicals, airplanes, tanks, artillery shells (65 million).

In the light of these facts it is quite obvious that the revival of industry observed in a number of branches of industry this year bears mainly a war-inflation character. But we cannot limit ourselves merely to this general characterisation. We must estimate facts from the point of view of the intensification of the principal contradictions of the capitalist world, from the point of view of the revolutionary perspectives. This is the most important thing for us.

2. The Problem of Markets and the General Crisis of Capitalism

"The present economic crisis is a crisis of over-production," said Comrade Stalin at the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. "That means that more goods are being produced than the market can absorb."

The thing that we must not forget is that output is restricted owing to the narrowness of the market. Capitalist reproduction is choking for the lack of "oxygen," i.e., the lack of effective demand. The expansion of the market, increase in order, demand, is a necessary condition for enabling the apparatus of production to work to capacity.

What is at the bottom of this crisis? The fundamental contradiction of the capitalist mode of production: the contradiction between highly developed social productive forces and the tight capitalist shell created by antagonist, capitalist, property relations. It is this contradiction that caused the periodic crises of overproduction in the last century. But as long as the advanced capitalist countries were able to expand their home market and their exports of manufactured goods to new colonies and slightly developed capitalist countries, and as long as the development of monopoly capital was still relatively weak, these crises could create the premises for their own liquidation—and they led to new industrial booms. When such countries as Germany, the United States, and a number of others, began more and more to be transformed from countries importing manufactured goods, particularly machinery, into the exporters of these goods, i.e., into the competitors of the older capitalist countries, when the division of the world among the great Powers was completed, and the epoch of monopoly, of decaying capitalism was ushered in, then the extreme intensifi-

cation of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism led to a furious struggle between the imperialists for the monopoly of foreign markets, and it finally led to the imperialist world war for the redivision of the colonies and of spheres of influence.

However, the imperialist war could not by its savage surgery relieve capitalism of its principal disease. On the contrary, as a consequence of that war, this disease became more acute and developed into another fundamental disease, viz., the general crisis of capitalism. This meant, first, that the world system was split up by the great October Revolution, the appearance of new antagonisms of profound principle, i.e., antagonisms between the capitalist world and the socialist world. Secondly, it meant the inevitable, sharper, intensification of the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and capitalist property relations and, what is inseparably connected with this contradiction, the antagonisms between the exploiting and exploited classes, and also between the various capitalist States. During the world war the output capacity of industry in capitalist countries increased in many branches, but the war failed to solve the burning question of the restriction of markets. On the contrary, even the colonial and dependent countries, particularly during the war, but also after the war, built up their own industry, which, as Comrade Stalin has pointed out, "were successfully competing in the markets with the old capitalist countries and thus intensifying the struggle for markets and making it more complicated."

But while the world war led to the general crisis of capitalism, it at the same time gave the capitalist countries a respite of ten years in that it eased the question of markets (the economic crisis of 1921 was of a different character). The restoration of industry destroyed by the war created for a number of years an extensive market for capitalist industry. This was the main economic base of the temporary stabilisation of capitalism and for the capitalist rationalisation of that period. Moreover, the demand based on a new military technique that arose already at that time (the mechanisation and chemicalisation of the armies) encouraged the development of a number of new industries and the rise of new branches of industries in a number of countries. During the period of the relative stabilisation of capitalism, output in general rose to pre-war level (on the average slightly above, but certain industries did not reach the pre-war level). But it was precisely this level of production that proved critical for world capitalism because of the restrictions imposed upon the market by the general crisis of capitalism.

Already in December, 1927, Comrade Stalin stated that "the problem of markets is now the fundamental problem of capitalism. Capitalism finds itself restricted in the limits of the present markets and spheres of influence." This was said at a time when stabilisation was at its firmest, at a time when production in capitalist countries was soaring upwards.

Stabilisation itself, the fact that production is increasing, that trade is increasing, that technical progress and possibilities of production are growing, while at the same time the world market, the limits of this market and the spheres of influence of separate imperialist groups remain more or less unchanged—these very facts give rise to the profoundest and acutest crisis of world capitalism which is pregnant with new wars and menaces the existence of any kind of stabilisation. This is exactly what happened—it is precisely out of this that the world economic crisis and the sharpest intensification of the general crisis of capitalism arose. It is precisely the acute problem of markets that represented, and now represents, the general link of the economic crisis and the general crisis of capitalism.

There are fascist scribes and politicians who are advocating "autarchy," and who say: "What do we care about foreign markets; what we want is complete economic independence." This is demagogic chicanery for the purpose of hoodwinking philistines. Hitler, Hugenberg, Rosenberg and the others are imploring the big Powers to give Germany, i.e., Thyssen, extra "economic territory in the East," and, for a start, at least, Austria, Poland, the Baltic States, and half the U.S.S.R. thrown in. (Laughter.)

Hence, the slogan autarchy does not exclude, but on the contrary supplements, the fierce imperialist struggle for new markets. If this slogan, apart from being a demagogic swindle, has any real content at all, it is, first, that the ruling bourgeoisie in each country is striving by every possible means, to drive its foreign competitors out of its "own" home market, and, secondly, that every imperialist government is now striving, in accordance with

the strategic plans of its General Staff, to secure for itself the economic bases necessary for the conduct of war. The lesson of the blockade of the Central Powers during the war compels the imperialists to act in this way. Hence the struggle of England and France to become independent of the cotton supplies of the United States. Hence the feverish development of the production of synthetic rubber in the United States and France. Hence the struggle of all the imperialist Powers for oil, and for the sources of non-ferrous metals. The imperialists are even adapting agriculture to the purposes of war. Germany has already transformed herself into a self-contained country as far as wheat, rye, meat, sugar and potatoes are concerned. Even Old England is beginning to take up agriculture.

But a capitalist industrialised country cannot be independent of foreign markets (if we leave out of account compulsory isolation during war). The export of manufactured goods is a vital condition for reproduction in every developed capitalist country.

In order to be independent of foreign markets it is necessary to have a growing home market. But this requires the abolition of the capitalist shell of the productive forces, i.e., of capitalist private property, and the emancipation of the toilers from exploitation. The U.S.S.R. alone is a really independent country in this respect. The land of the dictatorship of the proletariat alone can have an unrestricted home market for producers' goods as well as for consumers' goods, and the more it develops its industries, the more firmly does it stand on its feet. It can utilise foreign markets whenever and wherever it finds it convenient, but it is not dependent upon those markets.

There are also bourgeois theories to the effect that on the basis of "technical progress" capitalism has managed to liberate itself from crises of over-production by adapting itself to restricted markets. These theories are backed by the annual reports of certain big trusts and syndicates who try to console their shareholders by statements like the following: "We have succeeded in raising the productivity of every worker to such an extent that we need not engage any more workers than we have now." And they usually add: "And if sales only increase a little more, then we are sure of making a profit." But suppose sales do not increase, but, on the contrary, decline? What then? That is the decisive question. Certain large enterprises have managed, for a time perhaps, not on the basis of technical progress, but by altogether different manipulations, to save their rate of profit, but they have lost an enormous amount of profit. And if the amount of profit continues to decline, this decline, having gone beyond a certain point, will inevitably lead to the bankruptcy of these enterprises, unless the government hastens to their assistance, as it has already done in many cases before.

Of course it would be an excellent thing for the big capitalists to liberate themselves at one stroke from the internal contradictions of the capitalist system and of the necessity of engaging more than half the number of workers they now employ and yet at the same time retain their former enormous profits. But they are not destined to enjoy this good fortune.

Monopoly capital could indeed transfer an enormous share of the costs of the crisis to the shoulders of the toilers. This, in substance, is the "technical progress" which they call crisis rationalisation. But it is impossible for them to transfer the costs of the crisis to the shoulders of the toilers altogether. When monopoly capital appropriates a larger share of the value of labour power by cutting down wages, social insurance, etc., it thereby distorts the law of value, i.e., the fundamental law of the capitalist mode of production. Generally speaking, monopoly capital, in its quest for super profits, distorts the movement of prices that is characteristic for capitalism under free competition. But this does not mean that the spontaneous operation of the law of value is eliminated. No, the spontaneous mechanism of capitalism, including the spontaneous overcoming of its inevitable crises, merely becomes transformed into the spontaneous disintegration of the mechanism of capitalist economy. The distortion of the operation of the law of value brings it vengeance by intensifying the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, particularly by restricting the home market. The relative restriction of the home market is transformed into the absolute restriction, the more so, that monopoly capital not only robs the workers, but also the peasants by charging high monopoly prices for manufactured goods and paying low prices for peasant agricultural produce, and by means of rent, interest, and increasing taxation. As is well known, all

this has continued for many years, and is becoming intensified at the present time. This robbery becomes particularly intensified under a fascist dictatorship, and to that extent the purchasing capacity of the masses of the toilers, i.e., the largest body of purchasers, is diminished.

The bourgeois boasts about "technical progress," if we leave out military technical progress, are a huge joke at the present time, considering that for four years an unprecedented destruction of productive forces has been going on in the capitalist countries, which, of course, does not exclude the possibility of certain improvements in technique, in certain enterprises and in certain branches of industry. The less reason therefore is there to ascribe any progressive significance to the crisis "rationalisation" that is being carried out in the capitalist countries. In the main, this rationalisation merely means increasing the intensity of labour, increasing the degree of exploitation; and this is something altogether different from raising the productivity of labour by technical improvements in the means of production. It is precisely in recent times that the capitalists almost everywhere have intensified the sweating system to such a degree that it explains to a considerable extent why the system of "short time," i.e., the system of employing a large number of workers for a few days in the week, has been retained so long; because otherwise the workers would not stand the degree to which exploitation has been brought. This has nothing at all to do with raising the productivity of labour on the basis of technical progress. This is simply the predatory destruction of human productive forces, the destruction of the vital strength of the wage slaves of capitalism. Moreover, in nearly all capitalist, "civilised" countries, forced labour in various forms is being employed to an increasing extent, partly for private employers and partly on so-called "public works," which is largely for strategical purposes. It is a substitute for unemployed relief. The rulers of the capitalist countries argue that since some "charitable effort" is necessary to preserve the lives of the workers, then let this effort proceed in the conditions that prevail on colonial plantations. In addition, it is very useful . . . in case of war.

But all these slave-owning methods of the twentieth century fail to relieve the bankrupt capitalist class of the growing acuteness of the problem of home markets, still less does it relieve it of the hatred of the internal enemy. At the same time the conditions of slavery that are being created for the toilers are conditions that inevitably give rise to the growth of the revolutionary indignation of the employed and unemployed workers, and of the vast masses of the toilers in general.

This growth of revolutionary indignation is proceeding in various forms at the present time. The growing unevenness of the economic crisis corresponds to the growing unevenness in the development of the upsurge of the revolutionary movement. Very often it happens that just on the eve of great outbursts a certain lull sets in the mass movement, like the lull before the storm, during which an enormous quantity of revolutionary energy is accumulated among the masses in preparation for the impending big class battles.

3. Whither the Military-Inflationist Economic Policy of the Financial Oligarchy Is Leading

But the ruling bourgeoisie in each country is not only adopting measures that cause the home markets to shrink, it simultaneously resorts to measures which have for their object the expansion of the home market, and of foreign markets, mainly in two ways: first, by increasing government orders and government subsidies for industries; and secondly, by squeezing out foreign competitors from the home market, as well as from certain sections of the world market.

Among the measures intended for the purpose of increasing government orders, the most important, as we have seen, are the measures taken to adapt industry to and accelerate the production of armaments. But the question is, what effect have these measures on the economy of the country?

They create "demand," but this demand is of a special kind. Production increases, but not for consumers' goods, and not even for producers' goods, but only for unproductive, parasitic purposes. Even in the past, the economic significance of war parasitism was considerable. During the whole post-war period all the capitalist States strove, with the aid of State subsidies, to develop leading

branches of the armament industry like the metallurgical and chemical industries, the production of motor engines, ship building, artificial silk, etc., irrespective of demand and of capitalist profitability, in order to preserve and develop the productive power of the armament industries. At the present time, however, the burden of war parasitism has increased manifold in the economics of capitalist states. Formerly, in the immediate post-war period, production directly intended for war purposes represented on the average, according to Konjunktur Institute of Germany, about 5 per cent of the total industrial output of the capitalist world; at the present time, however, the share of the production of war materials has on the average increased several-fold in certain countries, and in the leading branches of industry it has increased manifold. It must also be borne in mind that this increase in the proportion of the output of the war materials is proceeding parallel with a tremendous drop in the national income. This means a colossal increase in the burden which war parasitism is imposing upon the economic forces of the capitalist countries.

From the point of view of the immediate interests of certain capitalists and capitalist concerns who obtain armament orders and government subsidies, this is not at all bad; on the contrary, it is a very advantageous position. Lenin said that "war is a terrible thing, but it is at the same time a terribly profitable thing"; but even pre-war demand enables certain groups of capitalists to rake in huge profits. It is not surprising, therefore, that after fascist Germany resigned from the League of Nations, Hitler received the first telegram of greetings from Krupp; it is not surprising that the stock exchanges of the world reacted to Germany's step by a rise in the shares of armament concerns. During the World War, the bourgeois economists, intoxicated by the war boom, advanced a special theory to the effect that war is a creative, economic factor. But at the end of the war these sycophants of capitalism in the majority of the belligerent countries were compelled to sing a different song, viz., about the destructive effects of war.

The adaptation of the capitalist markets to the requirements of war formerly took place during the first months of war (in the autumn of 1914) and later, in the course of the war a war boom set in. Now, however, the train of capitalist economy is hitched on to the locomotive of war before the war, and to some extent the war boom is already in evidence—capitalism, so to speak, is forestalling war demand. But there is a fundamental difference which distinguishes the present pre-war boom from the state capitalism of war-time. The characteristic feature of war capitalism, and of the crisis of war economy, is not over-production, but a shortage of goods, under-production. War is the only occasion when an unlimited home market is created for capitalism. In order to concentrate and to increase production to meet the important war demand to the utmost, the belligerent governments were compelled during the imperialist World War to introduce a certain amount of State regulation of production and the restriction of rising prices. The present position of monopoly capitalism is very different from war-time State monopoly capitalism. Amidst a general slump in the market, the financial oligarchy, with the aid of the governments, are fighting against a fall in prices. The unrestricted "consumption" of means of destruction that goes on in war-time has not yet been reached. This is what hinders the development of the armament industries to such proportions as would enable the whole of industry to extricate itself from the crisis. And the enormous sums which the capitalist governments are now spending on war orders and in subsidising industry impose an intolerable burden, not only upon the masses of the toilers, but also upon economy as a whole.

The burdens of the first World War, the growth of the military police apparatus of the State, the growth of foreign and internal debts, etc., amidst the general crisis of capitalism, and particularly in the conditions of the economic crisis, have led to the position that the State budget swallows up an increasing part of the national income. Before the war the total State budget of Germany comprised 7 per cent. of the national income; in 1929, the expenditure of the Reich, of the various states and municipalities, comprised 26 per cent.; and in 1932, 33 per cent. of the national income. In the United States the Federal budget in 1913 comprised only 2 per cent. of the national income; in 1932 the share increased sixfold. In England the pre-war budget comprised 8 per cent. of the national income; and in 1932, 23 per cent.; in France, pre-war budget 14 per cent., now 25 per cent.; in Italy, pre-war budget 16 per cent., now 34 per cent. of the national income.

The proportion of the expenditure on armaments to the total budget is as follows: In France, direct expenditure on armaments in 1920 represented 17 per cent. of the total budget, and in 1931 it rose to 32 per cent; in Italy the proportion rose from 30 per cent. in 1929 to 35 per cent. in 1932; in Japan it rose from 28 per cent. in 1929 to 37 per cent. in 1933. These figures apply to expenditure on armaments in the strict sense of the word. If, however, we include expenditure on the police and on the National Debt, we find that the expenditure of bourgeois states on past and future wars represent from 40 to 70 per cent. of their total budgets. Truly, a gigantic increase in parasitism.

To these figures must be added the enormous sums that bourgeois governments spend on efforts to save the big trusts and banks, and on saving their profits. We have already pointed to the fact that in the United States the measures taken by the Roosevelt government in 1933 involve expenditure on subsidies and guarantees amounting to 15 milliard dollars. In Italy, the government allocated 7 milliard lire to compensate for the losses incurred by the big concerns. In Germany, for the purpose of saving the big banks alone the government spent 1,100 million marks. "Provision of work" schemes in Germany will cost the "Third Reich" 3,967 million marks. The Hitler government is making this expenditure on account of the budgets of future years: thus, in 1933 expenditure has been made on account of anticipated budget receipts for 1934 amounting to 700 million marks, and on anticipated receipts from the budget of 1938 of no less than 2 milliard marks. This swindling and robbing of the Treasury is called "pre-financing."

The social fascists, however, pretend that this robbing of the Treasury and invasion of parasitism is a sort of introduction to socialism, or a "new form of organised and State controlled economy that may become transition forms from capitalism to socialism." (Resolution of the Paris Conference of the Second International.)

Roosevelt has become the new idol of the Second International, of all the Bauers, Blums, and Vanderveldes. The English reformists at their Congress in Brighton, and the English Labour Party at their Conference in Hastings, proclaimed Roosevelt as the herald of socialism. Roosevelt's programme was declared to be a chunk of socialism. Roosevelt himself never dreamt of socialism, or of replacing the capitalist system by a system of "organised economy." He, simply as the government representative of the big financial bourgeoisie, wanted, and now wants, to take decisive steps towards mitigating the economic crisis, towards "industrial recovery." After some slight success at the beginning, his plan has, in the main, failed; but this does not mean that he cannot continue to pursue his policy in this direction. This policy can still provide enormous profits for the financial oligarchy; but the more it produces such temporary results, the more it consumes the economic forces of the country, depreciates the currency, disturbs the State finances, and the burden of taxes and high cost of living still further reduce the purchasing power of the masses of the toilers.

Thus, the consequences of this policy are such that instead of "organised capitalism" we simply get a further disruption of capitalist economy.

The thing that disrupts capitalist economy most is inflation, which, on the one hand, is an inevitable consequence of the shaking of the capitalist system, and, on the other hand, is a very sharp weapon which the financial oligarchy is seizing in their predatory raid upon other people's property.

What is the financial oligarchy striving to obtain in its own country by introducing partial inflation? Primarily the following:—

(1) The reduction of the real wages of the workers, of the real value of the salaries of civil servants, and of the incomes of the peasantry.

(2) The partial annulment of the debts of the capitalist enterprises.

(3) The depreciation of bank deposits and savings, which practically means the robbery of a considerable part of the property of the petty bourgeoisie, of the small rentiers, and small capitalists.

(4) A rise in prices.

In its first stage inflation causes a flight from money to goods, raises prices, considerably reduces the losses of big enterprises, and thus stimulates an increase in production. The effect inflation has on capitalist economy is similar to the effect a drug has

on a human being, i.e., at first it gives rise to speculative spurs in production, but at the same time it paralyses the private market for capital (issue of capital). Very soon it reveals a weakening and disturbance of economy (the further shrinking of the home market, the disturbance of the State Budget, and finances generally, etc.). The rise in prices, as a rule, is slower than the depreciation of money, and the greater part of the spoils of inflation obtained by the monopolists, as a rule, quickly evaporates, so that in order to achieve further results the further depreciation of money is required—in the same way as the first casual successes achieved by the petty coiner cannot guarantee him a "care-free" life unless he continues his "work." Thus, the prospects on this road are a seething and rising flood of inflation, i.e., a recurrence of the situation that existed in many countries during the first wave of inflation that resulted from the imperialist war.

In the sphere of international commercial competition, inflation is a very sharp weapon in economic war, and particularly in the struggle for foreign markets. Its introduction to a large extent relieves the given country of a considerable portion of its foreign debts, encourages exports and hinders imports. In this respect, inflation may at first bring considerable advantages to the bourgeoisie of the given country, as the example of England, Japan, and a number of other countries shows. Hence the striving of certain imperialist countries, amidst the intensified struggle for markets, to excel each other in depreciating their own currency. Thus, England has depreciated her currency by 32 per cent., the United States by 40 per cent., and Japan by 63 per cent. But the very fact that the introduction of inflation in one country compels her competitor to resort to the same weapon (or resort to counter-measures of another kind) quickly "depreciates" the advantage obtained by the one and the other from inflation. As a result of inflation (and for a number of other reasons) the export of capital comes to a complete stop. As a result of inflation the world market shrinks more and more, because without imports there can be no exports, and without exports there can be no imports. Inflation cannot create new markets—like other measures taken in economic war (dumping, prohibitive tariffs, quotas, etc.); inflation merely serves as a weapon in the struggle for the redistribution of existing, and in the conditions of the crisis, shrinking world markets. But as a result of the general struggle for markets world trade at the present time (third quarter of 1933) represents only 34 per cent. of the world trade of 1929.

The currency war helps to create hostile imperialist groups; already we have a sterling bloc headed by England, a gold bloc headed by France, and no doubt a dollar bloc will be formed. But the currency war is a constituent part of the general economic war among the imperialists. This war is already at its height. It led to the complete breakdown of the London Economic Conference. It is being waged in the form of English "imperial preferences," American "economic nationalism," Japanese super-dumping and adventurism, etc. Every imperialist State is fighting furiously to drive out foreign rivals from its own country, and to grasp at least a small but valuable piece of the market in other countries.

The whole of the predatory economic policy pursued by the ruling bourgeoisie in the conditions of the crisis has undoubtedly brought it certain results up to now in many countries at the expense of the toilers in their own countries, at the expense of the colonies, and at the expense of other countries. This is a fact. It is also possible that this policy of the big bourgeoisie will produce similar results in a number of countries in the future, particularly in the most powerful countries. This possibility cannot be denied. The armament industry can and will be whipped up by the bourgeoisie. If fascist Germany with its limited resources was able to achieve a rather important revival of the armament industries, and if France in 1933 was able, principally by increasing armaments, to achieve an increase in industrial output, then why should not the United States be able to achieve the same thing? The bourgeoisie of the United States has no less chance of achieving this than the others. Hence, we cannot simply assert that the Roosevelt Plan has failed to such an extent that the American rulers cannot do anything more to mitigate their economic crisis. No. Roosevelt has only just begun to carry out the "best parts" of his plans, to carry out his great naval programme; in this sphere the American bourgeoisie can still perform "miracles of new construction." By continuing the policy of inflation it can with its superiority in "gold" win out at the

expense of other countries. Moreover, it will continue its attack on the workers' wages and on the incomes of the farmers. We must beware of wrongly simplifying the question.

Thus, we cannot assert that the economic crisis will become more intensified in all the capitalist countries in the near future. But what we can and must emphasise is that this means the further intensification and deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, precisely and primarily as a result of the very measures by which the ruling bourgeoisie in the most important capitalist countries are creating for themselves a temporary mitigation of the economic crisis. This is what is important to understand.

It is important to understand the interweaving of the present economic crisis with the general crisis of capitalism. The foundation of one and the other is the intensification of the contradiction between the development of the productive forces and capitalist property relations. The intensification of this fundamental contradiction of capitalism determines the acuteness of the problem of markets, which the bourgeoisie cannot settle in a peaceful manner. The measures by which the financial oligarchy are saving their profits and securing for themselves temporary relief simply lead to the further shrinking of world markets and to the sharp intensification of class antagonisms in every capitalist country, as well as of international antagonisms. And it is precisely the intensification of these antagonisms that represents the very essence of the general crisis of capitalism.

The unprecedented robbery and ruin of the toilers by the ruling bourgeoisie is preparing the ground for and hastening the revolutionary attack of the toilers upon the rule of the bourgeoisie. The economic war of the capitalist countries merely prepares for the "military pushing of the rival into bankruptcy," prepares the ground for a sanguinary war of the imperialists for the monopolist possession of the most valuable markets, a war for the conquest of colonies, a war against the U.S.S.R., a war for the redistribution of the world, for world hegemony.

4. Main Conclusions

What are the main conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing economic analysis? Primarily the following:—

First, now that capitalist stabilisation has come to an end, unevenness has been greatly accentuated in the course of the world economic crisis; convulsive fluctuation and even more prolonged evidences of a pre-war inflation boom have manifested themselves in a number of branches of industry. But not a single capitalist country has as yet managed to extricate itself from the clutches of the economic crisis.

Second, the predatory measures adopted by the financial oligarchy and the capitalist governments for the purpose of shifting the burden of the economic crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling

classes and also the increased profits obtained at the expense of the colonies and weak countries, and of other countries generally, have produced, and may continue to produce, certain results for the ruling bourgeoisie in certain countries; nevertheless they cannot restore the stabilisation of capitalism. On the contrary, they serve to break up still further the mechanism of capitalist economy, sharply to intensify the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, both economic and political. They support the capitalist system in the same way as the rope supports one who has been hanged. Those who fail to understand that cannot understand the present process of revolutionisation of the world situation.

Thirdly, while formerly the decay of capitalism deeply undermined its foundations, at the present time, these foundations are being actually destroyed—the world money system, and the whole system of world economic world relations of capitalism, is being destroyed, the mechanism of capitalist economy is becoming more and more disintegrated. The world economic crisis is closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism, and the sharp intensification of this general crisis has already led to the far-reaching disruption of the capitalist system throughout the whole world.

Fourth, this does not lead to the automatic collapse of capitalism, but to the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis. Even now, the world economic crisis is giving birth not only to the economic, but also to the political prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis and world war, in so far as it is intensifying both class antagonisms and international antagonisms to their utmost extreme.

The extreme tension of both internal class contradictions in the capitalist countries and of international antagonisms—this is the most characteristic feature of the present world situation. It testifies to the fact that at the present time the world is approaching right close to a new round of revolutions and wars.

A new round of revolutions and wars means a new revolutionary crisis of the world capitalist system. Formerly, we spoke of the maturing prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis in the international situation. Our present theses speak of the objective prerequisites of a world revolutionary crisis being so mature and of the main contradictions and antagonisms in the capitalist world becoming so acute and strained, that a turn may come at any moment which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis.

The growth of the objective prerequisites of revolution does not, however, decide the whole issue—the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat must be able resolutely to take advantage of this situation. This alone can guarantee a successful fulfilment of the great task that confronts the international proletariat, viz., the task of transforming the impending revolutionary crisis of the capitalist world into the victory of the proletarian revolution.

II. The Menace of Imperialist War and the Proletarian Struggle Against Imperialism

1. The War Danger at the Present Time

The whole international situation at the present time is one of extreme tension.

The League of Nations, which has been abandoned by Japan and Germany, and which Italy is preparing to abandon, which is not even able to bring about an agreement between England and France, the two imperialist Powers which most relied upon it, is already ceasing to serve as a screen to hide the insane preparations for war. The system of imperialist bargaining which laid the basis of the Versailles Treaty and the Washington Agreement has utterly collapsed. The Disarmament Conference has resulted in a hitherto unprecedented race for armaments between the imperialists and as a result of the London Conference on "economic disarmament," a currency and tariff war has broken out among the imperialists along the whole front.

The struggle between the Versailles bloc and the anti-Versailles group led by Germany and Italy for the redrafting of the map of Central and South Europe and the Balkans, is flaring up more and more, particularly around the question of Austria. The antagonism between the United States and England, has, as a result of the unconcealed struggle for markets, assumed unprecedented acute-

ness (the war between the dollar and the pound, the irreconcilable position of both opponents on the question of inter-allied debts, etc.). The intensification of Anglo-American conflict is taking place at all points where the interest of these two imperialisms come into conflict, particularly on the Pacific. The race for armaments between Japan, the U.S.A. and England in the Pacific is no longer concealed in London, Washington and Tokyo. Japan is building a new naval base at Port Arthur and is fortifying the islands; England is fortifying Singapore and the Australian coast, while the U.S.A. is fortifying the Pacific coast, Hawaii and Guam. England fears the strengthening of her principal rival, the U.S.A., in the event of war between the latter and Japan, but it also fears the excessively large appetites of the Japanese militarists, the strengthening of Japanese imperialism which, by its super dumping is already hitting her in all markets.

The tenseness of the international situation is determined by the sharp intensification of the inherent contradictions of the capitalist world. But the intensification of these inherent contradictions directly increases the aggressiveness of the imperialists against the land that is building socialism, is compelling the world bourgeoisie to seek a solution of these inherent contradictions of capitalism at the expense of the U.S.S.R., "the land of the Soviets."

the citadel of the Revolution, which by its very existence is revolutionising the working class and the colonies, preventing the bourgeoisie from launching a new war, preventing it from dividing the world anew, preventing it from being masters of our extensive internal market, so necessary for the capitalist, particularly to-day owing to the economic crisis." (Stalin, speech at the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

The Japanese monarchy, Hitlerist Germany and British imperialism are playing the most active role in organising war against the Soviet Union. British imperialism is doing everything it can to encourage and spur on Japan towards an adventurist attack upon the U.S.S.R. in the East. At the same time it is striving to fan the antagonisms between Germany and France and between France and Italy in order to recover its position as arbiter in Europe and is organising the forces of the international bourgeoisie for an attack upon the U.S.S.R. in the West. German fascism is combining the murderous civil war against the proletariat and the toilers of Germany with preparations for war for the repartitioning of Europe, with feverish efforts to smooth out the antagonisms in the camp of the imperialists by means of joint action for an attack upon the U.S.S.R. Hitlerist Germany and Pilsudski Poland are striving to settle the increasingly acute conflicts between them at the expense of Soviet territory. The Hitlerites are organising a fascist coup in Esthonia and Latvia for the purpose of preparing for an anti-Soviet war, and they are trying to find common ground with the anti-Soviet groups among the French imperialists at the expense of the U.S.S.R.

Brandishing the Samurai sword and relying upon the magnates of the financial oligarchy, the Japanese Minister for War, Araki, solemnly declares:—

"For twenty years already disorder has been continuously reigning in China; up till now no central government has been established there and, in fact, there is no government. Neither in Central Asia nor in Siberia can a scrap of liberty be found. And Mongolia, too, seems to have been transformed into a second Central Asia. . . . Awakened imperial Japan can no longer tolerate the tyranny of the white race."

It is well known that for barbarity the Japanese monarchy concedes nothing to tsarism. It represents 3,000 millionaires who, like an octopus, has wound its tentacles around a great nation. It represents 40,000 landlords who, like leeches, are sucking the blood of the tormented toiling peasants of Japan. It represents slave-owning textile concerns who buy the daughters of the peasantry and pay their workers the wages of colonial coolies. It represents a repulsive, arrogant militarism, which has converted Korea, Formosa, Manchuria and part of northern China into an arena of savage torment and mockery of enslaved nations and has acquired notoriety for "unprecedented brutality combining all the latest inventions of technique with purely Asiatic torture." (Lenin.)

Through the mouth of Araki is expressed the rage of the British Diehards, of the German fascists and of the whole of the reactionary bourgeoisie against the U.S.S.R. They may start a war against the U.S.S.R., but they cannot emerge from such a war without broken heads.

2. The Role of the Social Fascists on the Imperialist Front

In a situation in which the imperialist pirates are furiously fanning the flames of war, the role of social democracy as the agents of the bourgeoisie in the preparations for new world imperialist slaughter, and particularly for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, stands out in most striking relief. The Second International is preparing for another August 4, on an international scale, which will be even more disgusting than its treachery of 1914. It was not for nothing that the Vienna social democratic "Arbeiterzeitung" in its controversy with the "most Christian" fascist, Dollfuss, mentioned the services which social democracy had rendered the bourgeois state and went on to say that the war of 1914 proved that the "freer nations" fight best for the interests of "their" bourgeoisie. It was not for nothing that the "Left" Otto Bauer openly declared that he was opposed to the "defeatist rejection" of the right to "defend" the Hitler fatherland, Bauer would like to crown the war of German imperialism with a halo of Jacobin phrases, as the French neo-socialists do in picturing General Weygand, who participated in the intervention against the Soviet Union, as the marshal of a revolutionary war against Germany. The English Labourites and National Labour-

ites, behind the veil of pacifist phrases, try to harness the British workers to the chariot of the British Empire by promising gradual "socialist reforms." Lansbury tries to persuade the revolutionary youth of India to abandon the struggle against the British conquerors, by promising that the Labour Party will "soon come into power." The thesis of the Labourites and the National Labourites, viz.: "In order to strengthen international peace, peace must be strengthened within the British Empire," is a masked slogan of war, because it strives to strengthen the tottering British Empire for a war against the U.S.S.R., to strengthen it in order to extricate it from the crisis by means of a war against other countries, to strengthen it with the bones of the proletariat and colonial peoples. The Japanese social fascists support the brigand sermons of Araki concerning the special mission of Japan in Asia, and his whole system of anti-Soviet provocation.

Cringing before the fascist cut-throats who have come into power, the social democratic leaders in all countries where the fascist dictatorship rules do not even trouble to conceal their readiness to defend the fatherland of the imperialist and counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. In many countries they have openly renounced their former pacifist, if vapid, formulas opposing imperialist war and by a furious campaign against the Soviet Union are striving to prove to the bourgeoisie that they will be indispensable in the event of war. Vandervelde's assertion that the danger of war arises "from the dictatorships in Germany, Italy and Russia," or from "the governments of dictatorship," as also the last Congress of the Amsterdam International declared, is a striking illustration of the social fascist incitement to counter-revolutionary war against the land which is building a classless socialist society.

Striving to divert the growing antagonisms between the imperialist countries into the channel of the common aggression of capitalist states against the U.S.S.R. and international Bolshevism, the social democratic newspapers provocatively depict every new agreement arrived at between the U.S.S.R. and some other state as the desertion of the U.S.S.R. to the side of one imperialism against another. By this means they try to help the imperialists to form a united counter-revolutionary front against the U.S.S.R. By this they try to conceal from the toilers the fact that the U.S.S.R. is resolutely opposed to any participation in any imperialist combination.

3. The Peace Policy of the U.S.S.R. is the Policy of Proletarian Internationalism

The specific gravity of the Soviet Union in the sphere of international relationships has enormously increased. The determined peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union on the basis of the victorious construction of socialism, has brought the land of the proletarian dictatorship, particularly in recent times, a number of successes of enormous international significance.

The Soviet Union is able to pursue a consistent peace policy because the proletariat over an enormous territory has abolished all the causes that led to imperialist wars. In the Soviet Union there is no lack of markets; the Soviet Union does not need to hunt for markets. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the population of the country, is not threatened from within and therefore does not need to seek salvage in wars. The power of the Soviet Union has rapidly grown and is continuing to grow day after day. Such, and only such, a country can pursue a firm and consistent peace policy.

But the successes of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. have revealed that our Communist press in the capitalist countries is not able to explain the peace policy of the Soviet Union and its significance to the masses of the workers, in a proper and convincing manner so as to refute the anti-Soviet slander and sophistry of the social fascists. But vagueness in Communist agitation on this important question is absolutely impermissible. Whence this vagueness? It seems to me that it arises primarily from the fact that certain comrades look at the peace policy of the Soviet Union one-sidedly, i.e., wrongly; it arises from the fact that they understand and interpret this policy in the bourgeois-pacifist sense.

Very often in our press we read absolutely correct statements about "the consistent peace policy of the Soviet government," "the Soviet Union is the principal peace factor in the world," etc. All this is true, but if we see nothing else in this policy and ex-

plain no more than this to the workers, then we only create confusion.

There is no slogan that the bourgeoisie have more abused than the slogan of peace. The imperialist "peace policy" is represented by the policy of the Versailles Peace, of the Brest Litovsk Peace; it is the policy which serves as an instrument of imperialist rule and of imperialist rivalry. Every imperialist diplomat uses the slogan of peace most zealously on the eve of war. Even Hitler makes long speeches about "peace in Europe," and Araki, the Japanese Minister for War, in his well-known pamphlet, which is certainly a sample of political hypocrisy unsurpassed in world literature, wrote a special chapter entitled *Japan, the Apostle of Peace*. In this chapter we read the following:—

"The picture presented of Japan as a militarist or imperialist State is absolutely superficial. Only those can picture Japan as such who do not know that Japan takes to arms only in order to fight for peace."

This is one variety of "peace policy." Araki goes on to say:—

"The extent to which Japan loves peace and strives for the peace and welfare of humanity can be judged by the imperial edicts issued by every emperor, which clearly state this."

Yes, it would be very difficult to find more objective evidence of the Japanese government's "love of peace"! But the point is that the hypocrisy of the imperialists is not sufficiently exposed by us to the broad masses of the people. The primary duty of the Communists is to teach the toilers to see the bloody policy of the imperialists behind the sweet songs they sing.

This is not enough to enable the masses to understand the difference between the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and the pacifist phrase-mongering of the bourgeoisie and its agents. The difference is not only that the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. is an honest policy. A definite relation of forces in the imperial camp may compel this or that bourgeois State, which is either not strong enough or which is temporarily isolated, to try and avoid war for a time. This, of course, is not a consistent peace policy; but it would be quite wrong to explain the difference between the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and the policy of any capitalist State which is striving to avoid war by the fact that the former is a consistent peace policy while the latter is an inconsistent peace policy.

The peace policy of the U.S.S.R. is an honest and consistent peace policy and primarily it is a **Bolshevik** policy. It is a revolutionary peace policy, imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

In our agitation and propaganda we must resolutely dissociate the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. from any kind of bourgeois policy. What would the masses of the revolutionary workers think if we Communists in our press began to confuse the revolutionary peace policy of the U.S.S.R. with bourgeois pacifism? Why should the Soviet Union pursue such a policy?—the workers would ask. Why should it conclude pacts of non-aggression with the capitalist government of our country which is only hypocritically playing with the peace policy and does not intend to stick to these pacts longer than the approach of the favourable moment for waging a counter-revolutionary war? Why do the Bolsheviks conclude even temporary agreements with our reactionary government, which is secretly preparing for war against the Soviet Union and for civil war against the working class of our country?—the workers may ask.

Many workers, including those who sincerely sympathise with the Soviet Union, may be beset with such doubts. But our press does not give a proper explanation of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R.

They should explain that the peace policy of the Soviet Union can, although it cannot avert war altogether, at all events can greatly hinder the war policy of the imperialist enemies of the U.S.S.R. and may even put off the beginning of such a war, particularly if it receives real and active support for its peace policy from the proletariat of the capitalist countries. But to hinder and to put off the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union is in the immediate interests of the international revolutionary labour movement. This must be explained to the masses of the workers in every country.

But how should this be explained? In my opinion in explaining this question attention must be drawn to the following points:—

First, the peace policy of the Soviet Union helps to expose

the war policy of the imperialists and by that hinders their aggressiveness. This is very important. Every enemy of the U.S.S.R. needs and seeks for a "plausible" excuse to justify this criminal and very "unpopular" war in the eyes of the masses of the people of his country. However much the bourgeois governments would like to attack the U.S.S.R., not a single one of them would dare to come out openly as the aggressor, because it fears the masses of the people in its rear. That is why such governments like the Polish, Rumanian, and even the Finnish fascist governments dared not refuse to sign the pact of non-aggression, or the definition of aggressor, proposed by the U.S.S.R. Of course, the capitalist governments of these countries regard these pacts as mere scraps of paper; but the revolutionary workers must utilise these pacts as important documents with which to expose the hypocritical game of "their own" government, and from the very first moment of the outbreak of an anti-Soviet attack, they must not only brand that government as the criminal culprit of the war, but produce documentary proof of this. It is particularly important that the Soviet government proposed to its most aggressive enemies, to Germany, Japan, and others, that they sign pacts of non-aggression and other obligations of peace, because it will be a noose for them, if only the revolutionary workers of every country succeed in utilising these documents to the widest possible extent in our mass agitation. The capitalist government that refuses to conclude a pact of non-aggression with the Soviet Union still further exposes itself to the whole world as the organiser and instigator of war, as the Japanese government has already exposed itself to be. And it is very significant that the MacDonald-Baldwin government, the government of British imperialism, which displayed a very lively interest in the release of the English spies who were caught red-handed in the Soviet Union, has not displayed the slightest desire to undertake the obligation of non-aggression against the Soviet Union.

Secondly, we must declare that in so far as it is possible to secure the postponement of the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, thanks to the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and the support which it receives from the toilers of all countries, this in many respects is to the advantage of the international revolution. Of course, the imperialists, too, are making use of this respite for completing their war preparations. But time is on our side, if only we do not remain passive. The inevitable intensification of the general crisis of capitalism will lead, first, to the greater intensification of the antagonisms between the imperialist pirates; secondly, to the continuous growth of the revolutionary crisis in the various countries. This, in its turn, means that our Communist Parties will have still more favourable objective conditions for revolutionary work, that we in the capitalist countries will gain extra time for preparing the proletariat for the decisive struggle. Such is the third consequence of the possible postponement of war against the Soviet Union. It increases our chances of being able at least in several countries to forestall the bourgeoisie and to avert the impending war by overthrowing the bourgeoisie, by proletarian revolution. Fourthly, the movement of the allies of the world proletarian revolution, the anti-imperialist national revolutionary movement of the colonial and dependent nations, will gain extra time for the further mobilisation and organisation of their forces. And, fifthly, the Soviet Union itself at the same time, as a result of its socialist construction, will become still more powerful.

The latter, of course, is the most important: the rapid growth of the power of the Soviet Union up till now has been the principal, although not the only, obstacle (the antagonisms between the imperialist countries are also important), that restrained the imperialists from their piratical attack upon the land of the proletarian dictatorship. They did not consider themselves sufficiently prepared for such a war. They had every ground for fearing the outcome of such a war. But what chances for a successful outcome of their anti-Soviet plans can the imperialists have now, after the brilliant fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan, when the relation of forces had changed still more to the advantage of the Soviet Union? Now, every attempt to subdue the world citadel of socialism by war is more dangerous than ever for the imperialists.

The strengthening of the Soviet Union is the main factor of peace throughout the whole world. But it is not only a factor of peace. Simultaneously, the rise of the Soviet Union is the principal factor in the development of the general crisis of the world capitalist system. The rise of the U.S.S.R. inspires the toilers of

the whole world in their revolutionary struggles. The Soviet Union is the stronghold of the world proletariat, the firm basis of the world socialist revolution.

If we explain the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and the significance of its successes to the masses of the workers in this way, it will not be difficult for us to repel the provocative attacks of the social-fascists on the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. Every worker will understand that there is not, nor can there be, any antagonism of interest between the Soviet Union and the international labour movement. The proletariat of the Soviet Union is the victorious vanguard of the workers of all countries. The cause of the working class of every country is inseparably linked up with the cause of the proletariat of the Soviet Union.

4. The Anti-Imperialist Struggle of Revolutionary China

A new partition of China by the Japanese, British, French, and the American imperialists has already commenced. This has not only found expression in the continued Japanese annexations, but also in the seizure of part of Szechwan by the British imperialists, and their attempts with the aid of the Canton group to seize control of south China, in the organisation by British and Japanese imperialism of the partisan movement in Sinkiang, in the preparations of French imperialism to annex Yunnan, and the imperialist intervention of England, Japan, and the United States in Fukien.

The Chinese people are confronted with the problem of either being transformed into a permanently enslaved colony of the imperialists or of bringing about the revolutionary overthrow of the yoke of the imperialists. The anti-imperialist struggle of the Chinese toilers is developing in three main forms:—

(1) Armed guerilla warfare against Japanese imperialism in Manchuria, Jehol, Chahar and North China. This war is being waged not only against the Japanese militarists, but also against the Chinese agents of Japanese imperialism.

(2) The anti-imperialist struggle in Kuomintang China. This struggle, too, is directed, not only against the Japanese and other imperialists, but also against the Kuomintang as the agents of imperialism, and before all against the Nanking government of national betrayal and disgrace.

(3) The principal, decisive force is the Soviets and their Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

After the defeat of the old leadership of generals, the guerilla warfare passed to a new stage. The Chinese guerilla fighters are workers, peasants and soldiers; and the Communist Party of China is more and more assuming the leadership of the partisan movement. According to the reports of the Japanese, there are in Manchuria 150,000 armed partisans. Among them there are already three large Red units, three Army Corps of the Red Army of the Chinese Soviets. In the event of a sharp turn of events this army may grow and will grow into an army of millions.

The Chinese Soviets and their Red Army have already repelled five campaigns, and just now they have won an important victory in fighting against the sixth campaign.

Chiang Kai-shek gathered an army of 440,000 against the Central Soviet District. He received aeroplanes, tanks, artillery, armoured cars, and chemical warfare equipment from the United States and England. He was assisted by the British, Japanese, and American imperialist fleets. His armies were led by German General Staff officers, headed by General Seeckt. His police force is led by the German social-fascist mercenaries, including Grzesinski. And yet, in spite of all this, after a big engagement the armies of Chiang Kai-shek fled from the field of battle and retreated for five days without stopping.

While Chiang Kai-shek was concentrating his forces against the Central Soviet District, the Red Army in Szechwan routed 36 regiments of the enemy, a whole army. (Applause.) The Second and Fourth Red Armies united and occupied the town of Wanhien, crossed the Yangtze, and repelled all the attacks of the Kuomintang troops. Nearly 23 districts in the province of Szechwan are under the rule of the Soviets. In the provinces of Anhwei and Hunan, Soviet districts are being established by the efforts of the workers and peasants.

Since our last Plenum, as the achievements of but one year, the Red Army of the Chinese Soviets grew up and became strong: the regular units during the past year increased from 200,000 to

350,000 and the irregular units grew up from 400,000 to 600,000. Three new model Communist Divisions have been formed: one Division known as the Y.C.I. Division consists of the Young Communist Leaguers, and two Workers' Divisions.

The Soviet State in China is growing and becoming strong. It is growing strong because of the correct policy pursued by the Communist Party. The Soviet revolution in China has become a powerful factor in the world revolution.

The defence of Shanghai and the guerilla warfare in Manchuria, have been important factors in causing the Japanese fascist militarists to hesitate in commencing a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. If the imperialists, and before all the Japanese militarists, kindle a conflagration of counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. in the Far East, they stand the risk of seeing the establishment, next day, of a Soviet Japan, a united and indivisible Soviet China, and a Soviet Korea and Formosa, which have overthrown the yoke of Japanese imperialism.

5. The Tasks of the Communist Anti-War Struggle

The imperialists are sliding into war at an accelerated rate. Hence, the primary task of the Communist Parties must be to expose their policy to the workers and the toilers and to show that the nations are being dragged into war without knowing it, behind the screen of diplomatic phrases and negotiations and under cover of the war "revival" of capitalist industry, in the form of more frequent partial mobilisations, calling up of reserves, and trial mobilisations of fascist and other reactionary military organisations.

Bolshevism resolutely rejects the position of passively waiting for war. In the present situation such a position is tantamount to desertion from the field of battle, tantamount to the abandonment of the leading role of the Communists as the vanguard of the revolutionary class. Modern war is a war which welds the front and the rear into an inseparable whole. Our Parties have achieved certain successes in linking up the immediate demands of the workers with the revolutionary struggles against war. However, the reorganisation of our Party, mass and organisational work does not correspond properly to the rate at which, and the concrete conditions in which, the imperialists are sliding into war.

It would be stupid to think that the Communists can wait passively until a popular uprising matures in the course of an imperialist or counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. Mass work must be carried on immediately, without delay, before all among the workers in those enterprises that will play a particularly prominent role in the conditions of war. We must learn right now to distribute our forces properly, and to concentrate our activities upon the struggle against the shipment and supply of war materials. The campaign against the supply of war materials to Japanese imperialism has been obviously unsatisfactory.

At the same time we must utilise the experience of the fight against imperialist rehearsals of war, we must utilise the experience of the struggle during military manoeuvres, during trial mobilisations of individual military categories, etc., to prepare for the struggle against war in the conditions of war.

The Communist Parties must prepare the workers so as not to allow the moment of general mobilisation to slip by, when the slightest delay and disorder in carrying out the mobilisation plan—every hour of which has been calculated beforehand—may cause the imperialists very serious embarrassment. During the general mobilisation, the Communists must be able to develop their activity at the mobilisation centres at which the workers and peasants will be gathered in order to be distributed to their various units. Revolutionary work on the railways and in the docks, in the first days of mobilisation, as well as throughout the whole period of the war, is one of the first and most important conditions for the general success of revolutionary work. The imperialist generals say that the fate of a war is determined by the large factories, and this once again emphasises the fact that it is precisely these enterprises that must become the strongholds of our revolutionary struggle against war. Work in these enterprises, as well as among the troops at the front, must become the backbone of our work. We must without losing a single hour make every possible use of legal and semi-legal possibilities which

certain Communist Parties still enjoy, in order to reorganise our work in a militant manner.

We know that the victorious proletarian revolution is the only reliable guarantee of peace. Hence, the task of **revolutionising the toiling masses** is the main task also in our anti-war struggle. But we do not know whether and where the possibility of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie will mature before the latter drives the toilers into a new fratricidal slaughter. We in every country must do absolutely everything we possibly can in order, by the pressure of the broad masses, to restrain the ruling classes from committing this crime, to restrain them from war. Right up to the very last day before war breaks out we must mobilise the masses of the toilers for the struggle against the war danger, for the militant support of the revolutionary peace policy of the Soviet Union. Right up to the very last moment before the outbreak of war we must tirelessly din it into the minds of the masses: Rise, before it is too late and prevent the incendiaries of war from carrying out their criminal designs!

But if we fail to avert war, if, in spite of all, the imperialists commence war, if they attack the Soviet Union, then we will call upon the masses of the toilers to fight, not under the slogans of anti-war struggle, but under the slogan of revolutionary civil war.

The peoples of the Soviet Union will then show what the land in which the proletariat rules is capable of doing in defence against the imperialist pirates. The toilers liberated from exploitation, bound by ties of blood to their socialist fatherland, will pour in millions into the ranks of the invincible Red Army. They will hurl

themselves against the violators of peace with all the colossal might they accumulated during the years of heroic, victorious labour. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, under the tried leadership of its great leader, Comrade Stalin, the socialist people will strike crushing blows against every attacker, and will smash the hostile legions to atoms.

And then the hour of our great cause will strike for us, the Communists of the capitalist countries. Let the bourgeoisie of all countries know right now that in all capitalist countries we will say to the workers and peasants: War on the enemies of the Socialist Soviet Union. The Red Army is our army. We have but one fatherland, which we will defend. We have but one enemy. Whoever raises his hand against the land of the Soviets must be destroyed at the front and in the rear. The cursed rule of the exploiters must be **smashed, smashed once and for all**.

To every worker going to the imperialist war, to every soldier and recruit belonging to the oppressed toiling section of the people who will have rifles put into their hands, we will repeat the counsel of the immortal leader of the world proletariat, Lenin:—

"... you are given a rifle and a splendid quick-firing gun built according to the last word of engineering technique—take this weapon of death and destruction, do not listen to the sentimental snivellers who are afraid of war. Much has been left in the world that **must** be destroyed by fire and sword for the liberation of the working class." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 316.)

III. Fascism and Social Fascism

The fact that fascism has been victorious in a country like Germany where the labour movement was so powerful, makes it absolutely necessary for all the sections of the Communist International to concentrate their attention more than ever on the fascist movement and on the fight against it.

1. The Class Character of Fascism

The first thing that is required in this connection is the ability to appraise correctly the class character of fascism. The question of the class character of fascism must not be confused with the question of the class composition of the fascist mass movement. As is known, the class composition of this movement is very mixed. Relying on the kulak, fascism appeals to the peasantry which is in bondage to the landlords and to big capital, is bound by debt, oppressed by taxation and suffers from the agrarian crisis. Fascism appeals to the artisan, to the handicraftsman, to the small shopkeeper and to the small rentier who suffer from monopoly, the shrinking of markets, the big banks, inflation and the burden of taxation. Fascism seeks for itself a mass basis among office employees, the minor government officials and the petty bourgeois intelligentsia who suffer from salary reductions, mass dismissals, and mass displacements in the State apparatus. But fascism also tries to penetrate into the working class and finds some response among that section of the unemployed which has fallen into despair and which has been long divorced from industry, and among the more backward sections of the workers who have not yet awakened to class consciousness. Moreover, in recent times a whole declassed stratum of the petty bourgeoisie has arisen in capitalist towns, such as ex-officers, unemployed "intellectuals," etc. (a completely new lumpen proletarian stratum). Fascism utilises these, too.

It goes without saying that the mixed composition of the fascist movement is an important question from the point of view of our struggle against fascism, from the point of view of the prospects of the disintegration of the fascist mass movement. But the social composition of this movement does not in the least solve the problem of the class character of fascism. The decisive thing is: what class policy does it pursue? Which class does it serve?

In Germany the fascists claim to be "socialists," but their "socialism" in reality turned out to be the most predatory type of monopoly capital. The fascists are not socialists, but the servants of capital. The policy of fascism is the policy of the big bourgeoisie. Fascist rule, as our theses say, is the "open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance-capital."

This is clearly seen in all countries where the fascists are in

power. The deeds of the ruling fascists are such that even the very stones cry out about the class character of fascism in Italy, Germany, Poland, Finland, Austria, Yugoslavia, etc.

But it is precisely this fundamental fact that is distorted by the social democrats and their hangers-on. Otto Bauer insists on depicting German fascism as a rule above the classes, or as "the dictatorship of the lumpen proletariat," which he alleges, dominates the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as "disfranchised subjects." And Trotsky and Thalheimer insist on depicting fascism as Bonapartism or petty bourgeois counter-revolution. Why do they insist on that? Because it is important for them, as for all social fascists, to divert the attention of the workers from the fight against the ruling bourgeoisie whom they serve. It is extremely noteworthy that the same thing was repeated by Remmele when he was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany at the time of the fascist coup. "The whole bourgeoisie is subjected to the lumpen proletariat," he said in the words of Otto Bauer, and by that revealed the close political connection that exists between his "Right-Wing" opportunism and social democracy. Another warning example: the *Kommunistitska Review*, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, approved the definition of fascism given by the "Left" social democrat, Czechachek, viz., "the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie means the complete political isolation of the urban bourgeoisie and big capital." This simply means the complete isolation, not only of the social democrat Czechachek, but also of the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from Marxism in regard to the definition of the class character of fascism. It is high time the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia isolated the responsible editor from the theoretical organ of the Party.

2. Can Fascism Save Capitalism from Collapse?

The second general question that is raised in the theses that we have submitted is the appraisal of the objective consequences of the policy of fascism. Unquestionably, fascism is the instrument of black reaction. It is precisely as such that it is used by the bourgeoisie to save capitalism from collapse. Whether it can save capitalism is entirely another question. It is not true to say that capitalism has managed to stabilise its position with the aid of fascism, as many social democrats assert.

This is what the world bourgeoisie wants to achieve; this is the aim of its policy of fascism, but the results are altogether different. It is not true to say simply, that fascism hinders revolu-

tionary development. We say that revolutionary development is simultaneously hindered and accelerated by the fascist fury of the bourgeoisie. This dual character of the objective consequences of the policy of fascism must be understood, otherwise it will not be possible to see the perspective clearly.

The reason why the social-fascists see only one side of the problem is quite clear. They can expect nothing good from the revolutionary perspective; on the contrary, they fear it ever so much more than "total" fascism. They try to scare the workers of Germany with the bogey of the "Italian perspective." But the times now are altogether different from what they were when fascism came into power in Italy. That was the period of transition from the revolutionary crisis to the relative stabilisation of capitalism, whereas German national-socialism came into power in the period of transition from the end of capitalist stabilisation to the revolutionary crisis. "This change in the objective situation"—we emphasise in our theses—determines altogether different perspectives both for fascism as well as for the revolutionary world movement of the proletariat.

In the conditions of shaken capitalism, even the fascist terror of the bourgeoisie cannot for long restrain the masses of the workers from decisive action. The terror rouses anger even among the majority of those workers who up till now have followed the social democrats, and if only the Communists are able to approach these workers properly it will be much less difficult than formerly to win them over to the side of revolution. Even fascist demagoguery can now have a twofold effect. It can, in spite of the fascists, help us to free the masses of the toilers from the illusions of parliamentary democracy and peaceful evolution; and the other bait that the fascists use in place of these illusions (small private property, national interest) can be exposed by showing what the ruling fascists do for the benefit of the class interests of the big bourgeoisie and the landlords. When the big bourgeoisie tries to convert the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie into a reliable prop for themselves, they accelerate the process of differentiation among these intermediary classes even where the bulk of the masses of these exploited classes at first swing over to the side of fascism. The ruin of these classes by fascist rule quickly creates the soil for winning them over to the side of the revolutionary proletariat.

The growth of fascism means that "the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and by bourgeois democracy generally; moreover, the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy generally are becoming a hindrance to the capitalists in their home politics (the fight against the proletariat) as well as in their foreign politics (war for the imperialist redistribution of the world)." (Theses.) This does not exclude the possibility that, under certain conditions, the fascist dictatorship will be able to utilise the forms of restricted parliamentarism, as is the case, for example, in Poland and Finland. But the more difficult the position of the bourgeoisie becomes, the more fascism strives to eliminate the parliamentary competition of many bourgeois parties and substitute for it the political monopoly of a single party.

This cannot but serve to increase the discord and conflicts among the bourgeois parties, particularly between the fascists and social-fascists. It is wrong to imagine that there can be no real disagreements between them. Disagreements exist and new ones continuously arise on the basis of the inherent contradiction in the position of the bourgeoisie. These disagreements are not disagreements of principle, as both the one and the other stand for the bourgeois dictatorship. In spite of all their disagreements the fascists and social fascists are, and remain, twins, as Comrade Stalin remarked. Our appraisal of the revolutionary perspective is not based on their mutual quarrels; it is based on the inevitable intensification of the fundamental internal and external contradictions of capitalism, and primarily, on the firm conviction that the revolutionary forces of the proletariat will grow.

There are no disagreements between the fascists and the social-fascists as far as the necessity for the further fascisation of the bourgeois dictatorship is concerned. The social democrats are in favour of fascisation, provided the parliamentary form is preserved. "Our goal is the same, our methods are different," N. Tanner, one of the typical representatives of social-fascism, chairman of the Finnish Social Democratic Party and of the International Co-operative Alliance, told the fascists. And this loyal servant of capitalism told the truth. What is worrying these people is that in their furious zeal the fascists may hasten the doom of capitalism.

3. The Fascisation of Social Democracy

The fascisation of social democracy is proceeding at an accelerated pace. This does not only mean the formation of "neo-socialist" groups in the social democratic parties. Social-fascism as a whole praises the new, and what, in fact, are fascist forms of the economic policy of the big bourgeoisie and describes them as "rudiments of socialism." Blum and Vandervelde have described the economic policy now pursued by Hitler and Mussolini as "socialism without the socialists." The social-fascists rightly complain that the fascists have stolen their programme; but the fascists would be equally right in complaining that the social-fascists have appropriated their ideology.

In the wake of the fascists, the social-fascists of all brands stand for a "strong government." Many of them reproach the German Severings and Zorgebels with not having ruled with a sufficiently firm hand. At the congress of the Socialist Party of France, held in July, 1933, Montagnon demanded "a reform of the state that will make it a strong state, master of its own destiny, capable of controlling and conducting economy." Montagnon is a neo-socialist, but let us see what another social-fascist has to say in giving advice to social democratic workers:—

"Everybody admits that in the present conditions a 'strong government' is necessary. Compel your party to start a real struggle for a strong democratic government. . . . We would honestly help you in the struggle for such a government. Moreover, we would pledge ourselves not to undertake any revolutionary action that would go beyond the limits of democracy."

This is what Trotsky, the counter-revolutionary lackey of the bourgeoisie, writes. In principle, there is no difference between the position taken up by Trotsky and that of the neo-fascist Montagnon on the question of a strong government. And Kautsky openly declares that the reproaches hurled against the leaders of German social democracy that they did not establish a dictatorship in 1918 are unjustified, because, writes Kautsky, "such a terror would have to be directed primarily against the Communists." Hence, if a dictatorship were established, it would have to be directed against the Communists.

As a matter of fact, the German social democrats did use terror against the Communists, and they even threatened the fascists that they would "rule with a firm hand." Everyone remembers the threats uttered by Wels at the Magdeburg Social Democratic Party Congress to use dictatorial powers against the National Socialists and against the Communists. On June 28, 1929, Grzesinski declared in Frankfurt: The German working class will hang on the lamp-posts those who attempt to encroach on the political rights of the German working class by violence. Loebe, in the name of the "Iron Front," threatened to organise a general strike against fascism; but on May 17 he voted for Hitler.

The slogan, "a strong government," against the revolutionary workers of course and not against fascism, was taken over by the whole of the Second International from Wels, from the neo-fascists and from the fascists.

But it is not only a matter of the fascisation of the ideology, the theories and the slogans of the social democratic parties. Look at their deeds.

In Czechoslovakia and in Spain the social democrats took part in the governments and in the preparations for establishing a fascist dictatorship. In Denmark and in Sweden the social democrats are in power and are proceeding along the same road. In Austria, Poland, Finland, and Hungary the social-democratic parties exist legally under a fascist dictatorship. In these countries they are the obedient Opposition of His Majesty, Fascism. In Japan they come out openly in favour of war and of the monarchy.

In the United States the socialists and the American Federation of Labour are helping Roosevelt to carry out what, in fact, are fascist economic measures. In England the Labour Party produced open allies of the diehards, viz., the National-Labourites on the one hand and Mosley's fascist group on the other. The future will see the rise of numerous groups of this kind.

The Italian socialist Modigliani, and even the "Left" Nenni, declared at their Congress that they are prepared to return to Italy as a legal Opposition at Mussolini's first call. And the German social democrat Breitscheid wrote a letter to Neurath stating that all he was fighting for was the rights of a legal Opposition. But Wels and Breitscheid openly declare that the task of

social democracy in Germany is to prevent the fascist dictatorship from being supplanted by a proletarian dictatorship.

4. The Crisis in the Second International

The coming into power of Hitler in Germany marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the crisis in the Second International. The defeat of social democracy and the whole of social-democratic ideology, policy, and tactics was revealed precisely in the country where the strongest party of the Second International existed. The defeat of the German social democratic party caused great consternation in the ranks of the Second International. Attacks began to be hurled at the leadership of the German social democracy, wrangling among the social-fascist leaders, and ferment in the ranks of the social-democratic workers. This consternation manifested itself at the Brussels Congress of the trade union bureaucrats and at the Paris Conference of the social-fascist functionaries. And they have not quite got over it yet.

Very soon, however, the social-democratic leaders began to whitewash the German social democrats. At the Paris Congress they defended Wels and the German social-democratic party. Bauer hastened to draw up a thesis on the historical inevitability of the victory of fascism in Germany; Kautsky and Oldenburg declared that "cultured" social democracy had to suffer defeat at the hands of uncultured fascism.

"Left" social-fascists, such as Adler, Fenner Brockway, and also the Menshevik lackey of the bourgeoisie, Trotsky, hastened to the assistance of Wels, Vandervelde, and Blum. Trotsky came forward as the principal purveyor of arguments for saving social-fascism. This traitor to Communism published monstrous slanders against the Communist Party of Germany to the effect that the latter was responsible for the victory of the national socialists, and that it had betrayed the German proletariat. And at a time when the German Communists are waging a heroic struggle, are fighting with heroic self-sacrifice against fascism, the traitor Trotsky dares to declare that the Communist Party of Germany is dead!

The attempt to whitewash German social democracy is accompanied by "Left" manoeuvres. The German social-fascists are shouting about a revolution against Hitler. The Austrian social-fascists are trying to console the workers with empty phrases about a general strike. The Polish socialist party adopts a resolution declaring that it is necessary to overthrow the government of Pilsudski, and lies to the workers by saying that it is only the U.S.S.R. and the Comintern that is hindering them in this.

But they are not satisfied with monstrously slandering the Communist Parties and with "Left" phrases. And so the "Left"

fragments gathered together in Paris in order to revive the Two and a Half International of shameful memory. They came to an agreement on one question, viz., that it is necessary to fight against Communism, against the proletarian united front. They could not agree on any other question. Trotsky, however, comes out with the proposal to attempt to achieve the same object by calling it the Fourth International. But such internationals have very little power of attraction; the workers turn their backs upon them.

The crisis is developing in the social-democratic parties. "Neo-socialist," or neo-fascist, wings are being formed. Neo-socialism is not merely a French product. It is growing in the ranks of social-democracy in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other countries. The socialist party of France has already split. Renaudel, Deat and Marquet are already forming a new party and to-morrow Frossard will follow in their footsteps. Wrangling among the social-fascist leaders is observed in nearly all countries. In the British Labour party a "Left" wing has been formed among the leaders, which reflects, as in a distorting mirror, what is going on in the lower ranks. Of course, the "Lefts" in the Austrian social-democratic party capitulated; but the social-democratic workers are beginning to recognise the cunning Austrian species of social-fascism.

The intensification of imperialist antagonisms is disintegrating the Second International as an international organisation. The crisis in the Second International is a fact. But it would be quite wrong to believe that the Second International, and particularly the various social-fascist parties, are already dead dogs. No, they are still the main social prop of the bourgeoisie.

Social-fascism is still dangerous, it is still a big force in the struggle against the anti-fascist united front, against the Communist Parties and against the U.S.S.R. In England, Norway, and Switzerland the social-democratic parties, even after the world historical bankruptcy of the Second International in Germany, won election victories. This does not mitigate the crisis in the Second International, it is true. In France, for example, the socialist party split up into three parts after a big electoral success. But it does mean that the Communists must exert all efforts to destroy the mass influence of the social-democratic parties.

It is not true to say that the victory of fascism is an inevitable stage preceding the proletarian revolution in all capitalist countries. But the stronger the mass influence of social democracy is, the more dangerous is fascism. Hence, the successful struggle against fascism, as against war, calls for intensified work on the part of all sections of the Communist International to win the workers away from the influence of the social-democratic parties.

IV. The Class Battles of the Toilers and the Important Tasks of the Communist Parties

1. Further Lowering of the Standard of Living of the Working Class

The ruling bourgeoisie is everywhere continuing the attack on the standard of living of the working class. Wage cuts are becoming a universal phenomenon. For example, in England the wages of the textile workers have been reduced by 6 per cent.; in Spain the wages of miners have been reduced 20 to 30 per cent.; in the United States a "minimum wage" has been fixed, which is actually a maximum wage; in Poland the wages of all workers have been reduced approximately by 20 per cent, etc. There is no end of such facts.

Inflation is reducing real wages, and is a form of flank attack upon the workers. In England the cost of living has increased by 6 per cent., in Japan approximately by 14 to 18 per cent., and in the United States also prices are rising far above the increases in wages. We must pay more attention to this reduction of wages by means of inflation.

In a number of countries anti-working-class laws have been passed. In the republic of Spain, with the co-operation of the social democrats, concentration camps for "vagrants," i.e., for "dangerous" unemployed workers, are being organised, and strikes without the consent of the governor of the province are

prohibited. In Japan the laws against "dangerous thoughts" are being made more stringent. In Germany fascism has created penal-servitude conditions for the whole of the working class. In Austria Dollfuss has already begun to adopt the same policy; and in Czechoslovakia "democracy," with the co-operation of the social-fascists, is striving to catch up the German fascists.

Social legislation is being worsened almost everywhere. In Germany the fascists have deprived more than 2,500,000 unemployed of relief. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, etc., unemployed relief has been reduced. The British bourgeoisie are transferring whole categories of unemployed to the poor-law authorities after twenty-six weeks of unemployed benefit. Everywhere the bourgeoisie is trying to substitute compulsory "public work" for unemployed relief. Forced labour is becoming more and more widespread in the capitalist world. Camps on the model of the compulsory labour camps in Germany are being organised in Poland (labour battalions), in Czechoslovakia, and in Austria; and democratic United States has already introduced the same system for 250,000 young workers. In England a bill is now being discussed in parliament which provides for the unemployed being sent to labour camps and making it compulsory for young workers from the age of 16 to 18 to go to these camps. In Germany and in Austria experience has shown that the work of the Young Com-

munist League in these camps can produce positive results.

A monstrous system of "crisis rationalisation" is being introduced in the capitalist countries. The increase in output of industry is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of workers employed (in the United States, in the best days of the Roosevelt boom, the increase in the output of industry amounted to 37 per cent., but the increase in the number of workers employed is only 9 per cent.). And the increase in the number of workers employed is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the amount of wages paid (in the United States the total pay-roll increased 7 per cent., while the number of workers employed increased 9 per cent. and the dollar depreciated 40 per cent.). The Roosevelt code on the shorter working week, "distribution of labour" in Germany, the stagger system, the Kruempfer system—all these are different names of one and the same thing.

At the same time the agrarian crisis is becoming more acute, and the conditions of the bulk of the peasantry are becoming worse. The anger of millions of farmers in the United States, their strikes, the big peasant movements even in such a country as France, the peasant revolts in Spain, Poland, etc., are a striking expression of the intensification of the agrarian crisis in the capitalist countries, quite apart from the colonies and semi-colonies, like China, India, the countries in South America, etc.

2. The Development of the Class Battles of the Toilers in Various Countries

The worsening of the conditions of the masses, the approach of war, fascism and the establishment of fascist dictatorships in a number of countries have resulted in a tremendous tension of the antagonistic class forces. In this situation, the "growth of a revolutionary mass movement in the various capitalist countries can still less than hitherto bear a constant or even character," as is stated in our theses. And in the conditions of fascism, and particularly under a fascist dictatorship, the forms in which the revolutionary upsurge manifests itself undergo a change—revolutionary development frequently proceeds unobserved, in less open forms. It would be quite wrong and absurd to try and measure the revolutionary movements in the lands of fascist dictatorship only by the figures of strikes, demonstrations and actions of the unemployed. This would be statistical cretinism as dangerous as parliamentary cretinism in the lands of so-called democracy.

Social democracy and its Trotskyist and Brandlerist followers are tirelessly howling about the catastrophe in the labour movement, about the ushering in of an epoch of fascism and reaction. Clearly, this position has nothing in common with Bolshevism. But we also brush aside the "Leftist" chatter about straight, unvaryingly even "automatic" revolutionary development.

Are these grounds for speaking of a universal recession, of the defeat of the labour movement? Let us take the example of the United States. The strike wave is rapidly rising, as the following figures show:—

July	201 strikes, affecting 125,000 workers
August	152 strikes, affecting 141,000 workers
September	211 strikes, affecting 212,000 workers

Thus, the strike wave is higher than the corresponding period in 1921, when the strike wave reached the highest point ever attained in the preceding history of the United States. An enormous wave of the farmers' movement has spread over the twenty-two States. Farmers' strikes have taken place in six States, affecting two million farmers.

In Germany a new revolutionary revival is commencing. It finds expression in peculiar forms, corresponding to the conditions of the fascist regime. There we observe: (1) an increase in the number of social-democratic workers joining the Communist Party; (2) disintegration in the national socialist factory organisation and the Storm Troops; (3) the creation of the first independent trade unions; (4) increasing ferment in the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie; (5) strikes and demonstrations, although not in large number (particularly the demonstration of August 1 in Berlin); (6) the Bolshevik work of the C.P. of Germany, its defence by the German workers, and the enormous growth of the prestige and authority of the Party—these are very important indications of the incipient revival.

A conciliator and Right opportunist has come forward in the wake of the social democrats to declare that the relation of the class forces in Germany has changed entirely in favour of the

bourgeoisie. This is not true. The class struggle has become very much more acute; but its outcome still lies in the future. The conciliator is scared. In times like these there can be no place in the Party of the revolutionary workers of Germany, in Thaelmann's Party, for those whose cowardice hinders the revolutionary struggle of the workers. We propose that the Plenum approve the resolution passed by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on April 1, 1933, on the situation in Germany and the political line pursued by the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany, headed by Comrade Thaelmann—(applause)—before and at the time of the fascist coup. We propose that the Plenum take note of the Bolshevik, heroic struggle waged by the Communist Party of Germany against the fascist dictatorship. (Applause.)

The task of the Communist Party of Germany is to become, in the shortest possible time, the only mass party of the whole of the German proletariat, and, as the decisive task of the moment to bring about a united front with the social democratic workers and win over the Christian, national socialist and non-party workers. The Communists must convince the German proletariat by reminding it of its own experience made with social democracy, that the restoration of the social democratic organisations and of the social democratic leadership in the trade unions will damage the interests of the working class, and would be fatal to the victory over fascism. At the same time, it must boldly draw the social democratic workers and the members of the reformist trade unions into the Communist party.

While waging the struggle for the everyday demands of the toilers and developing economic and political strikes, the Communist Party of Germany must resolutely raise the question of power, rally the anti-fascist forces in town and country around the proletariat, and in this way create the prerequisites for the victorious proletarian revolution, for the armed overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In Poland the mass strikes of the workers are accompanied by important revolutionary actions of the Polish rural population. In the first quarter of 1933 there were 43 per cent. more strikes and three times as many working days lost through strikes than in the first quarter of 1932. The general strike in Lodz was under the leadership of the Communists. During the general strike of the miners in March, the role of the Communist Party was weak. But out of 304 strikes, the Red Trade Union Opposition led 219 (affecting 311,000 strikers), and 47 strikes (227,000 strikers) in conjunction with the reformists. The number of political strikes, however, is much smaller than last year.

A very important factor that has manifested itself since independent Poland was established has been the peasant uprising in the Cracow region. It was the Polish rural population that rebelled; more than 100,000 peasants fought for a period extending over several weeks.

In Czechoslovakia there were fewer strikes this year than last year, and there were no large strikes. But this unevenness is apparently due to the opportunist mistakes committed by our comrades.

In France there have been more strikes this year than last year. The biggest strike was that of the Citroen works, affecting 18,000 workers, which was conducted by the Unitary Confederation of Labour. In Strassburg, a strike of 2,000 workers developed into a mass strike of 20,000 workers and was accompanied by barricade fighting. In France, the strike of 10,000 agricultural labourers in Languedoc, which was supported by the small peasants, is of great significance.

In Spain we have the clash of forces of revolution and counter-revolution. The number of strikes this year is smaller than last year (2,800 as compared with 3,500 in 1932), but the number of strikers affected, and the number of days lost, is considerably larger. A new phenomenon was the strike of agricultural labourers that affected scores of villages. The miners organised three general strikes. In Barcelona the builders were on strike for 90 days (30,000 workers affected). In the same city there was a strike of office employees. From December, 1932, onwards, the peasant movement passed to the seizure of the land, of stores and of cattle in hundreds and hundreds of villages. Very often the Agricultural Labourers' Union led the peasants in seizing the land. This is not a bad form of the proletarian hegemony over the peasantry. We

even have certain parliamentary indexes. At the last elections the Communist Party of Spain obtained 200,000 votes.

In England, the characteristic features of the labour movement at the present time are: (1) that the number of strikes and the number of workers affected by them are on the same level as that of last year; (2) strikes frequently break out spontaneously in spite of the unions; (3) the stubborn unemployed movement; (4) growing opposition to the "national government," particularly on the questions of war and unemployment, although this discontent to a large extent is benefiting the Labour Party; (5) the ferment in the Independent Labour Party; and (6) certain successes achieved by the Communist Party in applying the tactics of the united front.

In China—war, intervention and revolution. Even such a die-hard organ of imperialism as the "Times" admits that the Red Army is the best army and that the Soviet government is the best government in China. In Kuomintang China a wave of strikes is rising in the leadership of which the Communists are taking part. In a number of industrial centres the Communist Party of China has grown considerably, although the tasks confronting the Party in its work in the industrial centres and in the trade unions are still enormous. The Party is successfully applying the tactics of the united front in the anti-imperialist movement.

In Japan there is a slight increase in the number of strikes, a large increase in the number of peasant conflicts, and a number of revolutionary demonstrations. In that country the forces of the counter-revolution are being mobilised and the forces of revolution are growing on the eve of big class battles. Fascism is growing, but so also is the Communist Party of Japan. The central organ of the Japanese Party, its soldiers' newspaper, its factory newspapers, its fight against individual renegades (you have heard about the treachery of Sano and Kabeyama), its work in the army and in the navy, and its struggle against war, are all permeated with the Bolshevik spirit. The heavy reserves of the Japanese revolution have not yet been brought up, but the Japanese rulers are becoming more and more afraid of "dangerous thoughts."

In the Balkans, revolutionary development has taken a step forward. In Greece there is an increase in strikes; the general strike of tobacco workers in Kawalla, during which the factories were occupied by the workers. The Communist Party exercised independent leadership in the strike movement. In Bulgaria, there is an increase in strikes, a growth of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade union opposition. The influence of the Party is penetrating the army and the Macedonian organisations.

In Rumania, there have been big actions on the part of the railwaymen in Bucharest and at other junctions simultaneously with those of the oil workers in the Prokhorovo district. We have strikes, demonstrations and barricade fighting affecting over 100,000 workers.

In addition there have been individual revolutionary outbreaks. The mutiny on the cruiser "De Zeven Provinciën," in which Dutch and Javanese sailors mutinied together and were supported by demonstrations of sympathy organised by Dutch soldiers and toilers in Indonesia. The Communist Party of Holland is conducting very good revolutionary work against the oppressive colonial policy of the Dutch bourgeoisie, and in this it has achieved important successes.

The revolution in Cuba. The economic and political strikes developed into a general strike and the general strike developed into an armed struggle of the workers, students and urban petty bourgeoisie. At that moment the Communist Party of Cuba committed a mistake. Fearing the intervention of the U.S.A., it dropped the slogan of "Down with Machado" and called upon the workers to transform the general strike into partial battles. But the Party very soon rectified this mistake and advanced the slogan of a workers' and peasants' government in the form of Soviets. Soviets are beginning to arise, fraternisation between the workers and soldiers are becoming more frequent, the peasants are being drawn into the struggle. Insurrection and strikes are going on everywhere.

There is no recession in the labour movement. The national liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples is growing. But the revolutionary development is uneven and, above all, it does not proceed automatically, "by itself." The Communist Parties must carry on Bolshevik work and a Bolshevik struggle in order to develop the revolutionary upsurge.

3. The Struggle Against Fascist Ideology

In our work in mobilising the masses against fascism and the war danger we must now, more than ever before, pay attention to the struggle against chauvinist ideology. This is one of the most difficult struggles to wage, because we have to liberate the masses from the very profound and deep-rooted bourgeois prejudices by means of which the ruling big bourgeoisie have kept the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and even a section of the working class in leading strings, and has repeatedly driven them to war for capitalist interests. We must fully realise that in the struggle against chauvinism it is necessary to swim against the stream with particular persistence and courage. Evasion of this difficult task, or even mere passivity and silence on this question, indicates in the present conditions, the most dangerous opportunism in the struggle against fascism and war, the abandonment of one of the most important and urgent tasks of the revolutionary education of the toilers.

We must untiringly explain to the masses in a popular manner that nationalism is the principal form of the class ideology of the bourgeoisie, that it is the ideology of its rule and of its class oppression. As against nationalist ideology we must everywhere, openly and boldly, put forward the ideology of the proletarian class struggle, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of proletarian internationalism.

The fascist dictatorship is always exercised in the name of the nation, and in the "national interest." It is necessary concretely to expose the class character of this dictatorship, its character as the naked, terrorist dictatorship of the rapacious financial oligarchy. Persistent educational work must be carried on in the ranks of the working class and of the toilers of town and country in opposition to the chauvinist slogans of fascism, in opposition to the campaigns waged against the U.S.S.R. in all capitalist countries (particularly in Japan, England, Germany, etc.), in opposition to the illusions spread by the fascists about imperial conquests improving the position of the masses, in opposition to "race-ism," which is the special imperialist ideology of German fascism, in opposition to anti-semitism (particularly in Germany and Poland), in opposition to white chauvinism in the U.S.A., in opposition to bellicose militarism (Japan, Germany). And in the ranks of the oppressed nations we must put our ideology forward in opposition to national reformism and local fascism, which take advantage of national oppression in order to further its own bourgeois class aims (for example, in Western Ukraine).

The Communists in oppressing countries must resolutely come before the toiling masses of their own nationality and boldly advocate the independence of the colonies, the right of the dependent and oppressed nations to self-determination, including the right to secede and form a separate State; they must advocate joint struggle of the toilers of the ruling nations and the national revolutionary movements of the nations and colonies that are oppressed by them. At the same time it is necessary in such regions as Upper Silesia, the Saar, Northern Bohemia, and also Austria, to oppose affiliation to the hangmen's "Third Empire" of Hitler, which will bring, not national liberation, but fascist slavery.

The nationalist poisoning of the masses by the social-democratic parties and reformist trade union bureaucrats must be popularly and persistently exposed as service to the capitalist class. To everyone who imbues the proletarians with the idea of national duty, to everyone who calls upon them to make sacrifices for the sake of national interests, we must reply: the first, the only and real duty of the proletarians in every capitalist country is to fight against their own bourgeoisie right up to its complete overthrow and abolition as a class. This is the only road to the emancipation of the toilers from all exploitation and all oppression.

As is emphasised in our theses, it is particularly important at the present time to carry on work to popularise the manner in which the national problem was solved in the U.S.S.R., and the great economic, social and cultural successes that have been achieved by the peoples who were emancipated by the October Revolution.

4. Against Social Democracy, For a United Front with the Masses of Workers

The appraisal of the revolutionary perspectives given in our theses on the basis of an objective analysis of the world situation makes it the duty of the Communists in all countries to intensify their struggle precisely for winning the majority of the working class. Not in regard to any country do we know whether the revolutionary situation will arise only in connection with war, or before that. But our duty is, without losing a single day, to work with all our energy for the revolutionary training of the working class for the decisive battles for power.

Irrespective of whether there is a danger of a fascist coup or of imperialist war, or whether in a given country a revolutionary situation exists for the seizure of power by the proletariat—under all conditions, the influence of the social-fascists upon the masses of the workers is the obstacle which must be overcome—otherwise the victorious struggle of the proletariat cannot be assured.

We say: against the social democrats—for a united front with the masses of the workers. This is the most important thing at the present time. Does this mean that the Communist Parties, while pursuing a correct Bolshevik line, cannot under any circumstances propose a united front with the leading bodies of the social-democratic parties and the reformist trade unions? This question was raised at the last meeting of the Presidium. Our reply is: there is no such principle in Bolshevik tactics. In the spring of this year the Presidium addressed the well-known **Open Letter** to all the social-democratic parties. Were not these tactics absolutely correct? Undoubtedly they were. This shows that exceptional cases arise when Bolshevik tactics, not only permit, but also presuppose, addressing the social-fascists who have considerable influence among the masses. The determining factor is that the tactics of the united front must always be pursued in a Bolshevik manner. Opportunist mistakes, however, are not excluded even in the application of the united front from below.

Right wing mistakes of a very crude character were committed by Communists in many countries recently in applying the tactics of the united front. Here is an example from France. An anti-fascist meeting held in the town of Troyes on April 15 unanimously passed a resolution condemning propaganda which—I am quoting word for word—"is being carried on in the country in various forms against democratic institutions, against social and labour legislation, and against all that which is the attribute of a free republic created and consolidated at the price of the revolutions of 1789, 1848, 1871, against institutions which every citizen should protect and perfect, and not destroy."

At this meeting a number of our comrades spoke in the fine company of representatives of the radical socialist party, and of other parties, and yet a resolution was unanimously adopted to the effect that it was necessary to protect the existing bourgeois institutions of France, apparently on the assumption that since there have been three revolutions in France already, a fourth must be prevented.

A number of other examples of the opportunist application of the united front tactics could be quoted from France. However, I will quote one or two examples from America. During the recent shoemakers' strike in New York, the non-party workers pasted a copy of the "**Daily Worker**" (the central organ of the Communist Party) on the wall, but the members of the Party tore the paper down because they feared that the strike would be called a "red" strike. Another example: during the automobile strike in Cleveland, our comrades called a meeting for the purpose of recruiting members for our trade union, but they called this meeting under the slogan: Organise around President Roosevelt in order to help him fight depression.

Can such manifestations of Right opportunism be regarded as accidental? No, they are not accidental. Nor can the opportunist mistakes committed by many comrades in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the Communist Party of Norway—which manifested themselves most strikingly in that they hid the face of the Party in the application of the united front tactics—be regarded as accidental.

Such mistakes can only be to the advantage of social democracy. No doubt the delegates to this Plenum know of similar mistakes and will speak about them openly here. We must concentrate our fire on Right opportunism in the ranks of our Parties.

5. Carry Out the Tasks of Revolutionary Mass Work in a Bolshevik Manner

Without a persistent struggle against opportunist passivity in its ranks, not a single Communist Party will achieve success in winning mass influence in the factories, in the trade unions, in the rural districts, and in the army. It must be said that in the majority of cases we still work badly in these spheres in all capitalist countries; we have not yet sufficiently learned the methods of Bolshevik mass work.

The thorough reorganisation of the mass work of the Communist Parties is necessary. We must learn from the Russian Bolsheviks how to carry on mass agitation, both legal and illegal. Illegal work has acquired greater significance than ever in the past few years.

We must learn to lead mass campaigns and battles better, and to utilise every mass movement in order to consolidate the Communist Party and the other revolutionary organisations. We must learn to combine in a Bolshevik manner the economic struggle with the political struggle; we must learn to raise the mass struggle from the less developed forms to mass political strikes, to develop such strikes right up to the general strike.

We can and will learn all this—that is why we are revolutionaries and Communists. I will not here deal in detail with all the tasks that are enumerated in our draft theses; no doubt other comrades, particularly members of the delegation of the C.P.S.U., Comrades Manuilsky, Piatnitsky, and Knorin, will speak on these questions. I ask you to regard their speeches as parts of our collective report. The only other point I want to mention is the necessity for intensifying our activities in two important branches of revolutionary mass work.

We have not yet learned to carry on Bolshevik work among proletarian women. The first task of all the Sections of the Comintern in this sphere is to get rid once and for all of the underestimation of this work, to get rid of the idea that this work is not part of general Party work. It is the duty of every Communist Party to convene women's delegate meetings in various forms, open or disguised, in accordance with the political situation, and to use these meetings as a means of training a body of active non-Party working women to serve as contacts with the masses, to train the active women Party members to serve as substitutes for men for Party work in war time, and to recruit as many women as possible for the Party in order to diminish the divergence in the numbers of women employed in industry and the number of women members of the Communist Party.

In the struggle against the fascist terror, the mobilisation of the women should proceed around all concrete manifestations of this terror, such as arrests, trials, attacks on workers, etc. In order to draw the masses of the working women and women toilers generally into the anti-fascist movement, use must be made of conferences, congresses, demonstrations, hunger marches, etc., and this movement must be consolidated by drawing women into mass, Red Defence organisation, in anti-fascist fighting units, Ambulance Corps, Red Cross organisations, etc. To carry on broad anti-imperialist work among the toiling women is one of the immediate and urgent tasks. Simultaneously with anti-war propaganda, we must work to organise contacts with the masses of the soldiers through the medium of their mothers, wives and sisters, who should be organised under our leadership. Our work among the women must be concentrated on work in munition factories and in the chemical industry, as well as among the wives of dockers and porters in the most important transport centres, etc.

One of the weakest sectors of our Party mass activity is work among the youth. In the process of becoming fascised the bourgeoisie is changing its methods of work among the youth. It is fanning chauvinist feeling, and is introducing a compulsory system of fascising and militarising the rising generation. It has succeeded in the imperialist countries in establishing a wide network of youth organisations of various kinds, embracing large masses of the youth. We must steer a determined course to work inside these mass bourgeois and reformist youth organisations, and particularly in the labour service camps, where young workers' united front organisations, anti-fascist and anti-war organisations, and Young Communist groups, fractions and nuclei should be formed. Without this we shall be unable to transform

the Young Communist League into a real mass organisation, numerically much larger than the Party.

We must be able to oppose the chauvinist propaganda of the bourgeoisie with the mass propaganda of Communism, which must be carried on in such a way as to be intelligible to the young workers and explain the aims and tasks of the Communist Party. Not a single strike should occur without the special demands of the young workers being put forward and defended.

To assist and guide the Young Communist Leagues all Party organisations without exception should appoint special cadres of politically trained comrades, and the number of Party members in the Young Communist League should be increased. In every factory where there is a Party nucleus, a Young Communist League nucleus should be formed; and not only should such nuclei be formed, but constant every-day assistance and guidance must be given them by the Party.

6. The Principle Slogan Is—For a Soviet Government

The proletarian struggle for the way out of the general crisis of capitalism is the struggle for a Soviet Government.

The fundamental contradictions of capitalism paralyse the gigantic productive forces, cause their waste and decline and doom scores and hundreds and millions of people to starvation, unemployment and misery. These contradictions are not diminished; on the contrary, they are becoming more acute, they are pushing the imperialists into war, they are giving rise to the fascisation of the dictatorship of finance capital, and are dooming an increasing section of humanity to the position of starving slaves.

What is the way out of the crisis? This is now a question of life and death for millions of toilers throughout the whole capitalist world. We Communists know the way out, and we must show it to the masses; we must be able to convince them that they are doomed to the ever-growing burden of the yoke of capital unless they gather enough forces to be able to retaliate to the blows of capitalism by storming the fortress of the financial oligarchy.

"There is no other way out of the general crisis of capitalism," we emphasise in our theses, "than the way that was shown by the **October Revolution**, viz., the overthrow of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the banks, the factories, mines, means of transport, dwellings, the stocks of goods of the capitalists, the land of the landlords, of the church, and of the dynasty."

We must explain that only by the emancipation of the direct producers, i.e., the workers, from exploitation, only by raising the working class to the position of collective owner of the means of production will social reproduction be relieved of the enormous unproductive expenditure of capitalism, will the development of industry be released from the limits imposed upon it by capitalist profits, will an unlimited home market be opened both for producers' goods and consumers' goods and in this way relieve social reproduction once and for all from the inevitable crises of capitalism.

Everywhere, we must be able to unfold before the toilers who are crushed by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie a programme commensurate with the special conditions prevailing in each country, that will convincingly show the immediate benefits of the Soviet system. We must be able to draw a lively contrast between the slavish conditions of life and labour of the workers in the capitalist countries and the conditions of the toilers under a Soviet system after the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists. The Soviet system will completely abolish unemployment and progressively raise the standard of living of the workers. But not only that, it will secure a constantly expanding education of and promotion of representatives of the masses of the rank and file of the proletariat, men and women, to the role of organisers and leaders of the important branches of socialist construction, and will enable them to master advanced technique and science. The Soviet system offers a gigantic cultural development for the whole of the toiling population, and particularly for the young toilers. The number of persons able to read and write in Tsarist Russia represented 33 per cent. of the population: now, in the U.S.S.R., they represent over 90 per cent. In Germany, for every thousand fathers belonging to the aristocracy there are 222 sons who are students in universities and high schools, and for every thousand

working-class fathers there is only one student. In the U.S.S.R., however, 70 per cent. of the students of the universities and high schools are workers, and sons and daughters of workers.

The Soviet system emancipates the rural toilers from all the remnants of feudalism and from all bondage. It secures land for the landless peasants and those having little land; it renders assistance to the rural poor and State aid to peasant co-operative societies and collective farms. Whereas in all capitalist countries the property and livestock of the poor and middle peasants is being sold by auction, while in the countryside of Poland and Rumania the peasants are unable to buy even matches and kerosene, and in India three-fourths of the population are constantly underfed, or are positively starving, the village co-operative societies in the U.S.S.R. report that the collective farmers are demanding a wider assortment of goods in the village co-operative stores, higher priced and better quality goods—better clothes, furniture, musical instruments, etc. In the countryside in capitalist countries there is a growth of impoverishment and ruin. In the countryside of the Soviet Union there is a growth of prosperity.

Two systems—two worlds!

We must everywhere redouble our efforts to popularise the living example of the great Land of the Soviets.

At the time of the Sixteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. was able to record new victories which marked gigantic progress in the building of classless socialist society. A number of new industrial giants of world significance started operations, such as the Ural Heavy Engineering Works, the Chelyabinsk Tractor Works, the Asov Steel Works, etc. The total volume of industrial output in 1933 was 11 per cent. higher than in 1932. Cost of production in the heavy industry was reduced 7 to 10 per cent. The output of automobiles increased 43 per cent.; the automobile industry fulfilled its plan 102.2 per cent. and in ten months of 1933 gave the land of Soviets over 40,000 automobiles. Industry and agriculture received 62,000 new Soviet tractors from the tractor industry. One after another, new Soviet blast furnaces are being put into operation.

The construction of the White Sea and Baltic Canal by ex-criminals, wreckers, and counter-revolutionaries under the guidance of the O.G.P.U. is a brilliant illustration of the manner in which the dictatorship of the proletariat re-moulds the human material which capitalism had spoiled.

The collective farm system has won a lasting and irrevocable victory in the Soviet countryside by relying on the guidance and organisational role of the Political Departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations and Soviet Farms, on the growth of a huge body of active collective farmers unprecedented in human history, on the advantages of socialised and mechanised farming, which already has in use no less than 150,000 tractors.

Under the leadership of the Leninist Party and by means of socialist competition and shock brigade work, tens of millions of workers are building socialism, which is becoming their mode of life, which is advancing proletarian democracy, and which is becoming part of the flesh and blood of millions as a new form of human culture.

The great gains of the October Revolution and of socialism in the U.S.S.R. were achieved only thanks to the firm guidance of the Leninist Party, which never deviated from the general line of Bolshevism, which always fought ruthlessly on two fronts against all forms of opportunism, petty-bourgeois wavering and lack of faith. Under the unshakeable leadership of Lenin and his great disciple, Stalin, the Leninist Party was always able to put up Bolshevik resistance to all those who attempted to undermine the proletarian enthusiasm and discipline of the revolutionary vanguard.

The slogan—a Soviet government—is the principal slogan of our mass agitation in all capitalist countries. It is the slogan of revolutionary action in those places where the question of the seizure of power is already on the order of the day. Every Communist Party must be able to translate this slogan into the language of the class struggle in their country in accordance with the objective conditions and the level of the revolutionary movement in it; and it must put it forward as the slogan of the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

There is no other road to power for the toilers except the road of proletarian revolution. We must explain that all the "roads

to power" recommended by the social-fascists have for their goal the preservation of the shaken rule of the bourgeoisie. We must smash and not perfect the bourgeois State, which, with its military-bureaucratic apparatus, even in the most democratic republics, cannot be anything else than a machine for the class oppression and suppression of the toilers. The slogan "Through Democracy to Socialism" is the slogan of police "socialism" and of police "democracy." There is no road back from fascism to "democracy." There is only one road, and that is the road of struggle for the overthrow of any bourgeois dictatorship. Hence, every section of the Communist International must, in its mass work, resolutely raise the question of power. To gloss over this question in the present situation is opportunism more dangerous than the "Leftist" inability to link up the question of power with the every-day partial demands of the toiling masses.

By comparing the road of October with the shameful road taken by German social democracy right up to the seizure of power by Hitler, we can, and must, convincingly and irrefutably prove to the masses that the social-democratic recipes for capturing power by means of bourgeois democracy are nothing more nor less than a means for paving the way for the fascist dictatorship of capital.

The social-democratic leaders are trying to imbue the working class with the spirit of slavish cringing before the police omnipotence of the bourgeois State. Take, for example, the Brussels "Le Peuple." In its issue of October 16, 1933, it wrote:—

"Praise is given for the use of violence against the bourgeoisie which is in power and which has at its command such forces as the army, the police, the gendarmerie, the courts, etc. They want to fight guns and machine guns with sticks. This is madness, madness."

And the same song is sung by Paul Faure in "La Populaire" of December 17, 1933, when he wrote:—

"Two hundred machine guns in the hands of the government... and revolution is impossible. The days of barricades have gone."

This is the sort of argument they are constantly using at the present time. The social-fascist oracles boast of their "sober appreciation of modern military technique"; but, as a matter of fact, they are merely fulfilling the function of "guardians of order" in the pay of capital. We must everywhere systematically and consistently refute this police superstition by pointing to the concrete experience of open revolutionary struggle. We must explain to the masses the lessons of the struggles that have been waged against measures of military-police suppression.

This experience has shown that the opportunities for troops and police to use many types of arms in towns where insurgents can hide in houses and utilise the tactical advantages of this or

that block of houses is very restricted. In these conditions the insurgents are able to utilise various types of passive and active weapons against the military-technical resources of the government. It is sufficient to recall the Hamburg rebellion, or the street fighting in Chapel, where barricades and hastily dug trenches served as serious obstacles to the movement of armoured cars. Hand-to-hand fighting in towns, the fighting for every single house and for every single corner calls for tremendous moral firmness on the part of the troops, and serious resistance threatens to demoralise them. The bourgeois military experts are quite aware of this difficulty in street fighting, and therefore make allowance for this in their tactics by avoiding street fighting if they find it impossible to suppress a rebellion right at its inception. If the fight becomes drawn out they prefer to withdraw their troops from the town and attack it from outside. Such is the "Z" plan for the defence of Paris and the similar plan for Berlin. In Chapel, 8,000 to 9,000 Japanese soldiers (not counting the troops who were advancing from other directions) with powerful artillery, more than 100 aeroplanes and numerous tanks and armoured cars were thrown against the badly armed soldiers of the 19th Army and almost unarmed workers, and, in spite of that, Chapel proved to be invincible in street fighting. It had to be taken by detour tactics.

Lenin repeatedly wrote of the miracles of proletarian heroism that are called forth in the sharp conflict of classes. The social-fascist fables about the invincibility of the military-police forces of the bourgeoisie must be exposed by the lessons of revolutionary battles and the display of revolutionary heroism and proletarian organisation. Above all, the example of the October Revolution in 1917 in Russia provides a wealth of material from which practical lessons may be learned.

The example of Bolshevism is the example of class revolutionary vigilance which all Communist Parties must particularly display at the present time when the world has already come right up to a new round of revolutions and wars. The principal demand of the moment is "to be on their guard at every turn of events and to exert every effort without losing a moment for the revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the impending decisive battles for power." (Theses.)

The example of Bolshevism is the example of supreme loyalty to the world proletarian revolution, the example of proletarian internationalism, which is inseparable from the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the Soviet system. The road of Bolshevism is the road of combining the proletarian forces of all nationalities. It is the road to the world October Revolution under the banner of Lenin, under the banner of the Communist International. (Applause.)

The Revolutionary Struggle of the German Working Class Under the Leadership of the Communist Party Against Fascist Dictatorship

REPORT OF COMRADE PIECK

I. Introduction

"Eight months ago under the conditions of extraordinary sharpening of the political and economic situation in Germany, the German bourgeoisie handed over the realisation of the open fascist dictatorship to Hitler and his 'national-socialist' party. The eight months of the existence of the blood and starvation government of Hitler-Goering-Goebbels have fully confirmed the fact that the brutal unrestrained fascist dictatorship is not able to solve a single political and economic question of present-day Germany. . . . A new upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement in Germany is beginning. . . ."

In these words the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany characterised the situation and development in Germany in its resolution of October 10. The

development in Germany is every day confirming the description given by us, which is based on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the relations of class forces. Marxism is the mighty, indestructible weapon of the class struggle of the proletariat. The Hitler gang which rules Germany to-day has made a bonfire of the great scientific works of the founders of Marxism. But, armed with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist vanguard of the German proletariat, under the difficulties of an unheard-of fascist terror, is mobilising the masses for the proletarian revolution, for the true people's revolution, and is creating the prerequisites for the overthrow of fascism and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

German fascism is setting its stamp on the whole of capitalist

Europe. With so much the greater force will the outbreak of the German revolution unleash the revolutionary storm over the whole of Europe. Therein lies the great historical, international significance of the self-sacrificing, courageous struggle of the German Communist Party.

When, 19 months ago, the bourgeoisie handed over the governmental power to fascism, it was confronted with the danger that the counter-revolutionary forces would be overtaken by the forces of the revolution. The German proletariat demonstrated its great power in the strike struggles. This confirmed the German bourgeoisie in its decision to make the attempt to safeguard its domination by the subjection of the working class through the most reactionary, open fascist dictatorship of the "national-socialist" Hitler party.

"Where money is concerned there is no room for sentiment." That was the fighting slogan of the German bourgeoisie in 1848, enunciated by its Liberal Minister, Hansemann. "Under these conditions," said Karl Marx, "the rule of the bourgeoisie was bound inevitably to turn into terrorism."

But neither the severest terror of the fascists, which has converted Germany into a slaughter-house and a prison for the toilers, nor their deceitful demagoguery could appease the hunger of the workers, give work to the unemployed or save the millions of the toilers from the stranglehold of the crisis, from the uncertainty and the misery of their life.

The revolutionisation of the masses goes forward. The demagoguery of the fascists is being shattered by the serious events of daily life. The "national front" of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the alleged establishment of the "unity" of classes, which was proclaimed on all the gates of the fascist barracks and jails—where is it now? The "national revolution" is bankrupt, the Hitler government is leading Germany to catastrophe.

Under the reign of fascism, Germany has become a perpetual source of danger of imperialist war in Europe. The Hitler government recognises the frontiers of the Versailles robber treaty, but arms with all its power for war and desires to use the German people as its slaves for the counter-revolutionary expedition of the world bourgeoisie against the only free country of the toilers, against the Soviet Union.

Weimar democracy is also dead. No worker stirs himself in its defence. During the fifteen years since the November Revolution, the shameful social-democratic policy has not only smoothed

the path for the fascist dictatorship, but has also torn the veil from the parliamentary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

"Thus even the last vestige of consideration was lost to this contemptible Assembly; the insurgents who had risen to defend it ceased to care any more for it, and when at last it came to a shameful end . . . it died without anybody taking any notice of its unhonoured exit."

These words of Marx and Engels, which they wrote about the collapse of the National Assembly of 1848, are a pertinent characterisation of Weimar democracy.

Social democracy is fulfilling its task to-day as the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie by attempting to erect a dam against the new wave of the revolutionary upsurge while maintaining the split in the working class. The leader of German social democracy, Wels, declared at the Paris Conference of the Second International:—

"It cannot be the aim of the great struggle for freedom to land from the fascist hell into the Bolshevik prison."

This social democracy of Wels and Noske, Loebe and Scheidemann, which throttled the proletarian revolution in 1918-19, which caused the founders of the Communist Party of Germany, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, to be treacherously murdered, which ten years ago made the Communist Party illegal in order to help the bourgeoisie—this social democracy is still in the service of decaying capitalism against the toiling masses of Germany to-day.

But the position to-day is quite different from that of fifteen years ago when the Communist Party of Germany was first founded, when it was not yet a mass organization and was not sufficiently Bolshevized. In spite of the most severe conditions of illegality, in spite of the most brutal persecutions, the Communist Party stands in iron united readiness for struggle at the head of millions of toilers who are fighting against fascism.

The revolutionary uprising of the German working class—that is the perspective in Germany. The Communist Party is the sole force under whose leadership the proletarian revolution in Germany will be realised.

Communism will conquer fascism in Germany!

* *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, p. 102.

II. A New Revolutionary Upsurge

The present situation in Germany is characterised by the growth of a new upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Ten months ago the German bourgeoisie transferred the governmental power to the Hitler party with the central task of crushing the Communist Party and the revolutionary workers' movement led by the latter, through the establishment of open fascist dictatorship. To-day, it has already become clear that Hitler is not succeeding in the execution of this central task.

The Hitler government began the execution of the tasks entrusted to it by civil war and an unprecedented terror against the revolutionary workers, especially against the Communist Party, which it thereby thought to destroy. In his opening speech to the Reichstag elected in March, 1933, Hitler, boastful as he is, declared that he would succeed in shattering the Communist Party of Germany into atoms. Goebbels, the Hitler government's chief of lying propaganda, tried to outdo his leader with the declaration:—

"In fifty years time no man in the world will know any more that Marxism ever existed. The world idea of fascism will march and the C.P. of Germany will be finished for ever."

The facts in Germany speak another language. The C.P. of Germany lives. Its influence on the toiling masses is growing rapidly. It is organising mass struggles against Hitler's dictatorship. A new revolutionary upsurge is growing. The economic crisis continues. The prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis are increasing. Germany is marching towards the proletarian revolution.

With the taking over of power by Hitler and the prevention of the general strike on January 31 by social democracy, the militant revolutionary movement was in no way broken. After it, as before, the bourgeoisie was faced with the danger of the counter-revolu-

tionary forces being overtaken by the forces of the proletarian revolution. The fascist methods of terror and deception hitherto applied proved insufficient. A terror intensified to the highest point and the organisation of a pogrom mood against the revolutionary vanguard was required in order to make the attempt at a decisive blow. This is the real cause which drove Hitler, Goering and Goebbels to take up the torch for the burning of the Reichstag. Thousands of workers, Party members and functionaries were arrested, beaten almost to death. Hundreds were murdered, thousands of workers had to forsake their homes and families and go into illegality. The Party immediately launched a sharp struggle against the social-democratic swamp ideology, against the view that the proletariat had suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of fascism. It fought against the "wait and see" tendencies evoked by social democracy to the effect that Hitler should be allowed to discredit himself, and it put the question of the organisation of the struggle openly before the masses. It fought against the going over of the workers into the fascist factory organisation and sharply opposed all tendencies directed towards a dissolution of the revolutionary mass organisations. Above all, it was the task of the Party to inspire the class-conscious workers to develop the greatest possible self-initiative from below.

In this period the revolutionary vanguard and the Communist Party of the German working class stood their ordeal by fire. In the Reichstag elections of March 5, in spite of its lists being declared invalid—a fact from which the social democrats attempted to draw an advantage—in spite of the Reichstag fire pogrom and the terror, the Party obtained 5,000,000 votes. In the factory council elections in March we obtained 39 per cent. of the total vote in a number of big factories. In a large number of factories we were able to organise strikes against the victimisation of the

Red factory councils. In the middle of March the central organ of the Party, the "*Rote Fahne*," appeared illegally for the first time. Although connections between district committees and lower Party units were in many cases broken by the terror, nevertheless agitational material, slogans and calls to struggle, as well as appeals for unity were issued throughout the whole country by the Communist workers and functionaries upon their own initiative and distributed with the support of social-democratic and non-Party workers.

During these days and weeks the Party—not only in itself but also in the consciousness of strata of the working class which still held aloof from it—grew into iron cohorts of the revolution. Herein was shown the success of the clearly directed leadership of the Party by Comrade Thaelmann, in the rooting of the Party in the masses, thanks to which even the most furious fascist terror was not able to isolate the Party from the masses. This was also the result of the great assistance provided by the Communist International, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, in the Bolshevikisation of our Party. Herein was shown the significance of the Leninist principle of organisation and of the 21 conditions of the Communist International, which prevented the penetration of opportunism and the predominance of opportunist, petty-bourgeois, labour-aristocratic elements, and which united the best elements of the working class in the Communist Party. And not least, this was the result of the effect of the great successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, of the magnificent achievements of the shock brigades, which show the workers the power of the proletarian class so that through this they can re-establish themselves and overcome all resistance. The revolutionary firmness of the vanguard and of the revolutionary Party of the German working class was the decisive cause for the comparatively rapid overcoming of the depression and for the maturing of a new revolutionary upsurge under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The fact that the Hitler government did not succeed even by means of the most intense terror in crushing the revolutionary movement, and the anti-capitalist feelings fostered in the masses by social-demagogic phraseology, forced the Hitler government to carry further the social deception of the masses used in the first stage. This was done by proclaiming the two four-year plans for the alleged liquidation of unemployment and for the saving of the German peasantry, by the anti-Semitic boycott day, by the appointment of factory commissars and by the temporary toleration of so-called "encroachments from below." It was declared to the workers in speeches that the factories of the capitalists were also the factories of the workers, that the work-benches were also their work-benches. By this means the Hitler dictatorship sought to gain time for the consolidation of its State apparatus.

The Party formulated its tactics and methods of struggle with a view to exposing this social deception of the Hitler government in the eyes of the masses by linking up with these anti-capitalist moods among the masses and organising the fight for the realisation of the Nazis' demagogic promises. In so doing, we utilised the legal possibilities within the fascist organisations, the national-socialist factory nuclei, the meetings of the "German Labour Front" organised by the Nazis, the compulsorily appointed factory representations and commissars, so that under pressure from the workers they had to put forward demands for increased wages and rates of pay, for the release of the arrested factory councillors. In the meetings of the "incorporated" trade unions, demands were put forward for the re-election of factory representations, for a reduction of membership dues, for wage increases and for freedom of discussion. In many cases this caused trade union meetings under the leadership of commissars to be dissolved, so that the commissars did not any longer permit any kind of discussion speeches. We also succeeded in many cases in carrying through the election of wage and negotiation commissions and in causing the N.S.B.O. functionaries elected to these commissions to come into conflict with the higher leadership of their organisations. It even happened that through our initiative functionaries of the N.S.B.O. in various towns were obliged to demand the realisation of the promises for "socialising" whole branches of industry—a demand which was naturally rejected by the Nazi leaders. By the use of all these measures we also succeeded in again arousing a strike movement, so that sixty strikes were conducted in April and fifty-eight in May. The highest point was reached in the strike of the Berlin newspaper presses, which even caused the stopping of work in the printing shop of the Nazi "*Angriff*."

Basing ourselves on this method of mobilising the workers for struggle in the factories by insisting on the promises made by the Nazis and utilising the legal possibilities in the fascist organisations, we attempted to make our main method the independent organisation of struggle with independent class demands. In employing the first method, there was the danger that our Party and the units of the Red trade union opposition would succumb to practical opportunism, that the face of the Party would be hidden, that the struggles would not serve for the fundamental discrediting of fascism and the strengthening of the revolutionary united front as the sole force against social reaction. This method permitted the N.S.B.O. to execute certain treacherous manoeuvres.

This revival of the strike movement and of other partial struggles in the factories was the result of the bold work of enlightenment and struggle performed by our comrades in the lower organisations of the Party, who published very clever agitational material for this purpose (factory papers, small leaflets, handbills, slogans, etc.). Still, this agitation was mainly based on the exposure of the glaring contradiction between the promises of the fascists and their practical policy. There was no explanation as to the connection between the partial attacks of the fascists against the workers and their whole catastrophic policy; there were no working instructions for the organisation of struggles, the awakening of the will to power, the clear perspective of the inevitability of our victory, the propagation of our final aims.

The rising movement of struggle compelled the Hitler government to expose its social demagogic manoeuvres of deceit towards the masses. Hitler declared the "national revolution" to be at an end, the small factory commissars were relieved of their posts and independent encroachments by the workers upon the power of the employers were answered with dismissal and the concentration camp. The commanding power of the employers was buttressed by the appointment of "trustees" for the settlement of labour disputes, who put through the wishes of the employers by police force. This was followed by the solemn declaration of the inviolability of big ownership and of the capital of the big department stores. The fighting professional associations of the handicraftsmen and small traders were dissolved. The treacherous social demagoguery begins to lose its efficacy as soon as we succeed in setting the masses into motion.

For the Party the main task was and remains the raising of the anti-fascist united front action to a higher stage by the transition from agitation to the widest development of mass actions, in which our class demands and the face of the Communist Party of Germany and the Red trade union opposition are the central feature and through which the economic struggles are raised to the level of political strikes.

The Central Committee of our Party has laid down the basic line of our tactics in the present phase in the manifesto for "Socialist Action for Freedom" and in the *Open Letter to Social-Democratic Workers*. To all anti-fascists the demand was made: "Workers of Germany, unite for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of capital!" As intermediate steps for drawing the masses into greater struggles, five tasks of the day were laid down: Struggle against social reaction, against the terror, against the chauvinist war incitement, against the war armaments, against the preparation of counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. Linking up with the ban on the slogan of the "second revolution" propagated by fascist supporters, our manifesto says:

"The uniting of the working class for struggle against the fascist dictatorship means the march of the second revolution, the proletarian revolution, the Bolshevik revolution, and it alone will bring work, bread and freedom."

In view of our decisive task of leading on the proletariat in the process of political and economic partial struggles to decisive class battles, to the general strike and armed uprising, the economic and political strike, the mass strike, is the decisive form of struggle in the present period. The Berlin traffic workers' strike has demonstrated how in the course of this struggle the working class comes forward under revolutionary leadership as the hegemon of the toiling masses, how the competition produced by the bourgeoisie among the workers vanishes and is replaced by solidarity, unselfishness and heroism, how the example of a single mass strike acts as a spark in the factories of the whole country, how the pressure of State power and of the fascist terror begins to lose its power to terrify; how the whole political superstructure of the bourgeoisie begins to totter.

Every strike conducted in a revolutionary manner in the

industrial districts, in Berlin, in the Ruhr district, in the waterside district, must therefore transform the dissatisfaction, embitterment and hatred, which has been accumulated in the factories as a result of terror and wage robbery, into a great increase of the force of the revolutionary mass will.

Under the terrorist pressure of the strike ban and the concentration camp it is much more difficult at the present time in Germany to unleash and to lead an independent strike under revolutionary leadership with unequivocal revolutionary class slogans. While during the first period of the fascist dictatorship a part of the workers' movements was confined within the limits of the social-deceptive slogans and manoeuvres of the national-socialist organisations, we are to-day in a period where every independent militant movement of the working class encounters the furious resistance of the State power and of all reactionary forces. That, however, also enhances the extraordinary significance of such a militant movement in regard to the revolutionising of the masses and the shattering of the fascist dictatorship.

There are still few big strikes in Germany, but there is an abundance of partial struggles with very often a very strong political tendency directed against the Nazis and against the Hitler government. (Comrade Pieck then gave many examples from recent months.)

Great significance was acquired by a strike in a steel works in the Lower Rhine district, because it is actually the first example of how higher forms of the class organisation of the workers take their rise with the growing militant movement. Our comrades immediately utilised the strike experience for a leaflet and began the creation of a trade union organisational unit, an independent class trade union. The N.S.B.O. group has gone to pieces, and was dissolved by the fascists as unreliable.

The sharpening of the situation in the factories is also to be traced in the measures to which the fascists have to take recourse against the insurgent workers in the factories. Hardly a day passes without raids being made on factories by fascist police detachments and a hunt started for Communist leaflets and their distributors. If only a few months ago such terrorist police actions produced a certain depression among large sections of the working force, to-day in most cases they are already resulting in an extension and deepening of the will to resistance. Such raids and searches of factories are usually followed by the distribution of new leaflets. It is also characteristic that cases where N.S.B.O. workers play the informer are becoming increasingly rare. In many cases strikes have been carried on by the workers until their arrested colleagues were actually reinstated. The president of the "German Labour Front," the fascist Ley, issued instructions in the name of the Hitler government to the police authorities to put an end to acts of terror and arrests in the factories because such measures lead only to further unrest among the workers.

The growth of the revolutionary militant mood in the factories is also seen in the fact that the Nazis find themselves compelled to undertake new deceptive manoeuvres against the workers. Thus, the above-mentioned Ley has already held out hopes to the factory workers of a 10 per cent. wage increase in spring and three weeks' holiday—probably unpaid. Hitler had to speak himself in the Siemens works in Berlin to calm the workers. The great scheme of 150,000 factory meetings announced by Goebbels only two months ago has been tacitly dropped by the fascists. They are afraid that the accumulated hatred against the fascists and the employers whom they support would spontaneously find vent in these factory meetings. They now want to gain time in order to calm the workers by new deceptive manoeuvres. They tremble at the thought that a strike movement will be launched by the Communists from Berlin, from the water front and from the Ruhr district, which would direct its main drive against the fascist regime.

As in the factories, so also in the trade unions "incorporated" by the fascists and in the "German Labour Front," the militant mood of the workers is growing. Trade union meetings are more and more becoming centres of revolutionary agitation. A number of trade union meetings have been broken up by our opposition so that the commissars have had to go away without carrying through their commission. After discussion speeches in the meetings were forbidden by the Nazis, the opposition adopted the form of putting questions in which the demands of the workers were expressed. We have such cases as that where a fascist commissar called for a vote as to who in the meeting was still a Marxist and 80 to 90 per cent. raised their hands. The consequence of this development of

open resistance is that the fascist bureaucracy hardly summons any trade union meetings.

In the labour service camps there are more and more cases of refusal to obey orders and strikes of the working youth up to the point of breaking up the camps. In recent months alone two hundred and eighty strikes were carried out in labour service camps. Besides this the camps are the scene of a vast number of minor actions of resistance. The youth has likewise entered the fight in a militant fashion in a series of big enterprises where the apprentices are in revolt against military exercises and are demanding payment for the free time robbed from them. If the youth sections previously belonging to the N.S.B.O. are now being transferred to the organisation of the Hitler youth, this is done in order to counter the growing protest movement in the labour service camps and the apprentice sections of the factories.

The symptoms of the revolutionary upsurge are particularly evident in the working-class quarters of the big and medium-sized cities. This revolutionary hatred is growing without cessation. And if it does not yet find general expression in the form of large-scale class actions, it nevertheless enhances the conscious fighting determination of the workers and assists in creating the preconditions for these actions. The reactionary French journalist, *Sauerwein*, who is playing up to the Nazis, wrote as follows in the Paris newspaper, "*Paris Soir*," on the impressions of his visit to working-class quarters of Berlin:—

"When you enter the residential districts of Berlin situated in the east or north of the city, the borders of what is called the Red City, where the small black cap replaces the brown headgear of the Storm Trooper, the atmosphere begins to grow ominous. Everywhere you see small groups clustered together. . . . Sometimes the tone becomes still more mysterious, the faces still more reserved. . . . There are streets in Berlin from which, if hate could kill, no Nazi would emerge alive."

While on May 1, on the occasion of the fascist "May Day celebration," under the pressure of the terror in the working-class regions of the city almost every house was decorated with Swastika flags, on August 1, on the occasion of the big Nazi parade, whole streets were devoid of decorations in spite of the fact that the Nazis made great use of terrorist methods. In Berlin, on August 1, the revolutionary workers carried out small demonstrations in eighteen different places. A whole series of lesser indications of the reaction in feeling against the Nazis and the growing militant mood could be mentioned which find expression in the life of the streets. This holds good also for the petty bourgeoisie. To-day, however, people are beginning to speak again, to discuss and even to make jokes about the Hitler government. At the unemployment bureaux jokes are made about the alleged liquidation of unemployment, about the triumphal parades of the Hitler government. Working-class children are singing a rhyme in the streets:

"Come, Herr Hitler, be our guest, and give us the half of what you promised us."

The Hitler greeting with raised hand and the obeisances before the Hitler flag which were at first made compulsory by the fascists, are being met with embitterment and refusal in the working-class quarters. Everywhere dissatisfaction and indignation against the fascist regime is growing, among the workers, among the petty bourgeoisie and in the villages. The force of attraction of the Communists is growing. Even the petty bourgeois accepts Communist agitational material, even if still somewhat timidly. Cases of people informing against Communists in the working-class dwellings, in the cafés and in the factories have very considerably diminished. People are ready to shelter Communists from the fascist persecution and to give them illegal quarters. Our comrades even succeed in speaking to the small peasants in the villages without being betrayed by them to the Nazis.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge is revealed in the Storm detachments of Hitler's brown army. Disillusionment at the policy of the Hitler government, at the breaking off of the so-called national revolution, at the power of the domination of monopoly capital grows from day to day. There is a revolt against the new officialdom of the Nazi party functionaries, who are swaggering about everywhere and waxing fat. The number of arrests among the Storm troopers on account of mutiny and unreliability is already so great that a special concentration camp has had to be organised on this account. The replacement of Storm Troop detachments for guarding prisoners takes place at ever shorter intervals on account of unreliability. Among the Storm Troops

and N.S.B.O. members a saying is current: "Hitler, give us work and bread, or we shall go red."

Antagonism is growing in the Hitler army between the Storm detachments and the *Schutzstaffel* (S.S.), Hitler's crack troops. Likewise between the armed formations and the factory workers in the N.S.B.O. antagonism is increasing to the point of direct collisions.

The elements of the revolutionary upsurge that is beginning afresh show themselves above all in the activation and spreading of the organised cadres of the revolutionary vanguard. Those Party members and sympathisers who during the first weeks and months of the Hitler dictatorship somewhat retreated into the background under the pressure of the terror, are now again putting themselves at the disposal of the Party for work. The publication of agitational material through the initiative of the Party nuclei is increasing both in quantity and quality. Oral agitation also is coming more strongly into the forefront. The strong orientation on the factories is to be seen in the creation of new factory nuclei; Party nuclei are taking over the patronage for establishment of connections with labour service camps and the countryside. Workers who had lost connection with the Party are boldly declaring themselves for the Party and enlarging the circle of active sympathising Party helpers. The fascist terror is beginning to lose its power of intimidating the workers. The workers are courageously staking their lives for the Communist Party, for the struggle of the workers against the fascist regime. The lower cadres in the Party are now developing with high qualities for the proletarian revolution.

The Hitler government, through the measures it adopts, itself confirms the irresistible growth of the forces of Communism. It continually issues in the press "warnings to spreaders of rumours and grumblers," and terroristic threats against "Communist provocateurs." Hitler, Goebbels and Goering vie with one another in their speeches of hatred and incitement against Communism, which only a few months ago they maintained that they had exterminated root and branch. The secret police issues a request to the press not to publish any more notices about arrests, raids or the successes of Communist agitation, because such notices increase the "unrest among the population." The trial over the

burning of the Reichstag, which was intended to serve for organising a new pogrom mood against the Communists, has produced the very opposite effect. It has become a tribune of revolutionary speech and of the sharpest indictment against this government of incendiaries and adventurers. The name of Dimitrov has become a slogan for millions of workers and even awakens admiration, doubt and hesitation among the adherents of the fascist party. Even in fetters and on the steps of the scaffold, the Communists make the fascist despots tremble. An illuminating example of this heroic courage against the fascist tyrants was furnished by August Lutgens, one of the four Altona workers executed by the Hitler government, who at the very moment before his execution shouted in the face of his fascist murderers: "Long live the proletarian revolution! Red front!"

The so-called "plebiscite" of November 12 is also a proof that the Hitler dictatorship is compelled by the growth of the revolutionary forces to make use to an increased extent of the methods of chauvinistic agitation in the attempt to maintain its mass basis. Even on the basis of the wholly falsified election results, the Hitler government had to admit that 3,330,000 votes had been given against it and that 2,500,000 had not taken part in the election. It had also to admit that in the working-class quarters of Berlin and Hamburg 16 per cent. of the votes recorded were against the Hitler government. The results published by Hitler are undoubtedly only a fraction of the votes which were actually cast against the Hitler government and of the masses of voters who abstained from voting as a protest. Results are available from constituencies where 40 to 50 per cent. of the electors voted against Hitler.

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

III. The Policy and Prospects of the Fascist Dictatorship

What is the fascist dictatorship in Germany, what is its policy and what prospects has it? If in my report I have put into the forefront the revolutionary upsurge of the working class which is already taking place and only then go on to deal with the position of the bourgeoisie and its methods of finding a way out of the crisis, this is for the reason that the class struggle is the decisive factor for the proletariat. It depends on the workers, on the toilers, on their organisation, on their revolutionary power of action, whether it is to be possible for a parasitic upper stratum of six hundred millionaires to drive the toiling population of 60,000,000 into a new imperialist war.

When in Russia in the middle of 1917 the capitalists and Junkers drove the soldiers to their death, achieved records in the exploitation of the workers and peasants and forced the country into catastrophe, Lenin wrote as follows under the title,

The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Struggle Against It:

"Hunger and a catastrophe of unexampled dimensions are facing us."

"... And yet only a little attention and reflection suffices in order to convince oneself that means for fighting the catastrophe and the hunger are at hand, that these fighting measures are completely clear, simple, entirely realisable, thoroughly adapted to the powers of the people, and that these measures are *not* taken, *only* because, *exclusively* because the realisation would affect the enormous profits of a small handful of capitalists and big landlords."

These words of Lenin, written during the Russian revolution in another situation, apply also to-day to the Germany of Thyssen, Krupp and Hitler. The position of the working class grows worse from day to day. The fumes of imperialist war adventures pervade the country. Catastrophe is threatening. And it is only because a handful of greedy parasitic capitalists and Junkers are trying to maintain their class privileges by deception and violence against

the enormous majority of the population. When Hitler took over power, Comrade Knorin correctly wrote:—

"The class content of the fascist dictatorship in Germany is demonstrated by the composition of the 'General Economic Council.' Of the sixteen persons in this real government of Germany, nine are big industrialists (almost exclusively representatives of monopoly capital), four are banking princes and two are big agrarians. Among the members are the banker and State Commissar, *Reinhardt*, member of thirty-nine company boards; the big industrialist, *Voegler*, member of twenty company boards; the banker, *Fink*, member of eighteen company boards; the armament king and millionaire, *Krupp*; and the multi-millionaire, *Thyssen*, member of thirty company boards. The Ministry for Industry is in the hands of the representative of the big banks and of the big insurance trusts, *Schmitt*. The leadership of all the united 'incorporated' capitalist federations is in the hands of *Krupp*. *Thyssen* was appointed by Hitler as the 'authoritative arbitrator' in all wage disputes in West Germany."

The whole capitalist economic apparatus serves for the salvation of a small upper stratum of capitalists. The process of decay of German capitalism is characterised by the standstill, indeed even regress of production and the destruction of productive forces. The State funds are being plundered by monopoly capital in the most impudent fashion. Hundreds of millions of marks are being squandered for maintaining a bankrupt economy and bankrupt concerns. Millions of toilers are starving, but millions of marks from the State treasury are being applied for the transformation and rehabilitation of the giant trusts. Hundreds of millions of marks of money squeezed out by taxation were thrown at one stroke into the maw of the shareholders and millionaires of the Steel Federation and of the Gelsenkirchen Mining Company after the Hermann Mueller and Bruening government had fed the

openly bankrupt capitalists with subsidies amounting to millions and the social democracy had attempted to justify the "socialisation" of the losses at the cost of the State to the workers as State capitalism. In the countryside an upper stratum of Junkers and big peasants with State privileges is being fostered who are exploiting the poor and middle peasants and depriving them of their rights even more than previously.

The fascist-Hitler party, as the party of monopoly capital, seeks, by the "incorporation" of all bourgeois parties, of all the bourgeois federal governments and of all bourgeois organisations, to obtain political monopoly for itself, and with the help of the so-called "absolute rule" to overcome the antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie. However, the further rapid deepening of the economic crisis and of all the internal and external contradictions of capitalism is leading to a rapid intensification of the antagonisms.

While the policy of the working class must be directed towards utilising these antagonisms in order to smash the whole front of counter-revolution, the tactics of social democracy are adapted for utilising these antagonisms in order to buttress their policy of collaboration with sections of the bourgeoisie for the deception of the masses of the workers.

The efforts of the fascist dictatorship to conceal their class character by the ideology of the "national community," the replacement of classes by the "equal representation of professions," is being supported by all the parties of the Second International. Austrian "Left" social democracy, with *Otto Bauer* at the head, created the theory of the fascist dictatorship as the "dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie." *Trotsky* characterised the fascist dictatorship as the "petty-bourgeois counter-revolution."

This theory is very dangerous to the working class and signifies:—

(1) A support of fascist demagoguery, which attempts to veil the dictatorship of Thyssen and Krupp as the "rule of the whole people" with the "leader" appointed by Providence;

(2) A justification after the event of the policy of class collaboration of social democracy with the bourgeoisie, for if the fascist dictatorship exists as an independent force as against the bourgeoisie, then—so say Wels and Co.—it was correct in principle to enter into a coalition with Brüning and parts of the bourgeoisie against fascism;

(3) The attempt to hold back the social-democratic workers from any struggle against the whole bourgeoisie and against any bourgeois form of rule.

Commenting on an old article of the "*Manchester Guardian*," which was recently distributed in Berlin in a new edition and in which the replacement of the Hitler dictatorship by a military dictatorship was characterised as probable, social democracy wrote that such a military dictatorship, possibly under Schleicher, would give the working class a greater freedom of action and would be a stage of approach nearer to socialism.

The Neumann-Remmele group in the C.P.G. of Germany has converted the social-democratic theory of the "dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie" into a "dictatorship of the *Lumpen proletariat*" and completed it by the theory of the "change of system," of the replacement of the rule of the bourgeoisie by the rule of bourgeois society sinking down into the *Lumpen proletariat*. This theory denies the fact that in the fascist dictatorship the content of the class rule of the bourgeoisie has remained the same as in the "Weimar democracy," and consequently leads to a contrasting of the form of rule of bourgeois democracy with the fascist dictatorship. It signifies a justification of the class collaboration policy of social democracy and denies the fact that the fascist dictatorship grows out of bourgeois democracy.

The developments in Germany confirm the statement of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. which declares that it is not possible to speak of a classic form of fascist dictatorship and that it is necessary to oppose every superficial comparison and mechanical identification of the fascist dictatorship in Germany with that in Italy. The form and duration of the fascist dictatorship are dependent on the objective and subjective factors of the entire development. A knowledge of its most decisive peculiarities is particularly necessary for an estimation of the prospects of the fascist dictatorship in Germany. These peculiarities are:—

(1) The fascist dictatorship in Germany was established against an unconquered working class, which, it is true, temporarily retreated, but which is again rallying for the attack; it was established in a country vanquished in the World War, the

bourgeoisie of which is shifting all the sacrifices of the war and of reparations on to the shoulders of the toilers. The attempt to reconquer the old position of power within the imperialist world, which is one of the factors which caused the bourgeoisie to hand over power to Hitler, is compelling the German bourgeoisie to carry through its preparations for war at an accelerated rate.

(2) The fascist dictatorship in Germany was established in a country in which capitalism is extensively shaken, in the most industrial country of Europe.

(3) The dictatorship was established in a country, the working class of which had at its disposal the strongest class organisation in any capitalist country, with a tradition going back for decades, and with cadres of functionaries of the C.P. of Germany and of the Red trade union opposition who had received Marxist training. It was established in a country in which the danger of a rapid turning away of the petty bourgeoisie and of the small and middle peasants from the fascist dictatorship is especially strong for the bourgeoisie, especially under the effects of a revolutionary upsurge.

The economic developments in Germany in the ten months of fascist dictatorship show that Hitler is leading Germany into catastrophe. The fascist Hitler government has created its own propaganda apparatus, which uses every device of deception in order to give to the toiling masses the illusion of an overcoming of unemployment and of the depth of the crisis and the commencement of an upward development of industry. But the actual downward development of economy cannot be concealed by the rosy-coloured reports on the economic situation of the fascist dictatorship.

It has only been possible to produce a certain revival of production in the products of steel concerns and rolling mills through armament orders, but this revival has not in any way kept pace with that in the same industry in other countries. In all other branches of the production of means of production, the output is either for stocks as in the coal and chemical industry, or a rapid regress is to be noted, as in the machine industry, which is of decisive significance for Germany. Except in the production of steel, iron, coal and automobiles, production during the fascist dictatorship has not even reached the dimensions of production in 1932.

Contrary to the declarations of the "incorporated" Institute for Economic Research, sales inside the country have further decreased. This applies above all to the production and sale of means of consumption. In wholesale trade and in individual trade, which is of decisive importance for the position of the small concerns, there is to be noted a steady regress of sales up to 20 per cent. and more of the total sales in 1932. The big department stores even show an average decrease in turnover of 27 per cent. This decrease is especially great in regard to objects of cultural need, which is an immediate result of the steadily sinking standard of living of the toilers. Only in the textile industry have sales increased compared with the previous year, but that is also only in consequence of the increased orders for material for flags and uniforms. In the food industry sales during the first six months of this year have fallen by 10 to 13 per cent. These data are based on official figures. It can, however, be assumed that in reality the decrease in the consumption of the most important articles of food in working-class households is considerably greater.

The financial position of the fascist dictatorship is almost more catastrophic than the position of production. In September a new financial catastrophe threatened; the banks were faced with collapse. The collapse could only be staved off by an alteration of the law governing the note bank.

Hitler's policy, which is the policy of monopoly capital, must necessarily lead to a rapid transition from the hidden inflation already present to an open inflation. The declaration of bankruptcy in regard to foreign countries, the Standstill Agreement, the reduction of payment of interest on foreign loans by one-half and the currency control have, it is true, prevented open inflation for the time being, but the large sum of interest payments and of repayments of debts, the subsidising of bankrupt parasitic economy, the financing of the production of war material and the adaption of industry to war is leading ever closer to open inflation. To this must be added the growing deficits in the State budget, which has been given by the government as 2,384 million marks. The government does not even publish the deficit in the extraordinary State budget caused by the increased armament expenditure.

Before taking over power, the fascists promised the workers "German socialism," which would bring them higher wages, would abolish short time, would raise the proletariat into "workers" on a level with the employers and would put an end to the rent and food usurers. But what has the "German socialism" of the fascists given to the German workers? Millions of toilers were plunged into the depths of poverty. The exploitation of the working class was intensified to the highest degree. In the ten months of the rule of the fascist dictatorship, the bourgeoisie decreased the standard of living of the working class by 2,600 million marks. In order to enable the capitalists to do this the Hitler government forbade strikes, plundered the trade unions, destroyed the working-class press, abolished the factory committees elected by the workers themselves, completely did away with freedom of assembly and organisation, smashed all labour organisations and took away their property. The unrestricted absolutism of the capitalist exploiters prevails in the factories.

The Hitler government desires to abolish the wage agreements and to replace the inviolability of the agreements by the introduction of payment by results. The lowest wage level is not to be higher than the poor law rate of relief. Premiums and bonuses on production are only to be given in accordance with improvement in output. Up to now the fear of an increased unleashing of the proletarian strike power and of the Communist mobilisation of the masses has prevented the Hitler government from the general carrying out of its reactionary wage policy. But it is pursuing these plans at full pressure.

The Hitler government has carried through all forms of direct wage robbery, from the reduction of piece-work wages to the abolition of whole wage agreements and their replacement by separate agreements in each factory. In order to cut down social expenditure and to decrease vacation pay, the form of dismissal and reinstatement at a lower wage has been usually applied. The replacement of men by women and young workers at correspondingly lower wages is very frequent. Under the Hitler regime the nominal wage fund has fallen from January to August by 900 million marks in comparison with the same period last year. In this connection the greatest wage lowering has been practised against the economically weakest strata of the workers. At the same time a very marked grading of wages has been introduced.

In addition to direct wage robbery, the fascist dictatorship has especially intensified the indirect wage robbery to the highest degree. This is carried out in the following forms: it has converted the majority of the German workers into short-time workers and thereby decreased their wage receipts by 20 per cent. and over. Unmarried men and women workers have a tax of 2 to 3 per cent. of their wages deducted as "marriage relief." But the most brazen wage robbery is shown in the form of the compulsory deduction of "contributions." One to two per cent. of wages are withdrawn as "contributions" for provision of work. To that must be added the "winter relief contribution" and further, a collection for the "victims of labour." Besides these general compulsory contributions, collections are organised in the factories for the purchase of fascist flags, for the arrangement of fascist festivals and for the benefit of the Brown S.A. and S.S. bands. The fascist district leader of the "German Labour Front" in Munster had to call for the restriction of the extorted compulsory contributions on account of the growing indignation of the workers against them, because, as he himself admits, "the income of the workers owing to short time . . . and contributions of all kinds has sunk almost to the amount of those in receipt of poor law relief."

During the ten months of the Hitler dictatorship, the indirect wage robbery carried through in this way amounts approximately to a milliard marks. But that is still not all. Besides this there is the decrease of the purchasing power of wages owing to the rise in prices. Real wages are continually sinking. Since the workers, employees and officials generally have to expend half of their income on foodstuffs, it follows that the working class has been robbed by the fascist government of at least 600 million marks owing to the increase of food prices.

The Hitler government in the period of its dictatorship has robbed alone from the employed workers, employees and officials

900 million marks by direct wage robbery.

1,000 million marks by increased taxes, compulsory deductions and contributions.

600 million marks by increase in food prices.

The total wage receipts of the German workers and employees

have been decreased by these two and a half milliard marks at the hands of the Hitler government, and in return for this they have to produce 15 per cent. more than a year ago.

Before taking power, and again on May 1, the fascists promised to provide work for the unemployed, to open the factory gates, to set going the machines which had been laid idle and to restore the robbery of social relief carried out by the governments of Herman Mueller, Bruening and Papen. They have carried out these promises just as little as any of the others.

The Hitler government maintains that it has provided work for more than 3,000,000 unemployed and that in contrast to the previous year it has drawn 700,000 to 900,000 additional workers into the process of production. This, however, is nothing but a great swindle, achieved in the main by tricks of calculation in the unemployment statistics.

Some 150,000 young workers who have been put in labour service camps have been simply struck off the lists of unemployed and transferred to the lists of employed.

Some 120,000 harvest hands, young workers who have been compulsorily handed over to the big peasants and who receive no payment in cash for their labour, are reckoned among the newly employed.

Some 100,000 workers, who are given occupation as emergency workers from State funds in the "value creating" unemployment relief and whose low level of relief is simply designated as "wages," have been put into the list of the newly employed.

A further 300,000-500,000 workers were given work in the following manner: by transferring them to the concentration camps, by forcing them to do compulsory labour on the threat of withdrawal of the relief and permanent exclusion from social insurance, by division of the existing work among a larger number of workers through the general introduction of short time and of the 40-hour week without increase in rates of wages, by dismissal of women and older workers.

In so far as an increase in the number of those employed actually took place outside the increase due to seasonal requirements, this was exclusively the case in production of war material and owing to the introduction of short time. Although the government caused it to be proclaimed every fortnight that work had been found for further hundreds of thousands of unemployed, this swindle is belied by the fact that the actual number of unemployed has since some weeks ago again begun to rise. The total number of unemployed at present may be safely reckoned at seven millions. The Hitler government has intensified to an extraordinary degree the misery of the unemployed by the systematic cutting down of unemployment and crisis relief. More than 1,000 million marks was withdrawn from unemployment relief funds and taken for financing the programmes for providing work, which are nothing but a present to the house owners, factory owners, big peasants and Junkers. With the relief money taken from the unemployed, motor roads have been built for the war which is being planned, aeroplanes have been constructed, the labour service camps maintained and a part of the production of war materials financed.

While in 1929, 77 per cent. of the unemployed still received relief from the unemployment insurance funds, at present there are hardly 10 per cent. who do so. During the ten months of the Hitler dictatorship, 2,700,000 workers have been robbed of unemployment relief.

This is the realisation of the four-year plan proclaimed by Hitler for the abolition of unemployment. Hitler has converted the whole working class into short-time workers, has extended the misery of the unemployed to all the workers, has lowered wages, increased the price of bread and robbed social relief funds.

That is the "programme of salvation" of the Hitler dictatorship.

Hitler, before taking over power and before the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, promised the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants: to break the enslavement to interest payments, to confiscate the unearned income of the war and inflation profiteers, to nationalise the banks, to close down the big department stores, to divide up the big landed estates, to abolish the exorbitant salaries, and to declare the agreements with capitalist foreign countries and the Versailles Treaty to be null and void.

The Hitler government has not kept the smallest part of these promises. On the contrary, it has intensified the plundering of these strata of the population by monopoly capital and the State.

The whole burden of high rents, taxes and interest, trade rents and professional charges—the burden which is ruining the urban

middle classes—has remained. The long series of taxes—occupation tax, citizen's tax, taxes on turnover, beer, salt, sugar, tobacco and liquor—all remain. These burdens have been further increased by the continual extraction of begging and compulsory contributions.

The fascists promised the small and poor peasants everything that they wanted: State guarantee of small ownership, establishment of a new peasant aristocracy, a fair price for heavy work, concessions—all these hopes were held out. A moratorium was declared against compulsory sales by auction, and after it had expired it was prolonged for the immediate period up to the beginning of next year out of fear of the growing dissatisfaction in the villages.

Hitler's promises to give land to the landless peasants were not kept. Not a single big landed estate has been confiscated. The increase of prices of fats and butter was characterised as "an action for saving the small peasants." But owing to the simultaneous increase of all fodder prices, by the establishment of the fodder monopoly, the small peasant is worse off to-day than he was before. The advantage rests solely with the Junkers and big peasants who can exchange grain farming for fodder crops.

The land inheritance law of the Hitler government shows the policy in favour of the big peasants. The 500,000 entailed farms of these strata receive all possible privileges—annulment of debts, exemption from succession duty, immunity from partitions, protection from compulsory sales by auction.

But, in spite of all the favours which the Hitler government lavished on the Junkers and the big peasants, it is not able to arrest the continually intensifying agrarian crisis. This crisis is in the main a consequence of the diminution in the purchasing power of the toiling masses, of the workers, employees and petty bourgeoisie, carried through in the interest of monopoly capitalism. The masses have not enough to eat, but the grain stocks in Germany are accumulating and are greater to-day than ever before. The masses cannot afford to buy meat, but cattle for slaughter find no buyers. Over 500,000 fewer pigs and over 50,000 fewer cattle were sold in the first half of 1933 than during the same period in the previous year. The sufferers from this agrarian crisis are the small and middle peasants.

Only big capital and the Junkerdom gains advantage from the policy of the Hitler government. Advantage accrues to the gang of fascist leaders themselves, who present themselves with country houses at the cost of the State, who garb themselves in new general's uniforms, who keep bodyguards, who draw six-fold salaries and among whom corruption flourishes more than it ever did under the Weimar democracy.

Fascist demagoguery is beginning to lose its effect on the petty-bourgeois masses. German monopoly capital regards it as all the more necessary to divert the attention of the masses from the growing misery in the country and to direct the growing dissatisfaction into the channels of chauvinism and war intoxication. The threatening catastrophe in the interior of the country forces the Hitler government to attempt to find a way out in the direction of foreign political adventures, of war.

Before and while taking over of power, Hitler promised national liberation, the establishment of equality with other States, the abolition of the frontiers dictated in Versailles and Saint Germain, the joining of Austria to Germany and the wiping out of the shame of Versailles. The result of ten months of fascist dictatorship is that the relations of Germany to other States in the world have almost without exception changed for the worse. The attempt at a revision of the treaties by the imperialist way and new division of the world by force puts war on the order of

the day. The Hitler government wishes to drive the toiling people of Germany into this war. Hitler is undertaking the attempt to bridge over the imperialist antagonisms on the basis of an alliance of all imperialist countries against the Soviet Union and at the same time to organise war against the Soviet Union. The push towards the East, the annexationist policy against the Soviet Union, which is supported by the anti-Soviet and anti-Bolshevik policy of social democracy and the Second International, is the basic tendency in the foreign policy of the fascist war criminals.

This was also the line of the Hugenberg memorandum to the London Conference, and the withdrawal of the Hitler government from the League of Nations was also in accordance with this line. The heavy industrialist robber knights and the fascist adventurers in Germany are only waiting for Japanese imperialism to make a breach in the frontiers of the Soviet Union in the Far East.

On the day after the declaration of Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations, Hitler and Goebbels, the alleged fighters against Versailles, in public speeches offered the French general staff to form an alliance against world Bolshevism. On these grounds they have now come to an agreement with Poland not to attack each other, according to which the Hitler government for the present renounces the return of the Polish corridor in order to pave the way for a German-Polish alliance against the workers' and peasants' power of the Soviet Union.

The Hitler government, with the application of all economic and financial means, is pursuing preparations for war at the most rapid pace. It has already increased the Reichswehr to double its previous strength, to 200,000, and already has at its disposal to-day over half a million men trained in the use of arms in the two formations of the Hitler bands, the S.A. and the S.S., together with the "incorporated" Steel Helmets and police. The production of guns, aeroplanes, tanks, and other war material is being increased to the utmost. In addition, there is the military strengthening of the frontiers in the East.

Germany has become more than ever the focal point of continual danger of war in Europe. The endeavour to join Austria to Germany has led to an extraordinary intensification of all the imperialist antagonisms in Europe, which carries with it the imminent danger of war.

In these war preparations, German social democracy, like all the parties of the Second International, stands on the side of the bourgeoisie.

Hitler promised national liberation to the masses in Germany and got himself carried into power on a wave of chauvinism. But how does this national liberation look in regard to the masses of the toilers in Germany?

It has brought them new war burdens, new war preparations in the interest of finance capital, which denote a still heavier military yoke in comparison with the burdens of Versailles.

It has brought them a further cutting down of wages and a further cutting down of relief for the unemployed, the increase in prices of means of subsistence, and has robbed the middle class of all possibilities of revival. It has brought the militarisation of the entire working youth and has produced a rising chauvinistic mood of hatred in all other countries against bellicose fascist Germany.

It has brought an unheard-of bloody terror against the Communists and revolutionary workers.

The path of fascist dictatorship is the path into catastrophe. It is the opening of civil war against its own toiling people. It is the path to the battlefields of a more terrible mass murder than in 1914-18.

Fascism must die, if the proletariat is to live.

IV. Without Social Democracy No Fascist Dictatorship

The sole force which could have prevented the fascist dictatorship or which can defeat it is the German working class united on the ground of the class struggle. The Communist Party has unceasingly struggled to bring about this unity. It repeatedly called upon the masses in the social-democratic party and trade unions to carry through in common with the Communists the general strike for the prevention and overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. But the social-democratic party and trade union leaders have not only split the workers by their counter-revolutionary policy and their united front with the bourgeoisie; they desire also to maintain their split in order to prevent a united

struggle, to prevent the victory of the working class. It is essentially this which constitutes their role as the main social support of the bourgeoisie.

The unity of the German working class can therefore only be brought about by the liquidation of the mass influence of social democracy. The establishment of the fascist dictatorship was only possible for the bourgeoisie in consequence of the sabotage of the class struggle pursued by social democracy, its disorganisation and disarming of the proletariat and its ever more pronounced fusion with the capitalist State apparatus. Only owing to the fact that the Communist Party of Germany, as the revolu-

tionary vanguard was robbed of the support of the majority of the working class by the social-democratic policy of splitting, could finance capital erect its terroristic dictatorship over the proletariat.

The Communist Party has endeavoured with all its forces to struggle among the masses against the theory of the "inevitability of the fascist dictatorship"—a theory put forward by social democracy in order to cover up its crime. Our strategy and tactics have proceeded from the basic position that, in the race between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution, the only way to prevent the further extension of the fascist dictatorship was to intensify the anti-fascist united front struggles, to lead the workers on to strikes, to the political mass strike and the general strike. In utilising the experience of July 20 last year and in carrying through the tasks set by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in the struggle against fascism, the Party mobilised its forces for a new, higher stage of anti-fascist action. With its fighting appeal to the working class of Germany—"Unite for common struggle against wage robbery and fascist dictatorship!"—it again confirmed its repeatedly expressed readiness "to carry on a common struggle with every organisation which unites the workers and which really desires to conduct a struggle."

The mobilisation for struggle and strike on the basis of our united front policy with the social-democratic workers led to a very great increase in the force of the proletariat. The latter answered the Papen dictatorship's attack on wages with a counter-attack.

The highest point of this strike wave was the Berlin traffic workers' strike on the eve of the Reichstag elections of November 6. It led almost up to the political mass strike. Without the organisation and leading of these hundreds of partial struggles and strikes, it would hardly have been possible for the Communist Party to have launched this mass strike in Berlin. The working class achieved with it the greatest political success of the whole year, although it had to be broken off with only insignificant material successes for the traffic workers in consequence of the organisation of strike-breaking by the social-democratic party and trade union leaders.

The Papen Ministry, as one of the forms of fascist dictatorship, was broken by the mass strike power of the working class. The tempo of the revolutionary wave was visibly beginning to catch up the chauvinist wave stirred up by the bourgeoisie. But the Berlin traffic workers' strike showed not only the workers but also the bourgeoisie what power resides in the united fighting proletariat under the leadership of the C.P. of Germany. General von Schleicher, in command of the Reichswehr at that time, declared that with a continuance and increase of the Berlin traffic strike the entire Prussian apparatus would not have been any more in a position to maintain order in the State.

The political significance of the wave of mass strikes also found expression in the result of the Reichstag election of November 6 in which the Nazis, as the fascist party of the German bourgeoisie, lost two million votes. The vacillating petty bourgeoisie began to change its orientation in the direction of the fighting working class. The Leninist doctrine was confirmed that the intermediate classes can only be brought on to the path of revolution by the revolutionary activity of the proletariat.

Without the strike-breaking of social democracy and its trade union bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie would not have succeeded in putting a stop to the broad strike wave. The social-democratic party executive and the German General Trade Union Federation (A.D.G.B.) brutally stifled every strike and put themselves without concealment on the side of the fascist State apparatus. From this it becomes clearly recognisable for every worker that the social democracy and the A.D.G.B. prevented the German proletariat from the victorious carrying through of their struggles and that they placed themselves as an obstacle in the path of the unity of the German proletariat. By preventing the general strike they made possible the establishment of the open terrorist dictatorship of finance capital.

The Papen government which was overthrown by the strike movement was followed by the Schleicher Ministry, with which the bourgeoisie undertook the attempt, behind a smoke screen of social phrases, to regrouping and unifying all the fascist forces for a new decisive onslaught against the revolutionary movement. The more powerfully the united front movement of the workers developed and the more the bourgeoisie therefore had to strengthen its attempt for the terrorist suppression of the revolutionary forces, so much the more varied and cunning had to be the

manoeuvres of social democracy for maintaining the splitting of the proletariat and for preventing the mass struggles. In all its words and actions it applied itself to the task of breaking the strike movement which had undergone such stormy development under Papen, of deceiving the workers as to the seriousness of the situation and the danger represented by the spasmodic character of the fascist development, and of suppressing the desire of the social-democratic workers for the united front. The Schleicher ministry was intended to enable social democracy and the trade union movement to lull to sleep the class vigilance of the proletariat in regard to the threatening further development of the fascist dictatorship. The social democracy characterised the Schleicher policy as the commencement of a new era of social and political achievements on the basis of the parliamentary rules of the game. The A.D.G.B. leaders, headed by Leipart, raised Schleicher to the rank of the "social" general. Comrade Thaelmann, however, at the Hamburg District Party Congress in the beginning of December, characterised the position created by the Schleicher ministry with the following warning to the proletariat:—

"With the constitution of the Schleicher Cabinet we are entering upon a new and accentuated stage of the fascist dictatorship. . . . We must be armed against surprise manoeuvres and against sensational surprise methods of attack."

But however much the Party sought to mobilise the masses, not to slacken the strike struggles and to increase the struggles against the Schleicher Cabinet, still the deceptive manoeuvre carried through with the aid of the S.P.G. had the effect of slackening the strike spirit among the masses. The Nazis immediately utilised this slackening of the fighting mood of the workers for strong provocation demonstrations against the C.P. of Germany, by means of which they also intended to overthrow the Schleicher government. The decisive sections of finance capital openly put the question of Hitler's taking over the government and the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship. The Nazi parade on January 22 in Berlin, which marched past our Party headquarters—it is true, only under the protection of enormous police forces—represented the attempt to whip together all the fascist forces for the carrying through of these plans of the Nazis. The Party sounded the alarm to the whole working class not only in Berlin but in the whole country and called upon them to organise counter-parades and carry through political protest strikes, and it raised the question of the political mass strike in Berlin. A few days later, on January 25, the Berlin proletariat in a mighty demonstration showed its readiness for struggle and its glowing determination for the united front. Although the S.P.G. characterised this demonstration as "putschism," "crime," "adventurism," it became one of the mightiest fighting demonstrations with an extraordinarily strong participation on the part of social-democratic workers. While social democracy characterised the Nazi parade as a severe defeat of the Berlin workers, the chief editor of "*Vorwaerts*," Stamper, wrote two days later on the counter-march of his "great experience," of "the heroism of the Communist workers who in freezing cold marched for hours past the Central Committee of their Party." This demonstration, however, signalled for the S.P.G. the danger that the social-democratic workers might ever more strongly unite with the Communists. By means of a proposal of a non-aggression pact between the leaders of the C.P. of Germany and the S.P.G. which they spread during these days among the masses and above all in the factories, they tried to prevent an agreement being reached among the workers on revolutionary united front actions from below. Thus, social democracy, as on July 20, 1932, delivered the workers entirely without struggle into the hands of fascist dictatorship.

Twenty-four hours later, on January 30, the bourgeoisie handed over governmental power to the Hitler party for the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. The advance of the revolutionary forces, compelled the bourgeoisie to make the experiment of entrusting the terrorist bulwark and strongest mass party of the bourgeoisie, hitherto outside the government, with the striking down of the revolutionary workers' movement.

The Communist Party at once addressed itself with a renewed general strike proposal to the S.P.G. and A.D.G.B. and called on the masses to struggle under the following slogans—

"On to the streets!"

"Stop work in the factories!"

"Reply at once to the blow of the fascist bloodhounds with the strike, with the mass strike, with the general strike!"

Social democracy rejected the general strike, although only twenty-four hours before in the Lustgarten demonstration they had deceptively spoken of the application of "the most extreme methods of struggle" against the attempt to establish the Hitler dictatorship. They declared that Hitler had been constitutionally appointed by Hindenburg, that the proletariat ought not "prematurely to expend the general strike gunpowder" and that all forces must be concentrated on the Reichstag elections fixed for March 5. Social democracy employed its strongest manoeuvres of deception in order to hold the masses back from the struggle. They declared that Hitler would have to govern according to the constitution, that his efforts would be futile and that his administration would play itself out. The obstruction of the strike movement by social democracy during the Schleicher era also caused the petty bourgeoisie, whose chauvinist feelings had been whipped up by the Nazis, to turn towards the supposedly stronger power of the latter.

Thus the result of the policy of the splitting of the working class by social democracy was to prevent the majority of the working class from following the call to struggle of the C.P. of Germany for preventing the fascist dictatorship. But without this support of the majority of the working class, the C.P. was not in a position victoriously to carry through the general strike and the struggle for power against the Hitler dictatorship. It would have committed a crime against the whole working class, if, under these circumstances, it had led the vanguard alone into the struggle. The resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on the position in Germany passed on April 1 very correctly says:—

"The characteristic peculiarity of the situation at the moment of the Hitler coup consists in the fact that these prerequisites for victorious insurrection had not yet been able to come to maturity at that time, they were only present in embryo."

In connection with this a reference was made to one of the teachings of Lenin:—

"With the vanguard alone one cannot conquer. To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive struggle, as long as the entire class, as long as the broad masses, do not directly support the advance-guard or at least exercise a benevolent neutrality towards it—would be not only a piece of stupidity but a crime."

On German social democracy and trade union bureaucracy alone rests the tremendous guilt, by splitting the working class and by its original policy, for having assisted fascism to power and having made possible the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. When in 1918 it struck down the proletarian revolution it swindled the masses with talk of the democratic peaceful development to socialism, without the dictatorship of the proletariat. It led the masses to fascism. It bears the blame for the fact that Hitler and his gang have tortured hundreds of revolutionary fighters to death and that hundreds of thousands have been cast into the concentration camps.

The correctness of Leninism as the tactics of all Communist Parties in irreconcilable struggle against Menshevism of all varieties could not be better confirmed than by the German developments. The struggle for the unity of our own class by the complete eradication of social-democratic mass influence, especially in the trade unions, the sharpest struggle against all social-democratic influence inside our Party, against all varieties of opportunism—this is the main lesson of the history of the fascist seizure of power in Germany, this is the condition and prerequisite for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

What now was the attitude of social democracy after January 30, after the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship? Social democracy made every attempt to deceive the workers as to the true character of the Hitler dictatorship, to hold them back from every serious struggle and to hand them over to the Hitler dictatorship. The "*Metallarbeiter Zeitung*" of April 1, 1933 (when it was not yet "incorporated"), wrote:—

"If now, at last active measures are going to be taken against economic misery, no one will welcome that more heartily than the trade unions. Their own collaboration will certainly not be lacking. If the government now sets to work with a will, it will be possible for it to make moral conquests

also among the 45 per cent. of the people who did not vote for it on March 5."

On May 1, the social-democratic trade union bureaucracy called upon the workers to demonstrate under Hitler's swastika flag. On May 1 Walter Pohl, one of Leipart's trusted men, wrote in an article which went through the whole trade union press:—

"We truly do not need to have to make great efforts in order to recognise that the victory of national socialism, although it was achieved in the struggle against a party which is reckoned by us to be the bearer of the socialist idea, is also our victory, inasmuch as the socialist task is to-day put before the whole nation."

On May 17 the social-democratic fraction in the Reichstag recorded its approval of Hitler's government declaration, and the social-democratic party executive on Hitler's order made its exit from the Second International. If, in spite of these services of social democracy for Hitler, its organisation was forbidden, this did not happen because it was a danger to the fascist dictatorship, but from a quite different reason: with the continuance of this sheer naked betrayal of working-class interests at the hands of social democracy, its legal organisations would undoubtedly have become a reservoir for the social-democratic workers' opposition against their counter-revolutionary leadership and thereby also against the fascist dictatorship, in so far as these workers did not go over directly to the Communists.

Even after the prohibition of its organisation social democracy remains the main social prop of the bourgeoisie. It continues its policy of splitting the working class and even attempts to deepen this split. It directs its struggle, its provocations and slanders, only against the Communist Party, it carries on sabotage of the mass struggle against fascism, the hindering of this struggle for the only revolutionary way out. It strives for a repetition of the policy of coalition at a higher level, which under the present circumstances may find its expression in a bloc with Hugenberg.

Social democracy is continuing its policy of creating reserves in order to come to the aid of capitalism again at the first symptom of a collapse of the fascist dictatorship, so as, as in 1918, to function as the grave-digger of the German revolution.

Social democracy is going through its greatest crisis. It is in decomposition, it is at its deepest decline, but it would be false to assume that it has ceased to exist. It is for us Communists to destroy it. Every vacillation in our position of struggle in relation to social democracy, every ambiguity in our united front policy for winning the social-democratic masses, increases the danger of the reconsolidation of social democracy and could bar our successful way to the restoration of the unity of the working class. We must therefore direct our greatest attention to what is going on in social democracy, particularly to the manoeuvres with which the Right and "Left" S.P.G. leaders attempt to obscure the vision of the S.P.G. workers. The establishment of the fascist dictatorship gave rise to a very depressed mood among large strata of social-democratic workers, which among the so-called "Lefts" became converted into a mood of panic. I will quote here only a couple of statements of these so-called "Lefts":—

"We have been utterly defeated in Germany," complained Bienstock. "Democratic socialism has lost its strongest positions, not only in Central Europe but in the entire world."

"The history of mankind . . . will be thrown back many centuries," prophesies Miles.

"We have suffered a tremendous defeat," howl the Trotskyists and the Brandlerists.

The social democratic party executive, which has emigrated to Prague, realised the danger which this mood of pessimistic depression represented for social democracy. In a platform, which it quickly pieced together and entitled "Revolution against Hitler," it strikes a pose and declares that social democracy can only continue to exist as "revolutionary social democracy" and that "total revolution" must be opposed to the "total state" of Hitler. But its whole policy is calculated to persuade the bourgeoisie that social democracy must inevitably be made use of "in order to prevent Germany from falling into Bolshevik chaos."

But the social-democratic leaders who have remained in Germany, above all the old or new "Lefts," realise that with such an undisguised anti-Bolshevik programme of the party executive the social-democratic workers cannot be held back from going over into the Communist camp. It is precisely the dauntless struggle of the revolutionary vanguard which is pulling the S.P.G. workers out of

their mood of depression and drawing them into the anti-fascist front. Many of them are working in close collaboration with us Communists, and are distributing our newspapers, leaflets, and literature. Indignation at the treachery and cowardice of their leaders is combined in their case with a critical examination of the fundamental problems of the labour movement. They are beginning to realise that the way propounded by their leaders—the way of “peaceful growing into socialism” by way of bourgeois democracy—has led to the setting up of fascist dictatorship. They busy themselves very seriously with the problems of proletarian or bourgeois dictatorship, of bourgeois or proletarian democracy and the use of violence in the class struggle. They are beginning to realise that the causes for the setting up of fascist dictatorship lie in the splitting policy of their leaders, and that this policy has its roots in the pre-war policy of social democracy, in the bourgeoisifying of social democracy, the growth of an aristocracy of labour.

The “Left” phrasemongers of social democracy try to intercept this growing recognition and feeling of opposition among the social-democratic workers by means of a widespread campaign of “self-criticism,” in order to prevent the workers from drawing the only correct revolutionary conclusion of going over into the ranks of the C.P.G. In his pamphlet *Fascism or Socialism*, Miles, one of the Right agents of the party leadership in “Left” disguise, writes as follows:—

“It is therefore a historical illusion to believe that until August, 1914, German social democracy was in essence a revolutionary Marxist party, and that then, owing to the baseness or lack of comprehension of the leaders, it became untrue to Marxism. It could never betray principles which it has never possessed.

“August, 1914, was not the cause of the bourgeoisifying of social democracy, but only its revelation. It only exposed openly what had always existed already. . . . In the subsequent period of the Weimar republic, German social democracy also remained true to its basic principles, which approve the bourgeois State and capitalism. (p. 39.)

Here, then, one of the social-democratic leaders admits what the Communists have always tried to make clear to the S.P.G. workers. But this admission is made from the demagogic motive of persuading the social-democratic workers that from now on everything is going to be better in the camp of social democracy, in order to prevent them from recognising the correctness of the Communist policy of the united front. The “Left” agents of the S.P.G. leadership both in Germany and abroad are beginning to play an impudent and treacherous game with radical words. At the Paris conference of the Second International, Aufhäuser spoke of the necessity of an “educational dictatorship” as a “transition stage.”

V. The Role of the Party and the Revolutionary Way Out

The Party regards it as its central task to lead the proletariat to the struggle for power with the aid of the political mass strike, of the general strike. The decisive prerequisite for this is the winning over of the majority of the working class on the basis of organising and leading the economic and political partial struggles, the setting up of the militant united front with the social-democratic workers and the winning over of the Christian workers, the non-Party workers and those who have been duped by the national socialists. The fulfilment of this main task is most intimately bound up with the task of developing independent class trade unions and making them real mass organisations which prepare and carry through the economic struggles of the proletariat, and which must become the principal organisations uniting the Party with the broad masses of the workers.

In the struggles of the working class the middle strata of the towns and the small peasant masses gain increased confidence in it, and this makes it more easy for us to win over these masses as allies of the proletariat for the people's revolution.

In carrying out our revolutionary mass policy, we try to oppose the danger of Right opportunist mistakes, which consist in following in the wake of the spontaneously growing discontent of the masses and in the underestimation of the objective conditions for an accelerated revolutionisation of the situation. It goes without saying that we also combat the “Left” sectarian tendencies, which show themselves in the conception that the course of

In view of the growing sympathies of the S.P.G. workers for the unshakable power of the Soviet Union, and the great successes of socialist construction, the S.P.G. demagogues are trying to meet these feelings with a few phrases, but in the same breath they try to persuade the workers that “Bolshevik tactics are inapplicable to Western Europe.” They impudently declare that the Communist International and its sections, by applying to the German labour movement the Bolshevik theory and tactics which led to the victory of the October Revolution, have as a result brought the fascist dictatorship into power. The above-mentioned Miles writes in his pamphlet *Fascism or Socialism*:—

“The real reason for the failure of the German socialist labour movement is the split caused in it, even if from revolutionary motives, by the Communist International.”

Thus, these traitors want to persuade the workers that both parties, not only the S.P.G., but also the C.P.G. have failed, and that the leaders of both parties bear the guilt. The disillusionment of the S.P.G. workers in their own party leadership is to be transferred to the Communist Party, in order to hold back the workers from joining this Party. In this, the social-democratic betrayers are supported by the whole gang of Trotskyists, the socialist labour party, the Brandlerites, who are widening the split in the working class still further by the contemplated founding of a new party and even of a Fourth International, and thus coming to the aid of the bourgeoisie and of fascism.

In our *Open Letter to the Social-Democratic Workers* we laid down the basic line of our struggle for the unity of our own class and quite clearly put the question of proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power. We must tell the social-democratic workers quite plainly that any re-establishment of the demolished social-democratic organisation is harmful to the cause of the working class, that the C.P.G. is the sole revolutionary workers' party. The same is true for the winning over of social-democratic trade union members for the formation of independent, class trade unions. Our slogan must be: “Every Communist a leader of a group of five social-democratic workers and trade union members.”

There is another false conception which we must oppose, namely, that the social-democratic workers will come to us of their own accord and that we do not need to make special efforts about their coming over to the C.P.G.

The present situation in the German labour movement offers us the possibility of destroying the mass influence of the S.P.G. and of re-establishing the unity of the labour movement on a revolutionary basis. Our task is to win over the social-democratic workers so that they may march together with us in the revolutionary united front, in the Communist Party, in the independent class unions, to revolution, to the liberation of the working class, to socialism.

development in itself makes for a revolutionary crisis, that this process takes place along a straight course without hindrances and occasional set-backs, that the fascist dictatorship has already been deprived of all capacity to manoeuvre.

We do our best to make the masses understand that the tempo at which the historic moment for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship is brought nearer is dependent on the strength and struggles of the working class, that it is our task to develop the Party into the sole mass Party of the proletariat, which rallies around itself all anti-fascist forces and leads them into the struggle. We always bear in mind the teaching of Lenin, who wrote in 1909:—

“The Party which will understand how to consolidate itself in order to work in conjunction with the masses, conscious of its goal, the Party of the advanced class which will understand how to organise its vanguard, which will direct its forces towards influencing every expression of the life of the proletariat in a social-democratic (i.e., to-day, in a Communist) spirit—this Party will be victorious under all circumstances.” (*On the Right Way*, Russian ed., Vol. XIV, p. 32.)

The Communist Party is endeavouring, as the advance-guard of the working class, to realise in practice this teaching of Lenin. It is a unique fact in the history of the international labour movement that a party of 300,000 members and 6,000,000 voters, with 35 daily papers, has succeeded in transferring its organisation, as a

mass organisation, to an illegal basis. The class enemy with whom we are faced has at his disposal the whole apparatus of State power. In Germany we have to do with one of the most highly organised bourgeoisie in Europe—a bourgeoisie which has accumulated great experience in the struggle against the revolutionary working class. But the German working class, if its ranks are united, has at its disposal forces which will overthrow the class enemy. The Communist Party, as leader and vanguard of the working class, is the power which is developing these forces in the proletariat and making it capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and of seizing power for itself.

The utilisation of all terrorist forces by the bourgeoisie has from the very first moment inflicted heavy losses on the Communist Party. In the face of the threatened murder of hostages in the concentration camps and prisons, the brutal assassinations which Goering, the head butcher of the Brown Shirts, threatened in the Leipzig trial against Dimitrov and our other comrades—from the midst of the severe struggle which we are waging—we call upon the international proletariat, upon the Communists of all countries, for active solidarity in struggle, for support of the illegal work of the German Communists. The international proletariat can be sure that the German Communists will do their revolutionary duty. (Applause.)

Despite the mass arrests and persecutions of its functionaries by the Hitler dictatorship the Party organisation has remained intact. There are Party districts in which 80 or 90 per cent. of the former members were still paying their dues in May and June.

The Party had indeed prepared itself for illegality long before the coming of the Hitler dictatorship. Nevertheless, lack of experience, mechanical comparisons with the Party's illegal condition in 1923, and certain legalistic tendencies in regard to the tempo and extent of fascist terror and to the depth of illegality into which the Party was plunged, caused considerable harm in the Party. Another factor was that the lower and middle functionaries found it rather difficult to escape the persecutions of the class enemy, since they were known to him from their long years of legal work. Another factor was that for economic reasons they were compelled to go to work to earn their living or to draw benefit as unemployed at the unemployment bureaux, where they fell into the hands of their persecutors. Moreover, the social-fascist police apparatus of the Weimar Republic had accomplished an extensive preliminary work for the fascist dictatorship by drawing up comprehensive card-indexes of Communist functionaries. And one further reason was that cadres of functionaries were not replaced quickly enough.

The reorganisation of the Party organisation could only be accomplished slowly, step by step and with constant interruptions due to the measures taken by the class enemy. The whole organisation was diminished as a result of extensive centralisation of the leadership and the utmost political independence for the lower units. This work, however, has been made much more difficult for us owing to the fact that with a few exceptions almost nothing is left of the old leading committees of the districts and sub-districts. Their place has been taken by completely new cadres of functionaries which have developed out of the conditions of profound illegality and of the struggle with the fascists.

The former weaknesses of our factory work have not yet been overcome. Even to-day tendencies are still to be met with of transferring Party work from the factories to the place of residence. On the other hand, certain progress has been made in the organisation of work in the factories. The carrying of our work into the factories from outside, the establishment of connection with the revolutionary social-democratic workers who are still employed in the factories, the establishment of connections between the factories and the organisations in the place of residence, has set us a large number of tasks which we are trying to carry out by new methods.

Owing to the dismissal and arrest of all workers suspected of being Marxists, our factory nucleus organisations have been reduced to one-third of their membership as compared with January, 1933. But whereas, for example, we only had twelve factory nuclei in Berlin in the month of June, in October we had 84 and in November 140. (Applause.) In Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg and in the Ruhr district there are already very many factory nuclei and these are composed predominantly of former social-democratic workers. We have achieved good results through our work in the enterprises in the establishment of department and

workshop nuclei. Since August considerable organisational progress can be observed in the work of rooting the Party in the factories. We have succeeded in at least re-establishing connections in about half the enterprises where there were formerly factory nuclei.

We have also sustained severe losses through the fact that our comrades have not always known how to observe the rules of conspiracy which have become necessary owing to the conditions of illegality.

The Party is paying special attention to safeguarding itself against spies and provocators. The number of acts of provocation and espionage during the ten months of the fascist dictatorship is comparatively small. We can only point to one or two—none the less very serious—cases where former district functionaries put themselves at the disposal of the political police for the hunting down and identification of Communists. These persons were Werner Kraus, a former district leader of East Prussia, and a secretary named Grobis. One of our peasant leaders, Comrade Ernst Putz, had to pay with his life for the villainy of these two rascals. It goes without saying that the Party attempted immediately to let its units know of all cases of provocation, and immediately to make the necessary changes in the respective parts of the organisation in all cases where leading functionaries were arrested.

The police are attempting to make use of workers released from the prisons and concentration camps as provocators and spies in the Party organisations. We can say with pride that, thanks to the steadfastness not only of Party members but of all anti-fascist workers in the concentration camps, these attempts of the class enemy have, with few exceptions, met with no success. Nevertheless, the Party has made it a rule that the comrades who have been released from prisons and concentration camps are not at first to be entrusted with Party work.

The question of new recruits for the Party, the question of forming cadres, is one of the most serious problems in view of the great gaps that have been torn in the ranks of our Party cadres. True, we have hitherto always succeeded in filling these gaps, nevertheless the lack of trained functionaries is making itself felt to an extremely serious degree. The work of training among forces which have been newly won to the Party, their education to be leading functionaries, is still very weak, although we have already organised a number of district schools. However, we may say that a large number of valuable forces have been added to the Party from the Young Communist League and also that the women comrades whose husbands have been arrested have courageously leapt into the breach and filled the gaps in our ranks.

Without disregarding the weaknesses and errors which have been made in our Party work during the ten months of fascist dictatorship, and which in the majority of cases constitute weaknesses and errors inherited from the legal period of our work—weaknesses and errors which we are working with all our energy to overcome—the Party will so intensify its illegal work that it will be able to beat the class enemy.

The main slogans of the Party during the whole period of fascist dictatorship are laid down in the *Open Letter to the Social-Democratic Workers*: "Workers of Germany, unite!" "Stretch out the hand of brotherhood for bold and dauntless struggle!" "Through revolutionary unity to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship!" "Never back to Weimar!" "Forward to the workers' and peasants' republic!"

As against this, social democracy with its slogan of the struggle for democratic socialism, with its pseudo-radical slogan of so-called "educational dictatorship," is trying to hold the masses back from the revolutionary path. We, on the other hand, declare that only the mass strike, only the general strike of the workers in alliance with the toiling masses in town and country, only the armed overthrow of the bloody fascist dictatorship can lead to the liberation of the working class and of the whole toiling people from social bondage.

The organisation and leadership of the economic and political partial struggles, above all, strikes for the daily and partial interests of the workers and toiling masses, is the main link for leading on the masses to the great class battles. We warn our comrades, the Communists and members of revolutionary trade unions, against a stereotyped application of the slogans of the day. We help them to overcome the bad method of employing general militant strike slogans which take no account of concrete conditions.

In our instructions we have called upon them to make a conscientious study of the causes of the growing discontent among the masses, in the enterprises, at the Labour Exchanges, in the labour service camps, in the "incorporated" trade unions, in the organisations of the urban middle class and in the villages, and in the light of this to put forward concrete militant demands, to organise the struggle for them, to create the necessary organs of struggle and to place themselves everywhere at the head of the struggles in order thus to raise the mass movements to a higher level for the struggle for the overthrow of fascism and the victory of Soviet power.

(Comrade Pieck then cited a number of partial demands which the Party set up in the various fields of the workers' struggles, for the factory workers, unemployed, young workers, middle classes and the rural population and which in every factory, at the Labour Exchanges, in the labour service camps, are supplemented by concrete demands immediately connected with various grievances and abuses. Comrade Pieck continued):—

In enumerating these slogans and demands I do not want to give the impression that all this is already being correctly applied in practice, but nevertheless the Party leadership is straining every nerve to see to it that the Party makes it its task to raise the struggles of the workers to a higher level.

We lay the greatest emphasis on the creation of organs of struggle of the workers—organs which correspond to the maturity and the content of the movement and which are of especial significance in conditions of illegality. Here again we try to avert every kind of formal interpretation and to see to it that these organs spring directly out of the special conditions. Besides the election of independent, illegal strike committees elected by the employees, the election of shop stewards, there are also piece-work commissions, wage-rate commissions, committees from the factory sick benefit organisations. It is above all our task to create good examples of organs of struggle for the organisation of the struggles in order that through these organs we may agitate and inspire the workers. We are concentrating our factory work above all on the large enterprises. A specially difficult task for us is the creation of fighting organs among the unemployed. In this sphere we are still a long way behind and lay main emphasis on really organised work among the unemployed.

Although the Party has already recognised that the creation of class trade unions, independent of fascism, is an indispensable prerequisite for the carrying out of its revolutionary task, we are nevertheless still very much behindhand in this respect. The main reason for this is that our trade union mass work already exhibited great weaknesses during the period of legality and that there was also some uncertainty in our slogans after the "incorporation" of the trade unions by the fascists. We are now trying by means of the strike movements, and by intensifying our trade union mass work, to create the necessary conditions for the founding of independent class unions. In a resolution of the C.C. of our Party on the trade union question in August, 1933, the Party was set the necessary tasks in this field and the Communist fraction in the Red trade union organisation was entrusted with the task of drawing up a political and organisational plan for the rapid building up of independent class unions.

Our struggle in the "incorporated" trade unions, in the "German labour front," and in the N.S.B.O., the fascist police and spy organisation, is being continued and must lead to the best working-class elements of these organisations being enlisted for the building up of independent class unions. Our Party resolutely opposed the attempts of some "Left" social democrats, who with the support of the Amsterdam trade union bureaucrats put in opposition to our movement for the formation of independent class unions the idea of founding so-called "independent trade unions" with social-democratic leadership, whose only object, fundamentally, was to maintain the split in the ranks of the working class. The most important task which we set ourselves is to attract the broad masses of social-democratic workers and former members and functionaries of the German general trade unions to the work of building up real independent class unions.

We regard it as a salient task in the struggle against the

fascist dictatorship to snatch the working youth from fascism and to lead them into our camp. The influence of fascist demagoguery over the toiling masses of the youth, intensified as it is by the education they receive in the schools of fascist Germany, confronts us with special difficulties. Thanks to the work of our Young Communist League and the young German revolutionary workers we can already point to important initial successes. In the labour service camps during the last few weeks alone there have been hundreds of cases of refusal to obey orders up to the point of strike and dissolution of the camps. In a number of places we have succeeded in winning over whole groups of social-democratic youth for the Young Communist League. It was found possible to send an elected delegation of twenty-four youth delegates of all tendencies to the Paris World Congress. But we must realise that these successes are to a large extent nothing more than a result of young comrades acting on their own initiative.

The Party is all the more faced with the task of giving the League stronger political leadership in its mass work and rendering it comradely assistance.

In view of the weakness of our cadres as a consequence of the terror, in view of the difficulty of giving oral and written information to the Party and through the Party to the masses, the illegal press of our Party and mass organisations acquires an extraordinary significance. During the first five months of the fascist dictatorship the lower units of the Party and the district committees published over a thousand local and district papers with a circulation of over two million copies. Even though the contents of these papers may still not satisfy us, even though an especially great weakness is apparent in the attitude of the press to work in the enterprises, to the formulation of the local interests of the workers and their slogans, even though this press publishes only a small proportion of workers' correspondence, nevertheless it stands closer to the masses to-day than ever before and it is a press in which a real workers' language is spoken.

In the popularisation of our slogans against fascist dictatorship, one factor of tremendous importance is the surprisingly great initiative which finds expression in the application and invention of new forms and methods by the lower Party units. We have examples which show how extraordinarily great agitational achievements are being accomplished with revolutionary initiative, with revolutionary audacity. We will give only one of these examples. In the neighbourhood of a fairly large town in South Germany an electric cable passes over a mountain stream fifty metres wide. Our comrades, by means of very clever technical methods, fixed a huge strip of bunting to this cable with our revolutionary slogans on it. The authorities did not succeed in removing this sign because the current could not be switched off. After three days, in the course of these attempts the cable was finally broken and all electric railway traffic was brought to a standstill as a result of the consequent short circuit. The whole district was speaking about this bold achievement of our agitators, which won many workers for us.

Our comrades show the same initiative in the preparation of our agitational material, and in this they are always thinking out new methods. At the beginning of the working day the workers find Communist leaflets on their work-benches and not even the most vigilant supervision can determine who has put them there. Our leaflets come flying through the open windows of workers' houses, they are to be found in the baskets of traders coming to the market, our slogans may be seen on the pictures in cigarette boxes. For some time leaflets were thrown down from the department stores in the large town and, though the investigation divisions were immediately set to work, it was found impossible to discover who was responsible. These, of course, are only minor methods of agitation, but they attract the attention of the workers and show them that the Communists are busy.

It is precisely this initiative from below, the independent and correct action of lower Party units, which shows the great progress that the Party has made in its cadres. Especially in the enterprises our comrades make very clever use in their agitation of the unrest among the workers against the measures taken by the employers, whether by the collection of signatures, by forcing a vote, or by speaking at the factory and trade union meetings in order to strengthen the workers' will to resistance.

VI. The Outlook in Germany—Armed Overthrow of the Fascist Dictatorship

When it took over power, the Hitler dictatorship declared that it wanted to stamp out the class struggle of the German proletariat, describing it as an "invention of the Communist agitators." But its policy of plundering the people and letting loose a reign of terror has only made the class fronts stand out all the more sharply. It has declared civil war against the proletariat and thus corroborated the teaching of Marxism that the liquidation of classes and class contradictions can only be achieved by the overthrow of all hitherto existing social "order," by the victory of Communism.

The armed overthrow of the bloody fascist dictatorship is the slogan which the revolutionary Party of the proletariat puts before the masses. While the Party is becoming the only true rallying point of all opposition on the part of the oppressed classes against the fascist regime, it puts forward as its central slogan the question of the seizure of power, the struggle for the setting up of Soviet power. Our whole mass work, including the work of the lowest units of the Party, of our fractions in the mass organisations, must be guided by this perspective. The Party must take as its starting point the bold recognition of the fact that the victory of Communism is inevitable. And it must also fill the toiling masses with this confidence in victory.

A few weeks time will see the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Germany, which our unforgettable comrades, the murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, created in the reek of powder of the November Revolution, betrayed by the social democrats; they created it in order to put a weapon in the hands of the German proletariat with which it will tear power from its enemies, with which it will set up its dictatorship.

As the only Party which has a programme of salvation from poverty, distress, hunger and unemployment, we say to the toiling people of Germany:

Only the shattering of the fascist dictatorship can liberate you from distress, from bondage. The shattering of the fascist dictatorship can only be the work of the revolution of the working class in alliance with all the oppressed and exploited. Only the power of the working class saves you from the catastrophe into which the national socialists are plunging the German people and which was prepared by social democracy in the Weimar Republic.

That is the path along which the proletariat of ex-tsarist Russia has gone, in alliance with the toilers and the exploited peasants, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin. This path has led to socialism, to the national liberation of hundreds of nations, to the economic and political independence of the mighty Soviet State in the struggle against international imperialism.

This social and national liberation was fought for and won under the banner of proletarian internationalism in the struggle against nationalist barbarism, against bloody race hatred.

The Communist Party of Germany has called upon you to follow it on this path, on the path of struggle for your own interests, for the future of the youth and children. Social democracy has kept you back from pursuing this path.

After the overthrow of fascist dictatorship, of the domination of the capitalists, we Communists will set up the power of the workers' and peasants' soviets, the power of the overwhelming majority of the German people over an insignificant minority of parasites.

In the Soviets, freely elected by all workers, toiling peasants, employees, by all toilers in town and country, we Communists will call for your approbation in order to carry out without delay the following basic measures for safeguarding the power of the working class in the interests of the liberty and well-being of all the exploited and oppressed:

(1) We shall immediately expropriate without compensation all banks, large enterprises, railways, department stores of the big capitalists and convert them into socialist property.

(2) We shall expropriate without compensation all the landed estates of the landlords, of the churches and monasteries, of the Hohenzollerns and the princes, as well as every other kind of big landed property and, together with all the implements and property attached to them, distribute them gratis among the peasants and agricultural labourers.

(3) We shall annul all the debts which the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie owe to the banks, big capitalists and landlords, and abolish all existing taxes originating from the Weimar Republic and the Hitler government.

(4) We shall attract all toilers to take part in the government of the State on the basis of proletarian democracy through the medium of the Soviets and also to exercise immediate control over the banks, industry, railways and large agricultural enterprises.

(5) We shall expropriate all the houses, residences and villas of the rich, forcibly remove the idlers from them and give their dwellings, together with furniture and everything pertaining to them, to the unemployed and to those toilers who are housed in bad conditions (workers, employees, handicraftsmen, etc.).

(6) We shall expropriate all supplies of food and immediate necessities of life which are in the hands of the State and the big capitalists and place them at the disposal of the unemployed and all indigent persons, the distribution of these articles being handed over to the unemployed committees.

(7) We shall guarantee to all toilers full freedom of organisation, of assembly and of the press, we shall place at their disposal the large halls, the printing presses and all supplies of paper.

(8) We shall conclude a fraternal alliance with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, arm all the toilers and create a mighty revolutionary Red Army. In alliance with the toilers of the U.S.S.R., Poland, France, Czechoslovakia and England we shall organise resistance to all attempts of finance capital and the Junker landlords to restore their power.

(9) By taking over all the means of production, the proletarian power will create the prerequisites for an unprecedented economic upswing of the country in the interests of the toiling masses themselves; it will create new prerequisites for the development of foreign trade, above all with the U.S.S.R., and assure work for all unemployed.

(10) In possession of the revolutionary State power, freed from the yoke of their own capitalists, the toiling people of Soviet Germany will declare the dictated peace of Versailles to be null and void. In alliance with the international proletariat and the mighty Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the victorious German proletarian revolution will do away with the reparations, all treaties concluded by force which have deprived Germany of equal rights.

The Power of the Soviets, of the overwhelming majority of the people, abolishes the exploitation of man by man, does away with national oppression and creates socialism.

Weimar democracy promised you democratic socialism. The fascists have proclaimed national socialism to you. Both declared: capitalism has outlived its day. Both have taken over the governing power. But both have exercised power in the interests of the class of capitalist exploiters, to protect the dying capitalist system. There is no democratic socialism. There is no national socialism. Capitalism rules in Germany.

There is only one socialism, proletarian socialism brought about through the proletarian dictatorship, through the Soviet power in the Socialist Soviet Union. The great Soviet democracy has unleashed the creative power of millions of the downtrodden

and oppressed. It has given work to all. It has given freedom to all women. It has opened up a broad future before the entire youth. It has built up a socialist economy which has no crises, to fear. It is doing away with classes, it is leading to a classless society, to Communism, to well-being for all.

This is the path which the Communist Party of Germany points out to you. The hour of requital for all the crimes of the German bourgeoisie is drawing near. Rise, workers, rise deceived German people, against the bloody fascist rule of capital. Forward to the struggle for the overthrow of fascist dictatorship!

For the power of the workers' and peasants' soviets! For Soviet Germany! For the abolition of the Versailles robber peace treaty! For Socialism!

Comrades, I conclude with the words: Long live the Communist Party of Germany and its imprisoned leader, Comrade Thaelmann! Long live the vanguard of the world proletariat, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with its Bolshevik Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Stalin! Long live the Communist International! Long live the World October! (Stormy, protracted applause. Singing of the "International")

On the United Front in Great Britain

REPORT OF COMRADE HARRY POLLITT

The Situation in Great Britain and the Policy of the National Government

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

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

On the contrary, the crisis deepens, imperialist rivalries intensify, the basic industries are stagnant.

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

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

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

In the first eight months of 1933 there was a reduction of imports as compared with 1932 by £35,663,821, and a reduction of exports as compared with the corresponding eight months of 1932 of £11,051,637, and the interesting thing about the fall in imports is that the bulk of the decline is in articles such as food, meat and tobacco, revealing a heavy fall in the purchasing power of the masses as the cost of living in England steadily rises. Still later figures show no vital improvement in the trade position.

These facts are disclosed by the Board of Trade figures just issued for October, 1933. There was a steady decline of British foreign trade from 1929 to June of this year. From the beginning of July until now there has been a slight upward trend.

Exports of British goods last month were £34,130,986. This was the highest for any month since April, 1932, and were £4,000,000 larger than a year ago.

Imports at £61,771,103 were at the highest point since February, 1932. How far below the level of 1929 the present trade is can be seen from the following figures. And remember that 1929 exports were only about 80 per cent. of the pre-war exports.

It is on the basis of this situation that MacDonald permitted himself to make the following statement at the London Lord Mayor's banquet on November 9:—

"The imports of raw material for the third quarter of the year are up by one third. . . . They have reached a higher level to-day than has been the case for a good many years past,

and as a complementary fact our exports for the last three months are up by ten per cent."

But it is perhaps more important to give the views of Mr. Montagu Norman, the Governor of the Bank of England, who speaking at a meeting of banking interests in London on October 20, 1932, declared:—

"Some are able already to point out the light at the end of the tunnel. I myself see it somewhat indistinctly. But I like to think we shall meet here next year; then I believe it to be more than likely we shall see clearer where we are going and be sensible of the rapid pace at which we have been proceeding." ("The Daily Telegraph," October 21, 1932.)

How rapid this pace has not been is seen in Mr. Norman's speech exactly a year later to the same banking interests when, on October 3, 1933, he declared:—

"They could not look east or west without being persuaded that there were dark clouds hovering ahead. We shall have many difficulties, we shall have much criticism, we shall have many disagreements, but I console myself with this thought: 'that dogs bark but the caravan passes on.'" ("The Times," October 4, 1933.)

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

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

Of course, MacDonald does not speak about the social effects of their "sound economy." It is pertinent to draw the attention of the Plenum to the fact that it has been possible in Britain to produce a book entitled: *Conditions of the Working Class in Britain in 1932*, which carries forward the famous analysis of Engels on the conditions of the British working class in 1844. This latest book reveals a terrible picture of mass impoverishment, sickness, malnutrition, and death that constitutes a terrible indictment of the whole policy of British capitalism and its National government.

There is also a rise in the cost of living, which has risen by 8 points since June, due to the higher price policy of the National government. This avowed policy of raising prices is openly stated by responsible leaders of the government. For example, Neville Chamberlain declared in the House of Commons in February, 1932: "We have in front of us a coming rise in prices." Following upon this speech there was much opposition to the policy of the government, because it was felt that it would lead to a rise in retail prices as well as wholesale prices. This was strenuously denied, until at last the unspeakable National Labour leader, J. H. Thomas, let the

cat out of the bag in an article published in MacDonald's official paper, "The News Letter," October 1, 1932, where he wrote:—

"With regard to the undertaking to regulate the importation of meat into this country, Mr. Thomas says it will, of course, mean . . . it is intended to mean . . . that the price of mutton and lamb to the consumer in this country will rise. But it is infinitely better that the present prices of these commodities should rise, than that the purchasing power of our own agriculture and of our greatest and most important customers overseas should be wiped out."

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

The foreign policy of the National government is clearly directed against America, its greatest imperialist rival, but whilst this is so its greatest war drive is against the Soviet Union. The National government has become the organiser of the anti-Soviet campaign.

The National government gives open support to Japan in its Far East policy and particularly in its policy against the Soviet Union, and big shipments of munitions have taken place both to Japan and China for use against both the Chinese Soviets and against the U.S.S.R. While there is acute economic rivalry between Britain and Japan, the political considerations over-ride this factor and make the National government look to Japan as one of its most valuable allies.

In regard to Germany, everything possible is being done by the National government to maintain the closest and the most friendly relations with the Hitler dictatorship. The terrible atrocities committed by the Hitler fascist dictatorship has aroused a wave of horror amongst large sections of the British population, but the National government's policy is to ignore these protests and to "keep the open door to Germany," in accordance with MacDonald's speech at the London Lord Mayor's banquet on November 9, 1933.

It has perhaps been left to that cunning liberal imperialist and anti-Communist, Lloyd George, to clearly state the issue so far as Britain's policy to Germany is concerned. When he declared in his speech at Barmouth on September 9, 1933, the following:—

"He knew that there had been horrible atrocities in Germany, and they all deplored and condemned them, but a country passing through a revolution was always liable to ghastly episodes, owing to the administration of justice being seized here and there by an infuriated rebel.

"He was neither a fascist nor a Nazi nor a Communist. If the Powers succeeded in overthrowing Nazi-ism in Germany, what might follow? Not a conservative, socialist or liberal regime, but extreme Communism. Surely that could not be their objective!

"A Communist Germany would be infinitely more formidable than a Communist Russia. The Germans would learn how to run Communism effectively."

And that expression of opinion by the leader of Britain's war policy against Germany in 1914-18 sums up the policy of the National government towards Germany at the present time.

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

new warships. In addition, it is interesting to see the rise in shares of companies making new bombing aeroplanes.

This, then, is the real situation in Britain—not the fancy picture painted by the National government of Britain having solved unemployment and the campaign for peace, but a Britain preparing for war upon the workers at home and war against its trade rivals, and, in particular, for war against the Soviet Union.

It is the proud boast of capitalist and labour politicians that Britain is the last stronghold of democracy, that what has taken place on the continent could never happen in Britain. In actual fact we are proceeding at a rapid rate towards fascism in Britain, carried out under the slogan of democracy and achieved by so-called constitutional means. How the term democracy is used to disguise the real policy of the National government in its steps towards open dictatorship is seen in the speech of MacDonald in London on November 9, where he claimed that the National government, above all, stood for democracy. And also in a speech made by Baldwin, one of the tory leaders of the National government, in London on November 6, where he stated:—

"... We are the sole guardians of that form of constitutional democracy which took its rise in this country. If it breaks down in our hands, the whole thing is gone for ever in the world. I believe any form of dictatorship is absolutely alien to the whole policy of our people."—"The Times," London, November 7, 1933.)

Let us break in on this idyllic picture of a free and unfettered democratic Britain and see what is really happening. The National government carries out a persistent and daily attack on rights of free speech and public assembly that were thought secure for all time.

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

Then we must note the policy of Lord Trenchard, head of Scotland Yard and the London police force. He is completely re-organising the London police force on a military basis, destroying the rights of policemen to organise in their own independent federation. No chances of promotion to the higher posts are to be open to the rank and file. A new officer class drawn from the ranks of the middle class and of those with years of military experience, all whose social position connects them by the strongest ties with the ruling class. This is the new strata of officers that is to take over the direction and administration of the police force in the future.

Some very significant developments have also taken place in the attempt to suppress the working-class fight against unemployment and against the National government. For example, a hunger march was organised in South Wales in October. This march was prevented from reaching its objective by hundreds of police, whose activities were directed from airplanes equipped with wireless. In Belfast, on the occasion of the anniversary of the bigger unemployed fights of last year, all meetings were prohibited, armoured cars and armed police patrolled the streets, and Dublin and British Communist leaders deported from Belfast. In Glasgow the chief of police brings forward new proposals, the essence of which would give him power to prevent any working-class demonstration, shouting of slogans, singing of revolutionary songs, carrying of banners, and prohibition of any outdoor and indoor meetings to which he took exception. It must be remarked here that the workers of Glasgow, under the leadership of the C.P., have been able to mobilise opposition to these proposals and have forced their withdrawal, but we can be certain they will

come again in another form in the course of another two or three months.

But most significant of all are the tendencies towards fascism contained in the National government's new unemployment bill.

For the first time on a wholesale scale in Britain, three dictators are now to be the sole arbiters of the fate of the great mass of permanent unemployed and their families. Hitherto local P.A.C.s have been subject to mass pressure; now all power is out of their hands. All power is centralised in the hands of three men sitting in the government office in London.

The new bill has as a second vital aim, the splitting of the unemployed themselves. For a certain class of unemployed, the existing rates of benefits are to be continued, they are to be used as the means of splitting the ranks of the unemployed as a whole. Secondly, the provision of clauses in the bill that provide for unemployed workers who refuse to go into the labour camps and whose families become chargeable to the poor law, being sent to prison is meant to still further split even the ranks of that section of the unemployed who will come under the main provisions of the new bill. For this measure is directed, not against those who are popularly described as "not wanting work," it is directed against the militant unemployed workers who will resist being driven into slavery and industrial conscription. This law will become a powerful weapon in the hands of the National government to attack the standards of the unemployed workers.

In short, this bill goes further along the road of fascism in Britain than anything we have yet seen. Unlimited powers to government dictators: splitting the ranks of the unemployed, driving a wedge between the unemployed and employed workers, taking the labour camps into agricultural areas where those workers who are in these camps are away from the mass of the industrial workers, the compulsory physical training that will be enforced on the younger unemployed men, is meant to provide directly the reserve army for use in the coming war. These are the aims of this unemployed bill of the National government. The whole line of this bill follows closely upon all the previous legislation which has limited the right of free speech and public assembly.

We must also not forget the propaganda which for instance Lord Rothermere and his large number of popular papers are carrying on, which openly support Hitler and cry for a strong man in England, or the more clever and cunning propaganda methods of Beaverbrook which called for a stronger government and are aiming particularly at what is known as economic Empire unity by which is meant increased exploitation of the workers in England and in the colonies. Then we also have to take into account the line which Churchill and his consorts are taking in regard to India. This part of the bourgeoisie, representing the Diehard opposition, is opposed to any alteration in the existing Indian Constitution and demands repressive measures in order to maintain imperialist rule in India.

There prevails a strong tendency to underestimate the movement of the "British Union of Fascists," led by Sir Oswald Mosley. Mosley is following the footsteps of Hitler and Mussolini and is endeavouring to win influence by his participation, or better say sham participation, in strikes, unemployed struggles and fights against evictions. This movement is undoubtedly gaining ground in London, in the Midlands and in certain parts of the North of England, and it is necessary to organise a much stronger fight against these fascists. In Scotland great attention must be devoted to the propaganda which is being carried on there by the Scotch nationalists and the Scottish Protestant League, the political content of which in both cases is nationalism and fascism. Both organisations are exceedingly active and received a considerable number of votes at the recent municipal by-elections. It is interesting to note that whilst Hitler in his propaganda in Germany makes the full use of anti-semitism, these organisations have selected the Irish Catholics in Glasgow for this purpose.

The Situation in the Working Class Movement

There is a rapid growth in the disillusionment with the National government and its whole line and policy. The German events made a powerful impression upon the British workers, especially through the suppression of the trade unions and co-operatives; this is reflected in their support for united front campaigns, and development of the rank and file trade union opposition. Nevertheless, reformist influence is still strong. The recent

elections reveal in some way how this disillusionment expresses itself.

The recent by-elections and municipal elections occurred during the tense international situation caused by Germany withdrawing from the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. This brought the question of war vividly before the minds of the whole working-class movement and particularly was responsible for the important victory at East Fulham, where a traditional Tory seat was won by the Labour Party.

In the recent municipal elections the Labour Party gained 292 seats on municipal bodies and won labour control in many important industrial centres.

There has also been big mass militant activity in connection with the fight against unemployment, expressing itself in the hunger marches and important concessions won by the unemployed in Scotland, Lancashire, South Wales, London, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, all of which aroused big interest and support.

While no big strikes have taken place since the Lancashire cotton strike of 1932, there have been a number of smaller but very important strikes carried through against the will of the reformist unions, such as the miners' strike in South Wales, Durham and Yorkshire, the strike of the London busmen and the strikes at Ford's, Briggs', Firestone's, and Hope's.

It was characteristic of them that they were directed against various forms of rationalisation and worsening of working conditions, in numerous cases were under the leadership of workers themselves, and in spite of the resistance of the trade union leaders achieved considerable successes.

There is also to be recorded a great development of the activity of the rank and file in the trade unions themselves, which is expressed in the support which the opposition obtained among the membership at important trade union conferences. Thus for instance at the last meeting of the National Committee of the A.E.U., where a motion for the rescinding of the provision directed against the Communists was rejected by only 21 votes against 18. At the Conference of the National Union of Railwaymen the official Irish strike compromise which had recently been concluded, was rejected by 79 against one vote and a resolution disapproving the rejection of the united front with the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party by the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress received 31 votes out of 49. The growing strength of the opposition and the militant spirit was also expressed in the strong support which the Communists obtained at the trade union elections and which enabled them to win important positions in the trade unions.

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

The Policy of Social Democracy

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

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

While posing as fighting the National government and war, their deeds show how effectively they disorganise the workers' fight.

They oppose the Means Test, but oppose fighting by mass action. They set up rival unemployed associations, and under the guise of using them for sports and cultural purposes, endeavour to divert sections of the unemployed from militant struggle against the National government and the Means Test. In many cases they are identified with Social Service Centres, which will play an in-

creasingly more important fascist role when the new Unemployment Bill comes into operation, and in Parliament in the speeches of the "left" leader, Sir Stafford Cripps, they call upon the government to make no concessions to the demands of the unemployed that are associated with Communist leadership and activity.

The reformists speak about their love of democracy, but take no action to fight the Trenchard ban on labour exchange meetings, or suppression of free speech, or the operation of reactionary, anti-working-class legislation.

Henderson, leader of the Labour Party, feeling the workers' hostility towards war, now threatens his resignation as chairman of the Disarmament Conference, after he has finished his role, and carried out the line of the National government. He does this in order to deceive the masses that he fights for peace. The same Henderson who now threatens "bold" action, took his seat in Parliament on the day when the policy of the National government at the Disarmament Conference was under discussion. He never attempted to speak, although he was supposed to have been elected at the recent Clay Cross by-election because of his stand at Geneva. Why didn't he speak? Because he has been responsible for carrying out the policy of the National government at Geneva.

The Trade Union Congress and Labour Party Conferences, under pressure from the rank and file, passed resolutions for a general strike in the event of war, but this feeling was distorted to support the line of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions. In keeping with this they outlawed the anti-war movement in Britain, which has carried out great work in its fight against war and its efforts to mobilise the working class for a real struggle against war, particularly for the prevention of munitions going to the Far East.

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

Recently, Citrine, leader of the General Council of the T.U.C., came out with a speech on the question of the general strike and war. He declared:—

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

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

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

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

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

It is not difficult to see what is behind this speech. It is intended to be the reply to the anti-war movement propaganda for the stopping of munitions to the Far East. But it is something more. It shows that in this statement made by the leading official of the General Council that the first steps are already being taken to prepare a similar betrayal on the question of the general strike against war as took place in 1914; and secondly, it is an open invitation both to Japan and to the National government in its anti-Soviet policy to go ahead with any attacks against the Soviet Union or the Chinese Soviets that they care to make, and the Trade Union Congress will not lift a finger to prevent any munitions being sent to assist Japanese and British imperialism in their predatory designs on other countries' territory. It is also necessary to point to the activity of the "Socialist League," which to-day poses as the "Left" wing of the Labour Party and talks a lot about its active policy and opposition to the old leadership of the Labour Party. The Socialist League declares that it stands for a Labour government which will be empowered to adopt socialist measures and, if necessary, to carry them out by means of dictatorial authority. The Rights and the "Lefts" are working hand in glove in their resistance to the struggle of the workers against capitalism.

It is also necessary to draw attention to the line of the labour leaders on the German situation. They have very carefully and

diplomatically criticised the German social democratic leaders, and stated that such capitulation as was made by German social democracy could never happen in Britain. (Of course they think that the masses have already forgotten their own betrayal of the general strike of 1926 and the policy of two labour governments.)

The Brighton Trade Union Congress was also noteworthy for Citrine's speech on the German situation, and for his attack on the Soviet Union and the parallel he attempted to make about the similarity in political content of the dictatorship in Italy and the dictatorship in the Soviet Union.

In connection with all these Left manoeuvres and the social fascist policy of social democracy, the C.P. must much more concretely expose the whole line of the policy of the reformist leaders, and reveal them to the masses in the most simple and convincing manner as the agents of the capitalist class in the working-class movement.

All their schemes of Public Corporations, Utility Companies, and "nationalisation" proposals are schemes for the restoration of capitalism along fascist lines leading to the greater exploitation of the working class, and the strengthening of capitalist monopoly, which in turn leads to increased rivalry between the capitalist powers and new wars.

Their advocacy of parliamentary democracy and peaceful transition to socialism, their false slanders against the Soviet Union, their glorification of Roosevelt's scheme, their slanders about the similarity of fascist and workers' dictatorship are the most important and valuable services they render to the National government. The whole policy of the British reformists is that of the German social democracy, which had led to the triumph of Hitler. This is the main lesson we must bring before the whole working-class movement.

The United Front

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

Only the I.L.P. agreed to take part in a common meeting. The Labour Party, Trade Union Congress, and Co-operative Party refused to take part in any meeting, and later, after special meetings of their executive committees, issued a manifesto stating their position.

Their manifesto was called *Democracy or Dictatorship* and dealt with the iniquities of dictatorship, whether from the Right or Left, the benefits of democracy and, finally, that there could be no united front with bodies believing in civil war and proletarian revolution and dictatorship. It was a manifesto which evaded every practical issue the Communist Party had raised, and aroused great resentment even in their own ranks.

It was immediately followed by an attack on any section of the labour movement that was identified with united front activity in connection with the Communists. A pamphlet, entitled: "The Communist Solar System" was issued, which trots out all the old bogeys on the Communist intrigues, talks about our capacity to seduce harmless people in supporting movements whose aims are really revolutionary, which, however, we represent to them in a harmless garb.

But the C.I. Manifesto and the appeal of the Communist Party were warmly welcomed in many sections of the labour movement. All over England our local and district organisations made similar united front proposals to the local labour organisations, but there were only a few cases when we were actually able to break through the ban imposed by the official national Labour leaders on united front activity.

A basis of agreement was reached with the I.L.P., but first only on the necessity of joint demonstrations against fascism and war, the I.L.P. taking the view that to raise any economic issues would give the Labour Party and trade union leaders an excuse

for refusing to participate in united front activity. After the Derby Conference of the I.L.P. the basis of the united front was extended to cover all issues arising out of the capitalist attacks, fascism and war. Similar agreements were concluded between the district organisations of the Communist Party and the I.L.P.

The Communist Party has also played a leading part in the development of activities of such united front movements as anti-war, anti-fascist, anti-Mean Test, the German relief campaign, and in connection with the Reichstag trial campaign, and undoubtedly many sections of Labour Party workers have been won for participating in these campaigns.

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

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

But on the whole we have failed to make a decisive break against the ban imposed upon the united front by the reformist leaders, and the united front itself, as far as the Communist Party and the I.L.P. are concerned, has been confined largely to platform meetings and demonstrations in spite of the activity of the Communist Party to make a drive towards the factories and trade unions in order to get committees of action elected that could give the united front a fighting character such as would be able to win the demands of the workers.

At Communist Party meetings at which the Communist International Manifesto and the call of the Communist Party has been explained and in the election meetings of the Communist Party, the following are the most frequent types of questions:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

We have to show that the question of the approach to the central committees of the reformist organisations had never been ruled out in principle by the Communist International, but that experience has shown that the only way of building up a fighting united front of action was directly with the workers in the fac-

ories and in the trade unions, that with the development of the German situation and the manoeuvre of the Second International, pretending that it stood for united action, it was necessary to put this to the test in the most simple and concrete way, namely, by approaching the central committees of the reformist organisations in each country on the basis of a fighting programme of action. We must show how this has been done in every capitalist country, and everywhere the reformist leaders have refused to participate in building up the forces that would lead to common action.

In regard to the question of sincerity the test of this is the record of the Communist Parties in every capitalist country in the world which proves that it is not a tactic designed to ensnare innocent workers, but is the indispensable weapon which the workers have to forge in order to build up the power and organisation that can enable them to fight against the attacks of capitalism, fascism and war.

We must say it is not a question of expecting the big powerful Labour Party, etc., to condescend to work with the Communists; it is a question of recognising that these powerful reformist organisations with their financial and numerical strength and undoubtedly exercising great influence over masses of workers, have a political line that is based upon class co-operation with the capitalist class and therefore renders it easier for the capitalists to attack the workers. It is true that as yet the Communist Party is numerically small, but its line is the line of class struggle and the building up of the workers' fighting power, and therefore when the C.P. approaches the Labour Party it does so with suggestions and proposals that mean the strengthening of the workers' fight, and the refusal of the labour leaders to co-operate, is itself an indictment of their policy and demands the repudiation and condemnation of every class-conscious worker.

It is also true that the Labour Party, Trade Union Congress and Co-operatives are mass organisations embracing millions of workers, but if their line is wrong, then it means that something else is necessary. We must draw the attention of the workers to the fact that all these three movements were immeasurably stronger in Germany than in Britain, and yet because their political line was the same as that of the British labour leaders, it has led not to socialism but to fascism.

In regard to the question of why the Communist Party opposes the Labour Party in elections, we must show that the C.P. is a political Party of the working class, whose line alone can lead to the successful defence of the workers' everyday interests through the united front and the building up of their class power, and through the workers' revolution can lead to the workers' dictatorship and the commencement of socialist construction in Britain. That this policy is diametrically opposed to the anti-working-class policy of the Labour Party, and that the Communist Party has put up candidates in elections in order to win mass support for its policy as a whole.

Needless to say that at all times we have to explain to the workers that while the C.P. is anxious and willing to co-operate in all the working-class struggles on a basis of united front activity, this does not mean the surrendering of the right of independence and freedom to propagate the principles and policies of the various organisations, and for the Communist Party it certainly cannot mean any weakening in our fight against the whole policy and practice of reformism and our efforts to win the workers for Communism.

The united front activity has tended to absorb the entire energy of the Party, and the Party organisations have not been active enough in the independent mobilisation of the masses for mass work and mass activity. This has resulted in the fight against reformism not being as consistent and as sharp as the situation has demanded and in turn has led to the committing of opportunist mistakes in regard to the united front. We have not carried out a sufficient and convincing exposure giving the basic reasons of the refusal of the reformist organisations to participate in the united front and what are the differences in principles between the C.P. and these organisations, and alongside this there has been a grave neglect to carry out mass propaganda and agitation for the revolutionary aims of the C.P. and the popularisation in a concrete fashion of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. These weaknesses are being recognised by the Party and efforts made to overcome them.

Work in the Reformist Trade Unions

Since the Twelfth Plenum and our Twelfth Party Congress there has been a big improvement in the work of the Party, both inside the unions and in preparation and carrying out of economic struggles. Particularly can this be seen in various transport unions, such as the Transport and General Workers' Union and National Union of Railwaymen, where influential rank and file opposition movements have now developed issuing their own papers and carrying out very effective activity inside the unions. A turn has also been made in the work amongst the miners and municipal employees, and some improvements can be noted also in the work amongst the metal workers. But amongst the dockers and seamen, vital sections of the working class, particularly in the fight against war, our activity is still very weak. The same applies to the work amongst the cotton and woollen textile workers, where only slight improvements can be recorded in spite of very favourable objective conditions and excellent participation on the part of the Party in previous big struggles.

The results of these improvements can be seen in the winning of many important positions, both in regard to the election of delegates to the trade union conferences and the winning of positions inside the trade unions themselves. Of particular significance is the recent victory achieved by Comrade Arthur Horner in South Wales. Comrade Horner was nominated for an important position in the anthracite mining district of South Wales. He had thirteen opponents, and after three ballots succeeded in winning the position in spite of the most tremendous mobilisation on the part of all the reformist leaders, Horner's vote being 10,130 and his opponent's 7,186.

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

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

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

First, that work in the reformist trade unions is looked upon as a thing in itself and with no conscious driving for the creation of a powerful R.T.U.O. and for the strengthening of the Communist Party. Second, where there has been a growth of our trade union influence, there has been no bigger corresponding activity on the part of the Party locals in the same areas. Third, where we do win positions in the trade unions, particularly in the miners' lodges in South Wales, this is then looked upon as a substitute for all other forms of Party activity and the miners' lodge is also looked upon as the substitute for the Communist Party. Fourth, in the weak struggle we have conducted against Left reformism. Fifth, in the lack of effective fraction work and systematic guidance of the work in the trade unions by the Central Committee. Finally, the neglect of big sections of the Communist Party to understand the importance and necessity of carrying on revolutionary mass work in the reformist trade unions.

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

The Fight Against Unemployment and the Work of the N.U.W.M.

It is also necessary to say something about the work in the fight against unemployment and the part carried out by the National Unemployed Workers' Movement. Here also big steps can be recorded in the fight against unemployment led by the N.U.W.M.

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

of the unemployed this summer and autumn in Scotland, South Wales, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and the march to the Brighton Trades Union Congress. It would be impossible to exaggerate the mass interest that these marches have aroused, and it must be remembered that all of them have been carried through in the face of great police activity and the adoption of great preventive measures to smash up the marches and to prevent them achieving their objective. But they have broken through the police cordons, and particularly is this the case in the recent march to South Wales, where strenuous efforts were made to prevent the hunger marchers laying their demands before the responsible central authorities.

A typical example of the way the united front activity is developed in connection with the fight against the National government's unemployed policy is seen in Lancashire. A hunger march is being organised to Preston by the N.U.W.M. and already this march is receiving the support of numerous labour, trade union and co-operative organisations. During the hunger march of the Scottish unemployed workers one of the most important local branches in Glasgow of the N.U.R. supported this hunger march and contributed a large sum to the organisation expenses. These are very important symptoms of the successes in this stage of our united front activity.

A great campaign is now being organised against the new Unemployment Bill of the National government, about which we have already spoken earlier, and in this connection the fight against this Bill is being connected up with the fight for extra winter relief and increased unemployment benefits to meet the rise in the cost of living.

A manifesto has now been issued over the signature of a number of well-known political and trade union leaders for the convening of a great National United Front Conference in February, 1934, and for the organisation of a National Hunger March that shall arrive in London while the National Conference is in progress. It is hoped that this conference and hunger march will mark the biggest step forward yet in the development of effective united front activity and organisation, and it is undoubtedly going to play an historical role in the struggles of the working-class movement.

The Communist Party must support with all its strength the call for the National United Front Conference and the National Hunger March. This call must be popularised everywhere, and the campaign towards the conference and march can itself be made the means of developing all forms of mass activity and action. Local and district conferences especially drawing in the trade unions and trade councils; election of united front committees to lead the work of preparation for the conference and march in every area, and for the popularising of the immediate demands of the unemployed; and, alongside of these demands, the persistent and careful explanation of every single clause and provision of this new unemployed bill.

It must be remembered that all this great mass activity has been carried through in the face of the open sabotage and splitting policy of the reformist leaders, who have called upon their local organisations to boycott all activity of the N.U.W.M. But the work goes on and the fight against the National government's unemployed policy steadily strengthens.

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

(1) There is still too much of the flavour of an unemployed "trade union" about the N.U.W.M., and this strongly militates against the carrying out of the line of the Prague resolution.

(2) The weakness of Party fraction work in the local, district, and central organisation of the N.U.W.M. is particularly bad, and the resistance that is met with on the part of leading comrades to the fuller development of mass activity can never be overcome unless the Party fractions are effectively organised.

(3) The inability of the N.U.W.M. to draw in large sections of skilled and semi-skilled unemployed workers, and this is largely due to the weakness in the popularisation of concrete schemes of public works, the 40-hour week without wage cuts, and the fight against embargoes which restricts the possibilities of trade orders.

(4) There is a serious non-recognition of the necessity of

political training as well as a lack of sports and social life inside the N.U.W.M., and this considerably hampers the development of new leaders and forces.

(5) There is also a lack of effective campaigning for a united front of struggle with the reformist unemployed organisations. Too often these are described as being "scab organisations"—an entirely wrong word to use for such bodies of workers and one that can only succeed in alienating the very sections that we have to win.

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

United Front and the Youth

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

Following upon the publication of the C.I. Manifesto, the Central Committee of the League addressed a manifesto to the reformist youth organisations, and succeeded in establishing the united front with the "Left" reformist I.L.P. Guild of Youth organisation, which claimed a membership of eight thousand at that time.

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

In the campaign for a mass delegation to the Paris Youth Anti-War Congress good united front activity was achieved in a number of places, drawing in members of the Guild of Youth, Co-operative Youth, the Labour League of Youth, Boy Scouts, young trade unionists, and members of boys' clubs and a total of 57 young workers and 30 students attended the congress.

Following upon the National Agreement for united front work with the I.L.P. Guild practically all districts and units immediately responded and good mass work and fraternal relationships with the membership of the Guild organisation have been developed.

Consequently at the national conference of this organisation, held in June, the decision was arrived at to approach the Y.C.I. to establish a working agreement on the struggles of the young workers in Britain.

Correspondence has already passed between the Guild and the Y.C.I., which has been published in pamphlet form.

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

The most important has been the Unity Conference, held in Scotland in October and attended by one hundred and fifty Guild and Y.C.I. members. A joint working agreement was arrived at and results have already been achieved in a few places in Glasgow in organising the fight of the youth unemployed. At this Conference decisions were taken to recommend to the National Guild Committee that they conditionally affiliate to the Y.C.I. and the Scottish Guild members definitely decided in favour of this.

They also agreed to commence activities for the collection of finance for the sending of a Scottish delegate to be included in a proposed national delegation to the Y.C.I. to discuss the whole question of joint relations.

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

The Communist Party and the I.L.P.

It needs to be recalled that the I.L.P. is one of the oldest socialist bodies in Britain, and one which has played a leading role both in the Labour Party and in the Labour governments. It has been responsible for some of the most prominent of the labour leaders, and has had great influence and traditions in the British working-class movement. It has always been a parliamentary party, and is only known in this respect to the working class. Because of its long history and traditions and its contacts with the working-class movement, to win the I.L.P. for the Communist Inter-

national and for a united Communist Party in Britain would undoubtedly be a very important development in the British working-class movement.

After the defeat of the Labour government in August, 1931, and the General Election in November, 1931, a big movement developed inside the I.L.P. against the Labour Party and for disaffiliation of the I.L.P. The I.L.P. leadership, while criticising the Labour Party, strenuously opposed the policy of disaffiliation.

Inside the I.L.P. in London a committee had been formed called the Revolutionary Policy Committee, representing the more advanced sections which was openly campaigning for disaffiliation from the Labour Party and for the adoption of a new constitution aiming at a more revolutionary policy. The Blackpool Conference took place at Easter, 1932, when the proposal for disaffiliation was side-tracked by the leadership pending further negotiations with the Labour Party to see if a basis of agreement could be found. If no basis could be found in the further negotiations with the Labour Party, then a special conference of the I.L.P. should be held to report the result of the negotiations and take further decisions.

This conference took place in July, 1932. The leadership of the I.L.P. was divided, again the issue was put to the Conference, not as being one of vital differences of principle with Labour Party policy, but that a wrong view was taken by the Labour Party of its own standing orders. By a majority vote disaffiliation from the Labour Party was decided upon. Thereupon a split occurred in the I.L.P., the minority constituting itself as "Socialist League" in Great Britain and "Socialist Party" in Scotland.

In view of these entirely new developments, the question was put at the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party in November, 1932—what should be the future attitude of the Party to the I.L.P.—and it was decided to place the task of winning the I.L.P. for the Communist International and for a united Communist Party as one of the most important tasks before the Communist Party.

In March the representatives of the C.P. and leaders of the I.L.P. met together for united front negotiations, and nothing is more characteristic of the real way in which certain I.L.P. leaders view their future relations with the Labour Party than the attitude at these negotiations. Leaders such as Paton and Campbell Stephen were openly against the adoption of economic and political demands in the united front agreement which would give the labour leaders the opportunity to refuse to participate in united front negotiations. They did so only because they wished to bring the I.L.P. back into the Labour Party as soon as possible.

In this same period, certain divisional councils of the I.L.P. had gone on record for approaches being made to the C.I. with a view of seeing how the I.L.P. could co-operate in the work of the C.I. Corresponding resolutions were on the agenda of the I.L.P. Conference at Derby in April, 1933. This conference, which was badly attended, already reflected the disintegration which had set in in the I.L.P. There was strong opposition to the continuation of the united front with the Communist Party, but the rank and file delegates defeated this. There was a resolution adopted to give full support to the N.U.W.M.; for making important changes in the constitution and a resolution was submitted calling upon the I.L.P. leadership to approach the C.I. with a view to finding out how the I.L.P. could co-operate in its work and, if necessary, that a special conference of the I.L.P. should be called to hear the result of the negotiations between the I.L.P. and the C.I.

This resolution was bitterly opposed by the General Secretary, John Paton, who outlined the position of the I.L.P. leaders against the C.I. and the Communist Party. Finally, this resolution was adopted by 83 votes to 79 votes.

This was the position, then, at the Derby Conference, and it will be useful here to give the political line of the four groups that were even then clearly to be observed within the I.L.P.:

- (1) The group around Sandham who are in favour of re-affiliation to the Labour Party.
- (2) The group of Maxton and Brockway, who stand for a centrist Independent Party, posing as being more revolutionary than the C.P.
- (3) The group of rank and filers who stand for affiliation to the Communist International.
- (4) The Trotskyist group of petty-bourgeois and student elements without any mass influence or connections.

One thing is, however, very clear, i.e., whatever differences there may be between the groupings amongst the I.L.P. leaders—in one thing they are all united—that is opposition to the C.P. of Great

Britain and to the C.I. Therefore, the problem before the C.P. and the C.I. in relation to I.L.P. was how to win the membership of the I.L.P. for carrying out the Derby resolution in practice and for a united Communist Party on the basis of the programme and policy of the C.I.

After the Derby Conference, the I.L.P. leaders sent a very formal letter to the C.I. informing them of the conference decision, enclosing a copy of the resolution that had been adopted on co-operation with the C.I. and asking for the comments of the C.I. upon it. Meantime, the C.I. immediately it had heard of the Derby decision had sent a wire welcoming the decision and expressing the hope that it would immediately lead to the development of more effective united front activity and the unification of the revolutionary forces in Britain.

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

(1) To continue the united front work with the Communist Party as the first step towards practical co-operation in the work of the Communist International; (2) To conduct a fight against reformism in Britain and internationally; (3) To practically carry this out in economic struggles against fascism, British imperialism and war; (4) A warning against the meaning of the attempts to form a new Two-and-a-Half International; (5) The significance of the heroic fight of the German Communist Party; (6) The question of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

While this letter was being prepared and sent to the I.L.P., there were many important events taking place. In Lancashire, under the leadership of Sandham; and in South Wales, under the leadership of Jones—both leading members of the I.L.P.—the united front with the Communist Party district organisations was broken.

Then in June, Brockway, the leader of the centre group in the I.L.P., came out with an article in the official organ, "The New Leader," which was a scurrilous attack against the Communist International and the Soviet Union.

The time of its publication was very carefully chosen so as to take the attention of the I.L.P. membership away from the C.I. letter.

The Communist Party replied at once to Brockway's article and carried out a big campaign against Brockway. Many resolutions and letters of protest were received by the official organ of the I.L.P., but were never published.

The reply of the I.L.P. leaders to the C.I. letter was a classical example of evading every vital question that had been raised by the C.I.

Then came the Paris Conference of the seven "Left" Socialist Parties. The I.L.P. pretended to its members and the workers of Great Britain that it took a different line from the other representatives who were at Paris, Brockway giving the I.L.P. position as follows:—

"The I.L.P. was practically alone in urging that the possibility should not be ruled out of the Third International so changing its tactics and organisation as to allow to be included within the unification of revolutionary parties."

Later on Brockway declares, however:—

"If the Third International proves to be unprepared to change its tactics and organisation, the time will have to come to consider the formation of a new International."

If the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. think that the Third International is going to change its correct working-class line, tactics, and organisation to suit the petty-bourgeois requirements of the I.L.P. leaders, then they are barking up the wrong tree.

In September the Communist International sent a second letter to the I.L.P. This letter was addressed to the membership of the I.L.P. It recalled the line of the first C.I. letter; it then dealt in detail with the line of the I.L.P. leaders—how this leadership, both on the "Left" and Right, were refusing to carry out the Derby decisions for co-operation with the C.I. It drew the attention of the I.L.P. members to Brockway's article and to the manoeuvres of the I.L.P. leaders as revealed at the Paris Conference for the formation of a Two-and-a-Half International. It replied to the slanders about the Communist International and the united front, it dealt again with the role of the German Communist Party, and finally put the proposal that all the organisations of the I.L.P. should really discuss the letter of the Communist International, and it put two principal questions:—

(1) What concrete actions on the basis of the united front can the C.P. and the I.L.P. now carry out around certain practical issues, such as the fight against the Means Test, for a 10 per cent. increase in wages, against the rise in the cost of living, etc.

(2) Is it desirable that the I.L.P. should join the C.I. as a sympathising organisation with Communism, with a consultative vote as per paragraph 18 of the Communist International Statutes.

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

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

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

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

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

The true meaning of this ultimate betrayal of the Derby decision was cloaked over by the opening of a so-called discussion supplement in the official organ of the I.L.P., and it is noteworthy that Trotsky was called upon to open this series of discussion articles. Of course, other people such as Brandler and Thalheimer were also invited to collaborate, and it was even proposed to ask Comrade Manuisky for a contribution. The results of this discussion are then to be summed up by no less a person than Brockway himself.

The articles which have already appeared are sufficient indication of the unity between Trotsky and Thalheimer in their efforts to hold the I.L.P. back from joining the Communist International. Trotsky declares that the "I.L.P. must preserve its independence at all costs."

The Party also had many interesting experiences in connection with the recent elections so far as the relation of the Communist Party and the I.L.P. are concerned. After the second C.I. letter the Political Bureau gave consideration to the forthcoming municipal elections, particularly in Scotland, where both the Communist Party and the I.L.P. were putting forward a large number of candidates. The Political Bureau had previously circulated a document to the Party, carefully outlining the policy of the Party in regard to the elections and laying it down that where the situation and record and possibilities before the Party justified it, we should run our candidates against all other parties.

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

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

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

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

In an important by-election at Clay Cross, where I was the Communist candidate against Arthur Henderson, the leader of the Labour Party, and where we had not a single contact in the area previously, the Communist Party polled 3,424 votes. During the course of the campaign we received a letter from John McGovern, I.L.P. member of parliament, informing us that he was willing to come and speak in the election campaign on behalf of the C.P. This offer was accepted, and he took part in the fight, but we made a mistake, both in the campaign, in the constituency itself, and in the "Daily Worker" in not clearly explaining the differences in principle that existed between the C.P. and the

I.L.P. so as to avoid any impression being given that the I.L.P. and the Communist Party were two equal bodies with the same political line. Then came an important by-election at Kilmarnock, where the I.L.P. had had its candidate in the field since the general election in 1931, and who had previously received the official support of the Labour Party at the previous general election, but he was now being opposed by the Labour Party.

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

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

Subsequent events revealed that I had made an error in not more clearly defining the determination of the C.P. to carry out independent activity. It should be stated, however, that further independent meetings were carried out, but the striking feature about the campaign was that contrast between the speeches of the C.P. spokesmen and the I.L.P. leaders—a contrast so vivid in treatment and political line as to cause big discussion amongst the workers and differentiation within the ranks of the I.L.P. itself. One result of the C.P. campaign there was seen in the increased votes the C.P. candidates got in Kilmarnock District in the subsequent municipal elections, where in one case we won a seat for the C.P., and in addition recruited many new members.

It must be explained that one of the Derby Conference decisions was to appoint a commission that would make certain changes in the constitution and policy of the Party in accordance with the discussion at Derby. This was done, and what was described as the New Policy of the I.L.P. was finally adopted.

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

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

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

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

Thirdly, we have not explained convincingly enough to the I.L.P. membership the political line of their leaders, and the division

of labour that exists within the I.L.P. leadership itself to prevent their coming into the Communist International.

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

Fifthly, there was lacking an international campaign and articles by leading members of the C.I. in the "Daily Worker" and in the "Communist Review" on the question of the I.L.P. in order to show the importance which the C.I. attaches to winning the rank and file of the I.L.P.

We must make use of the time remaining up to the Easter Conference of the I.L.P. in order to realise the line of the last letter of the Communist International on the creation of a firm I.L.P. group working for the affiliation of the I.L.P. to the Communist International.

A united Communist Party in Britain would be a great source of strength for the British working class and for the C.I., and would remove a barrier between our Party and the revolutionary workers at present outside our ranks.

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

The Party Situation and Problems

In 1932 there was a special resolution adopted on the British question. This resolution is still the key to the main questions. It can be said that as a result of its application, good results and big improvements in the methods of work can be seen. These results can be summed up as follows:—

- (1) Big increase in mass work and activity, especially in the trade unions, and developing the united front;
- (2) Better work in the preparation of economic struggles and participation in mass struggles;
- (3) Greater interest in Communism, better attendance at Communist meetings and more questions and discussions on the Communist policy.

But there is no consistent growth of Party membership. Yet the votes recorded for the C.P. revealed a situation which must be fearlessly faced, and which we must try to solve, especially in the present period when the mass influence of the Party is increasing, yet the membership of the Party does not rapidly grow.

It is clear from all the recent election results that there is big disillusionment with the Tories and with the National Labourists, but not yet with the Labour Party. The workers are against the National government, but not yet against their agents, the labour leaders. The workers see the Communist Party as a good fighter against unemployment, in strikes, etc., but not as a vital political force leading the whole fight of the working class against the National Government. The result is that the only alternative they see, and the only way they see of striking a blow at the National Government in the elections is through voting Labour. And one of the strongest arguments against the C.P., in elections is that we "don't believe in Parliament," or that "we haven't got a chance, and that to vote for the Communist candidates under these circumstances is not only wasting a vote, but is splitting the workers' ranks." In fact, so strong is the hostility against the National government that in all the recent elections this question of the Communists' splitting the workers' votes now takes a sharper form than ever before, and this is fed by the Labour Party propaganda.

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

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

The Communist Party does not yet know how to effectively combine its mass work on partial demands with its final aims and

revolutionary way out of the crisis. It does not yet give a strong political lead on all the issues that arise.

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

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

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

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

The Party also badly neglects the work amongst working women. We seem to forget how the crisis has affected this important section of the working class, but the reformists do not forget this and give great attention to winning influence over large sections of working women.

We must now resolutely overcome these weaknesses and in all future campaigns plan how we can best draw the working women into active participation. This is especially the case in such campaigns as those against the Means Test, the new Unemployed Bill, the rising cost of living, the cutting down of vital social services such as maternity centres, child welfare clinics and housing schemes. We must endeavour to win them for support for the fight against fascism and war, and to win the women sections and co-operative guilds for united front activity.

The Y.C.L.

The general offensive of the capitalist class and the National government deals heavy blows at the masses of young workers in Britain. More than one million are unemployed and hundreds of thousands are leaving school every year who cannot be absorbed in industry.

Those in industry are subjected to ruthless speed-up methods, and used in increasing numbers to displace adult labour.

As a result of this drive against the living conditions of the youth and the effects of the general crisis of capitalism, a big development is taking place in the political activity of the British youth.

This is clearly seen in the fact that most of the recent strike struggles and unemployed actions have been of a predominantly youth character.

The new unemployment bill of the National government makes special provisions for singling out the youth, particularly those between 14 and 16, in the whole scheme to lower the standards of the unemployed, and divide the forces of the working class.

The measures for the extensive establishment of forced labour camps for the youth along semi-militarist lines, along with the centres and camps already in existence, are in line with the drive of British capitalism in the preparations for war.

The Labour Party, recognising the growing mass activity of the youth and the important part they play in the class struggle situation in Britain, are paying much greater attention to the youth and are seeking to harness the rising discontent for reformism.

A tremendous campaign has been launched to last for one year in which all the forces and machinery of the Labour Party are being used for the objective of winning a million members to

the Labour Party youth organisation, and the building of youth sections of the trade unions.

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

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

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

We must learn how to arouse the hatred and opposition of the masses to the National government on the basis of concrete issues and show how to lead the fight against it in factory, trade union and locality.

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

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

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

Our whole propaganda on these and similar questions needs to be made clearer, simpler and more popular. In the degree that we make the political fight against capitalism understood in its real sense and not as a parliamentary thing, so more concrete will be the exposure of the reformists. In this way we can much more effectively get our policy understood and a correct approach made to the question of the relationship of the fight for partial demands and the fight for power.

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

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

There is no other way—only this revolutionary way. This is the big lesson of the Soviet Union and experience in all other coun-

tries where every kind of "solution," whether attempted by capitalist, social democratic or fascist governments, of the crisis has been tried, and has signally failed. Above all, is the classical example of Germany, where fascism is in power because of the line of social democracy, and the so-called easy way of parliamentary democracy.

What is to be done after the present Plenum?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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